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SOUTH AFRICA UNDER KING MANUEL

1495—1521

by

SIDNEY R. WELCH, D.D., J.P.



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PREFACE.

This volume is the sequel of my *Europe's Discovery of South Africa.* It carries the history of South Africa to the year 1521, and might therefore have been entitled "South Africa on the Eve of the Reformation in Europe." I have felt it more appropriate to take the title from matters that affected South Africa itself at the time. In those days when some kings not only reigned, but governed, the policy of the king was an important factor of history. European and North American readers may find the title strange; as some of them did wonder at the title of my former volume, not realising that the Union of South Africa is the home of a young nation, and that the outlook of a South African is from the other end of the ocean and from a different hemisphere.

The twenty-six years here recorded tell of the foundation of the Portuguese empire in Africa south of the equator. This part of Portugal's empire has endured, and is flourishing to-day, whilst practically all the rest of that great empire has vanished. Brazil, once a Portuguese colony in America, has become one of the leading nations of the world, and is a triumph of the adaptable Portuguese culture in a new sphere. India has passed to other hands, except the 2,425 square miles behind Goa. The area of Portuguese Angola and Mozambique to-day equals the combined areas of continental Spain, France, England, Italy and Germany. The rest of Portugal's empire now is one-thirtieth of what we may call Portuguese South Africa, which is the friendly neighbour of the Union of South Africa. My story tells of the days when all these lands were under the control of King Manuel and his Overseas Council.

The researches on which this and my other volumes are based began in the year 1894, when as a youth I went to Lisbon to study the Portuguese language and literature, learning also to know the people and to value their glorious history. Among my most cherished memories of that time is the figure of the venerable archbishop of

Lisbon, Cardinal Neto, who took a paternal interest in my studies. In many a pleasant walk about Santarem, during those dark days for the Portuguese patriot, he spoke to me of his hopes for the future of his country, based on the achievements of the past. On my return to South Africa I had the good fortune to know Dr. Theal, who encouraged me to continue these studies, lending me some of his rare editions of the Portuguese sources of history. His own pioneer work is a permanent treasure to all serious students of our history.

Since then I have been in constant touch with the fine work of Portuguese scholars, too little known outside Portugal. How great my debt to them has been will be seen in the notes to this volume. This has been supplemented by three long visits of research to Europe in 1907, 1926 and 1937. On the occasion of this last visit I had the honour of being admitted a member of the Portuguese Academy of History. Coming from the persons best able to judge, this approbation of my work was a spur to further work.

I have, however, written this and other volumes, published and unpublished, mainly because I enjoyed writing them in the leisure hours of an otherwise fairly busy life. I am publishing them because I hope that others may be glad to share the pleasure I have had in discovering the great deeds that Portugal wrought on our South African soil and in our South African waters.

" Voorwaarts,"
7, Hof Street,
Cape Town.

19th March, 1943.

CHAPTER I.

The Heir of Prince Henry the Navigator.

WHEN King John II died, one Sunday evening the twenty-fifth of October, 1495, all the thinkers of the Renaissance recognised that he had accomplished a revolution in international affairs by his discovery of the Cape of Good Hope. The ordinary type of revolution has often ended by making the fortune of some daring soldier or politician quick-witted enough to profit by the chaos it produced; as Napoleon did with the French revolution, or Oliver Cromwell with the English revolution or Lenin with the Russian revolution against the Tsar's war. But John's was a peaceful revolution, entirely constructive rather than levelling; and it found on the alert in Portugal a guiding spirit animated by the same ideals and scientific attitude as John himself.

The young man who took up the dropped reins of John II was only twenty-six years old, but since early manhood he had shared the thoughts and plans of his predecessor. Manuel, Duke of Beja, who now became king, regarded himself as the grandson of Prince Henry the Navigator, though he was this only in the spirit. His father, Prince Ferdinand was a nephew of Prince Henry's, but had been legally adopted by him as a son. So seriously did Manuel take this spiritual relationship, that he had discharged out of his own pocket the last of the debts due by Prince Henry's estate, though there was no legal obligation to do so.[2]

As a lad of thirteen he had become a ward of King John, and had been given a household of his own, carefully chosen and befitting a prince of the blood. There was a prophetic hint in the coat of arms which the king assigned him. It was the armillary sphere which had figured in the device of Prince Henry, and was regarded as the symbol of his determination to circumnavigate the world. Perhaps it was the unconscious prophecy of

intuition, on the part of King John, that prompted him to bestow this device upon the youth who was to succeed him.

It was the same feeling that caused John to see a wise dispensation of Providence in the death of his only son, when the first agony of his natural grief had relaxed. Manuel was evidently in King John's mind, at the time when he used these philosophic words[3]: "His Divine Majesty knew what He was doing. My son was not the man to be king of Portugal. He was too easy going, too absorbed in matters of dress, and inclined to attach overmuch importance to elegancies". "His Divine Majesty" meant God; as the Portuguese kings never allowed themselves to be addressed as "Your Majesty", reserving that title for God. "Your Highness" is the title by which the king was then addressed in Portugal.

Manuel's very name was regarded by the people as a happy omen. It was not a traditional name in the royal houses of Portugal, and was only borne again by the last of all the Portuguese kings, in our own day. Among the people the origin of this name was well-known. At the time of his birth there were eight persons between him and the throne; and he was born in the seaside town of Alcouchete[4], which had only just risen to some importance because King John had chosen it for a summer residence.

On the popular solemnity of Corpus Christi every town and village had its procession of the Blessed Sacrament. The prince came into the world just as the procession was passing the villa of his mother, the Infanta Beatrice. Emmanuel, "God with us", was considered the most appropriate name for a child who was born just as the Lord was passing by[5]. Since that day all those who stood between him and the crown vanished one by one, and he became the undisputed heir to the throne.

In a secret dispatch to the Spanish ambassador in London, King Ferdinand of Castile manifests his pleasure and surprise that his nephew had succeeded so peaceably to the throne. Ferdinand and Isabella evidently thought that they had the young Portuguese king in the hollow of their hands, because of his known affection for his clever aunt Isabella. "Portugal is now as dependent on our

lady the queen as Andalusia " ; so wrote King Ferdinand in cypher to De Puebla[6], his ambassador in London. But they lived to learn that, loyal as Manuel was to his Spanish relatives, he was as firm as he was gentle in keeping the interests of Portugal paramount, where they conflicted with those of Spain. It was a striking instance of the utility of the kinship of kings in smoothing the dangerous edges of national rivalries.

The one unhappy note of the opening reign was the plague that raged in Lisbon. It curtailed the pageantry of Manuel's accession, but it only seemed to sharpen his energy and give him more time to deal with the business of the country. Parliament (the *Cortes*) was summoned at once to treat matters of home policy and taxation. Within six weeks he had called a Crown Council to aid him in carrying forward the work of exploration[7].

Since the fourth century custom had imposed upon the princes and kings of Portugal the obligation of summoning this council, to deliberate on matters of graver import for the nation. Since the reign of John I the King's Council consisted of one prelate, two noblemen, three lawyers and four commoners[8]. Manuel was an assiduous reader of the chronicles of the former kings of Portugal[9]. These confirmed him in the wish to hear the views of the most experienced men in his kingdom[10], so as to carry them with him in his onerous plans for the development of Portugal beyond the seas. The first meeting was held at New Montemor, to take measures to prosecute the work of John II " by discovering that part of Africa which lay below Egypt and above the Cape of Good Hope ".[11]

The lull in active measures which characterised the last years of John's reign had given rise to a considerable current of opposition to these schemes of exploration. Some opposed them on political grounds. All the kings and republics of Europe, to say nothing of the Soldan of Babylon (Egypt), would form an envious coalition against Portugal, if she went on increasing her sphere of influence.[12] Guinea was surely quite sufficient to provide all the trade that Lisbon merchants could cope with, as well as enough revenue for the exchequer ; whereas these visionary projects meant endless expenditure. Others stressed the scientific argument. Not only Ptolemy and Pomponius

Mela, but also that learned Englishman of olden times, John Hollywood stamped the project as absurd.[13] A circuit of land blocked the south side of the Indian Ocean; and in any case it was too long a road for profitable navigation, whilst sea and land monsters would destroy any foolhardy sailor who should attempt the task.

Pacheco reports that the King answered these last objectors with one of those scientific maxims, which were in the mouths of all leading thinkers in those days: "experiment is the mother of realities, and by means of it we reach the root of truth". It is likely enough that a majority of the council sided with the king. Manuel's experiments had been already made, and he knew that the ocean way was open. He was also in a position to assure them, that if they did not move promptly other nations might steal a march on them.[14]

From King Ferdinand of Spain he had received confidential information that the King of France's decoy duck was already in England, trying to induce Henry VII to finance an expedition under John Cabot, which would infringe Portugal's rights. In reality Cabot was not sent by France, as the Iberian kings thought. He had left Venice on his own initiative, settled in Bristol in 1490 and received letters patent to explore on behalf of England in 1496. But Portugal's rights were respected by Henry VII, who only licensed Cabot and his three sons to explore those parts of the world "which before this time were unknown to all Christians". This was the very phraseology of international law, as promulgated in various papal bulls.

Being a convincing speaker Manuel would appeal to the waverers in patriotic language that they could understand. Standing amongst them for the first time as king, with his powerful frame,[15] his friendly grey eyes and honest face, he would impress them with the strength of a man who did not fear isolation in a good cause.

It was resolved to build four ships, to complete the task which Bartholomew Dias had left unfinished. Portugal had worked for two generations cultivating this laborious field of navigation, declared the king, and she was now entitled to the harvest of Indian riches. The work of preparing the ships was delegated to Ferdinand

Lourenço, who had been general manager of Guinea House for six years during the reign of John II.

A whole year would be needed to get them ready, because they were to be equipped as never ships had been equipped before.[16] Only the best timbers and the stoutest rivets were to be used, and Bartholomew Dias was deputed to see that all were built strong enough to withstand the immense rollers of the Cape of Good Hope. Each ship was to carry three complete rigs of sails and cables, or even four, if possible. The chests and barrels for water, wine, oil and vinegar were to be lined with earthenware and reinforced with bands of iron. Flour, meat, vegetables and medicines were to be stored in considerable quantities; arms and ammunition were to be ample for defence, but no more; as no aggression was contemplated. The salaries of all ranks were to be on a higher scale than had ever been offered to seafaring men before. The caravel and the lateen sail were now set aside in ocean traffic for the strong ship with square sails.

But the ships were not to exceed the burthen of one hundred tons each. The meaning of this royal order is that the king wished his explorers to examine thoroughly the coasts which they passed, even the very smallest rivers if they appeared to have promising hinterlands; and this only small ships could do. But it was not found advisable to carry out this order of the King in its entirety. The two ships which Dias helped to build were in accordance with these instructions, more or less: the *Saint Raphael*, being of one hundred tons and the *Saint Gabriel* of 120. A caravel of fifty tons was bought from a pilot of Lagos and given his surname, the *Berrio*. The timber for the two larger ships had been lying in the *Casa da Mina* since 1494, when King John ordered it to be cut by his forester, John de Braganza. As soon as they worked out the amount of provisions that would be required for so long a voyage, it was seen that the storeship, which was to replenish the larders of the other three ships on the second part of the journey after leaving the Cape of Good Hope, must needs be two hundred tons burthen at least. A ship of this size was therefore bought from Aires Corrêa, a contractor with influential family connections in Lisbon.[17]

All these business matters were left in the hands of Ferdinand Lourenço, who possessed one of the most magnificent palaces in the country at Sanctos o Velho, where he dispensed a lavish hospitality. This palace he afterwards exchanged with King Manuel for certain crown lands.[18] The family to which he belonged had been prominent for over a century. One of them, Rui Lourenço, was Dean of the cathedral of Lisbon, a trusted lawyer under King Ferdinand, a privy counsellor of John II and once ambassador in Castile.[19] Teresa Lourenço, the mother of John I, was in all probability a close relation of the famous ecclesiastic. Under John II one of the young noblemen whom the King employed upon his most cherished project of penetrating the mysteries of central Africa, by getting into contact with the negro kings, was a John Lourenço.[20] But the wealth which Ferdinand Lourenço amassed, in controlling the trade of the west coast for six years, enabled him to establish friendly relations with King Manuel and to be trusted by him in matters of business.

Manuel himself was no business man. He could plan and carry out grandiose schemes, he could amass millions in trade beyond the seas ; but he had neither the will nor the power to economise, or enter into problems of profit or loss. These details he left to smaller men, and the first of such men whom he trusted was Ferdinand Lourenço. It was believed that the expenditure upon the exploring armada could easily be covered by the royal revenues of the Guinea trade ; and Lourenço knew that if the expedition succeeded, the profits would be greater than anything Guinea House had yet experienced.

In April, 1497, when the expedition sailed, Lourenço was again appointed manager of Guinea House, and he continued to hold the post for eight years. At this time the gross annual income of Guinea House was £16,000, an immense sum for those days, easily capable of covering by its profits the cost of all the king's experiments.[21]

This prospect enabled Manuel to indulge two tastes of his which were a second nature : extreme generosity and a love of the fine arts. The grosser indulgences of life never captivated his fancy, which had been early disciplined by love of work and a wise religious training. His

main purpose in life was to make Portugal a leading power in Europe, equal at least to the expanding power of Spain. But he never lost sight of the amenities of rational living.

Damian de Goes, who knew him intimately, has left us a striking picture[22] of the personal life of his sovereign. Manuel's leading made the atmosphere of the court a fine training in character and public spirit. Unlike his predecessor he was conscious of the help that dignified dress could lend to the outward respect for his office. His sense of decorum however went with a genuine sense of humour. He kept two Spanish jesters at court who were chartered critics, and whose good sayings often took the starch out of the pompous, or the hypocritical or solemn fools.

This king easily forgot personal quarrels. Where no principle was involved, he was anxious to please, over-anxious at first. Gaiety he loved and music as its principal nourishment. He was most exact in complying with the feasts and fasts of the church. On Sundays and other feast days he would organise sports, dances and plays for both the court and people, during the hours which the Church left free. His Christmas parties were famous. On fast days, when noisy amusement was discouraged, he would spend a good deal of time in the law courts, noting the manner in which judges and magistrates administered the law. At stated times he would also visit the prisons, in order to hear the grievances of prisoners. Every week he gave public audiences to those who had complaints to make against the government. So that there should be no delay in dealing with these complaints, two secretaries attended him on these occasions to verify at once the facts or fictions alleged by petitioners.

In his relations with women Manuel was a model gentleman, and no scandal about his private life ever gained currency. This did not mean that he was indifferent to women, as he was married three times and had eleven children.

He was a good Latin scholar. The chronicles of the old kings of the Iberian peninsula in Latin were his favourite reading; and as soon as his eldest son, John, was able to read, he was summoned to discuss these works with his

father every day. It was in these colloquies that Prince John imbibed the Christian principles of government which he strove later to carry out as king.

Manuel stood for the fine Portuguese tradition of the *civitas Dei* in this matter. Royal decrees always contained the preamble that the king was acting for the glory of God and the extension of His kingdom on earth. Ordinances about the African and Indian adventures especially underlined this duty of the royal executive ; which implied that for Catholic kings in Portugal even pagans and barbarians are men, and can claim that justice which nature's law intends equally for every human being. Thus Portugal could not justly demand trade privileges from Africans or Indians without conceding them a fair share in the profits of trade. As Christians they had the added obligation of offering these races a share in the most precious of their treasures, the Catholic faith.

At this very moment a young man of Manuel's age in Florence was beginning to formulate in his own mind and practice the lower view of state authority, which was characteristic of the pagan faction of the Renaissance, and has become the modern tradition of practical politics. This youth was Nicolò Machiavelli[23] He was four weeks older than King Manuel, but his philosophy of government was a leap back of centuries into the darker atmosphere of pagan Greece and Rome. In establishing new dominions or in consolidating the old, that only was wise which led to success. Conquerors never repented, no matter what means they adopted to secure victory. Lying, or propaganda as the moderns prefer to call it, treachery, cruelty and bad faith are sometimes inevitable weapons when the vital interests of the state are threatened. These views of Machiavelli, expounded summarily in his *Prince*, did not appear in print until eleven years after the death of Manuel. But they already represented the practice of those politicians and statesmen who stood for the pagan Renaissance.

Manuel's ideals have been delineated by Jerome Osorio, a secular priest who became Bishop of Silves and wrote a biography of the King, largely from his personal knowledge of him. He also wrote a reasoned reply to Machiavelli, four years after the publication of the *Prince*, entitled

De Nobilitate Christiana.[24] Osorio was a humanist whose Latin style evoked enthusiastic praise from his contemries. He showed that the Roman empire was not undermined by the meek doctrines of Christianity, as Machiavelli contended, but by an inexorable law of history; which teaches that time causes all great empires to crumble, since all purely human institutions have some weak spot where decay sets in sooner or later. The theologians were right (for example, Friar Luis de Leon) in saying that lies and injustices were not allowable even to save the state; because in fact square dealing always paid in the long run, even if the immediate result were a loss. These were fundamental tenets of the school of thought which prevailed in Portugal, and in which Manuel had been trained.

The voyage of exploration which he had now ordered was to raise some puzzling questions in the realm of just government and international law. But these complications were not yet in evidence. The present position was simple enough. The west African races were being conciliated with the best methods which the King could divise, whilst the war against the Moors was being prosecuted vigorously, wherever they were found committing hostile acts. It was hoped that a new ally in this campaign would be found in Prester John, but the wealth of Indian trade must be the keystone of the arch of all these plans. Such plans could not be pursued until the new fleet of four ships was ready, and that would take a full year. Before the King's Council ended its deliberations Manuel pressed upon their attention problems of home policy which clamoured for settlement, if he and his advisers were to be free to devote all their energies to schemes of foreign adventure. Parliament (the *Cortes*) must be called together so that the people could air their legitimate grievances, closer co-operation with Spain was worth discussing, the exiled Braganzas who had influential friends in Portugal must be conciliated, the Jewish problem was becoming acute and must be settled, and the aid of the Pope might well be invited to remove certain religious difficulties that were causing tension.

This programme entailed a good year's work. The council debated it all in the famous chamber, dadoed

with blue tiles, where so many historic resolutions had been taken in the past. Those blue tiles were almost a parable in the eyes of the King and his counsellors. The original idea came from Morocco in the fourteenth century, and at that time the decorations consisted of geometrical flourishes of every kind.

But whilst the Moors and Arabs rested content with these meaningless arabesques, the Portuguese had developed the new art beyond all recognition. First they introduced plants and conventional figures of animals, then Bibilical scenes, and later episodes of ecclesiastical and profane history.[25] Blue still remained the background of these tiles as a rule, but five other colours were gradually introduced to vary the theme. It was the abysmal difference between the stagnant mentality of the Muslim races and the dynamic alertness of the Portuguese mind, ever on the watch for new ideas and new worlds to conquer.

CHAPTER II.

Consolidating the Kingdom.

NOTHING important could be done in Portugal at this time without consulting the people, at least the people of Lisbon. Because Lisbon was Portugal then for practical purposes of external policy, as London was England and Paris later became France. In spite of the plague the estates of the realm were convoked at New Montemor. The secular clergy were represented by their prelates, the religious orders by abbots or other superiors, the nobility and landed gentry by selected members of their class, the military orders by their grand masters and the commoners by deputies from the various districts who were called *homens bons*.[26] It was from the last class that the most vocal opposition to the Indian expedition came.

In carrying the people with him Manuel had a more difficult task than the modern ruler, whether prime minister or president. Men in the mass were never more easily led than they are to-day; when a national government with the money bags at its disposal is able to create public opinion by radiophony and the syndicalised press, and to control the more active elements of opposition with an efficient police force, supplemented by the Scotland Yards and Gestapos of the new era. These developments of science were lacking in the sixteenth century.

Manuel's system was formulated by his friend Osorio.[27] "The king governs free men not slaves. But free men must be carried along, not by threats of fear, but by considerations of the public good." He felt the dead weight of a certain popular opposition to his schemes, but he hoped to counterpoise it by facts of increasing prosperity. Honours for the fidalgos, higher wages for the men and a better living for all were the arms that he hoped his captains would help him to forge, in order to silence the grumblers.

The scenes that accompanied the departure of Vasco da Gama for his first voyage show that much of this popular antagonism lasted to the end, and was not exorcised at once by Manuel's arguments. Crowds lamented and wept as the men wended their way in procession to the boats, and Barros writes that the approaches to the anchorage of Restêlo might well be called the, Beach of Tears.[28] The man in the street had no faith in the mysterious adventure which the king had sponsored and the woman in the street showed her detestation of it in the most unmistakeable manner.

Meantime Manuel was taking long views of the kind of preparation that Portugal needed for the great future that he hoped to see. When the season of Lent began, and the king gathered his family about him to the pleasant valley of Setubal in the favourite among his castles, the approaching season of Easter invited thoughts of reconciliation with the exiled Duke Alvaro of Braganza, and all the other exiled members of that branch of the royal family.

King John had executed the head of that branch for treason in favour of the Spanish King, and this seemed a fitting season to invite those willing to return to take their natural place in Portugal again. Alvaro had waxed rich in exile and had become the first President of the Council of Castile, winning a great reputation in this office, the highest next to the King of Spain.[29]

Manuel sent to his kinsman Dom Alvaro a warm letter of welcome in his own handwriting, but it contained a wise warning. Some of Alvaro's dependents in Portugal had been recalling the severe acts of the dead king, their cousin. This gossip must now stop, wrote Manuel, and he added that it would be punished in an exemplary manner in future;[30] as only by a complete oblivion of the past dissensions could real peace come to the country. Manuel has been called the Fortunate. But this and many similar acts show that the successes which he achieved were not so much the result of good fortune, as of an unusual wisdom in dealing with all classes of men.

The most difficult problem of internal order that faced him was the position of the Jews. In the acute form that it assumed at first it was an inheritance from his

predecessor. John II had allowed some two thousand Jewish families to settle in Portugal, when they were driven out of Spain. He gave them permission to remain only for a limited time, on the expiry of which they were to leave for Africa or elsewhere. As many of them were unable to leave, they became slaves. On Manuel's accession he restored these to freedom. It was a clear indication of his natural sense of humanity. The Jews wished to show their gratitude by presenting him with a large gift of money, but he refused to accept it for doing what he considered his duty as a Catholic king.[31]

But one year after this act of clemency the scene was changed. He had meantime received the offer of the hand of Princess Isabella of Spain. As the only heir to the Spanish throne had just died, and there was no hope that Ferdinand and Isabella would have other children, this meant that Manuel's children would now inherit the sovereignty of the whole Iberian peninsula. It was a dazzling prospect, but it contained a condition which caused him some qualms of conscience: the Jews must be expelled entirely from Portugal.[32]

Not wishing to take the sole responsibility for such a policy, Manuel appealed to his Privy Council for advice. Opinions were divided. Some urged the example of the popes, who allowed the Jews to live peacebly in the States of the Church; and they pointed out that the same policy was followed in the Italian republics, Hungary, Poland, and the German states. Only England and Spain had expelled them completely. After a long debate Manuel now sided with the party that condemned the Jews as secret traitors, extortioners and a danger to religion; and he fixed a date for their expulsion. Those who were unable to leave by the date fixed had to choose between slavery and baptism.

Among the members of the Council who denounced this proposal was the secular bishop Ferdinand Coutinho, who declared such baptisms to be null and void.[33] In Bishop Osorio's biography of Manuel this measure is condemned as an outrage on human freedom, and contrary to the spirit of Christ. More however than the King, Osorio blamed that section among the lawyers and ecclesiastics who advised him that his change of policy

was justified. Such men will always be found, he adds, where the favour of rulers or democracies is to be won.[34]

Manuel could not claim that such a measure was just; he merely demanded it as invitable in the interests of Portugal.[35] It is the same deplorable plea by which in our own day British, French, North American, German and South African politicians have asked their nations to ratify the most rank iniquities, in treaties forced upon defeated peoples. The leading contemporary writers of Portugal did at least denounce such acts as betrayals of Christian principle, refusing to become accomplices of their country when wrong.

Manuel at the moment was thinking only of the security and development of his kingdom. The price he paid for it will not have seemed execssive perhaps to this young and ambitious man, when he returned to Lisbon in 1498 as the son-in-law of Ferdinand the Great and father of the heir apparent of the thrones of Portugal and Spain. It was certainly too large a price to save his reputation as a completely consistent Christian. Modern statesmen usually have no such reputation to lose.

One extenuating circumstance must be noted in justice to Manuel. He steadfastly refused to allow those Jews who had conformed outwardly to the Christian faith to be further molested, even when they failed to practise the religion in which they did not believe. He agreed with the septuagenarian Bishop Coutinho, that no obligation of any kind can arise out of a forced baptism. Here he gave a stern lesson to some bigots of Lisbon in the year 1506.

A report got about one day that certain New Christians, as the conformist Jews were called, had made disparaging remarks about a miracle which some of the people believed to have occurred that day. Popular indignation was fanned by two popular friars; and a mob of all kinds broke loose, many of them being French and German sailors who had arrived in port that day. They wrought Lynch law in the most approved style of modern North America against all the Jews they met. A considerable number of Christians were also robbed and killed for defending their Jewish friends.

The King was on a visit to his mother at Beja when he

heard the news. He returned post-haste to Setubal, and sent two trusty fidalgos as special judges to enquire who was responsible for these misdeeds. Besides the friars, about fifty lay ringleaders were found guilty, and sentenced to death. The King came in person to Lisbon and confirmed the verdict. The laymen were all hanged. But the friars were treated to a more exemplary punishment. They were first degraded from their spiritual offices, then garroted, their bodies publicly burned and the ashes scattered to the winds. But the King had thus only driven the Jewish problem underground, and it became graver than ever during the reign of his son John III. The root cause of these disturbances, which was the hostility of the populace, towards an alien race which to them was always exotic, remained.

Many writers imbued with the doubtful dogmas of nineteenth-century economics have blamed two of Manuel's measures, as detrimental to the financial development of the country. They tell us that the restoration of the Braganzas and the expulsion of so many Jews were ruinous to the trade of Portugal. But neither of these assertions has ever been proved. Far from it.

Freire [37] gathered together much interesting material in the attempt to prove that the Braganzas were a serious liability, and he has certainly filled the debit side of the account with all the documentary evidence available. But he leaves out of account the much greater assets that they brought to Portugal: the family wealth which they brought from Spain, the immense value of an experienced and successful administrator like Dom Jaime de Braganza in the King's Council, the contribution of the Portuguese fidalgos trained in Spain, and the Spaniards like Anthony de Saldanha whose exploits in South Africa and India became famous. Before the discoveries of Diogo Cão and Bartholomew Dias the old Duke Ferdinand de Braganza had taken the side of Spain in the dispute with Portugal, declaring that the trade of Elmina was the common right of all nations. But since the agreement between Portugal and Spain his younger brother Dom Alvaro was a strong supporter of the new order, and anxious to invest some of his large fortune in the adventures of King Manuel, Alvaro's cousin.

These cumulative gains more than counterbalanced the loss of the considerable sums paid in tribute by the dwellers in the Jewish and Moorish quarters, called the *Judiarias* and *Mourarias*. The Jewish historian of the Portuguese Jews, Remedios, not only stresses the contribution that some of them made to the financial activity of a few of the former kings, but adds: "to the Jews we owe the first knowledge of philosophy, of botany, of medicine and of cosmography. To them is due the introduction of printing and the first books that were printed." Every item of this statement is false in fact, and unintelligible to those acquainted with the Latin culture of Portugal, already a thousand years old. Portuguese Christians had made Portugal what she was, a land in the forefront of human progress. The Jews, though they remained aliens, made some contribution to the work of the country; but it did not affect the main current of Portuguese evolution.

But it would be gravely unjust to conclude that King Manuel or the Portuguese people were the main cause of the tragedy of the Jewish race in Portugal. The Jews themselves were to some extent the unconscious source of their own woes; and this for two reasons: the fact of their being an alien minority and their racial characteristics. That the race had great qualities needs no further proof than the wonderful books of the Old Testament. But in an alien minority it is the defects of the race that irritate the national majority. And the Old Testament itself makes it abundantly clear what these defects were. They have been summed up by the greatest poet of the Restoration period in England:

> A headstrong, moody, murmuring race
> As ever tried the extent and stretch of grace;
> God's pampered people, whom, debauched with ease,
> No king could govern nor no God could please;
> Gods they had tried of every shape and size
> That goldsmiths could produce or priests devise.

Complete liberty could not be given them, as Dryden[38] implies, without disrupting the Portuguese state and Portuguese culture. That is a price that no statesman, ancient or modern, would pay for the unlimited freedom of an alien minority. The treaty of Versailles has shown

what more terrible sufferings Anglo-Saxon politicians were willing to inflict upon non-Jewish minorities, when they thought these sufferings inevitable in the political interests of their countries. Suffering is the badge of the minority tribe in every age and country, said one of the great English Liberals. If these Liberals of Versailles were consistent, they would blame King Manuel not for his severity but for his leniency in leaving the Jewish problem unsettled to his successor, when by drastic action at once he could have settled it for all time. With the exception mentioned Manuel's policy towards the Jews was not only just, but generous; and in the Jewish tradition he lives as their friend. These Jews experienced the unpleasant truth that it is rarely safe to jeer at an excited mob, as some rash persons discovered in our day when they jeered openly at Mr. Winston Churchill's statement, that the retreat of the British army from Dunkirk was a miracle.

Even those who judge the worth of national policy mainly on economic grounds must conclude that, in balancing the conflicting interests involved, Manuel did not fail his people in the choice of these two measures. The net result was a gain in national concord, in wealth acquired through the return of the Braganzas, and in the whole-hearted co-operation of Spain through a marriage with a daughter of the powerful sovereigns of that country. Manuel might have used the well-worn phrases of our later imperialists, and claimed that without these measures peace and prosperity would be a vain dream; and that the bygone conditions of the era of John II "were not in harmony with the economic or spiritual needs of the modern state", the empire which he was founding.

Determined to leave no stone unturned that could bring strength to his expanding empire, Manuel saw opportunities of help from Rome. First he remembered the influential cardinal, George da Costa, who had taken up his residence there during the reign of John II. That king conceived a violent bias against him on account of his great and legitimate influence over the mind of John's father, Afonso V. This antipathy became so marked that Costa thought it best to remain in Rome, though he was Archbishop of Lisbon.[39] Manuel knew his worth and

was anxious to have him back home. To this, however, the Pope would not agree, finding him too useful as an adviser. Cardinal da Costa had risen by talent from a very lowly family, and was one of the three worthiest candidates for the papacy at the previous conclave.

When, however, the Portuguese envoy Pero Corrêa came to Rome, the Portuguese cardinal used all his influence to press Manuel's other requests upon the attention of the Pope. These requests were two. In the first place Manuel asked the Pope to abolish the vow of celibacy which was customary in the military orders of Christ and Aviz. In the beginning there had been good reasons for this vow, as the knights needed to be men of wholly devoted character with one absorbing task in view. But now that the Muslim invader had been expelled they were just ordinary noblemen; and it was in the public interest that they should have families and live the normal life of men of their class.

Not everyone in Portugal was in favour of this relaxation of discipline. Some thought it would lower the tone of the great historic orders, bringing into them men of inferior type. But most people agreed with the king that times had changed, rendering this vow an anachronism, or in Pacheco's words a dangerous farce. The Pope agreed, and the rule of celibacy was abolished in all the military orders except the Hospitallers, who apparently did not desire the change.[40]

The main object of Corrêa's mission, however, was something more important than relief for the consciences of a few noble knights. Manuel regarded himself as a crusader, the latest of a line of crusading kings who had always championed the cause of Christ and his Church. This claim had been recognised by Pope Nicolas V in 1452, two years later by Callixtus V, in 1471 by Sixtus IV; and in 1486 Innocent VIII had appealed to all classes to help John II in his African enterprises, which were conducted in a crusading spirit. Manuel desired that Christendom should recognise its champion in him, and formally endorse the claim which he had inherited.

His first plans evidently included a share in the campaign against the Turks in Europe. At the moment he saw difficulties that made him hesitate to take an active

part in the Mediterranean, until the other leading powers should show more zeal in the matter. But he hoped that he might yet lead the European crusade in person with the support of the Pope.

The Venetian ambassador, Dominic Pisani, gives a lively description of Manuel's ambition, as he saw it in 1501.[41] At Lisbon Manuel took Pisani with his secretary alone into a room apart, in order to discuss this delicate question with him frankly. "He sounded me", writes Pisani in his official report, "to know whether the Signoria would ask the Pope to invite him to lead this crusade personally next year, as this year he is fully engaged in Fez. He is only twenty years old, and he spoke to me very charmingly, as a son would express a dear wish to his father.[42]" Meantime in order to show his good will, he was sending a contingent of noblemen, not mercenaries, to join the Doge's forces.[43]

Five years later Manuel came nearer to the realisation of this youthful ambition of his. A most flattering letter was written to him by a man after his own heart, Gonzalo Ximenes de Cisneros, Archibishop of Toledo.[44] With the approval of his own king, Ximenes proposed a meeting in Lisbon, at which the kings of Spain and England were to be present, in order to deal finally with the Turks. In a few weeks a letter followed from the Pope, suggesting a truce among the kings of Europe until this triple alliance carried out its task of expelling the alien intruders from Europe. Manuel replied eagerly to Ximenes that he relied more upon him that upon the mightiest sovereign in Europe. It is a token of the excellent judgment of the young king. Ximenes was in fact a statesman in the only sense that makes the word respectable. Edmund Burke,[45] who had unbounded admiration for him, has noted and adopted a main feature of his statecraft. "We, who are at the head, act; in God's name let those who are at the other end, talk". The policy of Ximenes was clear and determined. But Henry VII of England was too old and worn at the age of fifty to join in this campaign. Yet the cardinal of seventy years, unable now to carry out his whole plan, organised an expedition against the aggressive Muslim pirates of Oran, and rooted out that dangerous nest of disturbers of the peace of Europe.

The whole experience confirmed Manuel in the conviction with which he began his reign; that Portugal's real work must be in the Indian Ocean, and that only a consolidated nation could fulfill that destiny fully. Hence his anxiety for the Pope's continued encouragement in his schemes of expansion. And this despite the fact that the ear of Manuel had been gained by the political enemies of the reigning pope Alexander VI; among whom we must reckon Ferdinand the Catholic King of Spain and the princes in Italy with their dependent scholars, who heaped upon the personal character of that pontiff every aspersion that the bitterness of defeated politicians can prompt or invent. Believing these extravagant tales to be true, Manuel persuaded by Ferdinand addressed to Alexander VI a strong remonstrance on this subject of his private life, respectful but plain speaking.

Every educated Catholic knew how to distinguish between respect for the highest office in the church and respect for the person of anyone who might bear that office unworthily. Two centuries before this St. Thomas Aquinas had made the distinction perfectly clear.[46] "To reverence any man in so far as he works against God or His commandements is not praiseworthy; and in this scripture (Ecclus, c. 48, v. 13) praises Elias or Elisaeus 'because he feared not the prince.'"

The standpoint of the cultured and devout man of the day was voiced by John de Barros, writing of events in India. His words may be thus abbreviated. "There were many unfaithful prophets under the Old Law in Israel, as the Bible tells. They sometimes admonished kings and princes that God commanded a certain course, when it was prompted by their personal interests. We see that God permits something similar to happen at times even in the Church of Christ. For the Christian community consists of two swords, the spiritual and the temporal. These powers sometimes fall into the hands of incompetent persons, who interchange them: ploughing with the sword and fighting with the plough. The error of this abuse brings its own chastisement.[47]" But the two Iberian kings felt that the papacy, even if perchance it fell into the hands of an unworthy heir, was the greatest potentiality for good among human institutions.

What the Portuguese king asked of the Pope was to confirm by his supreme authority in the Church the approval given by his predecessors to the Portuguese policy of expansion. This would help to steady the people, and prompt many to make sacrifices which were necessary for the success of the India expedition. Alexander willingly complied; both because he rejoiced in the prospect of the extension of the Church, and because he was endorsing rights legitimately acquired by Portugal in accordance with the principles of international law, as then generally recognised.[48]

The king was thankful for this assistance. For Lisbon was at loggerheads with itself about the expedition. The populace, the foreign colonies of Venetians and Castilians frowned upon it; but the fidalgos, the Genoese and the Florentines, who were the largest colonies of foreigners in Lisbon, were enthusiastic. Two Florentine bankers,[49] Jerome Sernigi and Bartholomew Marchioni who were naturalised citizens of Portugal, offered to support the king with capital when he should need it. In this balance of power between conflicting interests Manuel had the right of decision, and he exercised it without hesitation. With a politically consolidated kingdom at his back he did not fear the risks of external adventure.

Thus Portugal began to reap the fruits of her steady constitutional growth to complete nationhood, the first of modern nations to attain that status. King Manuel put the finishing touches to a process of natural development in free institutions, which was mostly due to the legal wisdom, the political instinct and the Christian principles of his predecessors. Portugal's position in Europe was assured, and she coveted nothing that belonged to the other nations of Europe.

Her advantageous position is best measured, when compared to that of her neighbour across the North Atlantic, the England of Henry VII. By turning the crown into a dictatorship he had arrested the constitutional evolution of the English nation. This had been developing normally since the days of Edward I, when in 1295 the memorable parliament of the three estates met at Bury St. Edmunds, and refused to give the king any more money to carry on his war against France. The

House of Commons had now been brought to heel by Henry VII, in order to serve as a tool for the purposes of the greater landowners and the king. The era of personal monarchy began, which was to last for nearly two centuries. This left the English people, or rather their master the king, little inclination for foreign enterprise during the agitated period of the Tudor dictators. Portugal had peace at home under a well-beloved king of undisputed right to the throne, and she was able to count upon the free team-work of all her sons, to fulfill her manifest destiny on the oceans.

CHAPTER III.

To India by the Cape Route: Vasco da Gama.

THIRTEEN months passed after the king had given orders for the building of the ships, before he appointed the leader of the expedition. Vasco da Gama was selected in January of 1497.[50] He was not a sailor, but a nobleman of the king's household.

He was born in the seaport town of Sines, where his family had prospered in business and the civil service; so that he was accustomed to handle sailors though not a sailor himself. For nautical advice he was given the assistance of the most expert pilot of the day, Pero d'Alenquer, who had guided the ship of Bartholomew Dias to the Cape of Good Hope and back. Gama thought that pilots, who were the chief scientists of that day, were a necessary evil, as they were all a bit mad. It was for his qualifications as a leader of men that Gama was chosen to command this fleet.

The chief captain, as he was now named, was a man of middle height, inclined to stoutness and every inch a gentleman. He had a will of iron, was a bachelor, of a tough physique that had been well tested, being bold as well as resourceful in initiative. His gravest fault was a certain harshness in discipline, and when opposed he was inexorable in demanding obedience. His faults as well as his virtues commended him to the king for this unique task.

Manuel was determined to take no more risks, such as John II had taken when he appointed Dias. The first admiral had proved too pliable, and had gone further than John intended in listening to the views of the sailors. A leader of sterner stuff was now needed. In King John's lifetime he thought that he had set eyes on the right sort of man shortly after the return of Dias. This was Stephen da Gama, father of Vasco and commandant of the fortress of Sines. He was a man after John's own heart: stern in manner, but kind-

hearted in reality and somewhat negligent of what the King called fripperies, namely, the new fashions in ornamental gloves, dyed beards, scents and periwigs. His skin was toasted by work in all weathers, "not pampered like a woman's face", as John once said.[15]

Both John and Manuel decided that Stephen da Gama was the man for the work. Now that he was dead, Manuel thought that he saw in his third son Vasco a chip of the old block. As far back as 1492 Vasco had shown his metal in the unflinching promptitude with which he interned, by way of reprisal for piracy, all French ships that called at ports in the province of Algarve.[52]

When Vasco da Gama came to Extremoz, where the court was holiday making at the beginning of 1947, to receive this appointment, he reminded the King that he had a certain right to it as the son of his father. In memory of that stout old servant of the crown Vasco begged that he might be allowed to take his elder brother Paul with him, as a captain. In his difficult task he would thus find perfect co-operation, as they were united not only by blood but by a rare affection. Thus Paul da Gama was made captain of the *Saint Raphael*, whilst Vasco chose the *Saint Gabriel* for his flagship.

The *Berrio* was evidently intended for the scouting ship of the fleet, as her small size would enable her to go up any river; and she was commanded by Nicolas Coelho, who already had the reputation of being the most daring of captains. Control of the large and nameless storeship was given to Gonsalo Nunes,[53] a retainer of the Gama family. The ships were not big, because lightness was considered essential in the exploratory work that they set out to do. But the scale of salaries and the perfection of equipment were so unprecendented, writes Pacheco who took part in the preparations, "that I prefer not to enter into financial details, lest they should sound extravagant or seem incredible".

All the technical preparations for this voyage had been arranged by the King before Vasco da Gama was appointed, but Bartholomew Dias was consulted all along. The Board of Cosmographers, which King John had founded, formed a standing body, and they possessed

records of all the voyages for fifty years back at least. Among the maps which they supplied to Gama's pilots the most treasured must surely have been that made nine years before by Dias under the shadow of Table Mountain. Astrolabes and nautical almanacs were the other aids to navigation which they were constantly perfecting.

The astrolabe had been known for a thousand years in Christian Europe. In the fifth century Bishop Synesius of Cyrene invented a better one that that of Ptolemy ; Pope Sylvester II whilst still a secular priest studied the making of astrolabes in Spain of the tenth century, and Adelard of Bath dedicated a treatise on the subject of Henry II of England in the twelfth century.[54] But the Portuguese had made giant strides in the practical use of this instrument during the fifteenth century, and left the mere astronomers and mathematicians far behind. The Bishop of Tangiers, Diogo Ortiz,[55] superintended the scientific preparations for this journey with the long experience that he had in speeding the expedition of Bartholomew Dias.

Whilst Portuguese writers are silent about the invaluable assistance that he must have received from Portuguese scientists of the type of Rui Faleiro and Pacheco, we do hear of the contributions of the German Martin Behaim and the Jewish author Abraham Zacuto. As Behaim came from the famous school of astronomical instruments founded by Müller of Königsberg at Nürnberg, he was able to devise a new adaptation of the astrolabe for use on both land and sea.

Corrêa describes [56] the principal role of Zacuto as that of astrologer, advising the King what the planets said about his chances of success in reaching the goal of India. But such superstition is difficult to reconcile with the character of King Manuel, as described by the three writers who knew him best, whereas Corrêa lived most of his time in India. Zacuto did however publish one of the many nautical almanacs then in use.[57] It was translated from the original Hebrew into Latin in 1496, possibly as one of the aids for Vasco da Gama's pilots. But pilots like Pero d'Alenquer, John of Coimbra and Pero d'Escolar, were geniuses who made up for the

contemporary deficiencies of instruments and charts by their personal resources and character.

The appointment of a writer, or clerk, for each of the ships shows the King's purpose to have a first-hand record of the trade happenings and other data of this voyage. As the storeship was to be broken up when they reached Mossel Bay, it was not deemed necessary to place a clerk on her. On the other ships this office was filled by Diogo Dias (Bartholomew's brother), John de Sà and Alvaro da Braga. Only one eye-witness account of the journey has survived the severe censorship exercised by the Portuguese government over the lucrative data that it possessed; and this is a most valuable log-book, the famous *Reteiro*, first published at Lisbon in 1858.

It would seem to be the work of John de Sà, the writer of the *Saint Raphael*. The narrative shows that the author was on Paul da Gama's ship. The fact that he speaks much about Christians in Calicut and elsewhere is no contradiction of the statement ascribed to John de Sà by Castanheda[58]: that Hindu temples did not look very Christian. There were undoubtedly then many Christians in India; but a first visit under the harrowing conditions of Vasco da Gama's fleet did not enable anyone to say how many they were, or what the quality of their Christianity was.

It was then more useful to note that the King's surmise about there being Christians in India had been verified. Corrêa tells[59] us that all the captains of this fleet instructed their pilots to set down the landmarks of the coast, to question the local Arab pilots on doubtful points, to record the names of towns, kingdoms and rivers, and all other details that might be useful to the fleets that should come after. This is precisely what is done by John de Sà in the *Roteiro*, presumably at the dictation of the pilot John of Coimbra. This lends a certain fitness to the fact that the chief manuscript of this important work was found in the monastery of Sancta Cruz of Coimbra, the pilot's home.

But Corrêa hints at the existence of other reports of this voyage of Vasco da Gama which have been lost. He himself was inspired to compose his history, entitled *Lendas da India*, through his discovery of another diary

which had been written by one of the eight chaplains of Vasco da Gama's fleet, a secular priest named John Figueira. At Malindi this priest was at the point of death, and handed his manuscript to the captain; who when the priest recovered, encouraged him to continue it. Corrêa found a torn copy among the papers of Afonso de Albuquerque, when the historian was Albuquerque's secretary. The priest's style was so agreeable that it incited Corrêa to emulate him, and afterwards to outdistance him by telling the whole history of India. Many of Corrêa's picturesque details about Vasco da Gama are due to this manuscript, the original of which has vanished.

The minor preparations for the Indian expedition were left in the hands of Vasco da Gama himself. Amongst these we may place the search for three interpreters. Ferdinand Martins, who had long been a prisoner among the Moors of north Africa, was the Arabic interpreter; and Martin Afonso was thought capable of dealing with the native tribes, as he had seen much service in the Congo. The third interpreter was a converted Jew named John Nunes, who also had a knowledge of Arabic.[61]

Counting officers and sailors, 148 men boarded the four ships.[62] If Vasco da Gama did not enlist them all, he exorted all the sailors to learn some other useful trade as well; so that they might serve as carpenters or rope makers or caulkers or blacksmiths. For this purpose he provided them with tools of the craft they elected to learn, whilst waiting for the ships to sail. During this time he increased their pay from five to seven cruzados. There was no notion then that they might have to fight their way to their objectives. Their numbers were too small for such a purpose, and their war apparatus sufficient only for defence.

Their last act on land indicates how they regarded the expedition as a trade embassy and a crusade, mainly with the sword of the spirit. Whilst the ships were lying at anchor in Restêlo, and the favourable north wind was due at any moment, Vasco da Gama and his captains kept their vigil one Friday night in the Church of Our Lady of Bethlehem. This was one of the most remarkable churches in Christendom. In appearance it was a plain,

even humble chapel for the use of seafaring men ; as the gorgeous pile of Belem now on the same spot came later, when Manuel made it a votive offering for the success of this very expedition. But this plain building was the seat of greater spiritual jurisdiction than most of the renowned cathedrals of Europe. The popes, entreated by Prince Henry and his successors, had constituted it a kind of cathedral of Africa, America and Asia,[63] wherever the Portuguese might place the Cross of Christ. The parish priest of this church, under the Grand Master of the Order of Christ, looked upon half the world as his parish, either in fact or in prospect.

Next morning, the eighth of July, 1497, all Lisbon flocked to the square which lay between the chapel and the shore, two thousand paces deep. A solemn procession of sailors, captains and priests, wended its way to the ships, singing litanies as they went.[64] Kneeling upon the shore the captains and the crews received the blessing of the Church from the Vicar of Belem. Only when the ships began to move did the voice of the opposition find its fullest expression. Camoens has represented it as the lament of one old man[65] whereas all who had friends or relatives in this risky adventure were sad at heart, and did not disguise their feelings.

Exactly four months after leaving Lisbon[66] all the ships cast anchor on the eighth of November in St. Helena Bay, which they thus named the day before, when they first sighted it lying at the mouth of the Great Berg River. Their navigation was very confident in this first part of their journey, since they had all the information they needed. Gama's pilot was the first to discover that forty degrees south of the equator the wind almost always blows from the west. They had yet to find out that vigilance day and night was required, as Pacheco notes, to be on guard against the sudden squalls between Cape Verde and the Cape of Good Hope. By way of the Canaries and the Cape Verde Islands they had made a wide sweep, first due south and then east, until they sighted the shore near Port Nolloth.[67]

Failing to identify this locality either by soundings, or through Alenquer's memory of his last visit to this coast under Dias, they put out to sea again. But they had

indications enough to know that they were near the Cape of Good Hope ; so they drew together to share their joy, dressed the ships in gala flags and fired festive volleys from the guns.

Three days later they were anchored in St. Helena Bay, probably at Velddrif, and they called the River of St. James what we have since named the Berg River. By this time the ships were in need of cleaning and repairs ; so they heeled them over on the beach, which was their method of improvising a dry docks. This work took them a whole week ; but at this season of the year work was a sheer delight, especially after their long fight with the Atlantic and its caprices. They had left Lisbon at the worst possible time for sea travelling, an error which they thus learned to amend, leaving ever afterwards in or about April instead of July ; but they had come to South Africa when spring was mature and still lovely. The birds, flowers and climate recalled the happiest months in their own beloved Portugal ; and the sheep, dogs, goats and cattle added an even homelier touch to the scene.

Whilst the artisans and sailors were working at the ships, the pilots were preparing to take the first recorded measurement of a latitude in South Africa proper. They had brought with them one of the up-to-date astrolabes, with which the name of Martin Behaim is specially associated.[68] There is reason to believe that the perfected astrolabe was first used by Behaim at Cape Cross, when he went there with Diogo Cão in 1483, and that he reported the results to the king, though no record of them remains.

Behaim was not at the Cape now because he was a ruined man, on account of a domestic tragedy which overtook him through the intrigues of a financier named Ferdinand d'Evora[69] Having fallen out with the king also for political reasons, Behaim died at Lisbon in 1507. But his astrolabe was utilised by the pilots and the experienced captain Nicolas Coelho. It was Coelho who later in this voyage, at Mozambique, called Genoese needles the compasses in possession of the Arab pilot, thus showing that the Portuguese had nothing to learn from the East in the art of navigation.

Accurate reading of the degrees on the old astrolabes

was difficult; because as yet the Portuguese had no instrument capable of registering small variations, such as Peter Nunes invented a few years later. But they now attained the same purpose in a more cumbersome way. Behaim's astrolabe had very large circles, being 27 inches in diameter. It was too large and unwieldy for use at sea, but well suited for observations on land.[70]

We do not know the exact spot in St. Helena Bay where this instrument was set up. It was suspended from a wooden tripod, which held it like a crane.[71] If the astrolabe was erected at Velddrif, then the error of the pilots in making their estimate was only one of about fifteen minutes in excess of the real latitude. "The sun's meridian altitude measured was 76° 20′, which gave a zenith distance at 13° 40′. The declination found from the table was 19° 20′ S.; so by adding this to the zenith distance the resulting latitude was 33° 0′ S.". According to the latest survey of the British Admiralty Velddrif is situated in latitude 32° 46′ S. The expert writer just quoted[72] tells us of his own experiments with similar old-fashioned instruments. "I have on several occasions made altitude observations with rough homemade instruments of the astrolabe type, to see what could be reasonably expected, and have found that with care it is possible to get a latitude with an error not exceeding five to seven minutes, taking a mean of several readings". If this is the predicament of a modern worker with the old instruments, the comparative smallness of the error of Pero D'Alenquer and his assistants does them great credit. This credit is not diminished even if they had, as Gaspar Corrêa says, a copy of the notes that Bartholomew Dias made during his stay in the Cape Peninsula.[73]

Whilst they were thus engaged, the wild inhabitants of the country displayed a keen interest in their operations. To the Portuguese these Hottentots were a revelation. None of the official interpreters could make anything of their language, so they fell back upon the basic human language of signs. The diarist of the expedition describes the tawney hue of this unknown race, their food of roots or wild honey or fish, or springbok when they could get it, their shyness of the white man, and their spears which

have ever since been known by the Portuguese name of assegais.

Despite the complete indifference of the Hottentots to the trade samples of the new comers, Gama and his men displayed a real humanity in trying to make friends with them. Two lads of sailors were told off to amuse them, and they were coaxed to visit the ships, where they were entertained with the best fare that the Portuguese could give them. The natives were most attracted by the metal bells and tin rings. The Portuguese were amused and puzzled by the whimsical clicks of the Hottentot language; "When they speak they seem to hiccough", is the capital description of it.

But all this goodwill on the part of the Portuguese was not enough to prevent a clash, on this first recorded occasion when they met the aboriginal natives of South Africa. The name of the soldier Ferdinand Veloso has acquired a tragicomic notoriety through this event. Goes describes him as an honourable man. But evidently he had the touch of foolishness which is sometimes left over in the composition of honourable men. He was inquisitive enough to wish to know how the Hottentots lived in their kraals, and went alone with them across a hill near at hand.[74] In the afternoon he was seen rushing towards the ships with the natives in full cry behind him. A scrimmage ensued in which Vasco da Gama and a few others were wounded, but no one was killed on either side.

The real cause of the quarrel remains obscure, perhaps because no one knew even at the time what had happened. This is indeed the characteristic of many wars, including some of the most modern. Misunderstanding and mutual fear created the inflammable atmosphere, in which a thoughtless person like Veloso might let loose a devastating spark. Were the Hottentots offended at his refusal to eat the seal meat which they cooked for him? Was he right in thinking that they were trying to ambush him? Bishop Osorio writes severely that one frightened fool ruined the freindly relations that the Portuguese had established with these natives. The author of the *Roteiro* holds that it happened "because we regarded them as a poor-spirited lot, and had therefore

gone ashore without our weapons". No contemporary writer shows any bitterness towards the Hottentots over this incident. Camoens has immortalised Veloso in fifty verses, but it is the immortality of a clown. The good sense of Vasco da Gama prevented a conflagration.

He only thought of the matter as an annoying episode, but not nearly so annoying as the furious south-easter that greeted them, when they set sail again at daybreak on the sixteenth of November. High winds were the implacable enemies of the sailing vessel. The pilots tacked about, looking for the Cape which they knew they must soon double, yet not daring to come too near the reefy shore. The only close view they got of it was on the following Wednesday, when they looked into the spacious Gulf Between the Mountains[75], the appropriate name which they gave our False Bay. Then they knew that they were passing south of the great Cape of Good Hope, and they pushed on to Mossel Bay, where they anchored on the twenty-fifth of November.

Here they expected a hostile reception; for here Bartholomew Dias, mild man though he was, had been compelled to kill one of the natives in self-defence with his cross-bow; because a dangerous crowd volleyed stones at him as he was taking water from a stream. As Gama's ship sailed in, about ninety Hottentots appeared, some on the slopes of the hill and others along the beach. The Portuguese threw presents to them on the sands; and were agreeably surprised when the natives gathered up the bells, red caps and trinkets, and even accepted them out of their hands. In their surprise the sailors imagined that "the men at St. Helena Bay must have sent them word that we are not dangerous, and that we give things for nothing". But the subsequent conduct of the Hottentots made it clear, that this was only the species of friendly diplomacy that covers hostile intentions.

At first the natives bartered their ivory bangles and a few cattle for the trinkets they coveted. The ivory indicated that elephants were roaming here then. The Hottentots performed on their goras and danced to this accompaniment, whilst on the boats the sailors responded by dancing to the sound of trumpets, When these

amicable gestures were accomplished, Vasco da Gama sent the interpreter Martin Afonso to do some further bargaining. Whilst the old men parleyed, the young men crouched in the bush with their assegais, the women remaining on the hills behind as interested spectators. The sharp eye of the chief captain noted the defiant attitude of the Hottentot spokesmen, when they came to discuss the water which the Portuguese were taking; and how the natives began to drive their cattle away. He landed some bowmen in support of the interpreter and drew the ships together for safer defence. Then the Hottentots retired slowly and deliberately. "To prove that we were able though unwilling to hurt them," two small cannon were fired off from the flagship.

Artillery was in its infancy yet. The two bombards that Vasco da Gama used were small bronze cannons, short and wide in the bore. They discharged large stone balls, the supply of which the bombardiers could replenish from the countries they visited. This witchcraft, as the natives must have thought it, sent them scampering into the bush with their cattle. It was surely the fear of some witchcraft of the same kind that had already impelled ten or twelve Hottentots to pull down the pillar and cross, which Dias had erected on a neighbouring eminence. Gama however was not looking for cheap victories over the natives, but for the way to India. So they set sail once more on the seventh of December.

The faint winds now prevailing took them only as far as the Great Brak River, where they remained until the next day. Then the wind freshened again and they continued their journey. By the following Tuesday it became a hurricane which fortunately lasted only one day. Thus they were able to recognise the places on shore where Dias had erected his cross, where the fateful decision to turn back had been taken, and finally the terminus of the Chalumna River.[76] Such however was the insidious power of the currents on this coast, coupled with the wind, that they found themselves a second time at Cape Padrone, when they thought they had left it 180 miles behind. This was on the twentieth of December. On Christmas Day they sailed along the coasts of Pondo-

land and Natal, and the latter has been known as Christmas Land (Natal) ever since.

Camoens, as becomes an epic poet of the classical tradition, sings of this expedition as though every ship carried a cargo of heroic supermen. What else could a poet do who was steeped in the tradition of Virgil and Homer? None of the official histories except Osorio's give any hint of difficulties between Gama and his men. The captain and fidalgos indeed never wavered[77] and were prepared to spend the rest of their lives on the sea rather than turn back. But in the case of the rank and file perfect peace on board seems unlikely to anyone with a knowledge of human nature in the bulk. Think of the poor food these men lived on, the scanty clothing that they wore, the cold winds of the South African coast, the herding together for months in the limited space of these cockleshells, the violent storms that kept them at work for days at a stretch without sleep, above all the bleakness of an enterprise which to them seemed to have no end. These were conditions that would fray the nerves of the boldest seamen. This lends great likelihood to the substance of the lurid picture that Gaspar Corrêa draws about the mutinies of this coast.

In India Corrêa talked with many of the men who sailed in these ships, and this is the class of detail that they would not easily forget. Of course the *Roteiro* writer would not mention revolt, even if he knew all about it, as his was a business chronicle. Hence we may well believe that there was some wild talk about mutiny, in which one of the pilots was specially implicated. Vasco da Gama took resolute and effective measures with the rebels; and was seconded with more persuasive methods by his popular brother, Paul, and by the priests on board. At a critical moment the Chief Captain put the pilot in irons, and threw his navigating instruments overboard; so that the men might understand that there was no chance of their returning upon the home routes marked on the charts.

The immediate danger over, he appealed to the sailors as men and Christians. He confided to them that leaving Lisbon he had vowed to God to reach India or perish. He asked them to remember that they were Portuguese.

men of a noble race; that it would be treason to their king to frustrate his plans; and that as Catholics they should show more trust in God's guiding hand. Thus his iron will stiffened the resolution of his men and carried them with him. Backwards he would not go, even if he had to face death a hundred times.

One of these moments of crisis came three days after passing the coast of Natal. They went out into the high seas, remaining out of sight of the land for a fortnight, when the supply of water gave out. They were compelled to return to the coast and seek an anchorage. On the eleventh of January, 1498, they entered a small river between Delagoa Bay and Cape Corrientes, which we call the Inharrime, though some writers have identified it with the Zavora River. No place has received more names than this from the early travellers.[78] It was called the Copper River because of the many bangles of this metal that the natives wore on their arms, legs and even twined in their hair; also the River of Sweet Peace because of the friendly attitude of the natives. Barros prefers to call it the River of the Magi, as it was discovered within the octave of the feast of Epiphany, when the three Magi figure prominently in the liturgy of the Church. The swarming hinterland was named Land of the Good People and also Land of the Petty Chiefs. This last designation was afterwards corrupted into the Land of Smoke; because of the similarity between the Portuguese word for smoke (fumo) and the local Bantu word for petty chief (mfumo). The ornaments of the natives indicated that tin and ivory were abundant here. The friendly reception of the fine Kafir tribes in this region, the abundant poultry and the corn soothed the storm-shaken sailors. They tarried five days to enjoy their good fortune. A local tradition of Inhambane identifies this district with the Land of the Good People.

For six days after they left this land the Indian Ocean offered them the exhilarating sight of one of its placid humours: enough wind to speed them on their errand and sunshine all the way. They still had to work hard at the pumps however, because the ships were well battered, but it was comparatively pleasant work in these changed conditions.

They sailed across the long bight of which Sofala is the deepest indentation, and of which the delta of the Zambesi is the northermost part. If they had known that golden Sofala was so near, they would never have passed it by. Their course took them to a large river near the spot where Quelimane now stands. It was evidently the most northern estuary of the Zambesi, which according to Friar John dos Santos received from Vasco da Gama the name of River of the Good Omens.[79]

The low country here was fresh with vegetation and thickly studded with big trees. The impression made upon the men, as they entered the bay, was so pleasing that they called it the River of Mercy. Food of all kinds was plentiful. It was badly needed, as a general outbreak of scurvy was taking place, of which many died. Barros does not spare us details of the new disease. "The flesh of their gums grew so much, that it no longer fitted into their mouths; and, as it grew, it rotted". But sentimental reasons were not uppermost in the mind of Vasco da Gama, when he gave it the name it still bears on Portuguese maps, the Rio dos Bons Sinaes. Signs of success were what he was looking for. The first signal of happy omen was given unconsciously by the chiefs who came to the ships on the third day after their arrival. "One of them had a cap with borders and embroidery of silk, and another had a cap of green satin; which was a sign to our men that they were coming near to India, and they were all very glad." So writes Damian de Goes, echoing the *Roteiro*. The men also knew that these were Indian goods. But the good news did not stop there. A young Kafir who could speak some Arabic explained to the Chief Captain, that he came from a distant country, where there were ships exactly like those of the Portuguese.

Vasco da Gama decided that this was a suitable place to give the ships another thorough overhauling, as the men found it easy to work here and would benefit by a long stay. The ships were beached and a scaffolding placed over them, so that they could be scraped and painted. The timbers inside and outside were renewed where necessary, the yards and spars repaired. A boiler for tar was fitted up and all the seams tested, and where loosened caulked. The work took them 32 days. To

put them in good humour for work, the Chief Captain announced a full pardon for all muntineers, subject to the king's later approval, when they returned home.[80]

Hence the pillar of Saint Raphael which they erected here was something more than one of the customary beacons of international law that dotted the east and west coasts of Africa, beginning with those of Diogo Cão. This was a thank-offering for the guidance of God and the intercession of Saint Raphael, after whom the ship of Paul da Gama was called. In those days of feverish travelling Saint Raphael was the angelic comforter and friend of travellers. The choice of the name was the outcome of the Portuguese familiarity with the Catholic Bible, which gives the dramatic story of how that disguised messenger of the Lord, Raphael the Archangel, accompanied the younger Tobias in his perilous journey to the land of the Medes. No trace of the stone of this *padrão* has ever been found. Barros simply says that the name of St. Raphael was engraved on it. But to express the joy of these now happy travellers, it might well have had inscribed the words of St. Raphael in the Bible: "it is good to hide the secret of the king, but honourable to reveal and confess the works of God.[81]"

The description of Corrêa may be taken to supplement that of Barros. " The Chief Captain dug a hole in a stone slab at the entrance of the river, and set up a marble pillar which had two armorial shields : one containing the arms of Portugal, the other representing the armillary sphere. Upon the stone was engraved an inscription which read : ' under the dominion of Portugal, a kingdom of Christians." ' These last words were singularly fitting for the mouth of the Zambesi, which was to become the central artery of their most successful missionary labours. It was also the last port of call before they met the hostile Muslim of the Indian Ocean.

CHAPTER IV.*

Vasco da Gama Meets the Arabs.

The year in which Vasco da Gama left Lisbon is marked by a great change in the relations between the Portuguese government and its Muslim subjects. If Manuel had been a modern politician, he might have broadcast that the interests of Christian civilisation demanded the expulsion of most of the Moors, and the tighter control of those permitted to remain.[82] But the fifteenth century was not so credulous of such statements as the twentieth. Manuel moreover being a straightforward politician, though ruthless in this matter, gave the real reason. It was the price of a closer alliance with the powerful kingdom of Spain.

What he considered to be the vital interests of the state required it, and he would not allow the interests of individuals or classes to obstruct the common good. The measures he actually took were greatly mitigated by the fear of reprisals on the part of the Muslim states of the Mediterranean, where many Portuguese resided. But the net result was that a less tolerant spirit towards the Moors prevailed than had been the case for centuries. It was akin (though not so savage) to the spirit of the first world war, when enemy subjects even civilians, were expelled or imprisoned in concentration camps, or sometimes killed by mobs; and in any case deprived of their property and goods. This atmosphere must have had its effect upon Vasco da Gama and his company, and heightened their traditional antagonism to the races which had once oppressed Portugal for a period of centuries.

The travellers left the Zambesi on the twenty-fourth of February, 1498. The next anchorage brought them to an Arab settlement. One Friday morning, the second of March, the scouting ship *Berrio* was making for a large bay when the captain, Nicolas Coelho, miscalculated the position of an island across the entrance, and the ship's

tiller was smashed by striking a sandbank. From this he soon freed his ship. It was the island that we now know as Mozambique. The accident to the *Berrio* gave time for seven or eight sailing boats to come out and greet the new arrivals. Some of them trumpetted their welcome on the primitive musical instruments of the Arabs called *anafils*.

All the Portuguese ships then cast anchor within easy reach of the chief town, settling two bowshots off the shore. Vasco da Gama took this risk because he was anxious to gain all the information possible through friendly intercourse. Those who came aboard the ships were treated generously. There were presents of fine garments from the Italian looms for the leading men, and wine and food for all. When Gama found that the only language they could speak was Arabic, he became more wary, but remained as friendly as possible in manner. He soon found that he had to deal with four classes of people. The natives, who lived on the mainland were the same as those whom he had just left ; but they were not much in evidence, and clearly subject to those who spoke Arabic. There were a few white Moors, or Arabs, visitors who had brought four dhows into the port laden with merchandise from India, and from India there were also a few Mohammedans and two Christians.

But the masters of the land were the "red Moors," dressed in striped cotton garments with elaborate embroideries of silk and gold.[83] They were evidently Swahili chiefs from the north, who could not have made an ancient settlement there, since Ibn Batuta knows nothing of them in the careful description of his visit to the east coast a century before this. The Arab Chronicle of Kilwa informs us that Mozambique was a dependency of that sultanate.[84]

These were the people who counted in Mozambique, and the ruler was a sheikh called by the Portuguese writers Zacoeja. He came on board with a great noise of trumpets, dressed in multi-coloured silk with a cloak of Mecca velvet and velvet sandals. The handle of his sabre was of gold studded with jewels. For a few days he imagined that the strangers were sons of the Prophet, perhaps because they were white and he could not under-

stand their language. Vasco da Gama was in no hurry to disabuse him, wishing first to put him in good humour by means of suitable presents. As a precaution all the sick men were sent below, and only the most robust of the sailors formed a guard of honour, fully armed. The Sultan of Mozambique, was so impressed that on leaving he lent his rosary of one hundred beads to the Chief Captain, so that he might invoke the hundred names of God upon them. It may have been a judicious feeler to elicit the truth about the religion of these unexpected visitors.

When Zacoeja discovered that he had to deal with Christians, he determined to ambush and destroy them under the pretext of an invitation to his home in the town. This plot was disclosed to the Portuguese by an Indian Muslim named Devané, who meantime had become friendly with them.[85] He was apparently a trader stranded in Mozambique, who saw a chance of establishing a flourishing business in his native Cambaya, as the spice broker of the Portuguese. The Chief Captain had accepted him as a passenger for India, and Devané was determined not to sacrifice such valuable customers to the hatred of these co-religionists of his.

Vasco da Gama proved to be a noble blend of caution and impetuosity. On hearing Devané's report he was furious at the treachery of Zacoeja, and wished to attack the town at once and destroy its rulers. The other captains and the chaplains restrained him, pointing out that they did not want to begin their career in the east with the reputation of pirates. And when a few days later some of the Swahili captains came near the Portuguese ships and jeered at them, it became more difficult to restrain the Chief Captain. "Better to be called cowards than to become pirates", urged his advisers; and fortunately he listened to them, though boiling with indignation and the knowledge that he could settle effectively with this sheikh, if he used his guns.

The captains were also able to show that any mishap now would be an irreparable tragedy, when they were well on the road to triumph. Treacherous as these Moors were, they had at least given them the valuable information that Prester John could be reached from this coast

by caravan, and they had sent them pilots to direct them to India. "This information, and many other things that we heard, rendered us so happy that we cried with joy, and prayed to God to grant us health, so that we might behold what we so much desired". So writes the devout chronicler who penned the *Roteiro*.

Before sailing again Vasco da Gama went ashore, apparently by some truce with Zacoeja, and landed two Portuguese who had been banished from Portugal. According to Corrêa one of these was John Machado, whose subsequent story is a romance of daring and loyalty, which ended in his becoming commandant of the fortress of Goa in 1516. But Machado really arrived later, as we shall see.[86]

The ships then withdrew to a small island near at hand, to which Gama gave the name of Saint George, in the Mozambique Channel, and here he erected the customary pillar which signified Portugal's legal and effective claim to this key position. Under the pillar an altar was placed, and Mass celebrated in thanksgiving to God for the greatest discovery which they had yet made. All the officers and men received Holy Communion.

After Mass the fleet sailed for the north on Sunday the eleventh of March. But contrary winds drove them back four days, compelling them to remain anchored near the island for eight days more. Once again Zacoeja sent offers of friendship; but the Arab *Chronicle of Kilwa* is enough to convince us that this was just another treacherous manoeuvre. That is also no doubt the meaning of the contemptuous sentence with which the *Roteiro* dismisses it. "His ambassador was a white Moor and *sharif*,[87] that is (Muslim) priest, and at the same time a great drunkard."

A guardian Providence carried them along the next stage of their journey past Kilwa to the island of Mafia, which they reached on the sixth of April, a Friday. Kilwa had been warned from Mozambique to expect a fleet of dangerous intruders, and was asked to deal with them as they deserved. At this time Kilwa was the headquarters of Arab domination on this coast, and might have seriously impeded the further progress of this expedition, as diseases had already carried off one-half of those who had left Lisbon. It was a minor evil that the

Saint Raphael ran upon the coral reefs of Mtangata, that day. Ever afterwards the Portuguese called the Usumbara Mountains, which they could see from here in the distance, the Mountains of St. Raphael. Next day all the ships were safe in Mombasa.

The first glimpse of Mombasa seemed to confirm the high hopes with which they approached it, since the Mozambique pilots told them that half the inhabitants were Christians, living under a system of home rule administered by Christian magistrates, subject only to the Sultan's suzerainty. This rosy vision soon vanished before the facts. But standing on a slope that faced the sea, Mombasa looked like a small country town of Portugal with its houses of stone, square windows and flat roofs. Only the thick rows of palm trees reminded one that this was really the beginning of the east.[88]

The east seemed therefore to be welcoming them. As soon as they were descried, a dhow came forward to greet them; and they noticed then how the many vessels in front of the town were dressed in bunting. Hastily dressing his own ships with flags, Vasco da Gama urged the few sailors who were not sick to work like Trojans, so that they might not be outdone in courtesy by these strangers. "We anchored here with much pleasure, we confidently hoped that on the following day we might land and hear Mass along with the Christians reported to live there". The next day was Palm Sunday.

But this Holy Week was a time of sore disappointment. At midnight on Saturday instead of the Christian friends they expected to meet, a dhow of one hundred men armed with cutlasses attempted to board the flagship; but Vasco da Gama permitted only five of the most distinguished persons to come aboard, and that without their arms. Their whole attitude showed quite clearly that they were spies.

On the morning of Palm Sunday the Sultan sent gifts of varied fruits, vegetables and meat by the hands of two men, almost white, who said that they were Christians and appeared really to be. Next day Vasco da Gama sent two men to return the Sultan's visit, and to present him with a string of coral beads, as a return for the ring which the Sultan had given him. These men came back with

the news that they had met only two Christian merchants. They gathered the impression that the Christians were very few, were really birds of passage and had little freedom of movement in the land. Gama took no pains to conceal his disappointment at this. The two pilots who raised his false hopes did not wait to hear his opinion of their veracity, but dived into the sea and swam ashore.

The Portuguese now put their ships into a state of vigilant defence. That they at length judged rightly about the peril that menaced them, was seen on the following Monday and Tuesday nights, when armed men in swift canoes tried to cut the cables of the ships, and were only frustrated in their attempt by the alertness of the night-watch. The few sick men on these three ships had successfully bluffed the Arabs about their strength. But it would be tempting Providence to remain a moment longer than was necessary.

On Good Friday therefore they beat a dignified retreat; and on Easter Sunday they reached the town which became so famous in Portuguese prose and poetry, the friendly town of Malindi. The secret of Malindi's friendship is as old as the history of rivalry among nations and cities. In trade and politics the Mohammedans of the Zenj coast were much more bitterly divided than the Christians of Europe. Malindi had an ancient feud with Mombasa. "All countries no matter how small fight to maintain their boundaries", writes Barros.[89] Thus Malindi and Mombasa were rivals who were constantly engaged in border frays.

In the three Arab towns which the Portuguese had now seen, they noted how the Bantu villages in the vicinity were subject to the Arabs, and how many of the Kafirs had become nominal Mohammedans. This domination of the Muslim races over Africans and Indians was what the Portuguese were determined to put an end to. They believed that influence to be detrimental to both blacks and whites. There was no question of depriving the Muslim races of the common human rights of trade, much less of exterminating them. But they believed that the expansion of Islam would give the nations a lower cultural tone than Christianity, which it was their duty to offer to primitive races. Pacheco was at

this very moment putting on paper his representative opinion on this subject, in discussing the conditions of the African kingdom of Fez.

After describing the excellent trade prospects there he adds: "The point in which these people fail[90] is their belief in the superstitious sect of Mohammed, whom they really believe to be the messenger of God, sent to this ignorant multitude in order to remit their sins. He taught all vices and bodily lewdnesses, but about the virtues of the soul he gave no teaching; because his whole aim was to destroy everything which is difficult to believe and hard to carry out. Moreover he indulgently allowed those things to which vicious and poor-spirited men are usually inclined, especially those of Arabia of which province Mohammed was a native, where the people pursue steadily lust, and greed and robbery. As these perverse people are enemies of our Holy Catholic Faith, our kings from the days of Dom John of glorious memory up to now have always waged fierce war against them.[91]"

But whilst war against the hostile section of the Muslim was thus defensible, it must be just war[92]. A striking incident which took place in the Mediterranean two years later, will illustrate this attitude of the Latin nations better than many legal authorities. Sier Anzolo Malipiero, captain of the Barbary fleet of Venice, was in the port of Almeria of Spain when a strongly armed Portuguese fleet appeared. The Portuguese captain, seeing some Moors on the Venetian ships, demanded their surrender as Portugal was at war with them. Malipiero refused, and added that he would rather fight the whole Portuguese fleet than surrender one single Moor. What makes this incident significant is the reason given for the refusal. It was against the recognised rules of war in Europe. Malipiero ended by saying that he would lodge a protest with the King of Spain, so that the Portuguese king could be asked to punish this captain of his, who waged illegal war. The Portuguese captain recognised the justice of the reply and did not press his demand.

Vasco da Gama shared these views of Pacheco about the dangers of Muslim domination; but this would not prevent him from making overtures to the Sheikh of

Malindi, in the hope that he would accept Portuguese friendship and suzerainty. Malindi having heard of the prowess of the Portuguese in Mozambique and Mombasa, was waiting their coming with some trepidation. Vasco da Gama was also fearing the usual hostile reception ; so the fleet approached the coast cautiously, as it did in all places where the Muslim were in control. The sailors were the first to note how like Alcouchete this Moorish town looked, Alcouchete the pleasant seaside town where King Manuel was born.

Perhaps it was this reminder of home that was father to thoughts of friendship, which now came into the mind of Vasco da Gama. He confided to his brother, Paul, his regret that up to now they had not had any chance of showing friendship to these people. The weeks that the Indian Devané had spent on board put this man in a new light, and suggested a means of amicable intercourse with Malindi. " My heart tells me that you are our true friend," said the Chief Captain to Devané. A Kafir on board once whispered the same thing in a queer mixture of Portuguese and Arabic, saying that Devané was *mui taibo*, meaning very good, Ever afterwards he was known to the Portuguese as Bontaibo.[93]

This is the man whom Vasco da Gama selected as his messenger to the unknown king of Malindi. To make the envoy welcome, he sent presents that would both please and impress. The first parcel contained a gorgeous cloak of scarlet with a fine cape and broad sleeves, a uniform similar to that worn by the lay orders of noblemen called the Brothers of Mercy. Later he sent a magnificent decorated mirror of Flanders with an ornamental frame. But what won the heart of the Muslim king completely was the gift of a rich Muslim prisoner with all his household and goods, whom the Portuguese had captured on the high seas, boat and all. This type of generosity was hitherto unknown in these waters. To make a good impression Nicolas Coelho was sent with Devané ; for he was a handsome man, garbed moreover in the best gala uniform that the Italian looms could produce.

The Malindi ruler not only offered peace, but everything that his kingdom produced. " Ever afterwards the

Portuguese captains, as well as the crews, went ashore and came away as if they were natives of the place." The sheikh himself was aged and infirm, so that the first visits to the ships were paid by his son and some of the leading *ashraf;* but in the end he himself went and was received like a European sovereign. He was only too glad to shake off the supremacy of Kilwa at the price of a tribute in coin to a far distant suzerain, whose ships and guns would give him the most complete security against all possible rivals. The glowing friendship of Malindi is visible still in two letters of his son and successor, Ali Wagerage, which have survived. They were addressed in Arabic, to King Manuel during the last years of his reign, and breathe a lively sense of the power of the Portuguese king, and of gratitude for the protection received.[94]

On the occasion of Gama's visit the Sheikh Ali, to give him his local title, offered some sound advice. Cambaya was not the best place in India to make for, as Devané suggested, because the traders there were only middlemen. Calicut was the producer of spices and drugs, where enough would be found to fill a hundred ships. Bontaibo ought to accompany the Portuguese as he was an expert in the current prices of commodities. In buying goods no more than the market price in India should be given, otherwise the local merchants would be up in arms.

Ali capped all this trade advice with the promise of two experienced pilots, who were said to be Christians. The text of an Arabic manuscript, discovered in 1860 and published in our day, has revealed the fact that Gama thus had the good fortune to enlist at Malindi the cleverest pilot of the Indian Ocean, Ibn Majid,[95] or Malemo Cana as the Portuguese transliterated the Arabic phrase for "the pilot astrologer." We learn also that this pilot was an author, the fourth of a famous dynasty of pilots. Between 1462 and 1489 he had revised the treatises of his predecessors with more detailed instructions about routes, latitudes and winds: all in verse for easier memory. The Levantine needles which they used, and their maps, were not as scientific as those of the Portuguese; but their knowledge of local conditions made them invaluable.

Were these Indians whom Vasco da Gama met on the

east coast of Africa really Christians, as he and the Arabs called them? Long before this the Portuguese knew of the existence of Christians in India. A bull of Pope Nicolas V in 1454 praised Prince Henry the Navigator for his efforts to link up with "those Indians who are said to worship Christ."[96] The Portuguese easily accepted the tradition that made them converts of the Apostle St. Thomas, because they knew of the vast commerce that the Roman Empire carried on between the Red Sea ports and Canara or Malabar. The same Roman routes that led St. Paul to Spain and Portugal must have led St. Thomas to India. In 1442 Poggio Bracciolini described the shrine of St. Thomas at Maliapur on the authority of Nicolò de'Conti, who had seen it.

Even we know to-day that, alone among the Christian churches of the Nestorian East, the Malabarese escaped extinction in the drastic persecution that arose, when the awful Mongol invasion swept over Persia in the thirteenth century.[97] Vasco da Gama arrived in India at a time when there were still no less than thirty thousand families of Christians in the land, as we learn from a contemporary Nestorian document in Syriac.[98] It is therefore quite likely that some of the Indians whom he met at Mozambique or Mombasa or Malindi, were Christians. But those Indians who were enthralled and reverential, when they saw the beautiful picture of our Lady in Vasco da Gama's cabin, might have been Hindus. Men can only understand one another's symbolism perfectly when they have a common language to explain it. This was not the case during this voyage as the Portuguese were obliged to use interpreters, who were certainly not experts in religious matters.

Edward Barbosa tells us how the Hindus also loved to pray in Christian churches, and thought that they found a common ground of reverence in symbols of the Trinity and the pictures of the Virgin Mother.[99] But the more intelligent Portuguese were quick to see that Hindu symbolism was not Catholic. The writer of the *Roteiro* hints that these were queer saints "with teeth protruding an inch from the mouth and four or five arms". And the writer of the ship *Saint Raphael* John da Sà, perhaps the same person as the author

mentioned, when he saw Vasco da Gama behaving too devoutly before the images in a Saivite temple protested in a whisper: " if these are devils, I adore only the true God ". Gama smiled showing that he understood.[100]

But among the rank and file there was some confusion at first, when they saw the white vestments of the officiating Brahims, their rosaries and the image of the goddess Durga. But these delusions were dissipated as soon as the Portuguese understood the Indian dialects. Then even the meanest intellect saw the plain differences.

The wisdom of the Indian pilot introduced to Gama by the Malindi sheikh, seems to have consisted chiefly in a knowledge of the monsoons, which had now begun to blow in the half-yearly direction of the Malabar coast. Leaving Malindi on the twenty-fourth of April, they sighted Mount Dely in the distance on the eighteenth of May. It is a conspicuous promontory formed by a cluster of hills, a perfect joy to the mariner. Two days later they were anchored off Calicut.

Thus did Vasco da Gama accomplish the task which, as he boasted to the King of Calicut, had baffled his ancestors for sixty years, though they had sent out vessels every year in the direction of India.[101] The travellers rested that night within sight of the coast, " as if " writes Goes, " they had come to the end of their labours and were safely anchored in front of Lisbon, which they had left eleven months before."

But it was the deceptive calm before the storm. Next day the first growlings of the storm were heard. A Moor came on board named Monzaide,[102] who gave them the first hint of the Saracen enemies lying in wait for them on the mainland. This man was really of Spanish blood, captured by Barbary pilots in his boyhood and brought up as a Mohammedan in Tunis. The claims of his European blood seem to have revived, when he met the Portuguese on their own ships. Meantime the conflict between his European blood and his Asiatic training made him a kind of chameleon. He began by roundly abusing the Portuguese for coming to India in this way, when neither the King of Castile nor the King of France nor the Signoria of Venice ever thought of such a strange thing. One of the Portuguese replied

that the King of Portugal would allow none of those sovereigns to infringe his rights.

Later Monzaide astonished the Portuguese by breaking out into Spanish and Italian, which latter language he spoke in the Genoese dialect. His sentiments changed with his language, and he now congratulated the lucky travellers. "You ought to thank God for bringing you to a land where there is so much wealth." Vasco da Gama embraced him when he heard these welcome words. The 'Moor' responded by revealing the dangers that awaited the Portuguese on shore, as the rich Mohammedans had offered alluring bribes to the Hindu Rajah, if he would ambush and kill the Portuguese visitors. The Samuri (this was the local title of this ruler whom the Portuguese called king) though not a Christian was favourably disposed towards the Portuguese.

The warning of Monzaide came in time to reinforce the native caution of Vasco da Gama, and the caution that any well informed European would feel necessary at that period. It is true that Medieval Europe did not regard the Indians as a hostile people. A flashlight is thrown upon this subject by an event in the life of Alfred the Great of England. William of Malmesbury records how, when the Danes were storming London, the King vowed that if victorious he would send votive offerings to Rome in honour of St. Peter, and to India in honour of Saints Thomas and Bartholmew. Thus in 883 A.D. an English Bishop came overland to Malabar and perhaps to this very Calicut, as the envoy of the English King to the shrine of these saints.[103]

But later travellers had a very different tale to tell. Several famous Italians reported that the Muslim minority were acting as if they were the masters of the Hindu majority friendly to Europe, a mastery they had acquired since. The Muslim historian Zinadin [104] ventures to call Malabar a Muslim land, though the members of that sect were only a small fraction of the population. He boldly maintains that every Mohammedan (man, woman or slave) is in duty bound to wage the holy war against those whom he believes to be invaders in Malabar, even if the local prince does not authorise him to do so. The Muslim, whether Arabs or Persians, were newcomers

compared to the Christians; but the former were traders and soldiers, thus dominating both Hindus and Christians by the force of their arms and their wealth.

The first welcome that Vasco da Gama received on shore from the Hindus was "more respectful than that given to a king of Spain", writes an eyewitness, the author of the *Roteiro* and one of the thirteen men whom Gama took ashore with him the day after they anchored. The warmth of the welcome was generally said to be due to a Bramin prophecy current on that coast: "that the Portuguese would be masters of the country and only their friends would prosper."[105]

During the 120 days that the fleet spent on this coast Vasco da Gama was able to measure the strength of the Arab opposition that he had to deal with. By bullying the Samuri and bribing his chief official (variously called the Catual or Wali or Alcaide) the 'Moors' were able to prevent the Portuguese from gaining the favourable footing in trade which they hoped for. In those trying days Gama displayed qualities of restraint and strategy that one hardly expected in a person of such fiery character. Thus he was able to avoid a clash with armed forces superior to his own, and to gain all the information that King Manuel had commissioned him to obtain. He now knew definitely that trade was only possible in these regions, if backed by a naval force sufficient to check the Muslim rivals of Portugal.

He sailed for home from the Anjediva Islands on the twentieth of September 1498; just when Manuel's baby boy, only a few weeks old, was being proclaimed in Spain the heir of the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal. During the stay on the Malabar coast the fleet captured the famous Muslim sea-rover, who became known as Gaspar of India,[106] and after his baptism in Portugal as Gaspar da Gama. He was the son of Polish Jews, was born at Alexandria, became a trader and engraver of gems in India, and last of all a captain of the Muslim ruler of Goa, the Sabayo.

Gaspar came to Anjediva in a small ship. Being well dressed, of a fine appearance with white flowing beard, speaking the Venetian dialect and brandishing a wooden cross, he imposed upon Vasco da Gama at first. His real

purpose was to make a flank attack on the Portuguese, if they refused to agree to the terms of a treaty with the Sabaio. But as the diarist of the *Roteiro* puts it, he reckoned without his host. At a hint from the Hindu sailors Gama had him arrested ; and by an anticipation of our modern third-degree methods of police elicited the fact that Gaspar had four other ships waiting to support his attack among the creeks of the five islands of Anjediva. Once disarmed he was treated with the customary wisdom of these Portuguese leaders, and made an honoured guest. They recognised the value of freindship, with an able man who possessed such a wide experience of the conditions of Indian life.

Monzaide was also taken aboard at his own request, as his life was no longer safe in India after the useful advice he had given the Portuguese. Without an Indian pilot and in the teeth of the monsoon they crossed the ocean to Malindi, taking nearly three months to accomplish the journey they had done in twenty-three days before. At this moment Malindi loomed large in the eyes of the Portuguese, as the one safe and friendly spot in a hostile ocean. In making for this oasis of the sea Vasco da Gama found himself within sight of Mogadishu, the original settlement of the Arabs on this coast. It was a prosperous looking place ; and so formidable seemed its palaces and four towers, that Gama had no desire to try conclusions in view of the weak and reduced condition of his crews. This port was the junction on this coast for all traders and fortune seekers from the north, whether from Egypt or India ; as the Cape of Good Hope was the junction for those coming from the south. Firing a broadside of artillery the Portuguese sailed south to Malindi.[107]

For five days they enjoyed every attention that their Arab allies could give them, but the men continued to die of scurvy in a most alarming manner. When the fleet reached a vanished town which the *Roteiro* calls Tamugate, near the coral reefs of Mtangata, Gama no longer had enough men to navigate the three ships. So the *Saint Raphael* was burned, and only her figure head preserved, to become an heirloom in the Gama family, finding a last resting place in the church of Belem.[108]

At Zanzibar when the Sultan made a bid for a treaty

of alliance, as the ships approached the island, the Chief Captain did not even stop to reply. They anchored once more off the island of Saint George in the Mozambique waters on the first of February. "On the following day in the morning we set up a pillar on that island, where Mass had been said on the outward journey. The rain fell so heavily that we could not light a fire for the purpose of melting the lead needed to fix the cross, and therefore it remained without one."

Nine days were spent at Mossel Bay in catching and salting anchovies, seals and penguins, during the early part of March. After sailing south-west for a few days they were obliged to return to Mossel Bay for a while on account of the irresistible west wind. As they doubled the Cape of Good Hope on the twentieth of March without seeing it, they were numbed with the cold winds. "This feeling we attributed less to the cold than to the heat of the countries from which we had come."

The official diary of the voyage from which these words are taken, comes to an end on the twenty-fifth of April, 1499, when they reached the shoals of the Rio Grande off the coast of Sanegambia. After leaving the mouth of the Rio Grande the two surviving ships seem to have been separated by a storm, which drove Vasco da Gama's ship as far as the island of Santiago, one of the Cape Verde group. Those on the other ship pushed on, thinking no doubt that the *Saint Gabriel* was ahead of them. Thus the *Berrio* under Nicolas Coelho was the first to reach Lisbon, on the tenth of July, taking sixty-six days for this last lap of the journey, which was about double the average time.

Next day King Manuel wrote to Ferdinand and Isabella, parents of his wife,[109] announcing the wonderful trade prospects in India which would now be exploited, and urging the vigorous prosecution of their joint plans for "war on the Moors of the territories conquered by us in these parts." The king seems to have received the very first news of the arrival of Vasco da Gama from Arthur Rodrigues, a sailor from Terceira in the Azores group, who had just left this native island on his way to Lisbon when he met Gama's ship. But the king would not feel perfectly sure until he had seen one of his own captains.

On arrival at Santiago the flagship *Saint Gabriel* was found to be in such a battered condition, that she was no longer seaworthy. It became necessary to refit her. This task was entrusted to John de Sà; because Paul da Gama was dying, and Vasco still hoped against hope to bring him home alive. For this purpose he hired a caravel and pushed out at once to sea. But the high winds altered their plans once more, driving them to take cover on the island of Terceira in the Azores. Here Paul da Gama died. Although Vasco was fully conscious of the royal welcome that awaited him at Lisbon, he remained in Terceirs nine days, in order to carry out the solemn obsequies of his beloved brother. They buried him in the Franciscan church of that island.

The *Saint Gabriel* reached Lisbon on the twenty-ninth of August, or shortly afterwards, and Vasco da Gama in his caravel on the ninth of September, 1499. Lisbon went delirious with delight. Two-thirds of the crews had not returned, and never would; but the sad hearts that mourned them would not be visible in the mob of maffickers. Every one of the fifty-five survivors, and the nearest of kin of the deceased men, received a decoration or a money prize. The Captain General was loaded with both.

The honour which he valued most was that of Master of Sines, the castellated town where he was born. But as this royal grant required the consent of the military order of Santiago, which refused eventually to cede it, the grant never became effective. Later the towns of Vidigueira and Vila de Frades were substituted for Sines, and the title of Count of Vidigueira was made hereditary.[110]

He had put the finishing touches to a work for which the world, as well as Portugal, owes him a large meed of praise. It was a more hazardous feat than that of Columbus. Along with Columbus, however, Vasco da Gama had capped Prince Henry's design of making one world of Europe, Asia and Africa, by opening up the conterminous routes of the sea. Until the airways were thrown open in our day no equal work of this kind has ever been done in human history. Alexander the Great disclosed the wonders of Asia to the eyes of Europe;

Herodotus and Pliny excited its curiosity about Africa below the Sahara; the daring travellers of the Middle Ages explored the overland roads of the East with tantalizing success; but now these continents were united by pathways of the ocean, which were infinitely more accessible than the old paths.

CHAPTER V.

The First Fruits of Victory.

THE sober words of King Manuel are a better guid than the delirium of the Lisbon mob, to the meaning c Vasco da Gama's achievement. The King combined all the joy in action of a man of the West with the calm of mind which is sometimes rather quaintly said to be a product of the deserts of the East, but in his case certainly had its mainspring in a deep religious faith.

In the first flush of victory, the day after Coelho's arrival and before Gama returned from the Azores, Manuel wrote a long letter to the King and Queen of Spain[111] in which he said: "from one of our captains we learn that they reached India and other kingdoms, finding large cities, big buildings and rivers and great populations, among which is conducted the whole trade in spices and precious stones that are forwarded in ships to Mecca, and thence to Cairo where they are distributed throughout the world. They have brought home a quantity of spices, including cinnamon, cloves, ginger, nutmeg and pepper as well as other kinds, boughs and leaves of the spice trees, and many fine stones of all sorts, such as rubies and others. They were in a land where there are gold mines; but of gold, spices and precious stones, they did not bring us as much as they might have done, because they took no merchandise with them as a means of bartering".

With the immense volume of world trade before our eyes to-day, and its infinite variety of commodities, it requires an effort of the imagination to realise the importance and value of the spice trade of the sixteenth century in Europe. Spices formed the largest of the luxury trades then. They were used chiefly as condiments for food, at a time when the Renaissance had promoted luxury in all departments of life. Pepper was the most in demand, incomparably the largest item in the ships cargoes. But there was a growing demand for ginger,

cloves, cinnamon, mace and nutmeg. Some of the spices were also used as drugs: aloes, musk, wormwood, verzin, civet, borax and camphor.

There was practically no means of producing these articles of commerce in Europe itself. All of them were aromatic or pungent vegetables that needed a tropical climate to thrive. Arabia had the undeserved reputation of producing some of them, because they passed through it on their way to Europe; but they were really produce of India and of the islands of the far East.

The amount of this trade between Alexandria and Venice in 1499 was reckoned to be worth six-hundred thousand ducats. That was the precious market, more valuable than gold mines, that Vasco da Gama had opened for his king.

The Chief Captain had told the Samuri [112] that he went to India in search of two things mainly, Christians and spices. Coelho's report about the former opened the King's eyes at once, and evidently disillusioned him to some extent. For Manuel writes in the same letter after his conversation with Coelho: "it will be possible, notwithstanding that these (Indian Christians) are not as yet strong in the Faith or possessed of a thorough knowledge of it, to do much in the service of God, once they have been fully fortified in the Faith".

Things became much clearer when Vasco da Gama's caravel came in September. On board was Gaspar of India whose conversations on this subject with Jerome Sernigi have been preserved in part.[113] Sernigi was a Florentine merchant to whom Manuel had issued letters of naturalisation. Gaspar told him that "the supposed belfries and churches (of the Hindus in Calicut) are in reality temples of idolaters, and the pictures within them are those of idols, not of saints". Sernigi adds this sensible remark of his own: "to me this seems more probable than to say that they are Christians, when they have no divine office, no priests and no sacrifice of the Mass". We now know that there were few Indian Christians at Calicut, and that the Christian headquarters in India were at Cranganore and Cochin.

But Sernigi was a keen business man, a leading member of the Clothiers Guild of Florence, so that his letters

deal mainly with trade prospects. He put leading questions to the captains and crews of the ships as they arrived. What he has recorded may be taken to represent the views of an intelligent person, whose chief interest is commerce. One remark that he makes shows the difference between the experimental scientists who had achieved all this progress, and the men of culture who commented upon it or used it. Writing of the sea which Vasco da Gama crossed from Malindi to Calicut, Sernigi says: "I am of opinion that this is the Gulf of Arabia, concerning which Pliny wrote that Alexander the Great went there to make war, as also did the Romans who acquired everything by means of war". The erroneous classical tradition of Greece and Rome still held these merchant princes; whilst the Portuguese sea captains, pilots and cocmographers, had completely discarded it as useless lumber.

Where Jerome Sernigi becomes an excellent guide is in matters of business. Calicut, he reports to Florence, is the emporium of the spice trade of the East. It is more densely populated than Lisbon. The 'Moors' are rich there, and have all the strings of commerce in their hands, whilst the Christians (he means the Hindus) are a coarse lot. The only exception is the king who lives sumptously, but is effectively controlled by the Moors through the gifts that they bestow upon him. In this way he depends on them to keep up the splendour of his court. When Vasco da Gama presented the clothes and jewels which he had brought from Portugal, thinking that he had to deal with a primitive ruler, the Hindu king showed quite openly that he did not feel very grateful for them. The Chief Captain replied tactfully that if his master the King of Portugal had known that they were to meet such a great sovereign as the Samuri; his gifts would have been more worthy of his acceptance. But this was an error that he would atone for on his return to India.

The coins in circulation in India and on the Mozambique coast, Sernigi tells us, were chiefly golden serafins minted by the Sultan of Egypt.[114] Venetian and Genoese ducats were also current, as well as some silver coins from Cairo. There was a great abundance of silks, velvets, satins,

damasks, brocades, brass and tinware in Calicut. During the four months that Gama spent there some 1,500 Arab dhows arrived. As a rule they were small, badly built and without arms or artillery. There was no proper port, and the vessels just ran upon the beach. Visitors from China also appeared occasionally, who, judging by their dress and complexion, " might well be Germans or Russians ".

But the news about the East African trade is equally striking. Some of the spice ships go to the " great river where gold is found," by which Sernigi evidently means the Quelimane branch of the Zambesi. There they discharge their cargoes. " And in this river according to the blacks are found infinite quantities of gold ; and they told the Captain (Vasco da Gama) that if he could wait a moon, that is a month, they would give him gold in plenty. But the Captain would not stay ".

The author of the *Roteiro* gives the prices of all Indian spices in detail after loading in India. In Sernigi's second letter he lists the prices of the same articles on shore at Calicut, so that the Lisbon brokers could calculate the enormous profits to be made. It was now proved beyond any shadow of doubt, that in Calicut they had a focus of trade materials as wealthy as Bruges in Flanders, which was still the great emporium of a large part of Europe, and especially of the Florentines. The following European articles were found the most suitable for export to the Calicut market : coal, copper kettles, thin plates of copper, tartar, spectacles, which fetched a high price, coarse linens, wine, oils and fine brocades.

In Portugal then all overseas trade was a monoply of the Crown. The bitter experience of centuries since has taught us what the nations have to suffer from the evil of private monopolies in trade. But the Portuguese Crown at this time stood for the public welfare, and was no limited liability company. Manuel acknowledged an unlimited liability for the well-being of his subjects, up to the last *real* in the treasury. But in any case the sovereigns of Portugal had been the promoters of this gigantic enterprise, and would have been entitled to the dividends. But Manuel regarded it as a national trust which he administered with the representatives of the people in Council.

This system had worked admirably in quickening the pace of the discoveries. The king now exercised his monopoly by delegating limited powers of exploitation to princes and meritorious public servants, or by entering directly into contacts with merchants for a limited period. The first was called a *mercé*, the second an *arrendamento a praso*. John I, Edward and Afonso V, followed the first method almost exclusively; but John II and Manuel followed the second method, which was not only more businesslike, but more conducive to the public weal.[115]

Meantime the king's advisers were divided about the wisdom of assuming extensive commitments in India.[116] Some doubted whether the trade there could be continued long at a profit, in view of the wars that would surely be thrust upon Portugal, and entail a huge expenditure on arms and ammunition. They might have to spend more money, men and ships, than the whole trade was worth. It was enough to take up any map of Africa to perceive what the horrors of Africa were. In India there were more Moors than in all north Africa from Ceuta to Alexandria; and they had also more wealth at their command. As for the Gospel how could the Portuguese hope to propagate it effectively, supported as they were by armed forces, when the apostle St. Thomas had to some extent failed with the more persuasive methods of peace?

Manuel listened patiently to these arguments, and took them as a warning to proceed with caution. Great deeds can only be accomplished by accepting great and manifold risks. "Imposing buildings, if they are to stand firm for ever, must be founded on deep foundations of hard work".

The king was especially heartened by that counsellor who pointed out, that the essential factor in war is money. It was a maxim that Machiavelli popularised twenty years later in a more cynical form. But Manuel had learned enough already to feel that the silver bullets needed for the defence of Portuguese policy would not fail. The returned travellers had furnished him with full lists of the prices of each kind of spice at Calicut, and the prices at which they were retailed to the Venetians at Cairo. The margin of profit was very large. True, the new route was long and slow, there were sometimes calms

at the equator, curious diseases that Portuguese had never known before, awful storms in the neighbourhood of the Cape of Good Hope, fitful monsoons, and pirates in India and in the Red Sea. But discounting all these adverse factors, the new trade could bear the insurance of military expenditure and remain remunerative for Portugal.

That the king was a man of firm and rapid decisions is seen from a sentence in one of Sernigi's letters, written a month after Vasco da Gama's return. "Our King of Portugal is very keen in this matter of India, and has already ordered four vessels to be prepared, besides two well armed caravels which will sail in January with plenty of merchandise." This was the genesis of the fleet of Peter Alvares Cabral, which did not sail until March and was then increased to thirteen vessels.

South Africa was now the gateway of India, the dominion whose possession was to transform the kingdom inherited by Manuel into a world empire. Into the problems of trade and defence which now faced the King, South Africa entered as an important factor.

Nor did Manuel neglect the valuable assistance that honest propaganda could render to Portugal among those new and strange peoples. The Arabs were already busy in poisoning the minds of Hindus and Africans by false pictures of the Portuguese and their aims. The king wanted them to know his country as it really was, not fearing the result. Therefore he ordered Vasco da Gama to provide guides for the two friendly Muslim pilots, whom he had brought from Malindi to Lisbon, and the Indian ambassadors from Cochin and Cananor, who came to Lisbonlater with Cabral. They were observant men and he wished them to see all the noteworthy aspects of Portuguese life and culture. They were thus shown the pageantry of the Court, the university, the various sports of the people as well as the aristocratic game of *Cannas*,[117] the splendid palaces and churches, the Battle Abbey near Leiria, and the gala dances of the queen with her ladies. Portugal did not shirk comparison with all that was best in the East.

But the man Gaspar, captured at Anjediva, was the prize which King Manuel came to value most amongst those of this voyage. He had been shabàndar of the Moham-

medan king of Goa, called the Sabayo. The shabàndar was collector of customs as well as port captain ;[118] and at this time the sea-borne traffic of Goa was considerable, second only to Calicut, so that he would know all the trade secrets of sea and land from Malindi to Malacca. Amerigo Vespucci who met Gaspar a year later on the west coast of Africa, found him extremely well-informed about the provinces and towns of India, and proficient in many languages. The important trade data which Vespucci communicates to his friend and employer, Lorenzo de 'Medici, were the gleanings of conversations with Gaspar.

A secret service agent of Venice who came to Lisbon at this time, informs us that Gaspar had a salary of 170 ducats yearly.[119] But the most eloquent testimony of the esteem in which Manuel held him, is a royal decree of 1504 by which he is granted an increased salary of fifty thousand *reis*, the same salary assigned to the seasoned pilot, Nicolas Coelho. Within a few years the Portuguese were able to gather their own information in Persia, India and the Far East. But at this time when the first big trading fleet was about to be fitted out, it was a godsend to have in Lisbon an experienced official of this kind.

Manuel's own sketch of him has survived in a letter which he wrote to Cardinal da Costa in Rome[120] a month after Gaspar's arrival in Lisbon. " Without him it would have taken us ten years to know all that we now know, fully and in detail, about these new lands. He speaks Hebrew, Chaldaic, Arabic and German ; as well as Italian mixed with Spanish, but so distinctly that one understands him just as if he were a Portuguese, and he understands us".

The title of Admiral of India was now conferred on Vasco da Gama, and it carried with it unprecedented powers.[121] A personal letter of the King not only made him a kind of standing viceroy of the Indian ships, but gave him the curious right of taking command of any fleet sailing for India, even if the king had already appointed another, and even at the last moment.

Vasco da Gama received all these honours with the dignity of a true fidalgo. When he first arrived, after paying his respects to the King he retired for a few days to

the presbytery of Belem ; and there in the chapel whence he had set out, he carried out a novena of thanksgiving to God. Then came the solemn and public reception in the presence of the king and queen. This was followed by a week of sporting events for the people, a banquet and a court dance.

The festivities ended with a public procession, headed by the sovereign and his court, up the long winding path which leads to the cathedral of St. Vincent, on the hill. There the sermon was preached by Dr. Diogo Ortiz, chief of the experts who prepared the expedition, now Bishop of Tangiers. He appealed eloquently to the young men of Lisbon to enter the door of opportunity now opened to them, and to make Portugal the standard bearer of faith and fatherland in Africa and the pagan East.

Vasco da Gama's laurels were very welcome to the king at this juncture for reasons of his own as well. They brought nearer the realisation of Manuel's ambition to place the crown of a united Ibererian peninsula upon the head of a child of his. Manuel's only child died nine months after Gama's return, following the death of his mother in August, 1498, who was a daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. Manuel was now anxious to marry another of their daughters. The Spanish sovereigns hesitated to give their consent. For in Spain there was in higher circles the notion of a certain superiority over the Portuguese ; or as the Spanish historian, Zurita,[122] puts it tactfully, " the Portuguese are not friendly to the Castillian nation". Like sisters in the family circle these sister nations had their bickerings and vanities.

After the return of Vasco da Gama there was a fresh burst of mutual admiration between the two countries. The Spanish sovereigns were now convinced that the imperial prosperity of Portugal was assured, and equal to their own. Their interests were also parallel. This smoothed the path of Manuel's ambitions, and he married the Princess Maria of Spain in October, 1500. Peace and cordial collaboration became the common Iberian policy, as long as this family pact lasted.

During the weeks that followed Gama's return there was a ferment of excitement in the streets of Lisbon. The

emaciated survivors of the crews were welcomed everywhere as national heroes. In the taverns, the squares and on the seashore, their tales were listened to with rapt attention by groups eager for information, some also anxious for details of the last days of their vanished friends. Larger crowds would gather in the Square of the Pelourinho Novo, to watch the march past of the mounted fidalgos with their Kafir servants; as they accompanied Gaspar da India, or Monzaide or the Malabar gentlemen, from the Citadel on the hill to their various lodgings in the city.

Thus by degrees all the stirring events of the great expedition became public property, in so far as they were known to the sailors. Agents of the Flemish merchants and the intelligence officers of Venice were at the street corners, ready to glean all the news that open ears and eyes could obtain. At the docks and on the foreshore work was proceeding feverishly in preparation for the next expedition.

By discovering the sea route to the East, Vasco da Gama enriched not only Portugal but all the kingdoms of Europe, writes Diogo do Couto; and the part of Asia which is ours should have been called Gama, just as America was so called after Amerigo Vespucci "who discovered the West Indies". These last words show that in the sixteenth century the fame of Columbus was not as yet so firmly grounded as that of Vasco da Gama.

CHAPTER VI.

The Sinews of World Trade.

WHILST the joy bells were ringing in all the churches of Lisbon, some people were wringing their hands, according to Damian de Goes,[123] wondering where the money was coming from to finance all these expensive ventures and lavish gifts to explorers. So far, it was said, they had just been pouring out good money and precious Portuguese blood with no adequate return. This question of finance had its perplexities also for the King, but they did not deter him.

At the second session of Parliament (*the Cortes*) in January 1498, he had promised the representatives of his people that he would spare them additional taxation, although he needed money more than most of his predecessors.[124] The King kept his word.

He also found a way of indulging his taste for art, in the service of the commonwealth as they phrased it in those days. The first lavish expenditure of this kind was the laying of the foundations of the gorgeous new parish church of Belem, the church of the sailors. According to a tradition of the priests in charge this was done in December 1499, and voiced the popular joy that prevailed during those first months after Gama came back. But Manuel paid for it out of import taxes, the sale of crown land and his personal property. The administration of this parish had been given the year before to a new order of priests called the Jeronymites, or Brothers of St. Jerome, in place of the priests of the military order of Christ, popularly called the Brothers of Tomar.

This masterpiece of art still stands and bears witness to the way in which the atmosphere of the explorations invaded every department of life. The artists sought inspiration even for their church decorations in the forms of various nautical instruments, in the cable and other parts of the ship and in depicting tropical flowers and

animals from Africa and India. They found new meanings to the old words of the Psalmist: "all thy works shall praise thee, O Lord". For the upkeep of this great pile Manuel provided by a customs duty of five per cent. on all goods that entered India House.[125]

The following month, in January of 1500, the King found himself in a real quandary, not knowing how he was to find ready cash to pay the large grant promised to Vasco da Gama. This seems to have led him to adopt the new financial method which he found so convenient during the rest of his reign, the issuing of crown bonds. The first of these is dated the twentieth of February of this year, and was isued in Manuel's name.

It tells how "in order to save our people the burden of providing the large sums needful to fight the battles of the Catholic faith against the infidel", the King had received from his privy counsellor Pero Pantoja and his wife Dona Catherina a large sum specified, which was the just price of an annuity that he promised to pay them, at the rate of 7½ per cent. of the capital sum received.[126]

Manuel inaugurated this system of court bonds at a time most favourable to himself and his country. Vasco da Gama's exploits had placed the credit of the Portuguese crown on the highest level, since every financier of Europe was prepared to negotiate bills of this king, who was the rising star of Eastern markets. Manuel could not foresee that the eventual owners of all these bonds would be the merchant classes of the northern and central cities of Europe, especially Antwerp and Amsterdam. But it took a hundred years to make this clear; and both Manuel and his two immediate successors took effective means to prevent it. Their instinct for the welfare of the state warned them of dangers the nature of which they could not fully understand.

In the contract with Pantoja it is interesting to note how the usury condemned by medieval theologians is avoided. In substance it is a loan of money at a fair rate of interest on good security, but the transaction is equivalent to the sale of an annuity at a fair price. The medieval bankers were adepts at translating these contracts into terms that the Christain conscience of the day could approve. What it properly revolted

against was the idea of taking interest for what they considered valueless, or only valuable on account of the dire need of the borrower. The feeling behind it was humanitarian, and based on the sound conviction that money-lenders needed the check of the moral law.

The gigantic frauds of modern times, arising from reckless juggling with unearned margins of interest, have created widespread misery at times; which reminds us that any progress that the world has made in these matters has not been in the direction of better ethics, or for the greater happiness of the mass of humanity in proportion to the general increase of wealth.

A famous English economist of our day has shown that the medieval Scholastics were in this matter more accurate scientifically than our modern classical school of economists.[127] The sad experiments of the first world war have convinced him that the theory of the medieval theologians and canonists was no subtle foolishness, but an honest intellectual effort to keep two things separate which are really different, and which the accepted classical theory of modern times has confused hopelessly. For the rate of interest is not the same as the rate of return over the cost of investment. The rate of interest does not adjust itself automatically to the level best suited to the public welfare, but tends to rise too high. "Thus a wise government is concerned to curb it by statute and custom, and even by invoking the sanctions of the moral law". Manuel's methods were certainly well calculated to promote the steady development of Portugal at this period.

He may also have looked upon this borrowing as a temporary measure. For he had heard from Vasco da Gama of the gold mines of Sofala, which the natives of that land worked. The time must surely come, according to the information which he then possessed, when he would be able to draw upon these mines of Ophir. This was one of the avowed purposes in fitting out the large fleet which he was sending to India at once.

Meantime he used the easiest and quickest method of procuring the considerable sums required to equip the first large spice-fleet that was to make for the Indian markets. There were to be thirteen ships in all, a large

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number of those gala uniforms with which the Portuguese impressed the East, presents of expensive Flanders brocades and ornaments for conciliating kings and chiefs, goods of many kinds for barter, and rich supply of gold ducats for the purchase of those spices which could only be bought for cash. The ships were to be well insured, provisions and equipment to be supplied not only for the sailors but for fifteen hundred soldiers.[128] This army was decided to be necessary since Vasco da Gama had reported, how hostile some Arab kings of the East African coast were; and because trade in Calicut could only be safe, if a fortress were established there with a strong garrison to control the Arab merchants, and prevent them from bullying the peaceful Hindus.

To obtain the credits for this unprecedented expenditure Manuel turned to the two Florentine bankers who had so long enjoyed the confidence of the Portuguese kings. They were Jerome Sernigi and Bartholomew Marchioni. More than twenty years before this, Paolo Toscanelli had made use of the Marchioni firm to urge upon Afonso V the prosecution of the sailings towards India. The same bankers had arranged a letter of credit for Peter da Covilhã in 1486. Both Marchioni and Sernigi had large sums invested on the Guinea coast, when it was generally forbidden to foreigners to trade there. By a decree of King Manuel of the twenty-first of August, 1498, they were declared Portuguese citizens, and to have the right of sharing in all privileges reserved by law to Portuguese merchants and traders.

The speculation on which they were now engaged was one of great daring, because full of risks, some known and more suspected. The speculators took no part in the direct risks, as the ships and spices were the property of the Crown of Portugal. The sea risks they could cover with insurance[129] but the war risks were more serious. If Venice's ally, the Sultan of Turkey, succeeded in destroying this fleet with the help of the Muslim of Calicut and Goa, and in keeping control of the Indian seas against the Portuguese, they would be ruined; just as the Bardi and Peruzzi bankers were ruined a century before, when Edward III of England was defeated in war and had to repudiate his loans, nearly bringing down

the whole republic of Florence in the crash.[130] Hence the elaborate spy system (which with greater unction we call the intelligence department to-day) financed by the Marchioni firm, in order to counteract the similar activities of Venice in Lisbon, India and Antwerp.

Antwerp had now become one of the strategic points in the new network of trade manoeuvres, which were being planned by King Manuel and his Florentine bankers. It was there, in the King of Portugal's warehouses, that the cargoes of spices were to be stored for distribution. Formerly the East India trade had radiated from the Levant in Venetian bottoms to all the principal ports of Europe. Now it was proposed to bring the whole of it first to Lisbon, and thence to Antwerp; where strong syndicates would obtain a monopoly of distribution, and regulate the prices to suit themselves.

If Portuguese and Spaniards had taught the Netherlanders of Antwerp the secret of order on the sea by giving it their maritime code, and if the Italians had first shown it business method, it was the Netherlanders who first reaped the lion's share of the new Antwerp trade. As the Antwerpians were subjects of the King of Spain, all that was brought to Antwerp was grist to the Spanish mill. An English writer discerned this as early as 1601, noting how "the good simple Portingalls" were unconsciously making a present of a monopoly to the Spaniards.[131]

In 1500 King Manuel could hardly be expected to realise the importance of dealing in money himself, and not merely in commodities. Nor could he perceive the full gravity of the risk of leaving the essential capital of the nation in the hands of foreigners, even though they were good Christians. The rising and still unrecognised power of capital was to prove stronger than kings and peoples. Even at this stage it was to make Portuguese princes of men like Bartholomew Marchioni and Jerome Sernigi.

They were the principal creditors of the Crown of Portugal. We have no full record of the amount they lent Manuel to finance this expedition, nor of the conditions on which the loans were made. But we know the economic theories that guided him in his policies; because

they are embodied in a work published by his chaplain, Diogo Lopes Rebêlo.[132] This secular priest had been the king's tutor, and dedicated to his royal pupil the doctoral treatise which he published in Paris under the title *Liber de Republica*. The previous year Rebêlo had edited the work of a Portuguese professor of Oxford University, the *De Justitia Commutativa* of John Consobrino. These two works show quite clearly that Manuel's ideas of capital and its uses were those of the widespread school which acknowledged St. Thomas Aquinas as its leader.

Money dealings for a Christian, they held, must be conducted in the spirit of the Gospel of Christ: in fact the commonwealth of every Christian state must aim at the ideal of a *civitas Dei*.[133] St. Augustine of Hippo coined this phrase to indicate that a Christian state would necessarily have higher ideals than a pagan state, the *civitas terrena*. The latter seeks popular glory; the greatest glory of the *civitas Dei* is the enacting of what God would approve. The love of domination marks the princes, and oppresses the subjects of the "earthly city"; whereas in the "city of God" men serve one another in charity: princes by listening to wise counsel, and subjects by willing obedience.

In the desperate straits to which the modern world has been reduced through a long moratorium of the principles of the Gospel, there has been a movement to revive this ideal as a remedy for our present woes. What difficulties almost insuperable, face those labouring in this direction (chiefly on account of the chaotic mind of the modern man in the matter of principles) can be seen from the work of one of the most read of these new pleaders, Lionel Curtis.[134] He will not face the fact that not only small nations, but the greatest of empires, must acknowledge the duty of repentance and restitution for injustice, if they are to build anew the city of God. For whilst pleading for "the duty of each to all irrespective of national interests", as the basis of the new state, he exhorts us to preach the maintenance of international settlements among the nations, at a time when international law was a code of the jungle. Lord Acton, was wiser, when he proclaimed that only that nation is a consistent member of the City of God, which can face ruin to redress its own

crimes. On no other terms is the *civitas Dei* practical politics.

This is the meaning of the phrase so often repeated in Manuel's instructions to his captains and officials: "you shall do what is for God's service and mine". They would have repudiated another popular dictum, that on occasion the statesman must descend to the level of the mongoose, and if necessary sell his soul for his country. In the view of the men of the Middle Ages neither king nor country nor any group of nations had the right to demand the sacrifice of a man's soul, and only Satan could make such a demand. They often failed, as is the way of statesmen, to carry out this ideal; but they never hauled down the flag of the ideal, or granted that the king and his ministers or parliament could be a law unto themselves.

Manuel's attitude in money transactions and trade shows that he was prepared to pay more than lip service to these ideals. He would not have admitted the view that money-making is an art apart, with the right to carry out its rules untrammeled by ideologies. The Middle Ages feared the power of money. If the Royal Preacher in the Old Testament said that all things are dominated by it,[135] all men need not be, thought Manuel; and no Christian could forget that the most notorious sum of money was thirty pieces of silver.

Hence the need that Manuel felt to justify the large expenditure that he was making in sending out the fleet of Cabral. The long and detailed instructions that he gave, open with these maxims of humanity. "You shall do no injury to any of the ships which you may find in India, even if you should know that they are from Mecca (i.e. belonging to Mohammedans) or from Anjediva to Calicut, before saluting them, and showing them a friendly face with tokens of peace and good will, giving food and drink and every other hospitality to all who may visit our ships. Take heed however lest so many come aboard at the same time as to consume too large a quantity of your provisions, or be able to take possession of the ship. If the Indians are found to be Christians, men of good faith and truthfulness and fair dealing, they should be cultivated so that they may be better instructed in our religion. Thus afterwards we may be of service

to one another. We could send them the merchandise of our kingdom which they require, and bring back theirs ".[136]

The *Roteiro* gives two lists of the comparative prices of various spices and other merchandise in Alexandria and Calicut, upon which information the King was basing his estimate of the prospects of this mutually beneficial commerce. One example will suffice here. A hundredweight of ginger cost five cruzados in Calicut,[137] whilst the Venetians were obliged to pay the sum of eleven cruzados for the same quantity in Alexandria. In addition to this the Venetians had to pay high taxes to the Sultan of Egypt. Against this would be set the losses that the Portuguese were bound to suffer in the long and often stormy, journey around the Cape of Good Hope. But this risk was largely covered by insurance, which was easily arranged in the Portuguese, Italian and German counting houses.

Vasco da Gama reported that he found two obstacles to fair trading in India : the superior forces of the hostile Muslim traders, and the fact that his expedition did not bring gifts precious enough to impress the high-living Rajah of Calicut. This time Cabral would astonish them all with treasures out of the best and most fashionable warehouses of Bruges and Antwerp. The fleet too would be powerful and well manned, so as to enforce Portugal's policy, if the Indians were unreasonable. The captains were to be gallantly arrayed on gala days, so as to impress the East with Portugal's splendour.

Barros has preserved the King's attitude in a long sketch,[138] based on documents in the archives, which deserves to be paraphrased. " If the Indians should deny the law of peace which is essential for the very existence of mankind, and if they should forbid trade which is the foundation of all human culture, however much the traders may differ in customs and in the beliefs which they conscientiously hold about God, only then should the Portuguese make war upon them". King Manuel believed in arms as adjuncts to diplomacy nearly as much as our modern statesmen do. The six months after Vasco da Gama's return were fully occupied in preparing the fleet which was to execute these plans of the King.

What he asked of African and Indian kings was the right to establish trade agencies, called factories, in their principal ports. This was no lawless request, but an extension to the east coast of Africa and to India of the commercial law of Europe. In the great medieval cities foreign commerce had a certain home-rule, based upon an agreement between the local king and the king of the foreign merchants. In Antwerp for example the Portuguese factor enjoyed a charter of exemptions and privileges, which were granted in return for benefits which the city received from the presence of the Portuguese "nation", as the merchants and their dependents were collectively called.[139] There the factor became an official who was partly consul and partly diplomatic agent. Since 1452 Flemish and German merchants were established at Lisbon on the same footing.

It was not exorbitant to ask Sofala, Kilwa, Mombasa and Calicut to follow the lead of European towns of the first rank. Nor did the Portuguese imagine that they were making humiliating requests to African sheikhs and Indian rajahs, when they asked of them only what the greatest European sovereigns had conceded, even the Emperor.

The Portuguese lawyers pointed out that intelligent pagans like Ovid pilloried the human being who acted as if he were a wolf, refusing to deal with his fellow man. It was in accordance with the *jus gentium* that a nation acting in this way should be compelled to share the benefits of trade, which could be mutually lucrative if its rulers were reasonable.[140]

This sound idea of rational freedom allied with human solidarity was already firmly embodied in the trade colonies of Lisbon, Seville and Antwerp. It was not considered derogatory to the honour of the Portuguese or Spanish nation, that French or English merchants should have perfect liberty in trade, and even the privilege of governing themselves, under consuls of their own people, within the territory of the King of Portugal or Spain. This comity of nations seemed the most natural thing in the world to medieval Europe, and only ceased in the later stages of the sixteenth century, when the rivals of Portugal and Spain barred and bolted the doors of national interests.

The narrow theories of the mercantilists that emerged were afterthoughts of the economists to justify the mean and petty practices of politicians, the vain idea of national wealth as accumulated money, and the merciless competition of the leading nations for industrial domination. Their prototypes were the mischief makers of Muslim Calicut and Diu, Kilwa and Sofala. The Hindus were generally amenable to the friendly advances of the Portuguese in places like Cochin and Cranganor. The Muslim too in Mozambique and Malindi recognised the mutual advantages of the new ideas that the Portuguese brought to these coasts.

An Indian writer of our day has described the aims of the Portuguese as they must appear to every attentive student of the contemporary documents and transactions. "It was not a struggle between Christians and Moslems, but one between importers and exporters. The Indian importers, many of whom were Moslems, welcomed the Portuguese as new customers; the Arab and Egyptian exporters objected to them as new competitors, who might break the existing monopoly".

CHAPTER VII.

Plans in Three Continents.

THE man whom the king selected to command the grand fleet of the year 1500 had a great name, and a high lineage intertwined with the first families of Portugal and Spain. We see one likely reason of such a choice, when we read the roll of the noble captains who commanded the several ships of the fleet, and the roll of the experienced leaders on the ships who were already national heroes. Such names as Simon de Miranda, Sancho de Tovar, Aires Gomes da Silva, Vasco de Ataide, Gaspar de Lemos, Nicolas Coelho, Edward Pacheco Pereira and Bartholomew Dias, form a galaxy which might have dimmed the authority of any admiral of lesser name.[141]

This Admiral Peter Alvares Cabral was born in the family castle of Belmonte, an old stronghold of the bishops of Coimbra, built to defend the rich valley of the Zazere against the raids of the Moors of Seville. It dominated the vineyards and rye fields watered by that tributary of the Tagus, and there the young Cabral had imbibed an early love of farming and of the peasantry. The fidalgos of Portugal were often farmers as well. They would not soil their hands with trade, but agriculture was work that befitted a gentleman.

As a lad Cabral entered the court of John II, where besides the humanities and all manly sport he learned the arts that bore on navigation, and shared the enthusiasm of the other young nobles for the work of exploration, which King John was then directing in the outer ocean. Cabral had also a congenital liking for the pageantry of the court. Nature had made him a giant in stature; and he was fully bearded now, as were nearly all the Portuguese leaders of that epoch. He was just the man to enjoy the garments, all glorious in gold and scarlet, which were intended to outshine those of the Rajah of Calicut. With royal powers Cabral carried a royal presence and a kindly dignity that made him eminently suited for the task in hand.[142]

Compared to the three previous fleets which had set out for the Indian Ocean, this was to be a gigantic effort. The king's main purpose required it be be very large. Calicut was reported to be an emporium not only of spices, but of clothes of Indian make as rich as the best in Europe. Manuel determined to ship to Europe as much of these various kinds of merchandise as would meet the European demand for a year ; since at this time he had not thought of more than one fleet a year. The actual figures about the volume of this trade could be calculated by financiers like the Marchioni bankers, who would also give a working estimate of the number of ships that this would entail.

The accounts that have come down to us about the number of Cabral's, ships vary to a certain extent. That there were thirteen ships at least, is agreed to by every writer and document that deal with the subject. It has been suggested that there were as many as eighteen,[143] because Gaspar Corrêa mentions four captains and one boat that are not mentioned in the list given by John de Barros. This seems possible at first sight. For Corrêa is a chronicler full of surprises who often preserves information recorded by no one else, as might be expected from the private secretary of the great Afonso Albuquerque. But in this case his estimate is not likely. Because none of the extra captains whose names are mentioned by Corrêa is recorded by any of the writers who were in immediate contact with these events, or by any important document.

Cantino's contemporary map has a scroll, attached to his map of South America, which makes Cabral the leader of fourteen ships. Some have therefore thought it necessary to add the ship chartered by the Marchioni bankers on their own account to the thirteen mentioned by Barros. But this ship was the *Annunciada*, the first of the fleet to return though it was the smallest of them all ;[144] and John Francis Affaitati tells us that he was in Lisbon when it came home. But Barros mentions that this ship was commanded by Nuno Leitão da Cunha, one of his thirteen captains. Yet, as the Portuguese map called after its Italian purchaser, Cantino was drafted a few months after Cabral's return, with the most accurate delineation of all the geographical discoveries up to date,

we must regard it as more than probable that there was a fourteenth ship, of which every other detailed record has perished. It seems to have been the nameless ship of Gaspar de Lemos, which returned to Lisbon with news of what had been done in Brazil.

The record mentioned is not the only interest that attaches to the little ship called the *Annunciada*. It was also the one survivor of the two ships that were not registered in the king's name. The crown monopoly was evidently not as rigid as might appear at first sight. The shareholders in these two ships were public benefactors and personal friends of the king, who thus recognised their former services. The Count of Portalegre whose ship was lost in the same storm that overwhelmed Bartholomew Dias, was once the king's beloved tutor; and in the days when John II was wavering in the choice of a successor, Edward da Silva de Meneses, as he then was, pleaded manfully for the rights of his pupil.[145] As far back as 1487, when Manuel was Duke of Beja, Marchioni had collaborated with him in sending the Covilhã mission to Abyssinia, "in great secrecy" as the contemporary, Francis Alvares, tells us.

The king's uncle and chief councillor, Dom Alvaro, also had a share now in the lucky ship of Bartholomew Marchioni. Alvaro had not only grown rich in Spain when exiled during the previous reign, but since his return he had negotiated the desirable marriage of Manuel with the daughter and heiress of the Spanish king.[146]

Two minor shareholders were the Italian merchants, Anthony Salvago and Jerome Sernigi. Their friendship with the king has been immortalised by the famous Bible of Belem.[147] It is a gem of medieval art in seven folio volumes, bound in crimson morocco, replete with miniatures by Florentine artists, capped with clasps of gilded silver and studded with precious stones. The Bible of the Jeronymos, as it is sometimes called, has remained among the treasures of the Portuguese people to the present day, but the details of its donors' shares in Cabral's expedition have been lost. The Bible proved a more durable gift than the industrial shares.

The Marchioni firm aided the king in another way through their connection with the Frescobaldi and

Gualterotti, two merchant families of Bruges.[148] These had already signified their willingness to act as brokers for the Indian spices, when they should arrive in Flanders from Lisbon. Lastly Bartholomew Marchioni was able to warn King Manuel, on information received from his nephew, Benedict Morelli, living in Venice, that the Signoria and the Sultan of Egypt had sent a joint spy to Lisbon, to watch what was afoot. Leonard da Cha Masser[149] reported that he had been under arest in Lisbon for a few days in mistake for this spy. But Lisbon and Florence were to prove more than a match for Venice and Cairo.

Two men who accompanied this expedition, and who were not captains, deserve more than a passing mention : Aires Corrêa and Edward Pacheco Pereira. Their presence helps us to understand some of the salient characteristics of the expedition itself.

Aires Corrêa has already been mentioned as a contractor, from whom the king bought one of the four ships of Vasco da Gama's fleet. In Cabral's expedition he was appointed to the position of factor, or trade agent of the Crown. He controlled all the capital and merchandise on board ; and he was ordered to establish a king's warehouse at Calicut, as soon as the permission of the Rajah could be obtained.

The large fragment of the royal instructions that has survived[150] deals very fully with the methods that were to be employed in setting up this trade. Gama had reported that the Indians were willing enough to do business. The Rajah was therefore to be assured that Manual was anxious to be his friend, and the prospective profits of peace with Portugal were to be explained in detail. But before Aires Corrêa established a storehouse on shore, Cabral was to ask the Rajah to send hostages of good family aboard the Portuguese flagship.

If Calicut raises objections to this course, " tell the Rajah that we have met kings in Africa whom we would not trust, even if they gave hostages ; and that we trust him, because he is a man of character and a Christian.[151] Show him privately all our merchandise, so that he may realise that we are not pirates. Fix all the prices, so that he may know in future what to expect for his wares. Ask

On closer inspection this tale looks like an infant effort of that type of official propaganda which has assumed such gigantic proportions in our day.

For it was set going in all good faith by such eminent and respectable authorities as Jerome Osorio and John de Barros. But to-day it is demonstrably untrue.[156] The anonymous pilot, who has written a detailed account of the voyage as an eyewitness, makes it plain that at this stage of the journey they were sailing along with a favourable wind behind them. Another expert passenger, Pero Vaz de Caminha, whose long letter from Brazil was written to the king, expresses surprise at the loss of Vasco de Ataide's ship here, when "there was no unpleasant or contrary weather to account for it".

These two intelligent observers are positive that there was no storm until after they left Brazil; and yet the popular rumour of a storm gained currency at an early date. The baseless tale was never contradicted officially, as it helped to conceal from the Spanish authorities the deliberation with which this part of the American continent was annexed to the Portuguese crown.

When the expedition left Lisbon, the Portuguese were not quite sure how much of this continental land fell within the limits assigned to them in the treaties and registered for general information in the papal bulls. Hence the secrecy of this part of their preparations, and the silence about the office to which Pacheco was appointed. Hence also the prompt special report which the king's physician Master John sent to Manuel. It was not a clear report, and he admits that his observations with the astrolabe do not tally with those of the two chief pilots; but for what it is worth he sends it at once, and asks the king to compare his data with the old map of this land, which is in the possession of Pero Vaz Bisagudo[157] where these places are already marked. Master John thought that this land might be a large island instead of a continent, but he was clearly a sick man and not as alert as the pilots. This is probably not the only report that the king received by the special ship sent back in post haste.

But the most telling sign of the deliberation with which Cabral went to Brazil is the solemnity of the act of annex-

ation. A cross was set up adorned with the royal arms, the customary token of Portugal's claim to suzerainty. Pero Vaz de Caminha describes the solemn High Mass at which he was present; when the Father Guardian of the Franciscans, Henry of Coimbra, afterwards Bishop of Ceuta, preached an eloquent sermon whilst the standard of the Order of Christ, which the king had handed to them in Lisbon, fluttered high over the Gospel side of the altar. In communicating the news of this "discovery" to Ferdinand and Isabella, Manuel softens the blow which he feels that it must be to their ambitions as Spanish sovereigns, in this tactful way. "It would seem that God wished this land to be found by a miracle, because it is convenient and necessary to us for our Indian navigation, in order to refit the ships and to take water".

Affectionate as were the personal relations between the Portuguese and Spanish sovereigns, they were rivals in America; and there was still complete darkness about the boundary where Brazil touched Spanish America. Whilst neglecting no opportunity of extending his overseas possessions, King Manuel was anxious to forestall the accusation that he was violating the agreements of the Treaty of Tordesilhas, which were a bit obscure on the American continent. He therefore suggested that the present annexation was practically forced upon him by a fortunate act of Divine Providence. He says nothing about a storm, but no doubt there were courtly talkers who could furnish that plausible detail, and set the story going.

Bartholomew Dias was another of the captains of this fleet, and the importance of the task assigned to him shows that he was considered one of its leaders. His orders were "to find the great mine that is now called Sofala, and that some believe to be the Ophir from which the most wise King Solomon drew 420 talents of gold for the building of the Temple of Jerusalem, as we read in the ninth chapter of the third *Book of Kings*[158] and at the end of the eighth chapter of the second book of *Paralipomenon*". These are the words of Pacheco, who was aboard the flagship as the chief adviser of the admiral in legal and scientific matters. Dias was to establish a factory in

Sofala to barter Portuguese produce for gold, which the natives were believed to mine in unlimited quantities.

The two ships of the brothers Dias, Bartholomew and Diogo, were destined for this work, and laden with merchandise considered suitable for the native market. In Diogo's ship went also Afonso Furtado, who was to be appointed secretary of the trade agent in the warehouse which it was proposed to build at Sofala. Diogo having been secretary to Vasco da Gama on his flagship, had gained some experience of the Bantu tribes, and of the nature of the traffic between the Arabs and the tribes of this coast. On that voyage to India they had missed Sofala, both going and coming. This time their first rendezvous after leaving Brazil was to be Mozambique. But the elements disposed otherwise, and Cabral's men began to scent danger when a comet appeared, which dragged a long tail in the direction of Africa for nine days.[159]

A hurricane arose which scattered the fleet, driving the ship of Diogo Dias before it to the east; and when he was able to halt, he found himself off the east coast of Madagascar. They were obliged to part with the merchandise they carried (knives, hatchets, small mirrors and hand-bells), in order to obtain food. Diogo was evidently not as good a sailor as his brother, for he pressed in a northerly direction, still hoping to reach Mozambique. Instead of this he doubled Cape Guardafui, the eastern horn of Africa, and made the port of Berbera in the Gulf of Aden.

Here some Arab traders hatched a plot to capture his ship. It was however frustrated by the skill of Diogo Dias and the courage of his chief gunner, who rose from a sick bed, and with a crew all suffering the lassitude of fever, dispersed the Arabs, and escaped into the Indian Ocean. Only thirteen emaciated men were left when they rejoined Cabral on his homeward hourney at Cape Verde.[160] Unwittingly Diogo Dias had established a record. For the first time he had sailed round all the ocean coasts of Africa, from the Red Sea to the Pillars of Hercules.

Meantime four of Cabral's ships were sunk by the typhoon which had carried Diogo Dias to the north, without leaving a trace behind, and among them was the

ship of Bartholomew Dias. Thus disappeared also the other part of the consignment of goods destined for the Sofala trade. As King Manuel wrote to the Spanish sovereigns, it meant that for this year the Sofala project was at an end; "because of the two ships sent there one was lost, and the other separated from the fleet in a hurricane did not return".[161]

Cabral himself however was able to do something to prepare the way for the next expedition that was to take up the project, by gathering information on the spot. His first chance came on the outward journey. Six of the ships that weathered the hurricane assembled by good fortune in the neighbourhood of the Primeiras Islands, a small group about ninety miles south of Mozambique. There they spied two Saracen ships that promised rich booty, and were evidently on their way to some Turkish port of the Red Sea. After a hot pursuit they were captured. But when captured they were found to belong to a certain Sheikh Foteima, cousin of Portugal's ally, the King of Malindi. They were immediately released with apologies for thinking that they were pirates, and were given some compensation.

The Anonymous Pilot in his racy account of this incident has a story that deserves to live. The Muslim had thrown overboard some of the consignment of gold that they were bringing from the mines of Sofala. When released, the captain of the captured ship asked the Portuguese, if they had on board any wizard who could charm back the gold which they had thrown into the sea. But Cabral replied: "We are Christians and have no usages of this kind". Cabral in turn plied Foteima with questions about the mines, being told that they belonged to the Arab King of Kilwa and were very rich.

It was at Mozambique on the return journey that Cabral first heard of the complete failure of the attempt to exploit King Solomon's mines. He immediately ordered the Spanish nobleman Sancho de Tovar, who had lost his own ship on the shoals near Malindi, to take the small vessel of Luis Pires now seriously ill; and he assigned to Sancho as pilot an Indian from Gujarat, whom they had captured and who knew the coast well. They were to sail at once for Sofala, make a thorough examination

of the whole place, and report to Lisbon as soon as possible.[162]

Gaspar of India accompanied Tovar, as well as some Arab traders of Mozambique who were accustomed to do profitable business in Indian goods at Sofala, chiefly calico and beads. Tovar gave valuable presents of European goods to the ruler of Sofala, which he returned in gifts of gold beads. In this friendly way the Portuguese captain was able to obtain from the half-caste Arab[163] a letter in Arabic, asking Cabral to send more ships of this kind to his country. When Tovar sailed home, he touched only at Mossel Bay ; and he reported in Lisbon that Sofala was a small island in the mouth of a river, to which the gold came from mines on a mountain inland.

At Mossel Bay, according to Gaspar Corrêa, Tovar left a letter for the outbound fleet, knowing that the king intended to send a fleet every year to India in March or April. It is quite likely, if we compare dates, that John da Nova received this letter, as Corrêa states. Barros mentions only the letter of Pero d'Ataide, which Nova received in the improvised post office of the Indian Ocean at Mossel Bay. Ataide's letter, wrapped in an old shoe and tied to a tree, told Nova of the factories founded at Cochin and Cananor, warned him against Calicut, and mentioned that the attempt to found a factory at Sofala had failed. Tovar's letter would add the welcome news that the Arab-Bantu chief there had become friendly, and that Lisbon goods fetched ten times their home value, because the payments were made in gold. King Manuel himself is our witness[164] that he was convinced by Sancho de Tovar of the existence of large deposits of gold near Sofala, since " the very cattle of the local king wore collars of gold around their necks ". Cabral indeed had come to an understanding with the King of Kilwa, who was suzerain of Sofala ; but Sancho de Tovar had received favourable promises from the ruler of Sofala himself.

The most important of Cabral's aims and achievements will be dealt with in the next chapter. Here it will be sufficient to note the care that the king took to enlist the hearty co-operation of all ranks of the fleet, so as to make it an efficient working and fighting unit, capable of meeting any enemy of Portugal's ambitions.

The King equipped the ships for a voyage of two years, though it lasted only sixteen months, as he was determined to be on the safe side. Hence his legitimate boast, that in this difficult journey only three men had perished of disease out of 1,500, whereas in Vasco da Gama's expedition two-thirds of the men died of disease.

Manuel summoned to court the Commissary General of Portugal, George de Vasconcellos, to assure himself that every man in the fleet was properly provided with food and clothing.[165] Everything was on a generous scale. Able bodied seamen received a year's salary in advance: sixty-five pounds if married, and half that sum if unmarried. Cabral's salary for the whole period of service was five thousand pounds; the captains were paid five hundred pounds for every hundred tons of their ships' measurement. At least one-half of these salaries was paid before the expedition left Lisbon. Eight secular priests accompanied the ships as chaplains, and eight Franciscan friars sailed for the purpose of establishing Christian missions in India.

Manuel had great hopes of securing the genuine friendship of the Rajah of Calicut. But with the experiences of Vasco da Gama in mind he provided for the contingency of failure. Not only did he have a second string to his bow in the offers to be made to the Rajah of Cochin, but he was prepared to meet any active opposition. Besides a strong force of trained cross-bowmen he had an artillery captain with each ship, and a sufficient number of guns to outrange any force that the hostile Moors could bring against them.

CHAPTER VIII.

Cabral and Nova Organise the Cape Route.

THE fame of Cabral to-day rests mainly on his annexation of Brazil, which is to Portugal what the United States of North America are to Great Britain ; a daugher that rivals the greatness of their mother country. Then Brazil was a land of charming and good-looking savages, as all the early explorers testify ; yet with no immediate prospect of quick profits. But Cabral brought home from India the greatest cargo of wealth that Portugal had as yet received from abroad.

This result he had achieved by a judicious interpretation of the instructions received from the king. The Muslim of Calicut had proved too strong to allow these instructions to be carried out in their entirety. All the chroniclers devote vivid chapters to the gallant feats of arms by which the Portuguese strove to gain a footing in the rich emporium of Calicut, as Vasco da Gama had assured the king that they could do. But Manuel had impressed upon his captains that whilst arms might open a road for trade, only good will could make the path of trade secure.

By a brave show of naval strength Cabral persuaded the Rajah to allow him to build a warehouse, and to set up a trade agency with Aires Corrêa as the first superintendent. The friendly letter in Arabic which Manuel wrote to the Rajah pleased him greatly by its courteous terms ; but the Rajah himself needed some adequate physical force behind his throne, in order to enable him to enforce his own wishes upon the powerful Muslim traders of his kingdom. He even agreed to send on board six of the leading Brahmins, as hostages, when Cabral refused to go ashore without this security. But these hostages seem to have come to a previous understanding with the Arabs of Calicut ; for at the very moment when the conference with the Portuguese broke down on shore, the six hostages plunged into the sea in accordance with a

pre-concerted plan, though three of them were recaptured. "This sort of parleying seems a beginning of war", was Cabral's laconic comment. And so it was.[166]

A short-lived peace was signed and sealed under the royal *cerame*, the decorated canopy of teak and fine tapestry which the Rajah erected for this purpose near the shore, where all the negotiations had been conducted. Spice contracts profitable to Hindus and Portuguese were the main items of discussion and treaty. In order to facilitate these, the Portuguese were given storehouses near the shore, and about seventy officials were put in possession. Rooms were also provided for the Franciscan friars, who were to devote themselves to preaching.

All this time Cabral was suffering from the effects of malarial fever. The Arab traders were busy bribing the officials of the Rajah; and the Portuguese were handicapped by having to use Gaspar of India as their interpreter, since none of them had had time to learn the Tamil language as yet. This was a most serious disadvantage. What disasters even the modern world might have avoided, if Sir Edward Grey, Mr. Lloyd George and President Wilson had known French and German! When the first signs of treacherous behaviour began to appear, Cabral sent messengers to warn the Rajah that it would be monstrous, if he did not suppress these tricks, as he was an honourable man.

No one can say with certainty whence the spark came that kindled war between the Indians and the Portuguese of the factory. Cabral believed that it came at the instigation of an Arab merchant, whom Aires Corrêa trusted as a friend.[167] "A disloyal friend is more potent to destroy you than a declared enemy", exclaimed Cabral, when he heard that Corrêa had been murdered, as he had often warned him against this man. "At any rate he died like a true gentleman, and I would rather have his death than my malarial fever". Only twenty out of the seventy Portuguese escaped with their lives, and all the survivors were badly wounded with arrows. Among these was the twelve-year old son of Aires Corrêa named Anthony, who lived to become one of the most renowned captains in all India.

A council of war was held at once on the flagship. It

was resolved to wait twenty-four hours, in order to give the Rajah time to explain what looked like his treacherous inaction. In the meantime every Arab ship that they could lay hands on, whether in port or on the coast, was burned or sunk ; fifteen in all, eight of them being large cargo ships.

Next day as no apology came from the Rajah, the town of Calicut was bombarded with big guns from the ships. An eyewitness tells us that nearly six hundred persons were killed in the sunken ships, and in the city more than could be counted. Before the World War Anglo-Saxon historians used to deplore the "medieval" babarity of these acts of the Portuguese pioneers. But this kind of barbarity is not a medieval copyright. The most recent form of civilisation has discovered no better way of settling vital differences between nations ; as indeed these critics of Portugal might have learned in 1882 from the bombardment of Alexandria by a British admiral, or the British threat to bombard Lisbon in 1891. The progress of our type of civilisation has rather perfected the implements of destruction in the hands of rich nations. Science too has become the servile handmaid of the politicians by producing daily new engines of far more effective brutality.

But Cabral had nourished the soldierly hope, that after two days of this bombardment the Rajah would be brought to his senses, and conform to the wishes of the Portuguese. He found that Calicut was not in the least repentant for the murder of Aires Corrêa, but merely infuriated at the damage done to the city. The Portuguese now realised that the breach with the Rajah was complete ; so they passed on to Cochin and Cananor, as the king had ordered them to do, if this fear of his materialised.

Cochin and Cananor were rivals of Calicut, or rather poor relations who were only too glad to divert to themselves a portion of the spice trade of that rich port. Gaspar of India conforted Cabral by telling him, that in reality more spices were obtainable in Cochin, although its king was less rich and powerful. The fame of the military prowress of the Portuguese had also reached Cochin. Its Rajah was now more favourably disposed towards Portugal than ever, also because Cabral began negotiations by restoring to him two Cochin ships which

he had captured at Calicut, thinking them to be Arab ships from Mecca. Cochin had good reasons to hope that these visitors would be valuable friends.

The path of diplomacy was further smoothed by a Yogi, whom the Franciscans had converted to the Christian faith at Calicut and named Michael in baptism. Barros says that he was a Brahmin. As sometimes happens with mystical temperaments, he was also much alive to the realities of this workaday world. For he insisted with the Rajah that gold formed the strongest muscle of any state, and these Portuguese came prepared to pay in gold for all they wanted. The argument also pleased two Arab traders, brothers, who were influential in the city, and joined in persuading Cochin to support the Portuguese.

But fair promises on the coast of Malabar did not seem to have long lives ; so that Cabral felt after his experiences at Calicut that caution was required, even when he had the enthusiastic welcome of the Rajah of Cochin. He asked for the usual hostages and four Brahmins were sent aboard the ships. In order to forestall any suspicion of conquest, Cabral allowed only nine Portuguese to go ashore for the purpose of arranging the cargoes of spices.

It was the beginning of the factory of Cochin, destined to become the most important city in Portuguese India after Goa. Gonsalo Gil Barbosa was appointed superintendent of the factory there. His more famous nephew, Edward, was also with the fleet, taking those voluminous notes that grew into his remarkable *Livro*.[168] Both men had been trained in the business service of the wealthy Dom Alvaro de Braganza, and were detailed for this expedition, in which much of Alvaro's cash was invested.[169] The business of buying and loading the spices was in the hands of these experienced men. It was completed in a fortnight, whereas they had been three months negotiating at Calicut in vain.

Two considerations, however, prevented them from starting at once for home. The first was a challenge from their Arab enemies of Calicut. The evening before the Portuguese sailed the Rajah of Cochin warned them that a large fleet of Calicut was mobilised to attack them on the way home, and he offered help. Cabral's answer was typical of the fidalgo of the day. " I kiss the Rajah's

hand as he is the loyal vassal of my king, but I shall not need his aid. We Portuguese are accustomed to beat these Moors. But I shall bear away with me this loyalty of the Rajah as a memory more precious than all the wealth of India".

This was no mere rodomontade. For Cabral was not the type of soldier who believes in settling every argument with the gun. At Mozambique on the way out he had even endured insult without immediate chastisement, when the service of the king required it. Now his instinct as a fighting admiral conflicted for a moment with his duty as the king's deputy, charged to preserve intact ships whose loss would involve the kingdom of Portugal in commercial ruin. It was the time for out-manoeuvring the enemy, and this he did without firing a shot.

The second cause of delay was a promise that he had given the Rajah of Cananor: to call there for some part of his cargo of spices. He needed no more, but he felt obliged to honour his promise. When Cabral's ships sailed into that port, it swarmed with boats offering ginger and cinnamon for cash. As he could buy only a small quantity, his ships being full, the Rajah thought that his cash was exhausted, and offered to advance all the cash he wanted to make further purchases. Cabral therefore invited the Rajah's officers to inspect three coffers on board the flagship in which there was enough gold coin to buy cargoes for the five or six ships which had been lost.

Hearing that there were two ambassadors of Cochin on board bound for Lisbon, the Rajah of Cananor also insisted on sending an envoy of his to King Manuel. Cabral assured him that he was a far-seeing prince, because the friendship of Portugal could make his kingdom richer and more powerful than Calicut. On the sixteenth of January, 1501, the Portuguese fleet sailed for East Africa.

Near Malindi they captured a large ship richly laden. Finding that it was the property of a Mohammedan prince of Cambaya, they set it free again, as they were not at war with that prince of India.[170] If it had come from Calicut or Mecca, they would have kept it as a reprisal, said Cabral. But the other peoples of India would always find peace and friendship on the part of Portugal. Even

east of Suez law meant much to the Portuguese admirals, whose ideas were shaped by the two famous medieval codes of the sea: the *Consolato del Mare* and the regulations codified by Manuel himself in his *Ordenaçoes da India*. Their foundation was the principle formulated by Manuel in his *Ordinaçoes do Reino*[9] "Justice is necessary at all times, in peace and in war; for it is the chief and most excellent of all the virtues that are becoming in a prince".[171]

The first of Cabral's ships reached Lisbon on St. John's eve, the twenty-third of June. They had doubled the Cape of Good Hope in beautiful weather on Easter of the Flowers, as the pilot calls Whitsunday.[172] When Cabral disembarked at Lisbon, the Venetian ambassador Pisani was being entertained at dinner by King Manuel. Pisani had arrived at the end of March of that year, 1501, and even then he found everyone jubilant in expectation of the early arrival of Cabral's fleet. To put Manuel in good humour for negotiating about these expected spices, Pisani had suggested to the Signoria that they should present him with a fine barge, "as he is fond of boating on the Tagus".

There was a grim irony about the situation of the Venetian ambassador, but he was a diplomatist and congratulated the king. He did not relish having to convey Manuel's message to the Signoria, inviting them to send their galleys to Lisbon as Portugal "would compel the Sultan to give up the spice trade." Pisani[173] adds this warning note to the Signoria: "they have loaded up their cargoes in Calicut (*sic*) at a price I fear to mention. They say that the cinnamon cost them less than a ducat per hundredweight".

On the other hand when the king learned the number of ships that Cabral had lost in the great hurricane, he was genuinely distressed.[174] The Lisbon mob called Cabral the unlucky admiral. The "unlucky man" is one of those spectres that torment the superstitious in every age despite their unreality. In our credulous cinema-age he is a stock character. Manuel's religion prevented him from avowing any such dread of fate, but nothing could prevent him from feeling unhappy about the sad fate of so many men and ships.

But in fact Cabral had been lucky enough to break many records on this journey. His ships were the first to bring Europeans to Madagascar from the south, the very first to cross from America to India, the first to make Sofala and the Gulf of Aden from the south, and they had for the first time brought Europe's full yearly supplies of spices from India by the ocean route. That surely was luck enough for any one man's life.

Moreover the astronomer of this expedition was the first writer to give the constellation of the Southern Cross the name it now bears. Alvise da Mosto at the mouth of the River Gambia in 1455 had seen the principal stars of this group, but he called it the Car of the South. The whole constellation was observed in 1500 at Vera Cruz in Brazil by John Faras "bachelor of arts and medicine, and physician and surgeon to the king", who was on board one of the smallest of the ships of Cabral's fleet. Suffering from a severe chronic wound in the leg, as well as from sense of confinement on so small a ship, yet he roused himself to make a report to the king on two special points, because "Your Highness will hear about all other matters of importance from many other persons".

First he discusses the latitude of Vera Cruz. But here the observations of the pilots were so divergent, as the rolling of the ships affected their marine astrolabes, that "Your Highness would laugh if you could see them". A definite report can only be made, when "we compare notes as we hope to do as soon as we reach the Cape of Good Hope". He ends: "in spite of all difficulties I have worked hard to make accurate observations of the stars of the South. The stars here are very clear, especially those of the Cross." He attaches a diagram of the stars that compose this constallation. Fourteen years later a famous pilot, John de Lisboa, completed these observations in his "Instructions Concerning the Southern Cross".

Barros warns the historian[175] not to devote too much time to the individual, "as this breaks the muscle (he evidently means the continuity) of history where its greatest strength ought to be". That is a wise saying, if it means a protest in advance against the modern worship of personality as the key to human development. Great

characters and great individuals always abound, but great opportunities are comparatively few. Even the small man, individually contemptible, may sometimes fall into a position, especially through the strange vicissitudes of party politics, where he presses the button releasing herculean forces which the activities of others had accumulated. Hence also the phenomenon which another Portuguese writer has observed: that many a Scipio Africanus has perished unwept and unsung, because his opportunity never came.

We can however say this much of Peter Alvares Cabral, that he rose to the height of the opportunity which his sovereign's favour conferred upon him, showing exemplary patience and humanity in dealing with Africans and Indians, as well as a paternal sollicitude for his own men. In the business side of the venture he displayed a minor interest, leaving the details to others.

The Venetian ambassador describes with a tinge of sadness, how in the months following Cabral's return the atmosphere of Lisbon was full of sunshine. Not only did the king declare that his Indian policy was a success; but at length the court, the merchants and the people agreed with him. "They all imagine that their fortunes are made", writes Pisani, "especially if our Venetian galleys will come to Lisbon instead of Alexandria."[176]

The cargoes that Cabral landed in Lisbon became a leaven of trade in Europe of the west. The new machinery for dealing with it was gradually built up by the king and his advisers in commerce. Even before Cabral's return a second step in this direction had been taken by Manuel in sending out a fleet of four ships under John da Nova.

The aim of this expedition was clearly to complete the organisation in India, and Africa, for gathering up the spices and for forwarding them regularly to Lisbon. At the date of Nova's departure the king knew nothing of the failure of Cabral to establish a market in Calicut. In the instructions to Nova, he sets forth the steps to be taken in the event of this check to his plans. When therefore Nova left Lisbon, he too was in the dark as to his line of action in India, as he did not know the facts of the situation.

The old shoe at Mossel Bay settled this question for him, when he found Pero de Ataide's letter in it on the seventh

of July, 1501. It warned Nova to avoid Calicut as hopeless, and instructed him to cultivate Cochin and Cananor. It referred him for the latest news about Cabral to the ship's carpenter Anthony Fernandes, a released prisoner, who had been left at Mombasa. In reality they found him at Kilwa with two letters: one from Cabral which had been despatched from Mozambique by the hands of friendly Arabs, and another from the same to any captain passing by.

Fernandes also imparted important news about Kilwa itself. The Arabs there were divided into bitter factions. One side was favourable to the Portuguese, and its leader, Mohammed Anconi[177] protected Fernandes from murderous plots on the part of many of the traders and the populace. Anconi was the richest man in the place, and he evidently felt that the newcomers were the people to back, if he was to retain his wealth. During his short stay at Kilwa Nova was able to confirm these statements; and he gained the impression that the Sheikh was really hostile, though he dissembled. For the present however, Nova did not betray his distrust of the Sheikh, whose Arabic name was Fudayl, because the fleet had more urgent tasks to perform in India. "The insolence of the Moors did not disturb us; because if we did not have many ships, we had artillery enough to deal with them effectively when the time came".

This was also the answer that Nova gave the Rajah of Cananor, when the latter advised him to load his ships at Cranganor, because a hostile fleet of forty ships was waiting to ambush him at Calicut. The only Portuguese warehouses were at Cochin, as he had now learned. Four ships with only 350 men could not grapple with forty ships at close quarters; so when the Arab fleet hove in sight, the Portuguese raked them with gun-fire for two days and a night, outranging their weak cannon and sinking fourteen ships. The survivors fled to their base at Calicut and the Portuguese sailed to Cochin.

Before returning home with his ships laden, Nova completed the organisation of the royal trade agencies in India. All the contemporary accounts hint that Cochin was sufficient to supply the Portuguese requirements at this time. The reasons for establishing another factory

at Cananor were political. Besides the ancient settlement of Christians here and at Cranganor, there was a large and more ancient quarter of Jews,[178] which seems to have originated with refugees from the Babylonian captivity in the eighth century before Christ. These made common cause with the Hindu Christians, because both were persecuted by the Muslim. Both sections welcomed the Portuguese as garantors of their religious freedom, and soon began to send volunteers to the Portuguese army. This was an additional reason for conciliating the Rajah of Cananor, who already felt aggrieved that Cochin should have an advantage that he did not share. Of the four ships under Nova's command one belonged to Dom Alvaro de Braganza and another to Bartholomew Marchioni, two being financed by the King.

A retainer of the Portuguese investors, one Payo Rodrigues, was appointed superintendent of the spice traffic of Cananor. Marchioni was represented by an Italian trained in his counting house in Lisbon. This official travelled in Marchioni's ship captained by Ferdinand Vineti,[179] who was probably a member of the Sernigi family. Though all these office-holders were formally appointed by royal decree, the king allowed the merchants to nominate two of the captains and the two factors.

But why did King Manuel send such a small fleet under John da Nova before he had learned the fate of Cabral's venture? Only two royal ships were with Nova, and the number suggests a scouting party rather than a world adventure in trade. When Cabral's ships did return, Manuel informed Dominic Pisani that he intended to fit out twenty ships every year.[180] This was evidently his estimate of the full amount of business to be done annually in spices on the European market, allowing no doubt for a certain percentage of loss in shipping. But when Nova's fleet sailed, things were still somewhat uncertain in detail, and the king's anxiety was to get the fullest information upon which to build as soon as possible. It was the first of those special couriers of the ocean that were to be sent in between regular fleets, and became a feature of Manuel's overseas administration.

Nova was a well-tried official, and came of the resourceful and vigorous race that inhabitated the

Spanish province of Galicia. After some years spent in useful work on the seas, he was appointed chief of police in Lisbon. In this office he had secured the confidence of the king. During the voyage to India he was uniformly successful. He not only brought back all his ships filled with spices, but he discovered the island of Ascension, another island near Mozambique, which still bears his name, and possibly the island of St. Helena[181] which for centuries was a paradise of rest and refreshment for the Portuguese mariner, especially when returning home wearied with the buffetings of two oceans. "The king received him with great honours", writes Barros, "for what he had accomplished both as a gentle knight and as a far-seeing man of business".

It is instructive to note that the first big sale of spices in Antwerp took place some months after Nova's return from India.[182] This assumed the form of a contract, early in 1503, between Thomas Lopes, who was Manuel's representative in Antwerp, and Nicolas von Rechtergem, who organised the retailing of spices in Germany.

As long as the headquarters of the Netherlands trade system was at Bruges, the South German merchants had played a part in general commerce subordinate to the Portuguese and Spaniards; but at Antwerp in the beginning of the sixteenth century their role became more important, especially that of the men from Augsburg. Testimony to this fact is borne even to-day by the Fugger Street and the Hochstetter Street in that city. The Germans sold bronze and other base metals, to which the Augsburgers added the coarse cloth called fustian, and they all bought the manufactured products of north and south Europe. In the rising spice trade with the Crown of Portugal the Germans soon took the first place as buyers.

Albrecht Dürer in his *Tagebuch* bears witness to the importance of the Netherlands agent of the King of Portugal for the trade and cultural life of Antwerp, when its greatest prosperity began. The factor from Lisbon did more business with the south Germans than any section of merchants. Lopes of Lisbon and Rechtergem of Aachen were the pioneers of this new co-operation between Portugal and Germany.[183]

Thus the Portuguese discoveries had a favourable reflex action on the mines of Germany. The most convenient form of payment for Indian wares was in silver and copper. These metals formed great part of the cargo of ships that went from Portugal to trade in India, and the principal source of supply was in the German mines. In the trade privileges which Manuel granted the Germans on the thirteenth of January, 1503, brass, quicksilver, and mercury ore (cinnebar) are mentioned as wares already imported for the Guinea trade. But the Mozambique coast and India stimulated very notably the production of these German mines.

Portugal was the senior partner in these joint speculations. Lopes had founded the Antwerp factory in 1498, and was also the official deputed to raise loans for the king. The first large transaction in spices was effected eighteen months after Cabral had landed them in Lisbon. When we remember the revolution that it meant in the habits of the brokers, the delay was not excessive. Guicciardini[184] records the reluctance of the German retailers to buy through Antwerp at first, because they feared that these spices might be adulterated, their former supplies having come from Venice.

But the large credits which King Manuel thus received at the beginning of the year came at a most opportune moment.[185] The excessive rains that year ruined all the crops ; and as the year advanced even the well-to-do were unable to obtain bread or vegetables at home. Manuel at once countermanded a large military expedition which he was preparing for North Africa, ordering instead supplies of food for all the people, to be imported from Holland, Flanders, France and England. The caravels of Peter Alvares Cabral and John da Nova had brought home the wealth which saved Portugal from famine.

This good fortune encouraged the king to make a new contract at the end of that year with a big German company,[186] headed by Anton Welser of Augsburg and Conrad Vöhlin for the handling of spices, brazil wood and Indian goods generally. Cazano Negro, the banker, of Genoa informs us that some members of the German firm had arrived in Lisbon by the end of August, and had signed their contract. By Manuel's concession in 1505 three

large ships were fitted out for India by another company consisting of the Fuggers, Höchstetter, Gossembrot, Imhoff and Hirschvogel as shareholders.

But this venture brought forcibly before the Germans the speculative nature of such voyages for them. Two circumstances lessened the profits that they had hoped to make; the irregular distribution of the dividends, and the delay in paying out their share of the booty derived from the sack of Kilwa and Mombasa, in which, as we shall see, their ships took part. Yet in spite of these drawbacks their profit on capital invested amounted to about 53 per cent. for each of the three years that the expedition lasted.

At Antwerp the bulk of the spice trade developed into a system of barter with Germany, which was virtually in a few hands on each side. By 1520 there was a consortium for drugs and pepper represented by Lucas Rem for the Fuggers, by a representative of the Welsers, and by an agent named Jorge for some other important German houses. Their proportionate shares in the trade were in the ratio of 3 : 4 : 5. Several other German houses which were not able to find a way of participating in this lucrative field sent a formal protest to King Manuel in 1520; but the arrangement suited Portugal, and he refused to make any further change in the system in vogue.

In the last months of the year 1501, before the return of John da Nova's ships, Manuel appears to have had a moment of despondency. Or was it just finesse? He confided to a Venetian friend that, unless things turned out better this year than last, he might have to abandon the whole enterprise.[187] A less resolute man than Manuel might have then admitted some reason for depression. Only five laden ships had returned out of thirteen with Cabral, of these only four were royal ships, the Calicut factory had been plundered and many precious jewels were stolen, to say nothing of the loss of so many lives. This was a price that Portugal could not afford to pay for every four shiploads of spices. So gossiped the croakers. But the return of Nova's fleet intact, with every ship full, must have shown even the croakers among the King's advisers, that there was a more hopeful side to the enterprise. Manuel was strategist enough to allow his Venetian

friend, Piero Pasqualigo di Filippo, to hear the pessimistic view, so that he might pass it on and reassure the watchful Senate in Venice, whilst he himself prosecuted his life's work at high pressure.

Looking back at these events three centuries later, Adam Smith declared[188] that from the economic standpoint the establishment of this system of trade around the Cape of Good Hope was one of the two most important events in the history of mankind. The other was the discovery of America. As a result of these great achievements of Portugal and Spain, two new worlds of markets were opened for the manufacturers and carriers of the old world. These enterprising men of the end of the fifteenth century dwelt chiefly on the shores of the Mediterranean, the Baltic and the western Atlantic. They began, in the opening years of the sixteenth century, to increase their output of manufactured goods for the numerous and increasingly thriving natives of Asia, Africa and America.

Each of the two new worlds, east and west, that now stimulated Europe's industry, was greater and more populous than the old world. Of the two new worlds the more immediately promising was that of the East Indies, which was entered by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Spain was eventually to get more silver and gold from America. But Portugal had two advantages that could be seen at once. She tapped a trade of greater volume, and a trade with races that were more civilised and richer than all the savages of America, namely, the peoples of Hindustan, China and Japan. This was the trade route that Cabral and Nova first organised in south-east Africa, Arabia and India.

King Manuel saw clearly enough that he would have to fight the Muslim of India for control of the Indian Ocean, which these foreigners from Egypt, Turkey and Arabia, had wrested from the hands of the native Hindus. He believed that Portugal would be a better friend of the native Indians than the domineering Muslim. But a firm hold on the lines of communication with Europe was a pre-requisite of all these possibilities. Cabral and Nova brought home valuable information about the conditions essential for Portuguese security on both coasts of the Cape of Good Hope.

CHAPTER IX.

The Title Deeds of Empire.

JUST after Cabral's return from India the critics of King Manuel's overseas policy were heard again. They made much of the murder of Aires Corrêa and the fifty men who perished with him at Calicut. These races of India were evidently very different from the peaceful and submissive pagans whom they met in Guinea, in fact along the whole west coast of Africa. These western Africans brought gold, a moderate amount of spices and much other valuable merchandise to the seashore ; and they were glad to do mutually profitable business with Portugal. Was it really worth while undertaking the perils of these new markets, where they would have to wrest with arms from unwilling natives every pound of trade that they could acquire ?

It was enough to inspect a sailing chart to realise what the future would bring. The length of the coast that the ships had to traverse was appalling. But when you noted the zig-zag course which the ships had to pursue, it meant that they went twice round the world every time they sailed to India and back. These charts produce the same effect upon the mind of the plain man as the pictures of the labours of Hercules, of which the poets sing. We feel sorry for Hercules, even though we know that the Globe upon his shoulders is only a painted thing. But under the weight of a real world, half of which was already on Portugal's shoulders, she would stumble and fall beyond the hope of recovery.[189] The idea of converting these nations to the Christian faith was a dream, continued the critics. The apostle Saint Thomas had not fully succeeded on account of their thousand sects and many vices. We have the Muslim to deal with besides, which he had not. They are as numerous in the city of Calicut alone, as along the whole caost from Ceuta to Alexandria. Moreover they are richer than the Moors of North Africa, because for centuries they have battened on the wealth of India.

These views were strongly voiced by some members of the King's Council, and by some influential noblemen who were personal friends of Manuel. But there was no real wavering on his part. He fully realised the difficulty of the plans he was pursuing, but with the manhood of Portugal behind him he had no fear of failure.

If the Arabs really wanted war, they should get it, but he would not suffer their domination of India. He knew also, writes Barros, that money is the essence of war. The two Indian kings who were already allies of Portugal, in Cochin and Cananor, were enough to show what wealth Portugal could amass by a policy of peace and fair dealing with the native races. To exist, Portugal needed both money and bread; but her greatness would depend upon the soul of her people, the leadership of the fidalgos and the wisdom of the King.

Manuel's final decision was prompted by motives of another kind. He took to heart the warnings of those who were opposed to his schemes, in so far as this meant guarding against possible dangers by careful preparation; as "great edifices are only strong and lasting when built upon deep foundations of hard work". But he felt keenly that the honour of his ancestors pledged him to the duty of persevering in their noble designs, which already had a history of seventy years.

But he could only do honour to their memory, if he continued the work in the spirit in which they had begun it. The Christian conscience of the Portuguese kings held that only what was just in public life could exalt a nation. Hence Manuel declared that the time had arrived to let the world know, on what grounds of international law his Indian and South African policy was being pressed. This is the significance of the new title which the King now assumed,[190] and communicated to the other courts of Europe: "Lord of the navigation, conquest and commerce of Ethiopa, Arabia, Persia and India".

The rights claimed by this title may be summed up in a few plain words. It meant the control of navigation in the seas of the four countries mentioned, or in modern phraseology the maintenance of the freedom of these seas. It implied suzerainty over the local kings in this

area, and the right of fair trade in each country secured by contracts with the local authorities.

But the matter is of such importance for the right perspective of all subsequent Portuguese history in our seas, and so much misrepresentation has been committed here by foreign writers, that it deserves careful consideration.

By right of prior discovery and in virtue of the strength of her fleet, Portugal claimed to be the guardian of the freedom of these seas, which no other nation had ever occupied in the efficient way that they were policed by her ships. "Whosoever wishes to sail upon the seas safely and peacefully, even though he be a heathen or a Mohammedan, can do so by obtaining from one of our captains the safe conduct which we call the *cartaz*". It is the same principle of control which in modern times strong governments exercise for their own interests in the form of quotas, tariffs and passports, in time of peace; and in war time by navicerts and similar devices.

The historian Barros is not always as consistent in the application of these principles as the contemporary lawyers, such as Osorio; and here the analogy with modern times is striking. Compare the admirable maxims of international and naval law professed by the advanced governments of Europe, before 1914, with the practices of these governments during the ten years that followed, practices that their historians and *literati* defended. The old Roman maxim is one of the few eternal truths in such matters: "inter arma leges silent". The law is not abolished, but it is practically silent, because it's voice is not heard above the din of battle. When it comes to a real bitter fight, few belligerents are hampered by law, and all patriotic historians can unearth reasons of some sort to justify them. If any nation has come near to being an exception to this unhappy rule of human frailty, it is the Portugal of King Manuel.

Only once does Barros even seem to relax his sternness in applying the same law to foreigners and his countrymen alike. "Although by common law the seas are common and open to all navigators, and although by the same law we are bound to give access to the possessions which each nation may have on our borders, or for their convenience

where there is no other way, that (Roman) law only holds for Europe and for Christian nations". The inconsistency however is only superficial; because the Roman law of Europe, of which he was writing meant the international agreements between European nations. These could only cover the peoples which had specifically entered the European order. It was not the Roman law but the law of nature, based on natural reason, which protected all peoples alike, and protected all men in the exercise of their human rights. In the tradition of the Middle Ages that was no man-made law, but a law of God; since God had given reason to man with these implied laws that commended themselves to every normal mind.

Outside of Europe, and especially on the eastern seas, Portugal claimed to be the legislator. She refused to recognise any claims at all on the part of the Arabs on account of their conquests in India, because these were aggressions. But in other cases the Portuguese were prepared to consider claims made to them, and to apply the principles of Roman law "in so far as they were just and comformable to reason which is the mother of all law".

But the root of King Manuel's new title lay in the phrase "lord of the conquest", which meant suzerain of the lands conquered. Conquest with the Portuguese did not mean deposing the actual king, or substituting the authority of the King of Portugal. It simply meant making the native king a vassal of the greater king; and in the feudal system vassalage was an honourable thing, not mere subjection but mutual protection, based on friendship and a graduated scale of kingship. It would be called collective security in our days, and recalls the status of the many secondary nations in the Geneva League under the virtual suzerainty of the few principal nations. The Geneva League however was a ramshackle edifice with no rational plan and no common principles, not even a coherent executive. The Portuguese empire had all these elements of sound government, and they were honestly expressed in the King's new title.

Barros explains how a similar title was understood in the previous reign of John II. "He was called Lord and not King of Guinea, because over the people of that land he

had no jurisdiction, but a real suzerainty. There was no one who opposed it, nor among the negroes was there any demarcation of states. In reality the land might have been granted to the first occupier, much more therefore to one who had it from the popes by donation".

This last statement needs explanation, especially as Barros gives it a flourish which is liable to misunderstanding: "the popes are universal lords, who can distribute among the faithful of the Church the lands possessed by those who are not subject to the yoke of the Church". In the literal sense this was contrary to the teaching of the most distinguished Catholic canonists and lawyers of that day. They did not allow any direct dominion of the popes in the temporal affairs of any Catholic kingdom, except the Papal States, and this was an exception that confirmed the rule. Much less could the popes possess direct dominion over pagan lands, where they had not even spiritual jurisdiction.[191] This was the published view of Cardinal Cajetan, the most learned of the cardinals of Alexander VI.

The Portuguese jurist, Father Seraphim de Freitas expresses the expert opinion of the day, when he asserts that the popes neither wished nor had the power to grant to Portuguese kings the lands belonging to the heathen. Later Cardinal Bellarmino[192] voiced aptly the Catholic view of the separation of the temporal and spiritual jurisdiction. "To preserve humility (*i.e.*, in popes and kings) Christ wished the pope to need the emperor's defence in temporal things, and he wished the emperor to need the pope's guidance in spiritual matters".

The gift of Alexander VI to King Manuel in the new Portuguese territories overseas was therefore no gift of lands; but in the feudal language of the day it was the act of investiture with a new secular fief, which had an ecclesiastical aspect,[193] because it carried with it the obligation of providing for the preaching of the Gospel in these lands.

By way of guidance the Pope could intervene in these matters. This is what he was asked to do by Manuel and his predecessors. In 1454 Pope Nicolas V forbade any Christian prince to interfere with the lands, which Henry the Navigator had acquired and where he was in peaceful

possession ; and the Pope " ordains this because he considers it pleasing to God's majesty". When in 1493 Pope Alexander VI " makes, constitutes and deputes " the Spanish sovereigns as " lords of the lands " which Columbus had discovered, he really declares them legitimate suzerains of what they had already *de facto* acquired.[104] It was the Church's blessing upon an international transaction, and a valuable testimony that it was in accordance with the best legal and moral opinion of the day. It also contained the admonition that these lands must be administered in harmony with the principles of the Gospel.

When it came to asserting Portugal's right to trade in India, Barros recalls the medieval doctrine, that trade requires an agreement between two persons at least, and cannot be carried out by force. It must be mutually profitable. Only when peace is established, even if the sword must intervene first to establish it, can free contracts be entered into with the kings and peoples of Africa and India, such as will benefit Portugal and them. In this spirit Manuel announced his third title : " Lord of the commerce of Ethiopa, Arabia, Persia and India ".

These were high ideals ; and it is worth recalling that the reign of Manuel was contemporary with the first years of Nicolò Machiavelli, when he was State Secretary of the Signoria of Florence. Each was responsible for the methods of the public policy of the state which he served ; and they display clearly the two conflicting codes of national policy, which divided the men of that generation.

Machiavelli[105] sought his inspiration in the pagan wisdom of the old Roman masters of the world, whom Livy has sketched for us ; and the passions of men being always the same, he imagined the secret of success to be found in methods that took no account of ethics or religion, except as useful instruments for controlling the masses. But the school of Christian statecraft held that Christ had made a difference even in the power of self-control of the passions of men. Jerome Osorio in his *Life* of King Manuel has shown that, much as Manuel loved glory, he loved honour more. He believed that no success was durable that violated the ideals of the Gospel. Wick-

edness is also folly.[196] In the long run right conduct and the true interests of the commonwealth coincide. But in any case both a man and a state must be prepared to call the world well lost, if this loss is necessary to keep their soul intact.

Hence Manuel's anxiety was to justify his public policy in the eyes of the upholders of the Christian Renaissance, now that he was about to inaugurate a forward movement in the countries washed by the Indian Ocean. To those like Machiavelli and his pupils who believed that victory brings no regrets he had nothing to say but a tacit rebuke. But he was the heir of Catholic kings, who had suffered defeat for centuries by the Saracens, and lived in caves of the Asturias Mountains rather than renounce the Faith of Christ. To all true believers therefore he owed an explanation. The assumption of this new title was a notification to the civilised world of the precise rights that he claimed in the new worlds of Africa and America, and in the old world of Asia.

In 1516 Henry VIII formally acknowledged that King Manuel had deserved the powers he claimed in the East. Giving a letter of introduction to Sir John Wallop, the English king thus addressed Manuel in Latin : " At great expense to yourself and through the great courage of your subjects, you have opened up the new, and hitherto unknown world. You have carried the victorious standards of Christ our Lord across the oceans, and right up to the Red Sea". In this Henry was the spokesman of Christian Europe of that day.

CHAPTER X.

Security in Africa and India: Gama's Second Voyage.

ACCORDING to the information that King Manuel possessed in 1502, there were three main obstacles to the realisation of his commercial ambitions in the Indian Ocean: one in Africa, one in Arabia and one in India. Kilwa, Aden and Calicut, were the danger points in Portuguese security of trade. The King had in his archives the title deeds of his suzerainty over this whole region, sealed by the valour of his soldiers and sailors, the consent of the Pope, and the approval of all Europe except the Venetians. But Portugal could not be considered in full possession of its legal rights, until the hostile forces in these three danger zones were brought into subjection.

This was the aim of the fleet that sailed from Lisbon in 1502. Peter Alvares Cabral is generally recognised by contemporary writers as the man with the best claim to lead this expedition. And yet he did not receive the appointment in the end, though he appears to have received the first offer of it from the King. Three reasons are given by different authorities for this.

Some say that he was extremely touchy in personal matters; and that he took it as a reflexion on his personal honour when the King from strategical motives determined to divide the fleet into three squadrons, each under a separate commander. He declined the appointment, writes Damian de Goes,[197] because the King detached five ships from the fleet, giving them to Vincent de Sodré for special service at the opening of the Red Sea, lest spice ships from India should find their way to the region of Alexandria through the Straits of Babelmandeb. We have already mentioned the popular nervousness about Cabral's luck. Some months before this Manuel had given Vasco da Gama the special privilege of taking command of any fleet sailing for India, even at the last moment, and even if another commander had been

appointed.[198] Gaspar Corrêa states that this time Gama made the claim on a hint from the King, and that the Queen took the unusual course of expressing her preference for this openly. She evidently agreed with the King's saying that "the man who meets with disasters at sea should flee from it". We shall therefore not be far wrong if we conclude, that all these reasons concurred to eliminate Cabral and to put Vasco da Gama in his place.

The fleet consisted of twenty ships; and for the first time we see the sketch of a strategic plan for the naval control of the seas between Africa and India, a plan designed to give security to the trade of Portugal in this area. It emanated from the King and his advisers.

In the summer Sodré's five ships were expected to patrol the Malabar coast, in order to reassure Portugal's allies, the Rajahs of Cochin and Cananor. The main body of the fleet was under the personal command of the Admiral. He brought with him all the cut timbers and other parts of a large caravel, which was to be put together at Mozambique, and placed under Captain Anthony Rodrigues, as he had rendered signal service in the preceeding fleet. Its duties would be to patrol and guard the African coast down as far as Sofala.[199]

Another squadron of five ships was captained by Stephen da Gama, Vasco's cousin. It was obviously a flying squadron, whose purpose was to reinforce any weak moment of the main fleet, or any special need of either coast. It was not ready when Vasco da Gama sailed on the tenth of February and only began its cruise on the first of April. Sodré's ships left a few days before the Admiral.

How closely Venice was watching all these proceedings, is revealed by an incident that occurred some weeks after the fleet left Lisbon. At Port Dale near Cape Verde some of the ships met Captain Ferdinand Montaroio, who was homeward bound from Elmina in a ship laden with wealth in the form of gold bracelets and jewels. As Vasco da Gama had on the flagship with him Gaspar of India and the ambassadors from Cochin and Cananor, the Admiral thought it a good opportunity to impress upon their minds the extent of Portugal's resources. He informed them that every year from ten to fifteen ships like this

one brought home the King's revenue from the Gold Coast. The Indians were frankly surprised. They then told the Admiral that this was very different from what they had heard in Lisbon from the staff of the Venetian ambassador. Those gentlemen had explained to them that Portugal was too poor to go on long doing much trade, as the country had little capital ; moreover the Portuguese were splendid soldiers, but only second-rate traders.

This naturally annoyed Vasco da Gama. Piero Pasqualigo di Filippo had come from Venice to Lisbon as special ambassador, to thank Manuel for his decisive help of a Portuguese squadron against the Turkish fleet in the Levant ; and within a few months Pasqualigo was to be a godfather to Prince John, who became the next king of Portugal. A little spying and propaganda seem the recognised province of the smaller fry on ambassadors' retinues in all ages. So Vasco da Gama bottled up his wrath and wrote to the King, "asking His Highness to thank the Ambassador of Venice, who was still in Lisbon, for the information which his servants had given the Indians". The Admiral could be a terrible man in battle and diplomacy, but he was evidently as skilful with the polite rapier, when dealing with his equals.

At Cape Corrientes the ships of Gama and Sodré met again.[200] The latter was sent to Mozambique with the ten large ships, and the Admiral made for Sofala with the four small ones, as that of Anthony do Campo had been compelled to return to Lisbon. At Sofala the Sheikh was as friendly as ever in words and the Admiral was able to obtain all the information about the people and port of the gold area that the Arabs thought well to impart. But of gold they obtained only 2,500 ducats worth. The Arabs who controlled the native miners, writes the Italian trader, Matthew of Bergamo, did not want anyone to know what the capacity of these mines was.[201] Corrêa says that the king was a Kafir, "but they were well informed in Sofala about our affairs".

Closer acquaintaince thus had not confirmed at this time the high hopes of the Portuguese about the gold of Ophir, as it is called by Thomas Lopes, who was writer aboard one of these ships, piloted by an Italian, John

Buonagrazia. But at Sofala rumours about Zimbabwe were the only subject that kindled the imagination of a stolid artilleryman from Flanders, who was in close proximity to Vasco da Gama.[202] About the long struggle for spices this is all that he has to say: "At Cochin our leader spoke with the king about buying spices and other things". The writer's name has been lost. But he claims to have spoken to persons in Sofala, who had been prisoners "in a walled town whence the gold and silver came". It was in the land of Prester John and was in constant war with Sofala. This Dutch bambardier was the type of traveller who brings home the same confused ideas with which he set out.

On the fourth of June Vasco da Gama was in Mozambique, and with him all the ships except one that had been sunk on the bar at Sofala. Perhaps it was this loss that caused him to change his mind about the caravel that was brought from Portugal in storage. It was now given to John Serrao, captain of the lost vessel, who was to become one of the most renowned pilots, and to accompany Magellan in the first circumnavigation of the globe. When they came to Kilwa and were joined by Stephen da Gama, they had a muster of nineteen ships.

The new Arab ruler of Mozambique showed himself a friend, handing to the Admiral a letter from John da Nova which gave useful information about the coasts of Africa and India. This Sheikh also took charge of a letter from the Admiral for Stephen da Gama, and its instructions no doubt brought about the concentration of the whole fleet before reaching Kilwa.

For Kilwa was the liveliest nest of hostility to Portugal on this coast. Though the present ruler, Ibrahim, had murdered his predecessor, Al Fudayl, he was for the moment firmly established. His various predecessors had gradually extended their rule from near Mogadishu to Cape Corrientes, and the radius of their trade activities reached to the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and India.

Persians in Kilwa and Arabs in Mogadishu had been the dominant powers on this coast for centuries; but the Arabs by reason of their geographical position, were the leading traders on the shores of the Red Sea. Mogadishu seems to have been the pivot of the traffic in what Europe

and Asia called Arabian gold, because Arabs were the middlemen best known to the world of that day. Thus from the mines of Monomotapa gold dust and nuggets found their way to Abyssinia, Nubia, Egypt, Idumea (Edom), the Yemen and Syria.

That Syria had early contact with the sources of Arab gold,[204] is evident from the wealth of gold vessels and ornaments taken by the Egyptians, when they ravaged Syria under the eighteenth dynasty. The gold of Egypt came at first from Nubia, but that of Syria through Midian, both bordering on the Red Sea. The wandering tribes of north Africa, called the Midianites, passed the gold on to Syria (*Isaias*, c. 60, verse 6), and were generally the intermediaries of trade between Egypt and Syria (*Genesis*, c. 37, vv. 28 and 36). Twenty-three years before Christ was born a military expedition under Aelius Gallus, the Roman prefect of Egypt, went down the Red Sea to Yemen; and both the geographer, Strabo, and the poet, Horace, assure us from their personal knowledge, that one of the objectives of this expedition was the gold of the Arabs. The splendid cohorts faded away for lack of provisions and through the ravages of strange diseases, contracted in the arid land teaming with insects For centuries after the dispersal of the Apostles of Christ both Arabia and Persia had large and influential communities of native Christians. It was largely from them that Mohammed learned what was best in the Islamic religion, which he fashioned, but this Persian and Arab Christianity was persecuted to extinction by the later Muslim. Amid all these vicissitudes the Arabs of the Red Sea and the Mozambique coast never ceased to pursue their age-long trade on the fringes of the great empires of Rome and Persia. By the coming of Vasco da Gama however both Arabs and Persians were confronted with a power more resourceful and highly-developed than even Rome had been in the Indian Ocean.

Ibrahim sensed the strength of the new class of enemy that he had to deal with in the Portuguese, and he wisely resorted to stratagem, which is the best defence of the weak. Gama, however, had heard of his tactics with Cabral, and was determined to endure no long delays of

this kind. Ibrahim set about mobilising all the men he could, Arabs and Kafirs, in case his diplomacy should fail. Vasco da Gama now appeared before Kilwa with nineteen ships, determined to put an end to diplomacy which led nowhere.

The island was then separated from the mainland by a channel, which even at low tide was knee-deep. The town built upon the island impressed the Portuguese by its comparative wealth and the quality of its houses. The Moors, to use the Portuguese term for all varieties of Muslim on this coast, had given hostages to fortune by placing all their most valuable possessions in such a vulnerable spot. They had put themselves out of the range of likely danger from the side of the Bantu tribes, but they had never dreamed of the menace of Portuguese artillery. In any case they were too backward in the military art to have an effective reply ready.

The Admiral reckoned that he was treating Ibrahim more civilly than he deserved in sending ashore Manuel's letters; when he demanded immediate submission, and the annual payment of 1,500 gold meticals or 1,584 cruzados,[205] as a token that the Sheikh intended to be a loyal vassal of Portugal. Otherwise Kilwa would be razed to the ground. The appeal to "force to the utmost" (which makes Vasco da Gama a kindred spirit to President Woodrow Wilson) decided the issue, and Ibrahim accepted the ultimatum, agreeing to pay the price of ransom from the cannon's mouth. Vasco da Gama then followed the medieval practice of guaranteeing friendship and protection to Ibrahim and his people, by sending him letters patent in the King's name to that effect with a royal standard of the *Quinas Reaes*.[206]

The money of the tribute was not yet ready, said the Amir, but he sent to the Portuguese flagship a hostage for this payment in the person of Mohammed bin Rukn Ad-Din, whom the Portuguese called Anconi, the richest citizen of Kilwa and the Amir's lieutenant. This man had been friendly to the Portuguese captains, and did much to bring Ibrahim to submit to the ultimatum, whilst the latter was now playing the last card of a desperate game. He really hated Rukn Ad-Din, whom he had long regarded as a dangerous rival, and he hoped that

Vasco da Gama would execute him; for Ibrahim had no intention of keeping his promises. The hostage had evidently gone aboard prepared for this eventuality, because after waiting the stipulated time, he paid the sum agreed himself and returned home as the protégé of the Portuguese in Kilwa.

For the time being the Admiral was satisfied with this diplomatic victory,[207] and did not proceed to kill the goose that laid the golden egg. Kilwa was worth preserving, and the Amir could be dealt with at some more convenient time. He, too, was satisfied with having regained his liberty, as he is reported to have said that "it is better to be a jackal at large, than a greyhound bound with a golden leash".

Among the historians Corrêa alone tells of an incident here, which illustrates a characteristic of Vasco da Gama that all the writers of his deeds note in different ways: his respect for the honour of women. Some handsome Arab women of Kilwa were attracted by the Portuguese, and sick of the harem life, that the Muslim law prescribed. They fled to the ships and asked to become Christians. Gama realised that they could not well become Christians until they learned the teaching of the Catholic Church. This meant taking them on the long voyage to India, and he knew that the voyage was more likely to lead to irregular living than to any sort of conversion. He decided that it was his duty to send them back to their husbands, "though I am sore at heart, for it seems inhuman. But it is the right thing to do. At least we shall have the credit of acting rationally and keeping faith".

But with the women he sent ashore his uncle to warn the Arabs, that if a single woman were ill-treated, he would burn Kilwa to the ground on his return. In some cases the husbands threatened to kill their women there and then. The few women thus threatened were taken back to the ships, and kept in guarded cabins until they reached India. In such matters Gama was a terrific disciplinarian, like his successor, Albuquerque. The latter once hanged at the masthead a young fidalgo, Rui Dias, because he seduced an Arab girl whom the Governor was taking home as a servant for the Queen.[208]

The next important rallying place of the fleet was Mount Dely in India, " a mountain close to the sea in the midst of low land, whither all the ships of both Moors and heathen steer ", as Edward Barbosa described it ten years later. Here the Admiral held a careful review of the whole fleet, because they had come within striking distance of the main enemy in Calicut.

By a stroke of singular good fortune, just when they were preparing for their strongest adversary, a large ship laden with rich merchandise from the Red Sea and bound for Calicut, hove in sight. It was manned by Egyptians and Arabs who put up a strenuous defence. The fight lasted a day and a night, before the Portuguese were able to grapple with the stranger, and to join a hand-to-hand fight on the decks.[209] The Muslim must have fought to the last man as there were more than three hundred killed. It was found to be the ship *Mery* belonging to the Sultan of Egypt, and the captain's name was Yoarfakim. Many pilgrims from Mecca were on board, and among them twenty children. These Vasco da Gama took under his own protection on the flagship.

Damian de Goes records that it was Gama's intention " to make friars of them " in the monastery of Our Lady of Bethlehem. This was one of the best schools in Portugal, highly endowed by King Manuel. We may be sure that not many of these children became friars, but all who reached Lisbon must have obtained a splendid chance of getting on in life, through the training received in this monastic school. Thomas Lopes, who witnessed this naval action from the ship of Rui Mendes de Brito, has left us a gruesome and realistic account of it. Corrêa has preserved the gossip of India about it, which said that the other captains did not approve the destruction of the *Mery* and the killing of all the adults on board. They would have been satisfied with the plunder, as a fine on the Muslim of Calicut who owned the cargo.

The fleet now called at Cananor to take home the returning ambassador, whom the Hindu King had sent to Lisbon, and to present the letters and gifts of King Manuel to his new ally in Cananor. The business arrangements did not proceed fast enough for Vasco da Gama, who was impatient to get to Calicut. He sent a stinging

letter to the Rajah of Cananor, who in a cautious reply begged for time to fulfill his trade commitments. Anxious as this ruler was to preserve Portuguese friendship as a protection against his powerful and domineering neighbour at Calicut, he was bound also to consider the trade interests of a strong minority of Muslim merchants in Cananor itself. "Where trade interests are concerned", he replied, "it is difficult to get men to agree". The soft answer appeased the wrath of the Admiral, and suitable terms were arranged later.[210]

On arrival before Calicut Vasco da Gama was inevitably in his most bellicose humour. He refused to discuss any proposal of peace, until the Samuri should promise to make complete reparation for the murder of Aires Corrêa, and for the damage done to the trade agents. When the Samuri suggested that the mutual damages were fairly equal after the destruction of the *Mery*, and that he could not in a moment get rid of the four thousand Moors in his city, the Admiral sent him an ultimatum to expire next day at noon. The covering letter[211] is described by Bishop Osorio as sharp and ferocious. No soldier would agree with the good bishop's description, and few statesmen or politicians. But Gama went much further.

When the ultimatum expired, he bombarded the town for two days, hanged thirty-six men who were captured in boats that attacked him on arrival, and sent the truncated bodies in a boat to the shore. This frightfulness was meant to intimidate, as the quarterings of contemporary and later Tudor kings in England were meant to do, to say nothing of the more awful air bombing of the twentieth century. Vasco da Gama succeeded in his purpose with an economy of atrocities which must seem tame to the reader about modern trench warfare, naval blockades, poison gas and air raids. The Admiral refrained at least from sacking the town, which was now at his mercy.

When no peace offer followed these war measures, Gama sailed for Cochin on the second of November, arriving there five days later. This town had good reasons for welcoming the Portuguese. If they had not come to India, Cochin would have been annexed by the Samuri of Calicut, who raided the weaker kingdom whenever it

suited him. As Cochin was the best port on the Malabar coast, the Portuguese were glad to have these allies. Thus mutual interest, and the presence of a large number of Indian Christians, made the Portuguese feel quite at home. After a lavish exchange of presents the loading of the ships began. To achieve this all the quicker, some ships were sent to Coulão, the modern Quilon of Travancore, where there were many native Christians. At the same time many of the ships were over-hauled and refitted.

But the Indian prince had not yet exhausted all the resources of Indian statecraft. The land was old in these arts. India had its more ruthless Machiavelli nearly two thousand years before the Florentine writer. The *Arthacastra of Kantilya*[212] has this among its fourteen books of maxims. "He who shoots an arrow kills but one at best, but he who has clever thoughts kills even the babe in its mother's womb".

The Samuri had a Brahmin friend who was proficient in these smart devices. He went to the admiral in the garb of a friar. Some said that it was the conventual habit of one of the Franciscan friars, who had been murdered in the first attempt to conciliate Calicut. This strange behaviour the Brahmin justified by saying that he was anxious to meet Vasco da Gama, and thought this the easiest way to succeed. He affected a great interest in the Christian faith, and hoped that he might be taken to Portugal to study it. Meantime he brought a proposal from the Rajah of Calicut, who was now prepared to accede to all the Admiral's demands for the sake of friendship with King Manuel. If the Admiral would come ashore in one or two boats to fetch an indemnity, the Rajah would be only too glad to pay it in cash.[213]

At Cananor the factor Gonsalo Gil Barbosa had warned Gama that an attempt would be made to delay the fleet until after the monsoon, in order to destroy it piecemeal during the winter. All the captains opposed the idea of going to Calicut again. But the Admiral felt sure of himself, and went in his flagship with one caravel, leaving Stephen da Gama in charge of the other ships. Vasco da Gama barely escaped from the ambush which had been prepared for him, and that chiefly on account of the

lucky appearance of Vincent Sodré on the scene, although he was not expected.

The Admiral had taken the precaution of keeping the Brahmin and the hostages in safe custody all this time. As soon as he returned to Cochin, they were all hanged. He assured the faithful Rajah of Cochin and his advisers, some of whom leaned to the side of the Arabs, that he would leave in Indian waters a navy strong enough to protect the Portuguese factors and the allies of Portugal. This was Vincent de Sodré's fleet with its base at Socotra, cruising between Cape Guardafui and the Malabar coast.

Again at Cananor Vasco da Gama gradually assembled all the well-laden spice-ships, the first arriving on the eighteenth of January.[211] They were fifteen in all, twelve belonging to the Crown and three to private speculators. He induced the local rajah to give a written undertaking that he would never attack Cochin or abet the Samuri in any such attack. Sodré was reminded that his five cruisers were not only to capture Arab freighters by blockading the Red Sea, but also to protect Cochin, Cananor and especially the large Christian community at Cranganor, whose leaders had presented the Admiral with a red sceptre, tipped with silver bells, as a token of their submission to "the most Catholic and most powerful King of Christian Europe". They rightly claimed, as modern research has shown,[214a] to have received the Christian faith from the Apostle Saint Thomas, and were ecclesiastically subject to the Patriarch of Armenia; who, however, was unable to protect them from the persecution of the heathen and Muslim by whom they were surrounded. They begged the protection of the Portuguese in order to preserve their ancient faith. This Gama joyfully promised them in the King's name, as it was one of the purposes for which King Manuel had sent him to India. The Mohammedan ships of Cambaya Sodré was to let pass as friends, and he was always to act in such a way as to gain more friends for Portugal.[215] The Arabs of Mecca and Calicut were written off as irreconcileables.

The cruiser squadron accompanied the flagship one day's journey towards the African coast, which journey

began on the twentieth of February, 1503. Mozambique was the only port at which they called on the long way home.[216] A couple of letters written from there give us the best that has survived of the thoughts of these men, as they were returning to Europe. The writer of these letters, Matthew of Bergamo, was the supercargo of a ship in which shares were held by his employer, John Francis Affaitati, an Italian sugar-merchant living in Lisbon.

The absence of all idealistic aims, religious or patriotic, in Matthew's letters forms an eloquent contrast with the usual style of contemporary Portuguese writers. Personally Matthew has no quarrel with Calicut, and only longs for peace there; as it produces so much in the way of pearls, dyes and spices that would render a good profit, "if a man could only do the business that offers".

Matthew had a keen sense of the Providence of God in that way that most practical men have it, even when they do not cultivate the moral sense that Providence gave them; because "the Lord has always come to our aid, and I hope He will lead us to a safe end". But business was his sole object in this voyage. We have a complete list of the prices, at Cochin and Cananor, of pepper, brazil wood, cinnamon, comphor, aloe wood, cloves, aromatic benzoin, the medicinal glands called mirabolanos, ginger and indigo. But he promises his employer much more information by word of mouth. The real revelation that Matthew makes consists in the novel light that he throws upon the character and activities of Vasco da Gama.

Here the Admiral figures as the mercantile manager of the expedition. This aspect of his control only emerges after they passed Malindi on the way to India. Tacking about Malindi in rough weather for two days, they were unable to land, and were driven to take refuge in a safe harbour some fifteen miles north. Vasco da Gama now sent word round to all the ships, that the captains and agents of merchants were to submit to him a complete list of the kinds and weight of spices, which they were prepared to buy in India, as well as a memorandum of the merchandise or cash with which they would be able to pay. He proposed, whilst crossing the ocean, to make an estimate of the total amount of spices that he should

order from the royal factors at Cananor, Cochin, and possibly Calicut as he then still hoped. He would allow no buying except at prices to be fixed by him, and through the King's agents. "To us it did not seem a bad arrangement", writes Matthew of Bergamo, but he evidently thought that he could do better.

The next business interlude occurred at the island of Anjediva, south of Goa. At first they had more urgent cares than finance. Scurvy broke out, the result of stale food and constant labour in all weathers. "It broke out among the sailors and geometers", says Matthew, and the phrase seems to mean that the captains and merchants were comparatively immune. One third of the men aboard were incapacitated. Sixty or seventy men died, and some of the ships were manned with great difficulty. It was not till they reached Cananor a fortnight later that the poultry, oranges and other fresh foods, restored the survivors to normal health.

Meantime the Admiral had reflected upon the trade situation, considering the suggestions made to him, and offered the merchants new alternatives. If they wished to make their own purchases, they would have to select two or three of their own number to make them, as he would allow no more to go ashore for this purpose, and they must deal with the royal factors on shore. Otherwise they could let him do all the buying, and divide all the purchases *pro rata* in accordance with a pre-arranged agreement. "As the Admiral patently favoured the second course, we agreed", writes Matthew. It was usually a wise thing to agree with Vasco da Gama.

The last glimpse of him as the King's business-man comes at the end of Matthew's letter. He warns his principal, Affaitati, that to do any considerable amount of trade effectively, it is not enough to have quick sailing ships. Especially now that Calicut is found to be definitely hostile, the ships must be ready to stand and fight. They should not be less than two or three hundred tons in size and well armed. Vasco da Gama had told him several times that King Manuel would permit no more merchants to charter their own ships, because he would advise the

King not to allow it. Yet Matthew does not believe that Manuel will accept Gama's advice on this point.

The Italian reports an orgy of speculation in India. Everyone on the ships with money had invested in spices, and purchased facilities for freight in the homeward-bound fleet. His was the only ship that had no outside freighters. The one set-back was that he was compelled to sell some of his surplus bartering-goods at cost price. The Admiral was adamant: "Either you sell these goods left over to the factors of India at cost price in Europe, or you throw them into the sea".

Thus this voice from Mozambique tells us of a Vasco da Gama with whom he was in daily contact, and who was as stiff a bargainer in the King's business as he was a martinet with his own men, and the terror of the Arabs. With all that he was a man who could unbend. Matthew of Bergamo notes with pride that, when his own company of three ships caught up with the flagship as it was leaving Kilwa, the Admiral "received us with every sign of pleasure, making himself as agreeable to everyone as it was possible to be".[217]

They appear to have remained at Mozambique from the eighteenth of April to the fourth of May, and Lisbon was reached on the first of September.[218] They lost only one ship, that of John de Fonseca, which sank at Sofala, but even in this case they saved the whole of the crew, and all the cargo.

As a business venture the voyage was a glorious success. The public exchequer was the greatest gainer, as the King owned the lion's share of the spice cargoes, had a monopoly of the precious stones, and imposed a royalty of 25 per cent. on all spices except pepper, cinnamon and some kinds of cloves. A fortnight after the arrival of the fleet John Francis Affaitàti of Lisbon wrote to his brother, Luke in Cremona, that his agent Matthew of Bergamo had brought back spices worth five thousand ducats, for which he had paid two thousand ducats in India. The same keen speculator stated that the total cost of this second expedition of Vasco da Gama was two hundred thousand ducats, and that all the ships together had brought back to Lisbon cargoes worth one million ducats. A profit therefore of four hundred per cent. !

The first news of these serious events for Venice came to it from Cairo through Cyprus.[219] We can imagine how the merchants of Venice, who constituted the Senate, met at once for "a business of some heat", such as Brabantio imagined that Cassio had in mind, when he came to his house at midnight with officers and torches.[220]

Yet anyone who has studied the character of King Manuel, as revealed in his state documents and the writings of his contemporaries, must feel that profiteering could only have given him a qualified satisfaction. Contests for markets, like the shedding of blood in war, were sometimes unavoidable, but no gentleman would do either of these things without some ulterior and nobler end in view.

That dangerous friar, Jerome Savonarola, as Manuel would have described him, once said in his extravagant way that wealth ought to be a bitter pill for a good Christian, only to be swallowed for the sake of his soul's health.[221] Manuel did not find it bitter, as he loved entertaining his people of all classes, but its use needed to be justified by some scheme of general progress and well-being. Venice did not deserve much consideration in what the rest of Christian Europe called her illicit union with the Turk. But Portugal would not be much better, if she just dragooned Africans and Indians. Hence Manuel's real anxiety to know whether his claim to suzerainty had been accepted by these distant peoples.

On this subject Vasco da Gama could only communicate the high hopes that he himself brought home. In India he thought that he had left one solitary enemy of Portugal, the Rajah of Calicut, and he was more a victim and tool of the powerful Arabs and Turks, than a personal enemy. Africa was theirs for trade purposes from Malindi to the Cape of Good Hope. He brought with him the golden tribute of the Muslim sovereign of Kilwa, who controlled, as they thought, all the tribes and cities of this coast.

It was a gala day when Vasco da Gama returned to Lisbon in triumph, for the second time. The Flanders fleet was just entering the wide estuary of the Tagus with the fruits of a good year's trade in London and Antwerp.[222] That day two caravels had arrived from the Gold Coast,

two ships from Oran in North Africa, laden with costly carpets, and from the Levant the *Annunciada*, which was reputed one of the finest vessels in Europe. But they were all overshadowed by the renown of Vasco da Gama's flagship, which was boarded at once by the Captain of the King's Guard, Dom Nuno Manuel, bringing the King's greetings. King Manuel invited them all to meet him at the Cathedral, where a *Te Deum* was to be sung.

Most of the nobles and gentlemen of the Court were already on the seashore, and accompanied the Admiral and his retinue to the church. Before him a page bore a silver salver containing the golden tribute of the ruler of Kilwa, an indication of the importance that was attached to it.[223] The King ordered his famous goldsmith, Gil Vicente, to work this gold into a monstrance for the church of Belem, and it has remained as one of the great masterpieces of Portuguese art. After more than four centuries this gorgeous memento of Vasco da Gama's second voyage, and of South Africa's incorporation into the Portuguese empire, can be seen intact in the Museum of Ancient Art in Lisbon.

The rewards that the King bestowed upon the Admiral of India were proportioned to his unique services. In the February following Manuel added another thousand cruzados to his annual income. Thus with an income of some two thousand pounds a year he became one of the wealthiest men in the country, as we learn from an official report made in 1507 by the Venetian, Lunardo de Chà Masser.[224]

But the great disappointment of Gama's life was that he never received the actual grant of the title and lands of the Barony of Sines, which the King promised him conditionally in 1499. The condition was that the present possessor of the title deeds should consent to surrender them for some compensation in the gift of the King. Vasco da Gama was born at Sines, and his father had been governor of the castle there, so that he had set his heart upon it. But the owner refused to surrender it, and the King refused to expropriate it, as that would have been unjust. In 1507 Vasco da Gama began in his impetuous way to build a manor house on the lands of the barony of Sines, but he was very properly ejected by the King's

officers. When he realised that his ambition was hopeless he accepted the title of Count of Vidigueira, in December, 1519. But these differences do not seem to have alienated the King's confidence.

Gaspar Corrêa tells us that he was the King's chief adviser in the expeditions of Francis de Almeida and Nuno da Cunha.[225] It is true that he is never mentioned again during Manuel's reign by the principal chroniclers, and that only after Manuel's death did he lead another expedition to India. But these facts do not necessarily imply the King's disfavour, much less the exile of Gama in his house at Evora.

The exile of which Camoens speaks is merely poetic licence for retirement from the public eye. In any case the poet by implication exonerates the King from any blame by saying that the exile ended with the title of Count of Vidigueria, given by Manuel himself. Poets do not like their heroes to be out of the limelight, but statesmen are often then most active. The intimate knowledge of the coasts of Africa and India, which Vasco da Gama acquired during his two long voyages, must have been invaluable to the King during the remaining eighteen years of his reign, especially at the periods when there were contests about naval policy between the captains and the viceroys.

CHAPTER XI.

A Great Stir among the Sultans.

VASCO DA GAMA's last exploit caused no small stir on the banks of the Nile. Pope Julius II was the first to hear an official echo of it. He had been only a few months on the papal throne, which he ascended on the 31st of October, 1503, when the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt Ashraf Kansul Al-Ghuri appealed to him, " to make the king of Portugal desist from sailing to India because this is very damaging to our revenues."[226] The Soldan of Babylon, as European writers then called this Egyptian king, also protests[227] against the treatment of the Moors in Andalusia by the King of Spain, whom he accuses of " forcing them to become Christians and to enter the Nazarene faith," which conduct is contrary to the Christian religion. He therefore appeals to the Pope's authority for relief in these matters.

The Sultan threatens that if he gets no satisfaction, he will retaliate with reprisals upon the Christians of Egypt and Syria, and will level to the ground the sepulchre of Christ, the monastery of Mount Zion and all the Christian churches in his dominions. Meantime he is staying his hand at the request of the great Prince Cartalago, some other princes and the Sultan's own chief secretary, as well as the interpreter Tangibarde.[228]

This mention of the famous pirate of the Mediterranean, whom the Italians called Curtógoli, was in the nature of a veiled but additional threat. He was the most feared of a long line of Muslim pirates, who infested the coasts of Italy from 1500 to 1560, and whose names appear in the European chronicles in their Italian forms: Curtógoli, Camalí, Gaddalí, il Moro, il Giudeo, Cacciadiavoli, Oruccio, Barbarossa, Morát, Dragutte, Scirocco and Lucciati.[229] These men were not mere corsairs, but pirates of the most illegal type. Among them were no doubt some of the other princes whom the Sultan had in mind.

The corsair, according to the famous medieval code of sea law called the *Consolato del Mare*, was a free lance authorised in time of war to attack enemy ships for his own profit, and at his own risk. But he had a certain legal status. Pirates were assassins of the sea, who made war in time of peace for the sake of booty, and when caught they were hanged outright as outlaws. These men attacked not only Christians, but also Muslim rulers of the Mediterranean, and in time they usurped the Arab sovereignties of Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, Tangiers, Alexandria and the larger islands of the Greek archipelago.

Some years later (in 1516) Curtógoli nearly captured Pope Leo X, as he was fishing in the autumn with a few friends near the castle of Magliana on the banks of the Tiber, half-way between Rome and Ostia. The wealthy family of the Medici, to which this pope belonged, had bitter enemies in many parts of Europe, and some of them must have been in league with Curtógoli. For he had eighteen ships on the coast and many men on shore, waiting to kidnap the Pope, when the alarm was given just in time to enable him to escape.[230]

At the time when the Sultan of Egypt wrote this letter, his friend " the great Prince Cartalago " was probably lying in wait to attack the coast towns of Italy. A Kurd by origin (Kurdogli is the original form of his name) he had an understanding with the Sultan of Constantinople and with the Hafsid Sultan of Tripoli, trying thus to make the most of both worlds, whilst a friend of the Geneose had granted Curtógoli the use of the port of Bizerta. From there he could strike at Trapani in Sicily with the right wing of his large fleet, with the left he could reach Cagliari in Sardinia, whilst his centre faced Rome, Naples and the coast of Tuscany. The Pope, therefore, had some reason for anxiety.

Moreover one of the effects of the discovery of the new worlds of the Indian and Atlantic Oceans was to make Portugal and Spain less conscious of the Turkish danger in Europe. The Spaniards met no Muslim in America, and they had settled their accounts finally with Moorish Granada. The Portuguese were face to face with Islam in the whole East, and regarded the Mediterranean as a

secondary sphere. The Pope was left much alone. Help could hardly arrive in time from Portugal in the event of attack. But the Pope had long foreseen this peril, and was prepared to meet it, because he had placed the papal fleet under the trusty Genoese Marquis Baldassar da Biassa, who came of a long line of gentlemen sailors.

The threatening letter of the Sultan was sent from Cairo to Rome by the hands of a Franciscan priest, the Father Warden of the monastery of Mount Sion in Jerusalem,[231] who was a Spaniard by birth but a subject of the Sultan's. The Pope promptly forwarded it by the same messenger to Lisbon with a covering letter, in which he writes guardedly of " certain letters on polished paper which Friar Maurus says are from the Soldan of Babylon". This cautious language is clearly not intended to throw any doubt upon the authenticity of the letters, but merely to signify that they have not come through the ordinary diplomatic channels. Julius II, however, does not attach much importance to the specific threats contained in the enclosed letters, but forwards them to Manuel for his information. It would seem that the simple friar who brought them, was much perturbed by the menaces of the sultan, because he had been shown the bellicose preparations of the Egyptian to carry out his threats. Barros explains, however, that Friar Maurus though " a person zealous for the welfare of the Church, was quite unversed in the stratagems of tyrannous princes ".

The Pope knew perfectly well that since the year 1390 the sultans of Cairo were puppets in the hands of a turbulent Mamluk soldiery, which massacred the native Muslim and the Coptic Christians whenever it suited the leaders.[232] European Christians were protected by their governments and by the large amount of their trade, which it was not profitable for the soldiers or the Sultan to destroy. Al-Ghuri, elected sultan in 1501, was a vigorous old man who restored order and tyrannical splendour to his court, but Christians had nothing to hope from him except what his trade interests dictated. He was destined to be the last effective Mamluk sultan of Egypt, which was overwhelmed by the Turks of Constaninople in 1507.[233] This letter of his to the Pope was a measure of his clever organisation of the country in the interests of

a splendid court, which battened on the exploitation and degradation of the Egyptian people.

Who were the rest of the princes, named along with Cartalago, as urging the Sultan to make a last attempt to recover the dwindling luxury-trade that flowed through Egypt, from India to Europe? They were evidently the various Muslim rulers, and a few Hindu allies, who were the partners in this trade. We have merely to follow the course of this trade to find out who they were. They were all exporters or tax-gatherers. The Muslim merchants who were importers along this trade route, really welcomed the Portuguese, as new customers.

The trade route went from Gujarat and Malabar through the Red Sea to Aden, Jeddah (the port of Mecca), Suez, Cairo and Alexandria.[234] The cargoes of from ten to fifteen large ships used thus to find their way to Venice every year. There were so many Muslim traders in and about Calicut, that Edward Barbosa who went there with Cabral in 1500, reckoned that they formed one-fifth of the traders of Malabar. The princes then concerned in this trade were the Rajah of Calicut, Mohammed of Gujerat, Sheikh Hamed of Aden and the Sharif Baracat of Mecca. These and the pirate princes were the goodly company behind the letter of the Sultan Al-Ghuri of Egypt.[235]

But Venice was no stranger to these negotiations, for she was very much at home both in Cairo and Constantinople. At the moment there was a rift between these two Muslim princes. That was a blessing for Portugal. The good fortune of Manuel was increased by the rise in 1502 of a young Muslim power hostile to Constantinople at Ormuz in Persia.[236] Ismail Shah, the youthful founder of the Safavi dynasty of Persia, established himself on the Persian Gulf, and thus cut off the Turks of Constantinople from this outlet upon the Indian Ocean.

Hence the practical policy of Venice was restricted to such influence as she could exert on her Muslim ally in Cairo. But when Portuguese spices were on sale in Germany, Holland and England, Venice was really alarmed.[237] In 1502 the Council of Ten appointed a commission to draft instructions for the guidance of the ambassador in Cairo, Sanuto. Even the project of cutting a canal at

Suez was mooted, but came to nothing. The Signoria created a Spice Board,[238] to take such steps as were necessary to preserve their monopoly, because "there is no more serious event for us than the doubling of the Cape of Good Hope". The appeal to the Pope seems to have been one of the measures suggested to counter the growing trade of Portugal in the Indian Ocean.

But King Manuel was merely amused at the Sultan's threats,[239] because writes Barros, "the Sultan, had such a revenue from Christians (*i.e.*, pilgrims) by reason of the sacred relics in his dominions, that it suited him better to show reverence to them than to destroy them". This tribute of Christian visitors to the Holy Land was of more real importance to him than all the spices of India. The vigorous reply that Manuel sent to the Pope leaves little to the imagination in regard to the fighting spirit of the Portuguese.[240]

The Portuguese king regrets that this insolent note of the Sultan should have been made possible by the selfishness of certain Christian princes. He alludes to the Doge. For Venice had made a huckster's peace with Constantinople two years before this, leaving the Pope and Hungary in the lurch for the sake of trade and territorial concessions.[241] Manuel takes the opportunity to beg the Pope to continue his efforts to unite Christian Europe against the Muslim powers threatening Christian civilisation in that continent. Portugal was conscious of its duty in the matter, and would never rest until its soldiers scaled the walls of Jeddah. This letter was despatched on the twelfth of June, 1505.[242]

The Franciscan friar, Maurus, had come to Lisbon towards the end of the preceding year. He was shown for his confort the elaborate preparations being made for the next fleet, Almeida's, which was to be Portugal's real reply to the Sultan. Three fleets had been sent in the two years already elapsed since Vasco da Gama's second expedition. The two Albuquerques, Afonso and Francis, sailed in April, 1503, to establish the first fortress at Cochin and the first fortress at Quilon. In May of the same year Anthony de Saldanha went with three ships to police the seas from Cape Guardafui to the opening of the Persian Gulf. In 1504 Lopo Soares de Albergeria com-

manded a fleet of thirteen ships, 1,200 soldiers and full armaments, in order to settle accounts finally with Calicut, because Vasco da Gama after his second visit reported that that was inevitable,[243] and further diplomacy a mere waste of time.

After this fleet had left came the letter from Egypt, showing that it was not merely a question of a hostile Calicut, but that a general plan was afoot to mobilise all the naval forces of the Red Sea and Indian Ocean against Portugal. This danger was now to be countered by the appointment of a viceroy, to co-ordinate all the efforts of Portugal and her allies in the East. Twenty-two ships were being equipped for this purpose. The sight of these must have revived the courage of Father Maurus, and he returned to Jerusalem convinced that the Christians of Egypt and Syria had a strong shield in the Portuguese navy.

On his return home he found that the Pope and King Manuel had gauged the situation with perfect accuracy. One of the first European pilgrimages that he received was headed by Sir Richard Guilford,[244] knight of the Garter and controller of the household of King Henry VII of England. These devout English pilgrims formed a large party, and reached Jaffa on the eighteenth of August, 1506.

The Warden of Mount Sion, our Father Maurus, went to meet them as was the custom, in order to conduct them to Jerusalem. But the "Mamluk lords", in the phrase of the English chronicler, nominally subject to the Sultan were evidently in bad humour after King Manuel's defiance. They kept the English pilgrims tossing about in the harbour for seven days, and then detained them a whole day waiting for the examination of their passports "in an old, bare and stinking stable-ground", as the diarist of this pilgrimage puts it. Finally they fleeced the pilgrims with heavy taxes, and only then allowed them to proceed with the warden. At Jerusalem they were housed in the Latin hospital, as guests of the Knights of St. John. The warden and Grey Friars of Mount Sion showed them generous hospitality, and guided them in their visits to the scenes of the life of Christ on earth. The survivors of the pilgrimage were again taxed heavily

at the port of their departure from the Holy Land. But it was plain that the Sultan and the Mamluk governors had no desire to kill such lucrative pilgrims, however difficult it was for them to conceal their anger with the English friends of Portugal and the Pope.

But when the Sultan Al-Ghuri saw that his threats were of no avail with Manuel or the Pope, he bagan to prepare for the alternative of speeding up war with Portugal in the Indian Ocean. His naval base was at Suez. Timber for new ships, artillery and fighting captains were the most urgent needs, which it was not easy for him to supply. The country behind Suez, though it had formed part of the pleasant land of Goshen in the days of the patriarch Joseph, had become sandy and barren in the erosion of centuries. Egypt itself produced no trees fit for ships' timbers. The nearest source of supply was in the mountains of Anatolia, and the timber was shipped from the port of Alexandretta.[245]

Venice winked at the activities of the timber transports, but there were vigilant friends of Portugal in the neighbourhood of the island of Rhodes. In fact the chancellor of the Knights of Saint John was a Portuguese, Andrew do Amiral. At their headquarters in Rhodes the knights had a fine fleet which attacked the Sultan's convoy. Six of the timber ships were captured, five were sunk, four were driven ashore and only ten reached Egypt. This was a signal service to Portugal, and contributed in a sensible degree to the final victory of Portugal. But the Sultan succeeded in constructing a fleet of thirteen galleys.[246] Venice helped to supply the materials for eight of these ships, and the wood and iron were carried up the Nile to Cairo from Alexandria, and thence to Suez on the backs of camels.

Egypt manufactured no heavy arms. But the anonymous Dutch gunner[247] who sailed with Vasco da Gama on his second voyage, gives us an inkling as to how the Egyptians obtained much of the artillery to equip this new fleet. In 1501 he was travelling on a ship which was captured by pirates near Mars al Kabir on the coast of Algiers, a port which became a nest of Muslim pirates after the fall of Granada. "That castle", he writes, "is one mile from the town of Oran, and many wicked Christian

merchants from Venice and Genoa come there, and they sell to the Turks suits of armour, arquebusses and ammunition to fight against the Christians, and they have a market there". Mars al Kabir was captured by the Spaniards under the Marquis de Comarès on the twenty-third of October, 1505. But Oran remained an open market, where despite the prohibition of the Church Turks and Egyptians could have bombards and culverins for cash.

But even the skilled mariners in Turkish service were to some extent recruited from among Christian prisoners, or renegades who had become Barbary pirates. The Portuguese discovered this, when they made their first captures of ships in Indian waters. There they came upon books in Latin and Italian, prayer books and histories, and even one prayer book in Portuguese. "Such was the variety of people in that camp of the Devil", exclaims Barros with less than his customary courtesy.[248]

At this time the Portuguese held strongly the ports of Morocco, and the Spaniards the contiguous coast from Melilla to Tripoli with the exception of Oran (before 1509) and Bizerta, but the rest of the northern coast of Africa was dominated by ruthless pirates, who acknowledged the nominal suzerainty of Egypt or the Porte.[249] They raided the opposite coast of Italy constantly. Even to-day one stumbles occassionally upon some ruined tower covered with ivy, which recalls the time when it withstood the sea robbers; and at Civitavecchia and Nettuno there are similar fortresses built by Bramante, Michelangelo and Sangallo. They tell how the best brains were mobilised to counteract a pressing danger.[250]

The eastern Mediterranean was a pandemonium of renegades of many European nations. Chief among the leaders was Curtógali. His headquarters were at Bizerta, the entrance to the western Mediterranean and then a fine harbour, which seemed a pocket Venice without the palaces and churches. Here the Sultan would bargain for sailors of fortune, who having no connection with the bitter factions of Cairo, could be trusted to work efficiently for generous payment and the chances of rich booty in India. As there were few Muslim engineers, ship-builders

and sea-captains, Christians were regularly commandeered for these tasks in the ports of Egypt and Syria. These Muslim powers fed like a cancer upon the rich tissues of the Christian lands.

The Sultan's plan was skilfully devised. The Admiral from Suez was to co-operate with a naval leader of all the sea forces of India that were hostile to Portugal. The leaders chosen by the Sultan for his great enterprise were both foreigners.

The Admiral Amir Hussain Al-Mukhrif was an energetic pasha of Kurdish race, who had the reputation of being a cruel governor and gargantuan reveller. His master was glad to get rid of him out of Cairo, as he was a born intriguer, but certainly a man of brains. The Indian leader was of Russian race, known as Malik Ayyaz. His Russian name was Yaz.[251] He had been captured in one of the Turkish raids into Russia, and sold to a merchant at Constantinople. After a series of hair-breath escapes along with his master on the road to Basra and Ormuz, he reached Cambaya and was again sold, this time to Mahmud Bigara the king of Gujarat. The Indian king recognised his great ability and made him governor of Diu.

This is a small but important island at the strategic sea-base of the wide southern peninsula of the kingdom of Cambaya. Diu is an ideal spot for the massing of scattered naval units, which sought to control the whole sea-area of the trade of Egypt, East Africa, Arabia and Malabar. Here then the Sultan of Egypt determined that Amir Hussain should meet and lead the ships of those Indian powers, which had joined his league against Portugal.

The Arabs of the east coast of Africa were in no position to lend active support to these naval designs. Some of them were not in the least anxious to support the Sultan. Malindi enjoyed an unprecedented security as the friend and ally of Portugal. Most of the other settlers of this coast were refugees from the strong hand of the Caliph's generals. Their form of Islam was consequently hostile to the Caliphate, whether claimed by Cairo or Constantinople. There was also the usual local medley of warring sects of Islam, which their ancestors had

imported from Oman, Persia and the Yemen. Such links as Kilwa, Mombasa and Mozambique had with Islam abroad were links of trade with the Muslim producers of Gujarat and Malabar. In any case Vasco da Gama had impressed them sufficiently with the futility of any attempt to join the Indians adverse to Portugal. Consequently even those who resented Portugal's entrance upon the coast of Azania, like Sheikh Ibrahim of Kilwa, limited their hostile action to intrigue and passive resistance.

King Manuel's instructions to the next fleet,[252] which sailed in March of 1505, were well calculated to make this coast quite safe for Portugal's trade penetration. Francis de Almeida was ordered to build a fortress at Sofala, as the local ruler had already agreed to this, and a Portuguese captain was to be installed there permanently with the support of a few ships. The Sheikh was to be treated as a friend, his authority respected, and such taxes as he was accustomed to levy were to be paid. But all Turks were to be captured. If the Sheikh complained of this, he was to be informed that these reprisals were just, since these people in India and Egypt were making preparations to wage ruthless war on Portugal.

At Kilwa a similar fortress was to be built. If the Sheikh there paid the promised tribute regularly, he was to be helped as an ally. But if he refused this token of fealty, he was to be deposed, and a garrison of men and ships left there, to protect any local leader who was willing to work loyally with the Portuguese. From Kilwa two scouting brigantines were to be sent along the coast to Cape Guardafui, whence they were to report at Anjediva. If the Muslim of this coast had been anxious to fight, these measures were sufficient to eliminate them from any part in the coming struggle with the Sultan of Egypt and his allies.

But there was still one real weakness in Portugal's position in India, because she had no one there with full authority to deal promptly and effectively with any sudden emergency. This need was amply demonstrated by Pacheco's heroic defence of Cochin in 1504. The emergency arose in a flash out of a threat to Portugal's best friend in India.[253] The Rajah of Cochin was a rock

of loyal friendship in a sea of hostile or doubtful sultans and rajahs. "Let the Greeks and Romans praise all they like those heroes of theirs who were faithful to the plighted word, but the King of Cochin is not inferior to any of them in his loyalty to us Portuguese unto death". So we may condense the eulogy of Damian de Goes.

When Vasco da Gama's back was turned at the end of the year 1503, and the protecting fleet of the two Sodrés was swamped in a hurricane near the Curia Muria islands off the south coast of Arabia, the Samuri of Calicut overwhelmed Cochin, killing the heir to the throne and two of his nephews.[254] The two Albuquerques came to the rescue within a few months, and after defeating the men of Calicut, Afonso de Albuquerque left there in charge his trusty captain Edward Pacheco Pereira, protected by the new fortresses of timber which they built in a few weeks with the aid of many Indians. Four ships and 150 Portuguese constituted the whole force which Pacheco commanded.

As soon as the Albuquerques had sailed for home, a second tremendous attack was suddenly launched from Calicut once more by land and sea. It lasted five months and entailed no less than seven major battles. But the winged Pacheco, as Camoens calls him, was equal to every emergency. His scouts were everywhere, and he was able to meet the most formidable stratagem with some immediate counter-stratagem. The physical strength and bravery of the Portuguese seemed to the Hindus more than human.[255] The Samuri's hordes were finally repulsed in July, 1504, and during the months that remained before Pacheco embarked in the return fleet of Lopo Soares de Albergaria, "no king or lord of that province dared to do anything that would displease him".

Pacheco returned to Lisbon on the twenty-second of July, 1505, many months after the excitement began about the letters of the Sultan to the Pope, and four months after Almeida had started for India, but the fame of Pacheco's exploits had long preceeded him. His reception by the King was magnificent. The achievements of this captain were an object-lesson for the King.

This success was due principally to the personality of Pacheco.[256] Though a scholar, he was also a born soldier,

sailor, business-man and leader of men. In fact he had all the arts of success except that of self-advertisement. But clearly India could not be left again to the chance of having on the spot a series of such magnetic leaders, able to wrest victory out of the casual materials at hand. What was needed was the co-ordination of all the resources and friends of Portugal in India, under the command of one person with power to exert the fullest authority. Thus was confirmed the idea of a viceroy for the Indian state, which meant not only Hindustan but also south-east Africa.

Barros records how the King called his council together many times, in order to discuss the experiences and reports of the first four armadas. The members were unanimous in thinking that the fleets should not continue to make the long journey to the east and back without having someone in India to co-ordinate and direct the two departments that had arisen out of the expansion overseas: "War with the Moors and commerce with the heathen".

A century later, when the young Dutch Republic was carving out its share of the wealth and colonies of the East, there were intelligent writers in Holland who realised that they owed a debt of gratitude to King Manuel for the way in which he had cleared their path, by checking the domination of the Saracens. In 1661 a prominent writer and poet renders this tribute to Manuel and voices the Dutch determination to follow in his noble footsteps.[256a]

Emanuel die aen de Taeg
Den Kristen Vrede zocht te queecken,
Om met gemeender macht gestaeg
Het Zarazijns gewelt te breecken . . .
En weer in't heilig Landt de Waarheit
t'Ontsteecken in' oude klaarheit . . .
Dit spoor heeft Batavier en Zeeuw
Zoo braef gevolgt met vlugge Kielen,
Gestegen op een fiere Leeuw
En Leeuwenmoer met Heldezielen.

CHAPTER XII.

The First Viceroy of India and South Africa.

PORTUGUESE India began in those days at the Cape of Good Hope, and extended towards the East to a floating boundary,[257] which Almeida's expedition carried to the mainland opposite Ceylon. Francis de Almeida, Admiral of the fleet of the year 1505, was chosen to become the first viceroy of India.[258] He was not the King's first choice for this office. The post had been offered to Tristan da Cunha, but he was struck suddenly with blindness which proved to be only temporary.

Almeida was summoned from Coimbra, where he was spending a holiday with his brother the bishop of that diocese. Francis was already famous, as he had been selected ten years before to command the fleet which was to measure its strength with Spain, if the negotiations with that nation about the discoveries of Columbus had not taken a peaceful turn. His military career began in Spain, where he fought as a youth against the Moors of Granada,[259] so that he was no stranger to warfare with these oriental races.

He was high in the estimation of the King both for personal and family reasons. His grandfather was Controller of the Treasury under Afonso V, and his father was created Count of Abrantes for distinguished public service. His elder brother, the Prior of Crato was one of the executors of the will of King John II. With this tradition of family service in public life Francis de Almeida threw himself wholeheartedly into the schemes of King Manuel, and knowing the King's views through frequent discussions with him, he was well-fitted to carry out the mind of his sovereign in India. Resende notes that their joint ideas amounted to a novel system of human government.[260] We may add that it was a system destined to be imitated by all the imperial powers from Europe, which were to follow Portugal in India: Holland, England and France.

King Manuel himself went down to the shore at Restêlo on the day that the fleet sailed. The day before a sudden squall wrecked the ship of Pero da Naia as it lay at anchor, and since he had been commissioned to establish an agency at Sofala, this part of the itinerary was shelved for the time being, so that there might be no delay in the execution of the vital purposes of the expedition. Almeida delayed as little as possible on the way to Kilwa with his company of twenty-two ships and 2,500 men. Of these 1,500 were soldiers, "all in spruce uniforms and among them many noblemen and members of the King's household", who volunteered to do garrison duty in the fortresses for a period of three years.

After passing the equator the old ship of Peter Ferreira Fogaça was lost in a storm, but as several of the ships were close by at the time, the whole crew was saved as well as a silver chest containing the portable altar of Almeida's chapel. They rounded the Cape of Good Hope on the twenty-sixth of June, pelted by a heavy snowstorm. On the eighteenth of July the Admiral sent Gonsalo de Paiva from the Primeiras Islands to Mozambique, in order to obtain the latest news about India from the two Albuquerques, who were due there on their way home. Almeida himself anchored at Kilwa four days later.

As soon as they cast anchor, a messenger from the local Sheikh Ibrahim pushed out to greet them with a present of fruit. This messenger was the rich Sayyid Mohammed, or Mohammed Anconi, the old friend of John da Nova. Almeida thanked him and presented him with a striking cloak of many colours. "But why did not your King answer my salute of guns, and hoist the royal standard which Vasco da Gama gave him, as a token of loyalty to his suzerain, our King Manuel?"

This question of Almeida's Anconi did not know how to answer, but he offered to put it to Sheikh Ibrahim himself. In a few hours he returned with the reply that Ibrahim could not unfold the standard, because it had been captured by a Portuguese captain, who robbed him of a ship returning from Sofala under its protection. This was bad news, and seemed true, as Almeida had as yet little experience of Arab wiles on this coast. He was

indignant that any Portuguese should show such scant regard for the honour of his own king. Mohammed was asked to inform the Sheikh that Almeida himself would go ashore next day to receive particulars of what had happened. Before he could act, he must have names and all other details of this outrage. If any Portuguese captain had attacked a Muslim ship sailing under the standard of King Manuel, he would pay dearly for it, and the ship would be handed back.

To avoid all possibility of misunderstanding, Almeida took with him an Italian named Bonaiuto di Albano, who was well versed in Arabic and the other languages of the East, having had a long business experience in Egypt and India. He had lived in Cairo, came to Calicut with the Venetian Consul, Francis Morello, and remained in India twenty-two years. His wife was a Javanese and they had their family with them. The great Albuquerque trusted him as an adviser, and sent him to Portugal. King Manuel also recognised his worth, and gave him a big salary to accompany Almeida, as he wished this expedition to have every means of success.

Ibrahim agreed to meet Almeida, but he wished to do so at sea, near the shore and just below his own house. He asked the Viceroy to come to this spot without arms when he would leave the shore in a zambuco. There they could converse fully and freely. The conditions seemed strange to Almeida and lacking in cordiality, but he agreed to them in order to show his good will.

At the time appointed next day Almeida with his staff rowed towards the trysting place. They were all arrayed in their best to do honour to the local ruler, but as a precaution they wore coats of mail under their gala cloaks, and a few lances were stowed under the rowers' seats. John da Nova went ahead to notify the palace that Almeida was on the way. But before long he returned to say that Ibrahim could not receive them that day, because a black cat had crossed his path as he was walking towards the shore.

Almeida smiled grimly when he received this message. "Let us go back", he said, "and put on other finery that suits us Portuguese soldiers better than these motley uniforms. That Moor is sure to see further omens

tomorrow. These Moors really pay more respect to our steel than to our gold". On taking leave of Nova at the seashore, Anconi had whispered that the Sheikh was fooling them, and had no intention of meeting the Portuguese.

Nova was therefore sent with a message from Almeida to Ibrahim. "Tell him that I shall come to see him tomorrow, but if it is too much trouble for him to meet me on the shore, I shall visit the palace to look for him". When Nova returned, Almeida held a council of war with the captains. All agreed that courtesy was wasted on this sly Arab, and that he must be compelled to observe the treaty that he made with Vasco da Gama. The only permanent guarantee for the observance of this compact of mutual trade lay in the erection of a Portuguese fortress there. This was essential also for the Indian trade and for the safety of the King's navy on the Mozambique coast.

As no reply came to the Viceroy's final ultimatum, the assault on the town began at dawn next day, the twenty-fourth of July and the eve of St. James, Portugal's patron saint as everybody remembered. The trumpets sounded and the guns boomed as the attacking troops rowed towards the shore. Almeida's boat was the first to reach land, but the leading banner in the attack was given to Peter Cão, son of the famous captain who first set foot in South Africa.

The Arabs retired to the town, hoping to have the advantage of street fighting in an area familiar to them. But man for man the Portuguese were too powerful and daring and they carried all before them, fighting not only in the narrow lanes but on the flat roofs of the houses.

One incident deserves to be recalled. As the fidalgo Alvaro de Noronha was battering at the knobbed door of the Arab fortress, a man emerged on a tower of the building waving the royal standard of Portugal, which the Sheikh had declared to have been stolen by one of the Portuguese captains. He shouted that the Sheikh was in the courtyard below, and wished to surrender. The Portuguese doffed their helmets out of respect for the King's flag and gave the armistice requested, only to find that the pause had been engineered to give the Sheikh

time to escape with his family and treasure, by a postern gate, which led into a thick wood close by.

When the sack of the town began, John da Nova with a picket was placed on guard to protect the house of Mohammed Anconi. Some of the other noblemen were detailed as police, to check the common soldiers from indulging in deeds contrary to the recognised customs of war. By midday a complete victory was won without the death of a single Portuguese, though many were wounded.

For some centuries before the Portuguese came, Kilwa had dominated the other settlements of this coast, and had prospered accordingly. The trade with the natives inland was conducted by a lower class of Arab, more like the Bedouin. Such a flourishing town was a joy to the eyes after long months of buffeting on the lonely ocean. If it could not come within miles of the glories of Lisbon, it was a pleasant reminder of some of the seaside villages from which most of the sailors came. Almeida saw at once that it was not important enough to need more than a friendly Arab ruler with a sufficient garrison to support his authority, and a certain number of permanent officials to ensure steady progress in trade.

Next day the building of the fortress began, and everyone took a hand in the work.[261] Arms were laid aside, whilst the hatchet and the trowel were busy. Even the captains shared the wheeling of the barrows; it was all in the spirit of a big picnic with songs and jokes. When the stone fortress was nearly completed, they already congratulated themselves that it would be strong enough to keep the King of France at bay.

As Almeida heard that Mohammed Anconi was lurking somewhere in the neighbourhood, he sent Anconi's old friend, John da Nova, to invite him to become Sultan of Kilwa, with the support of Portugal. Thus Anconi returned to the town with his followers, riding a fine Arab horse which was led by Gaspar of India, who shouted to the people in Arabic as they marched along, that Mohammed bin Rukn Ad-Din was now their king.[262] By Almeida's orders Anconi's horse had been caparisoned in trappings of gold and silver, and the rider was resplendent in a scarlet cloak lined with satin and bordered with gold. Thus the procession passed through the narrow streets of

Kilwa. The presence of the Portuguese in their Sunday finery staged a pageant unique in the story of Kilwa.

The Admiral awaited Anconi on the terrace of the new fortress, upon a dais decorated with hangings of silk and gold, and there in the presence of nearly all Kilwa, notables and populace, the new king was crowned. The crown used for the ceremony was a rich one, which was being taken to the Rajah of Cochin as a gift from King Manuel. These events were set down in notarial documents signed by the leading captains, and duplicate originals in Portuguese and Arabic were sent by the next ship to Lisbon for registration.[263]

At Anconi's request Almeida released all the prisoners who had been taken in the assault upon the town. But he was both pleased and impressed by another favour that Anconi asked. The latter explained how he had been a close friend of Sheikh Al-Fudayl, whom Ibrahim killed in order to succeed him. Although Anconi was an elderly man and had adult children of his own, he prayed that Al-Fudayl's son might be declared his heir.[264] The boy was sent for at once and installed as heir apparent. Almeida felt sure that this man, who showed such loyalty to an old friend, would be loyal to Portugal.

The fleet sailed away on the ninth of August, 1505, leaving Peter Ferreira Fogaça as first captain of the fortress. Instructions were also left for Gonsalo Vaz de Goes, that when he reached Kilwa he was to remain there with his caravel and one brigantine, in order to protect the coast. The fortress had not been quite completed, when the fleet left, but the walls were high enough to enable the garrison to repel any attack that might be made before they finished the work. The fortress, however, was not the only hope of Almeida. The elevation of Anconi to the highest command was intended to be an object-lesson in the advantages of friendship with Portugal.

Four days after leaving Kilwa the fleet reached the bar of Mombasa. This is a small coral island at the mouth of a creek. Before entering the broader of the two visible channels Gonsalo de Paiva was sent with two Kilwa pilots, to sound its waters. They were greeted with two cannon shots from the mole, one of which grazed the

caravel. But their superior artillery soon silenced the shore guns, which disturbed their soundings no further. Yet this broadside from the shore was a warning which was confirmed by their scouts.

An Arab pilot was sent to the beach with a message of peace. He was to tell the Sultan that the Portuguese did not seek war, but friendship. Other kings of Africa and India had acknowledged the suzerainty of King Manuel, and had bettered their position in the world, because Portugal was well able to advance the welfare of those who trusted her.

The only answer to this message was defiance. The first Arabs that the scout met on shore told him that any Portuguese landing would be cut to pieces, as they would have to deal with soldiers in Mombasa, and not with the hens of Kilwa. John da Nova, who landed at night accompanied by an interpreter, learned that the Sultan knew all that had happened at Kilwa, and was ready with four thousand fighters and some artillery. With these reports before him Almeida decided that the only course left, to safeguard Portugal's lines of communication with the Indian markets, was to accept the Sultan's challenge.

On the fourteenth of August the Portuguese set fire to the town at opposite ends, but the fire spread so rapidly, that it baffled the soldiers in their attempt to carry out the attack which they had planned. This was done the next day. It was a terrific hand-to-hand fight, which began two hours before day-break and lasted until mid-day. The Admiral, his son Lawrence, John da Nova and the other captains led the assault along the narrow streets and upon the roofs of houses, the most nerve-racking form of warfare. The town was taken, and the brave Arabs lost 1,500 men by the onslaught of the braver, if smaller, army of Portugal. It was a positive gain to have also recaptured the guns of Sancho de Tovar's wrecked ship, which the divers of Mombasa had fished up two years before, and used against the Portuguese in the beginning of this fight.

Thus the two danger spots on the east coast of Africa were efficiently dealt with for the time being, so that Almeida during his term of office had no need to fear enemies between the Cape of Good Hope and Malindi,

whilst he was developing his plans for the security of the Indian trade.[265] The dubbing of knights which took place after this campaign, was a token of the high value set upon the possession of these key positions, as well as the pride of the soldiers in having won a contest where man was pitted against man. Similar tokens are the tapestries, representing these events, which Barros saw in the King's palace and in some of the princely homes of Lisbon.

If Almeida had followed his own inclination, he would now have subjugated Mogadishu, the flourishing Somali capital nearly eight hundred miles south of Cape Guardafui, which once dominated the northern part of this coast. When Vasco da Gama saw it in 1499 as he was returning from India, he was struck with its brave show of houses. But at that moment he was in no humour for fresh adventures, so he passed on, merely firing a broadside as he sailed past.[266] No one had as yet brought that bold border town to book, and the idea of doing so seemed a brilliant one to Almeida, though no part of his instructions.

But the captains and pilots, when consulted, were against the project because it would take them too far out of their course, and might make them late for the monsoon. The Admiral bowed to their judgment. It was in keeping with a principle which he himself laid down for the guidance of his war-council.[267] "Men who in council voted against their own conscience committed the sin against the Holy Ghost, and towards the King they were guilty of a kind of treason." He came thus to agree with his subordinates that with Malindi, Kilwa and Mombasa in his power, no really dangerous attack could emanate from Mogadishu.

With the favouring monsoon he now made for India. The thirteenth of September saw them at Anjediva. On this island the rich spoils of Mombasa were equitably divided amongst the captains and the men in shares which were regulated by the sea-law of the day. It became the habit of Almeida to take no share in these divisions, at most he would accept some cheap souvenir, such as an arrow. He preferred to give rather than to take. Impulsively generous by nature, he lacked the business sense

needed to make a good administrator, being a magnificent captain, but a poor controller of the greedy who foregather wherever profit is to be made. Moreover in India, where opportunities of self-indulgence were legion, he was noted as a gentleman without reproach in his private life.

Cananor was reached on the twenty-second of October, where the king's factor, Gonsalo Gil Barbosa, urged the building of a fortress at once, because the Rajah was powerless against the numerous Muslim merchants unless he received military support from the Portuguese.

Almeida also found waiting for him the Ambassador of Narsinga,[268] as the Portuguese called the great Hindu empire of Vijayanagar. Its capital was at Hampé, where even to-day the ruins speak of its former splendour. It had prevented the Muslim invaders from reaching the south of India and now the ambassador offered an alliance to Almeida, which would prevent the Muslim states from combining effectively against Portugal in India. After Narsinga's struggle of 150 years against the Muslim it recognised a natural ally in the strong newcomers. The Admiral at once discerned the importance of this visitor, and resolved to receive him right royally.

For this purpose Almeida now assumed the title and full honours of Viceroy. The king's instructions were that this should be done when the three fortresses of Cananor, Cochin and Quilon, were completed. Almeida rightly judged that the King himself would have considered this gloriously unexpected event a fitting occasion for such display. The reception took place on the flagship, the deck of which was richly carpeted and the masts hung with gay drapings from Flanders. All the captains went out to meet the Ambassador, and Almeida received him at the ship's side. A treaty of friendship and mutual defence was arranged, whilst the Hindu emperor invited the Portuguese, through his envoy, to build fortresses in his principal ports.[269]

On the thirty-first of October the Rajah of the smaller Hindu state of Cochin was crowned with every circumstance of pomp, and rich presents from King Manuel. But the years 1506 and 1507 were full of South African anxieties for the new Viceroy. No ship arrived from Portugal in 1506; in 1507 Tristan da Cunha, who had been

obliged to winter at Mozambique, brought the bad news of the death of Pero da Naia at Sofala.

Pero had left Lisbon a few months after Almeida, with the object of building a fortress in Sofala to consolidate the gold traffic. The fortress was built with herculean efforts, but the hostility of the Arab traders and the Kafirs had worn him out. Malaria cut short his active career, leaving only forty sick men to guard the coast.

Even the African victories which Tristan da Cunha was able to report on his arrival in India, were not calculated altogether to reassure Almeida. The Muslim king of Malindi asked Cunha to give a lesson to some of his Muslim enemies, who had been troublesome, and Cunha extended the warning to rebels on the islands of East Africa. The lessons were duly given, and in a manner plain to the meanest intelligence in that area. But at Brava Island the Portuguese captains did not fail to admire the fine stand of the Arab leaders,[270] even when the lower ranks fled in confusion before the impetus of the Portuguese attack. "Like gentlemen they stood their ground until death, fulfilling their vow to die for the defence and freedom of their people". It must have been an unpleasant revelation for Almeida to learn that such determined resistance was still to be found on the islands, after the stern lessons he had given on the coast.

The arrival of Cunha however from Mozambique was the salvation of the besieged Portuguese garrison of Cananor. When Almeida first came to India, Cananor was rather friendly to the Portuguese. But, in a few months it became actively hostile on account of the accession of a new rajah, whose attitude was intensified by the unjustifiable conduct of a Portuguese official. Gonsalo Vaz de Goes plundered and sank a Muslim ship of Cananor, which carried a Portuguese passport, and the owner of the ship could get no satisfaction from the captain of the fortress, Lawrence de Brito. Almeida was so indignant when he heard of it, that he would never again speak to Goes or give him any employment. But meantime the offended Moors took the law into their own hands, and induced the Rajah to attack the fortress. The garrison had already held out for four months, though the men were living on lizards and other vermin,

when Tristan da Cunha's arrival saved them from destruction. An artilleryman from Antwerp, named Roger Geldres, contributed much to this victory of the Portuguese.[271] For Flanders was as yet the best school for gunners, and Mechlin possessed the best foundries in the world for heavy weapons.

Every year Almeida was able to send home the regulation number of spice ships. Then his scouting fleet brought the startling news that Cairo was devising a new scheme to get its spices by a roundabout route. It proposed to sail from the spice islands of Malacca round the south of India, through the Maldive Islands and so up the Red Sea. The Viceroy commissioned his son, Lawrence to block this attempt, and whilst thus employed they discovered Ceylon. Almeida little dreamed that among his own soldiers there was a minor nobleman, Ferdinand Magellan, who was gaining the knowledge and experience that would enable him to disclose to the Spaniards, within fifteen years, an unsuspected method of bringing spices from the Moluccas to Spain without necessarily crossing the Indian Ocean.

For the moment the Viceroy's mind was concentrated on the urgent task of preparing to meet the onslaught of the allied sultans, which might emerge any day from the Red Sea. He believed that the only safe plan was to seek out the enemy fleet, attacking it wherever it could be found, in order to destroy it. Once he court-marshalled his own son, Lawrence, for not chasing the fleet of Maimane of Calicut into the port of Dabul, and only acquitted him when it was proved that he had acted on the advice of his captains of the war council. But the captains were all deprived of their commands.[272]

Lawrence himself needed little urging where fighting was concerned, and his squadron was the most effective in battle after battle on the Indian coasts. One of the bigger battles took place in November at Ponani, a port between Calicut and Cochin. The Portuguese were loading their annual corgoes of spices at Cochin, when Almeida heard that the Muslim of Calicut and Cairo were doing the same at Ponani under the guidance of Cutiali, a brave sea captain and splendid pilot. Tristan da Cunha's ships joined Lawrence de Almeida's, and when they came

in sight of Ponani, the attacking squadron was placed under the command of the young admiral. In spite of the bravery of the Muslim leaders the superior skill and daring of the Portuguese carried the day.[273]

The battle has been described by an Italian globe-trotter, Ludovico di Varthema, who fought in it and was knighted for his bravery.[274] He had just completed alone a bold tour of five years in Egypt, Syria, Arabia, Persia, Gujarat, Bengal, Pegu, Malacca and Sumatra. From the Muslim of Cananor he barely escaped with his life by fleeing to Cochin. There he gave useful information to the Viceroy, and after the naval battle he was granted a passage home in one of Cunha's ships, the *Santo Vincentio*, which belonged to Bartholomew Marchioni. "Verily I have found myself in many battles in my time", writes Varthema, "but I never saw men more brave than the Portuguese".

The combined fleets of Egypt and Calicut were sunk in the harbour of Ponani, the spices ready on land for shipment were destroyed, but the soldiers were not permitted to sack the town, as it belonged to Hindus. In this battle both the Viceroy's son and Cunha were wounded.

A fortnight later Tristan da Cunha left for home with five ships heavily laden. They reached Lisbon in July, 1508, the only break in their journey being made at Mozambique. The ship of Job Queimado which followed them from India did not reach Lisbon for a year afterwards, without its cargo, which was captured by a notorious French pirate named Mondragon.[275] This capture was destined to become, for a whole generation, the subject of a celebrated lawsuit in international law.

But whilst Tristan da Cunha was provisioning his ships at Mozambique, a tradegy for Portugal was being enacted at Chaul, then a strongly fortified and walled city on the river bank, two miles from the sea. The Viceroy had sent his son up the coast with eight ships, in order to convoy the spice fleet from Cochin. As he approached Chaul, he was warned that there was a big concentration of enemy ships near that port. This warning was emphasied by a similar message from his father, brought by Pero Cão. But Lawrence de Almeida does not seem to have realised the gravity of the situation. He did not

know that this effort of the enemy was the result of a special mission from Calicut to Cairo. The most prominent of the 'Ulema of Calicut, whom the Portuguese called Maimane Marcar, had been sent to the Soldan to urge a common front of the fleets of Egypt, Cambaya and Calicut.

Amir Hussain, who was in command, decided to make a surprise attack with his three fleets from the base of Diu upon Chaul. On this occasion Dom Lawrence appears to have acted like a tired man, and his scouting was defective. The enemy vanguard was in sight before the Portuguese moved, and even then the young admiral thought it was the fleet of Afonso de Alburquerque, which was expected daily from Ormuz. In this way Amir Hussain got his blow in first, and it was a terrible blow, because it disabled the Portuguese flagship and wounded Lawrence himself. The Portuguese outlooks noted that the heavy artillery of the Rumes had amongst its gunners some Greek and Italian Christians, probably captured soldiers pressed to fight by the Sultan of Cairo.

The Portuguese fought with fierce energy and resourcefulness. One of the first victims of their guns was the Muslim leader, Maimane. But though the fight lasted two days, the Portuguese never recovered from the initial surprise of the onslaught. Lawrence was wounded four times. When finally struck down by a cannon ball, he had himself propped up, sitting on a chair at the foot of the mizzen mast, bleeding profusely but still directing the plan of battle. When the flagship sank with the young admiral on board, the remaining ships retired from the battle and made for Cananor. They had lost 140 men killed with 124 wounded, and among the killed were thirteen fidalgos. Amir Hussain returned to his base at Diu.[276] Malik Ayyaz, the Russian governor of Diu, treated his prisoners with great consideration, and sent a fine message of condolence to the Viceroy on the death of his son.

The conduct of the Viceroy, when he heard of the crushing defeat, was what all men expected of him. The surviving officers reported that Lawrence's ship was cornered in a creek under the fire of an Egyptian galley. They had begged him to leave the sinking ship, whilst there was still time, but he refused to go as long as a single

man was ready to continue fighting. Men felt that the old Admiral had not deserved this disaster, writes Osorio. The Hindu King of Cochin also came to offer his sympathy to Francis de Almeida.[277] The latter covered his natural feelings under a tender stoicism, born of a profound faith. " I have prayed ", he replied " that my son might lead a noble life, not a long one. Life is always short, but the reward of virtue eternal ". The only sympathy that he asked of his friends was that they should help him to vindicate the cause for which his son had died. " Any man who loves my son must show it, not with tears, but by valour in our cause ".

This disaster to the Portuguese arms took place in February 1508. The Viceroy gave himself no time to indulge his personal grief, but utilised the following months in preparing a new and powerful fleet. He had no doubt that the annual fleet from Lisbon would arrive in time to reinforce his navy.

During these same months there was solemn rejoicing in Lisbon and Rome over the victories of Lawrence de Almeida in Ceylon and on the Malabar coast, whilst the Chaul set-back was still unknown. Pope Julius II led in person a noble procession of thanksgiving to St. Peter's on the twenty-fifth of July.[278] Rome regarded the victories as a great triumph over the Muslim aggressors in India, not a conquest of the native Indians. The Christians of St. Thomas in Malabar had long been an object of papal solicitude. In December Rome received much later, and still very favourable, news from the traveller, Varthema, who ended his world tour there on the tenth of that month.[279] His views are on record in his own words. " From all that I have seen of India and Ethiopa (*i.e.*, East Africa) it appears to me that the King of Portugal, if it please God, and he is as victorious as he has hitherto been, I think he will be the richest king in the world. And truly he deserves every good, for in India and especially in Cochin every feast-day ten or twelve pagans or Moors are baptised in the Christian faith, which is daily extending by means of the said king. And for this reason it may be believed that God has given him victory, and will ever prosper him in future ".

Varthema's forecast was not so much prophecy as a judicious estimate of the real position, comparing the merits of Portuguese and Rumes. The shock victory of the combined Muslim fleets against Lawrence de Almeida was no indication of the realities of the situation. The imponderables especially were fighting for Portugal. Almeida was a crusader of high ideals, whilst Amir Hussain was a hired adventurer, who had just spent six months plundering his own correligionists in the Red Sea, operating from his new base at Tor below Mount Sinai.

In October, 1508, the first ships of the annual fleet from Lisbon arrived at Cochin. With renewed hope of an early offensive against Diu they brought what Almeida regarded as a rebuff from the king. Afonso de Albuquerque was named as his successor. It is difficult to understand why this should have surprised Almeida, as the three years of his appointed term of office had expired. At any rate he discovered two reasons that seemed to justify him in retaining office for the time being. The fleet was almost ready for the offensive against Diu, all the reins were in his hands and could not be transferred to another without detriment to the King's service. Moreover the commander of the annual fleet from Lisbon had gone down with his ship, and all the detailed instructions and original letters of the King had perished with him.[280]

Albuquerque, invited to dine with Almeida, acquiesced in these arrangements at first. If these two big men had been left alone, no serious difficulty would probably have arisen. But the small men who had hopes of benefitting by the change began to intrigue. One of the noisiest of these busybodies was a nobleman named Edward de Sousa, who had been wounded in both legs at Hoja, an East African island besieged by Tristan da Cunha. It was a pity, writes Barros, that he was not wounded in the tongue rather than the legs. Only the good sense of Albuquerque saved him from being driven into extreme acts by the goads of this tongue. But even as it was, Almeida went to do battle with Amir Hussain leaving behind him in Malabar two opposing camps of his own countrymen. Though divided on the personal issue, these factions were united in pushing the preparations against

the common enemy. Albuquerque even offered to serve under Almeida in the coming naval battle, though the offer was not accepted.

On the twenty-second of December, Almeida started for Diu with nineteen ships, 1,300 Portuguese soldiers, 400 soldiers of Cochin and many serving men.[281] They stopped on the way to punish the towns of Honor and Dabul for their treachery in helping the Egyptian fleet. At Chaul they extorted from Nizamaluco, as they called the local king, the overdue tribute of three years. On the second of February, 1509, the fleet reached the bar of Diu.

Amir Hussain sailed out boldly to meet the Portuguese with his large galleys, followed by the paraws of Calicut and the foists of Malik Ayyaz ; over one hundred armed ships, big and small.[282] They came near enough for the Portuguese to observe again, that there were Christians among the officers and gunners of the enemy fleet. But night fell before anything but a few perfunctory shots could be exchanged by the opposing ships.

There was little sleep on the Portuguese ships that night. Everyone was busy, writes Barros, furbishing their weapons and their consciences, so as to be ready next day for all their enemies, bodily and spiritual.[283] Next day was the feast of Saint Bras, dear to the sailors. The senior captain, John da Nova, would remember the shrine at Mossel Bay, which he had erected in honour of this saint, the first Christian shrine ever set up in South Africa.

As soon as a favourable breeze sprang up next morning, the Portuguese sailed in a wedge to the attack, led by the ship of Nuno Vaz Pereira. The Muslim opened their ranks, so as to form a sea lane, where they might pour broadsides into the Portuguese right and left. They did some damage with their artillery, but the Portuguese seamen were equal to the occasion. Manoeuvring their ships rapidly, they grappled with their adversaries on both sides. The ships became so interlocked that it seemed almost a land battle. The wrestlings raged from before midday until late in the evening, and the sea became reddish brown with the tremendous slaughter. Before darkness descended upon the waters, the ships of

the Soldan and of his allies were all either sunk or captured. Amir Hussain himself fled to the shore in a dinghy, and as he was afraid to trust himself to the mercies of his colleague, Malik Ayyaz, he took refuge with the King of Cambaya. More than three thousand men of Hussain's fleet were slain, and only thirty-two Portuguese, but among them was the great captain, Nuno Vaz Pereira.

Malik Ayyaz now hastened to sue for peace, sending a letter in the hands of the cripple, Sidi Ali, a Muslim of Granada, whom Almeida had known when he fought there in 1492. The eighteen Portuguese prisoners who survived from amongst those taken at the battle of Chaul were released, and Malik Ayyaz agreed to become tributary to Portugal. This was the beginning of the end for Mamluk Egypt. The main source of its wealth was cut off by Portugal, and within seven years it succumbed to the Turks. Edward Barbosa was eyewitness of the fact that within ten years Suez had decayed quite visibly.[284] This single victory was also decisive in establishing Portugal's command of the Indian seas for a whole generation.

Almeida returned in triumph to Cochin on the eight of March, 1509, and was acclaimed there with every mark of honour by the Rajah and all the Portuguese. He insisted however in retaining the rank of Viceroy until the arrival of Marshal Ferdinand Coutinho, who was coming with the widest powers from the King to settle the dissensions of India, and arrived in October. During the intervening months, the squabbles of the partisans on either side were greatly embittered in the leisure that their victory over external enemies gave them. Almeida and Albuquerque however did not sulk in their tents, waiting for omens and visions, like the heroes of Homer, but they carried on the King's government until the King's representative came to decide between them.

On arrival Coutinho decided that Albuquerque should assume office at once. As this verdict left Almeida without any official position, he went aboard his ship and never left it until the ship sailed for home on the nineteenth of November. During his absence from home one of his brothers, who was commander of the Knights of Avis, had grave personal differences with the King. There is

some reason to believe that the two brothers, with the approval of the King, were contemplating a move to Spain, where they thought of settling for a while at least. It was a wise expedient to give time for the passions to subside, which had been roused by these Indian politics even in Portugal.[285]

At the end of February, 1510, the three ships under Almeida's command reached the watering place of Saldanha, as the site of the present city of Cape Town was then called. It seemed a very haven of peace, this lovely valley between the mountains and the sea with its three streams of sparkling water, but it became a scene of a tragedy that threw all Portugal into mourning.

Strange as it may appear, the first serious brush with the Hottentots arose out of the guileless friendliness of the Portuguese sailors. One of them, Diogo Fernandes Labaredas, managed to establish pleasant relations with the natives, and received permission from Almeida to go with them to the kraals, in order to barter for cattle and sheep, which were much needed for the voyage home. A brisk business was done, and the sailors were returning to the ships when another Hottentot appeared with a flock of sheep for sale. "He was evidently sent by the Evil One to stage the tragedy which ensued", writes Damian de Goes. Not being prepared to buy any more sheep, the sailor wished at any rate to give this native a good time on the ships, so that those following later might be well received. As the Hottentot did not understand, they tried to drag him along with them, and a general scuffle ensued. Stones were hurled by the natives with deadly effect, and the Portuguese were compelled to run for cover to the ships.

But the real tragedy might have been averted, if Francis de Almeida did not allow himself to be persuaded to adopt the commonplace principle of statesmanship re-echoed by so many subsequent leaders of the peoples, and latest of all by President Woodrow Wilson, when he embarked upon an incomparably greater sea of disaster in 1917, saying that "the honour and self-respect of the nation is involved in our victory". Victory in the end Portugal was bound to have, if she wanted it. But at what a cost!

The irreparable mistake was made next day, when Almeida was persuaded to return to the kraal, in order to punish the Hottentots. In vain the wiser captains demurred. "The punishment of these barbarians will be a poor victory for a great nation like Portugal", said Lawrence de Brito. "And did we really know that the barbarians were to blame?" It was, however, to men of the type of Anthony do Campo, that the harassed Admiral listened, men who loved the fierce light of battle. They claimed that the security of Portugal demanded reparation from these savages in the only language that they understood, lest they should be emboldened to attack all the fleets of Portugal, when the chance offered.

Under-estimating the deadly accuracy of the Hottentots in the use of their primitive weapons, the Portuguese marched to the kraals as if to punish children, and they only realised their peril when it was too late for strategy or the use of their own effective weapons, which they had left behind in the ships. A final misfortune awaited those who were able to flee to the shore, because the pilots had moved the ships out to sea on account of the heavy swell. The sands and waves were crimsoned with Portuguese blood.

More Portuguese fell at the hands of these untutored Hottentots than in the great naval battle of Diu. Eleven famous captains were killed, amongst them both Lawrence de Brito who was against the expedition, and Anthony do Campo who urged it. Thus on the doorstep of the dominion of India the first Viceroy fell, after rendering his country unique service, which laid the foundation of one hundred years of prosperity and glory.[286] It was the first of the many great European reputations that have been buried at the Cape of Good Hope.

Castanheda has left a verbal picture of him, sketched from the life. "Almeida was a man of medium height, strongly built, a grave and imposing figure. He was very devout, a great lover of Christ our Lord, and he appeared to keep his commandments. So kindly was he, that he never punished anyone without giving him three warnings". Being generous and big-hearted, he gave frequent presents to those who worked under him. People used to flock to the conferences that he held with the officers

after supper on the parade ground of the fortresses, because they loved to hear him speak of the noble feats of arms in ancient history. Among his intimate friends his conversation was so lofty, that some carpers put it down to vanity. As, however, he displayed no visible vanity, they said he must be concealing it, because he was tenacious of his own opinion, not without some justification. When Viceroy of India he worked hard. Rising before dawn, he first heard Mass, and at daybreak he went out to examine the ships and the warehouses, taking a hand here and there in some job that the men were doing, in order to encourage them. At dinner he entertained the noblemen of all ranks at his own table, whilst his steward simultaneously entertained the rest of the men at an equally well provided table. After dinner he withdrew for an hour, but spent the rest of the afternoon transacting business with the officials, until the heat of the Indian day was spent. It was the highest standard of personal conduct and public duty.

This cultured nobleman, who had won his first laurels at the Siege of Granada against the Moors before Columbus went to America, who had commanded the whole naval might of Portugal in 1493 when it faced Spain ready for battle if need be, who had broken the power of the Sultan of Egypt in the Indian Ocean, and who had subdued the strong Muslim armies of India, now fell a victim to the poisoned assegais of a few Hottentots. In the forlorn valley that Cape Town then was "his obsequies were celebrated," wrote Bishop Osorio,[287] "not with funeral rites but with tears."

CHAPTER XIII.

The Political Experiment in Kilwa.

AS A POLITICAL experiment the Portuguese dealings with the Arabs of Kilwa are so full of interest, that they deserve a full statement in a chapter to themselves. Vasco da Gama, John da Nova and Cabral had impressed upon the mind of King Manuel, that in trade and arms the leadership of the Arabs of this coast lay with the Sultan of Kilwa. His comparative wealth among the imams and sayyids of this coast was the result of his Persian prestige and his control of the traffic of the gold mines. Sofala was the centre of the industry on this coast, but Kilwa was the home of the mine magnates. That was the first impression of Manuel and his advisers.

According to the still current ideas of medieval thought such a ruler must be conciliated, and war made only if he were unreasonable. Bishop Osorio da Fonseca, who was educated at King Manuel's court before he studied at Salamanca and Bologna, put one of the principles of what was then considered sound and Christian policy into a single sentence, " The king governs free men, not slaves. But free men are not to be coerced by threats and fear, and rather convinced by the unfolding of some joint advantage ". This was expounded in a special treatise entitled *De Nobilitate Christiana*, in which he denounces the recent work of Machiavelli as a poisoner of public opinion, because he condoned deliberate aggression, injustice, fraud and breach of faith, as inevitable methods in dealing with unscrupulous rivals.

Agreement therefore on a basis of common interest was the best foundation of trade intercourse between peoples, in Manuel's view. He was quite convinced that the proposal which he had to make to Kilwa would lead to gain for both Lisbon and Kilwa. The instuctions to the Portuguese captains show that Manuel's information led him to a reasonable belief, that most Arabs and Indians were ready to trade with Portugal, if suitable terms could

be arranged. He knew also that there were some monopolists and mischief makers among the Arabs, who were not prepared to make any concession to Portugal either on the Mozambique coast or in India. They would have to be coerced, but he believed that the majority could be persuaded of the utility of friendship with Portugal.

When therefore Cabral anchored at Kilwa on the twenty-sixth of July, 1500, he sent ashore the man who was to become factor of Sofala, Afonso Furtado, to present King Manuel's letters which were in Portuguese and Arabic, and to ask for an interview with Ibrahim the ruler of Kilwa. These letters contained an invitation to embrace the Christian faith, and to enter into friendly relations of commerce with Portugal.

The first invitation was a matter of honour with the Portuguese. Being fervent Christians themselves, they felt that they were offering the best thing they had to these strangers. There was no question of forcing it upon them. Aquinas was the theological oracle of that age, and he was explicit on this point. No external prompting, and much less prodding, could arouse a genuine Christian faith, but only the free assent of the individual conscience to what God has revealed through His Church and the Scriptures.

That they were prepared to carry out these principles is clear from the presence at Kilwa, at this moment, of Sheikh Omar, a brother of the Sultan of Malindi. The Arabs of Malindi were already fast friends and partners in trade, whilst no question of religion had been allowed to interfere with their social relations and mutual commerce. Though Omar had come to Kilwa in his own ship and on his own business, he kept the Portuguese informed of all that was happening in the town, and thus helped them considerably in their deliberations. Through his assistance they also obtained water, although the Kilwa people placed every obstacle in their way.[288]

For two days Ibrahim invented pretexts of various kinds to shirk the interview. At last he agreed to meet Cabral in their respective boats near the seashore. The Arabic Chronicle of Kilwa tells us that even then it was not the Sheikh who met Cabral, as the Portuguese thought, but a certain Lukman bin Al-Malik decked out in royal

array. He pleaded for more time to consider these novel proposals, as he had to consult his advisers, seeing that these matters were opposed to their traditions.

Next day Ibrahim professed to be very pleased with the interview, and sent some leading Arabs to the Portuguese ships, in order to do business in foodstuffs. Cabral suspected a ruse, and ordered his men to be prepared and that openly, so that the visitors should nourish no hope of taking them by surprise. At the same time he instructed all on board to be liberal in dealing with these traders, and if there were any men of the ruling class among them, to make them presents. But all this tact and hospitality led to no practical response from the side of Kilwa.

Cabral waited three days more. Though he was vexed at the failure of his proposals, and some felt that it was high time to use the only kind of argument that this Sheikh was capable of understanding, the argument of force, Cabral called a council of the fidalgos and captains. They came to the conclusion that the King's instructions would not justify war in these circumstances. So they sailed away, to meet the more urgent claim of Indian trade.

The following year John da Nova reached Kilwa. But he attempted nothing to establish trade relations, perhaps because of the letter that Cabral left for the next captain, telling of the collapse of his own hopes. With only four unarmed ships Nova knew that he could bring no pressure to bear upon Ibrahim, whose attitude soon convinced him that fair words did not mean friendly deeds.

Moreover Nova had the useful advice of the *degredado* Anthony Fernandes, whom Cabral had left behind.[289] During his year of continous residence there Fernandes must have learned a great deal. Among other things he found that the rank and file of the place were so bigoted, that they would have killed him as a Christian spy, if they did not fear the power of an influential and broad-minded Arab named Mohammed Anconi, whom we have already mentioned. This man was wealthy, and was the leading citizen of the land, being a kind of banker to the Sheikh, a position which entailed the power of summary

justice in this primitive community. Cabral had met him during his short stay, and formed a high opinion of his honesty.

Nova too had occasion to test it. He gathered that the Sheikh would have ambushed him, if Anconi had not warned him that such an act would be a challenge to the full might of the King of Portugal. In this way Anconi acquired a reputation among the Portuguese as a man of his word and a loyal friend.

When therefore Vasco da Gama made his second journey to India, he came to Kilwa on the twelfth of July, 1502, fully acquainted with the kind of man he had to deal with in Ibrahim. This accounts for the rattling and roar of artillery with which the powerful fleet of the Admiral entered the port. It was a warning that left nothing to the imagination. So well did Ibrahim comprehend its meaning, that he agreed to the proposal to become a junior ally, which status was called a vassal in those days. For the moment nothing more was done but to exchange ratifications of this relationship, and to receive from Ibrahim a token tribute of 584 cruzados. As Vasco da Gama sailed out of the port of Kilwa for India, the standard of Portugal floated from a tower of the Sheikh's dwelling.[290]

But Ibrahim had no intention of observing the terms of this agreement. For three years he omitted to pay the modest tribute which he had promised, and just then Manuel was too busy with Indian plans to grasp this nettle of Kilwa. Only in 1505 was Francis de Almeida charged by the King to call at Kilwa on his way to India, in order to insist upon the fulfilment of the treaty, which Ibrahim had signed. If he agreed to pay the arrears of the tribute, he was to be treated as a friend, and to be allowed to continue to exact the usual customs-dues from all traders, Portuguese and Arabs.

In case of refusal, and then only, the town was to be attacked, and its wealth confiscated as war reparations. Indemnities of this kind were more moderate in those days than in our mercenary century, when astronomical figures in war reparations were demanded for the first time in history. Almeida wisely limited himself to the amount that Kilwa could pay.[291] The reason of the

difference is not far to seek. Our modern politicians, to use the words of an official historian of the first World War, " evoked the martial spirit by instilling hatred as an antidote to fear." Hatred is a woeful guide. But the captains and fidalgos of Portugal neither hated nor feared the Arabs. Their King had commissioned them to bring about a working agreement with their adversaries.

From the narrative of the historian Barros, who knew personally some of the actors in this drama, we can gather how sincerely the Portuguese leaders tried to understand the customs of these people, and to meet their natural wishes. He gives a good account of the history of their rulers. Nothing better has been written by the Arabs themselves. Barros had before him an Arabic chronicle of Kilwa, and he begins his tale with the Persian grandee, Ali, who founded the local dynasty in or about the year 868 A.D.

Not only does he detail the full succession but he indicates those who did most for the island and people, such as Soleyman Husain who reigned forty years, conquered the whole coast and adorned the town. Yet the list shows unmistakeably how often the succession was decided by violence. Eight of the sheikhs were deposed forcibly, of whom two were murdered, and one assassinated in the precincts of the mosque. It would clearly be no light task to induce people with such a record to conduct themselves in the spirit of law and order customary in Portugal, where no king had ever succeeded in bullying his people, and no rebellion had ever gained popular support. Both kings and people had imbibed a keen sense of their subordination to the common welfare.

When Almeida anchored in the port of Kilwa, the inhabitants were in the throes of one of their recurrent crises. The usurper Mir Ibrahim was the nominal ruler of the island. Though Almeida knew little of the past of this small republic, he had been instructed by the King to make careful enquiries about the existing conditions before taking any action.

Hence he approached the Arabs as a community among whom there were good, bad and indifferent, as in other towns. Sound policy consisted in sifting the trustworthy from the shifty, friends from enemies. We have already

seen how war was reluctantly made, Ibrahim deposed and Mohammed Anconi installed in his place with great ceremonial under the protection of Portugal. Master Diogo the Vicar of the Franciscans, who preached that day at the High Mass, thanked God that they had accomplished so much with so little bloodshed.

The ceremonial and rich trappings were well calculated to impress the populace with Portugal's determination to support the new ruler. It was all akin to the usage of our own day, which seeks the same results by the constant official puffing of the syndicalised press, eked out by gorgeous pictures of our often commonplace heroes and sheikhs. Times change but the essential features of effective government are always the same. So proud were the Portuguese of this conquest of the friendship of Anconi, that the coronation ceremony was the theme of tapestries in several princely houses in Lisbon and in the royal palace, which were displayed on gala days celebrating the victory of Kilwa.[292]

Anconi agreed to the building of a fortress as a guarantee of the safety of the interests of the imperial power. It was the system which England adopted on a far more extensive scale afterwards in India, China, Egypt, Singapore, Simonstown and Gibraltar. Before leaving Kilwa on the eighth of August, Almeida completed the fortress, and appointed Peter Ferreira Fogaça to be its first commandant. As suitable stone and lime were not abundant on this coast, the fortress was built mostly of timber from the mangrove trees, though some stone and mortar were used for the first time on this coast.

Almeida was satisfied that with such a fortress at Kilwa, another at Sofala, a cruiser to patrol the coast, the refitting harbour at Mozambique, and the loyal friendship of Malindi, the Portuguese could control the whole of this region in trade matters. Two priests were left to minister to the garrison, and to do what evangelical work they could among the natives.[293] So pleased was Almeida with the result that he wrote a long letter to King Manuel from Cochin, dwelling on the production, fauna and prospects of Kilwa. These he rated highly.[294]

But Fogaça had never agreed with the resolution carried by the majority of Almeida's council, as he doubted the

wisdom of the policy of Portuguese support for any one of the rival candidates for the position of sheikh. He preferred that the Arabs should be allowed to fight out their own quarrels. Before the Portuguese came they used to change their chiefs as frequently as the Bantu tribes. Why should Portuguese waste energy amid these fruitless factions? The more this amir was freed from local rivals the more easily would he become a rallying point for the disaffected of the whole coast. After a year's experience on the spot Fogaça was confirmed in this view,[295] and in his fears about the ability of Anconi to keep order among his own countrymen, as he shows in letters to the King and the Viceroy.

At length not even the Portuguese could save Anconi from the vengeance of his Muslim rivals, when he decided on adventures outside the sphere of Portuguese influence. Within that sphere the negotiations of Cabral, Nova and Vasco da Gama, had even strengthened the position of Ibrahim against his own people, as long as there seemed the chance of a Portuguese settlement with him.

Contact with the Portuguese fidalgos seems to have brought out the finer side of Anconi's temperament, and he thought of following their method of trying to conciliate his Muslim enemies of the whole coast. A fatal opportunity arose when Fogaça captured an Arab dhow, which was running a cargo of contraband goods from Angoche, and which belonged to a son of one of the chiefs of a small island near Angoche, probably Mafia.

As father and son were partisans and cousins of the deposed Ibrahim, who was still at large and at war with the Portuguese, Fogaça arrested the young man with all his family aboard. As a gesture of good will, Anconi paid his fines to the Portuguese government, sending him home with a new outfit and provisions. His father, Mofamamgombe, whose island kingdom was then called Tirendincunde, professed to be deeply grateful, and he invited Anconi to visit him, in order to receive personally repayment of the generous loan made to his son.[296]

Fogaça warned Anconi not to accept the invitation. Already the exiled Ibrahim had hired a cut-throat Arab to assail Anconi in his own home at Kilwa. That attempt to murder him failed, but he received a flesh wound in

the arm. The would-be assassin was tried by the Portuguese court and quartered, much to the delight of the local Arabs, who were impressed by the prompt justice of their allies. Fogaça guessed rightly that the invitation of this implacable enemy boded no good to a friend of Portugal and successful rival of Ibrahim.

In such matters these half-caste sheikhs found the spirit of revenge that the Koran breathes a reinforcement of the blood lust of their Bantu tradition. Anconi sailed north in high hopes of conquering an enemy with kindness, as he saw the Portuguese sometimes succeed in doing. He was received at Mafia with lavish demonstrations of gratitude, but that night he was murdered as he lay asleep in his *zambuco*. His host and murderer announced, unabashed, that the duty of revenge for the wrong done to his kinsman, Ibrahim, was more urgently binding, than any obligation of gratitude for the kindness that his son had received from Mohammed Anconi.

Once more Kilwa was in a ferment, this time over the election of his successor. The situation was further embittered by the high-handed action of some of the Portuguese officials in exceeding their orders and the law, when searching the trading ships of the Arabs at sea. In disgust many of the Arab traders left for Mombasa, Malindi and elsewhere, to find more equitable treatment from other officials of the King.

When the question of the succession was placed before Captain Fogaça, he refused to adjudicate between the rival candidates, who were Anconi's son, and a cousin of that Ibrahim who had ousted the legitimate Al-Fudayl. By a temporary expedient the prudent Fogaça kept the whole question open, whilst the parties appealed to the court of the Viceroy in India. In the meantime the captain decided that Hajji Husain, Anconi's son, should be appointed a magistrate of Kilwa under the chief magistrate Francis Coutinho, with a commission from King Manuel but without the title of sheikh.[297] Thus he would not irritate his opponents unduly by any claim under Muslim law, yet he could help to keep order as a Portuguese official.

One of the first to bring these disturbances to the notice of the Viceroy was Cyde Barbudo, who called at

Kilwa in 1506 after his fruitless mission to Table Bay and Mossel Bay. He found the place in an uproar. A peaceful settlement of the dispute seemed so urgent, that he set aside the King's instructions about his other operations on this coast, and sailed away at once to inform the Viceroy of the position.

At first Almeida was inclined to lay some of the blame upon the shoulders of Fogaça. Not only had they differed in Kilwa about the policy of appointing the dead Sheikh, but complaints about Fogaça's administration had come to him later from the factor and the chief magistrate. The Viceroy had recommended his supersession, but the King after examining the complaints refused to agree. This appointment had been made originally in Lisbon by the King, before they set sail for India,[208] so that the King knew the man he was dealing with.

The Viceroy now took the wise course of sending to Kilwa a man whom everybody trusted in India, to examine the whole controversy on the spot, with full power to take the necessary measures to restore peace. This officer was Nuno Vaz Pereiro, who was noted for his firmness and conciliatory character. He took with him as assessors two men, who were afterwards famous, Luis Mendes da Vasconcellos of Madeira, a hero of the siege of Diu, and Ferdinand Magellan, the first circumnavigator of the globe. When they reached Malindi the local sheikh introduced an old Arab, once a rich trader in Kilwa, who had been exiled because he insulted Anconi. As, however, he had considerable knowledge of the circumstances of the place, he was taken there as a useful witness.

At Malindi itself Pereira thought that he had gathered sufficient evidence to decide, that considerable hardship was inflicted on the Arab traders through the royal restrictions and tariffs. By decree he promptly inaugurated the system which has been called Free Trade by the nations that benefited by it in the nineteenth century. There was an immediate rush to profit by this liberality, and many of those who had recently left Kilwa now rushed back in high hopes. As the royal commissioners delayed some weeks in Sofala, they found no less than twenty new traders at Kilwa, when they arrived there in

December. The market had been swamped, so that the generous and well-meant decree had to be revoked in self-defence.

At Kilwa Pereira held the formal enquiry into the causes of the recent quarrels. As the claimants for the office of sheikh were at the root of all the trouble, he first examined that question. It was as tangled a question of law and equity as ever came before a high court. Each of the claimants had a plausible case.

Ibrahim's cousin, whose name was Micante, was the candidate favoured by Fogaça, the chief magistrate, Coutinho, most of the officers of the garrison and a great number of the local Arabs.[299] He stressed his descent from the long line of Kilwa kings by contrast with the rival candidate, whose father was an upstart. That was the secret of the support that Micante received from so many different sources.

But Hajji Husain took his stand on the letter of the law. He presented the decrees of King Manuel in which the crimes of Ibrahim were condemned, and the merits of Husain's father, Mohammed Anconi, extolled. Peace did not depend upon Micante and his backers in Kilwa. The sovereign lord of the town was King Manuel. If he decided in favour of the son of his faithful vassal, Mohammed Anconi, that decision would not merely qualify him for the position, but would ensure the support of every Portuguese and of every loyal Arab.

In the course of this lawsuit no word was uttered about the son of Al-Fudayl, the old friend of Mohammed Anconi, whom Anconi himself had selected for his successor with the confirmation of Francis de Almeida. It is evident that he was dead. For years he had lived on the mainland in utter provety and neglect. Neither the Portuguese nor the Arabs seem to have relished the prospect of this successor, because he was of low degree, being the son of a Kafir woman who was the Sheikh's slave.

The verdict of Nuno Vaz Pereira confirmed the choice that Fogaça had already made conditionally, but Pereira promoted Hajji Husain to the rank of Sheikh. When Pereira returned to India after thus discharging the commission given him, he left behind in Kilwa the

fidalgo from Madeira, Vasconcellos, as confidential agent of the central government of India.[300]

Since the murderer of Anconi had shown no regret for his action, Anconi's son, Hajji Husain, now that he had the power in hand, resolved to carry out the precept of the Koran: "you are bound to retaliate on behalf of the murdered, the freeman for the freeman, the slave for the slave, the female for the female". As soon as Pereira's back was turned, he set about a plan for destroying the Amir of Tirendincunde.

Tirene Bay on the island of Mafia still keeps green the memory of the name, at least in part, of that bloodthirsty amir. It is only eleven miles from the mouth of the Rufiji River of the mainland. On a tiny island close by, named Inuani, there is still a site of Asiatic ruins called Kua. Tirene and Kua might well be separate relics of the name of Tirendincunde, which has been preserved by Barros, but of the ruins of Kua no story or legend has been rescued from oblivion by the Arabs. Whatever the names may import, there can be little doubt that this is the theatre of Husain's campaign of vengeance. Without the knowledge of the Portuguese he made a military alliance with a powerful Kafir chief named Munya Monge, whom he was obliged to bribe heavily to join him. The Kafir's name meant lord of the world, and he certainly controlled all the tribes of the Tanganyika coast.

Being one of nature's strategists, Husain worked out a plan well calculated to effect his purpose. The Kafirs were to descend in a force to the coast opposite Mafia, and the Arabs would come from the south by sea on the same day. The islands were thus enveloped on the day appointed by the crescent of Husain's dhows, and their escape on the mainland was cut off by the Kafir impis. All the Arab villages were wiped out by scimitar, assegai and fire. Many of the inhabitants fled to the mainland and were captured as slaves. Only the guilty Amir escaped, to mar the personal satisfaction of Husain, though it could not affect the fulness of his military success.

This complete victory went to Hajji Husain's head, and his craving for further glory became a source of friction even with his Portuguese friends. The other

Arabs easily forgave him the massacre, and even praised him for it, as it was in keeping with their traditions. But they resented his alliance with the savage Bantu, and still more the insolent letters he now began to write to the other Muslim rulers of the whole coast, demanding tribute from them. They were also indignant because he had pressed into his service for this campaign some subjects of the other Muslim rulers without their consent, especially as so many of them had been killed.

From Malindi, Zanzibar and other places, the petty sultans appealed against him to the Viceroy of India, petitioning to have this youth removed who had become intoxicated with the idea of his own importance. In his place they were prepared to accept even the wandering Ibrahim back, or at least his young relative, Micante.

To comply with these requests, Almeida commissioned Fogaça to offer the post to Ibrahim first, and if he refused, to Micante. As expected, Ibrahim did refuse, because his crafty nature could not imagine that the Portuguese would make such an offer in good faith, so that he suspected some stratagem. When Husain was actually deposed, that would-be Saladin humbly asked the Portuguese to send him away from Kilwa to Mombasa, because he feared the vengeance of his fellow Muslim, if he remained amongst them without authority or power.

The last we hear of him is through an Arabic letter, which he wrote to King Manuel on the thirteenth of September, 1511.[301] It seems to have been written from Malindi. He complains of being bullied, for money, by the commandant there, Bernard Freire, after he had been robbed by the people of Kilwa. Yet he is able to send a valuable present to the King, consisting of gold, ambergris and brocades. Barros declares that he died in utter poverty at Mombasa.

Micante was a real success for two years. But the comparative ease of a position where the might of Portugal protected him from his enemies, made him flabby, and he became a drunkard. The other Arabs would have condoned all this, if he had not begun to insult their wives, and to kill some of them on the imaginary charge of wishing to kill him, fancies which were evidently fits of *delirium tremens*. Fogaça seems to have

borne patiently with him on account of their past friendship.

A crisis arose when Francis Pereira Pestana became Captain of Kilwa on the twenty-first of March, 1509, on which day he took the customary oaths of office before Edward de Lemos,[302] who was then enjoying the newly created office of Captain General of the King at Mozambique. Lemos was little interested in Kilwa, as he barely mentions it in a long letter to the King six months before, when that place was seething with excitement.

The new captain, Pestana, was hot-tempered like Micante himself, and little disposed to put up with his shortcomings. At first they quarrelled because there was mutual distrust. But when war broke out between Micante and Ibrahim, Pestana declares that the former "mended his ways and fought like a gallant gentleman". Then the Captain felt that he ought to put up with the vagaries of this Arab on account of his loyalty to the Portuguese, and the fact that he had shown himself to be still a fine soldier when roused.

Meantime Ibrahim instigated his brother, Mungo Cayde, to make several incursions upon Kilwa at the head of formidable Kafir forces, at a time when the whole Portuguese garrison consisted of only forty able bodied men, the rest being prostrate with fever. In one of these raids the Portuguese captured a nephew of Ibrahim, whose name was Munya Came.

When King Manuel first notified the appointment of Pestana, Almeida expressed his doubt whether so young a man would be able to cope with the wily Arabs, and he also suggested economical changes which he believed would benefit trade.[303] But on the fourth of September, 1509, Afonso de Albuquerque became Governor of India in place of Almeida. Up to that time the captains of Kilwa had been able to rely on the interest and support of the Viceroy, who had convinced the King of the importance of this experiment.

How impressed Manuel was in the year 1508, can be read in his instructions to Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, when he was being sent to open up friendly relations with the Malay rajahs. Urging the fundamental importance of "gaining their confidence and showing how they will

benefit, and enjoy perfect security with us", the King insists that they should be told of what had already been accomplished in promoting friendship by the establishment of fortresses in Kilwa and Sofala, to say nothing of India.

But Albuquerque had other views.[304] To him Goa and Malacca were the urgent problems, always to be kept in mind as pivotal, because everything else would fall into its proper place, once these pledges of Portugal's future greatness were firmly held. He looked upon Kilwa and Sofala as outposts of the kingdom of Prester John extending to the Cape of Good Hope, rich in gold but not as rich in immediate prosperity as the wealth of the East.

It was annoying to have to settle these constant disturbances in Kilwa, which absorbed the energies of so many men, who could be more usefully employed elsewhere. Complaints were already reaching him about Pestana's administration, and he made up his mind to send Captain Anthony de Saldanha of Mozambique notice to wind up the whole adventure of governing Kilwa, as a bad debt. Of this intention he wrote definitely to the King on the twentieth of August, 1512. Let the Arabs govern themselves, he said, as we have no time to waste on them. That was the substance of Albuquerque's expressed views. Yet the Portuguese had an interest in keeping on good terms with these neighbours, even if they left Kilwa to itself. The problem was to find some Arab leader who could control his own people, and be also prepared to fit Kilwa's activities into the imperial framework of Portuguese trade.

Pestana wrestled with that problem for three years. His experience of the Indian markets had been gained in the counting house of the *Casa da India* in Lisbon. There he had given a good account of himself for eighteen months,[305] and he already had the training in arms and on the sea that every youth about the Court had in those days. The more however King Manuel heard of Micante the more he became convinced that he was not to be depended on for any straight course of government, though he was an excellent soldier. Pestana however always hoped that he might make a man of him even in matters of administration.

On the other hand almost in spite of himself, experience taught him that Ibrahim was a better man, and that he had learned moderation from his defeats, as the best men do. Of course Ibrahim was not immediately responsive, when he received the first messages from Pestana inviting him to discuss the prospect of becoming sheikh in place of Micante. Thinking that it was a ruse of war, to get him to Kilwa and imprison him, Ibrahim replied that as long as his nephew Munya Came was a prisoner of the Portuguese, he could not be expected to discuss any proposal of this kind. Came was therefore released in order to reassure Ibrahim personally that the offer was made in all good faith.

There seems also to have been some correspondence on the subject between King Manuel and Ibrahim. In an Arabic letter to Lisbon that has survived Ibrahim acknowledges the suzerainty of Portugal, with all the fine and flowery flourishes of the oriental sytle.[306] But he begs Manuel to impress upon his Portuguese subjects the necessity of treating the weak people of Kilwa with mildness, and to avoid exactions which they cannot bear. Otherwise dissensions were sure to arise, and Ibrahim's authority as sultan would be put to shame. The requests thus made would appeal to Manuel, as they were measures after his own heart, and they must have completed his growing conviction that he had at length found the man for this difficult post.

The last refuge of Micante was at Kerimba, which was then the most important and pleasant of a number of small islands now called the Ibo group, from the name of the largest of them. The local Arabs were in league with distant Mombasa, but hostile to their neighbours of Pemba, Kilwa and Zanzibar. A refugee from the wrath of Kilwa would therefore be welcomed. Business was of course the thing that mattered most and split these Arab communities, though new sects sometimes arose out of these trade differences.

Both as a matter of principle and of interest the Portuguese avoided rousing the religious enmity of Islam by any slight to their Koranic rites or traditions of worship. Though they knew that Arabs and Persians hated one another as heretics, on this coast the Portu-

guese made no use of these differences to divide them further. No Muslim leader was ever able to unite these settlements in a *jihad*, or holy war, against them. Micante did not fear any attack from the Portuguese, who had treated him with great consideration, but he dreaded the vengeance of the Arab factions, which he had ruled with a rod of iron in Kilwa. Some years later Kerimba itself was depopulated, when its one industry of cocoa-nut fibre for binding the timbers of dhows fell away, though it rose again later to the dignity of a fortress and the site of a parish church. But long before that Micante had died poor and forgotten even by his enemies.

We have already mentioned Pestana's disappointment at the dismissal of Micante. But Ibrahim had seen so many ups and downs in Kilwa, that he declined to take charge until he saw with his own eyes that Francis Pereira Pestana was really leaving. Only when Pestana was on board the ship that was to take him to India, did Ibrahim consent to take over the administration of the island of Kilwa. But as long as he lived he remained the firm friend of Portugal.

The real cause of the failure of Kilwa was the backwash on this coast of the new current of world trade. Kilwa was in this respect only a miniature Venice, whose prosperity the forward movement of the world had dislocated. As long as these descendants of the Persian merchant from the province of Rey could control the whole coast they battened on its poorly developed trade. But their stagnant methods of trade, their lack of pliability in adapting themselves to new conditions, and their rigid system of government by the sword were drawbacks that never existed in Venice. Kilwa sank into its proper place of a deserted village on the track of European expansion towards the East.

But the Portuguese experiment in Kilwa had not been in vain. Pestana left the country in comparative peace under the experienced Ibrahim. Barros testifies that this Sheikh "effected reforms in the land, ruling it better than when he had it in his hands before, as the trials he had passed through helped to teach him the art of government". Being now able also to rely upon the support of the soldiers and sailors of his suzerain, King Manuel,

Ibrahim became strong enough to manage the unruly elements among his own Arab subjects.

Kilwa soon found its own level in the new order founded by Portugal on this coast. When Almeida first passed this way in 1505, it ranked with Mombasa and Malindi. As he sailed from Cochin on the nineteenth of November, 1509, on the homeward journey that ended so tragically at the Cape of Good Hope, Kilwa's reduced status had been practically settled by the reports that Albuquerque had already received. At Mozambique, where Almeida spent the twenty-four days before Christmas that year, he would get full information of the King's intentions.[307]

It was the last straw in the heartbreaking conviction of Almeida's mind, that the main lines of his imperial policy were to be reversed by Albuquerque. Worn out also in health by the climate of India, Almeida seems to have had the baseless physical presentiment of death that sometimes comes to ardent natures under such circumstances. But his intimates on the journey home tell us how manfully he fought against such fantasies. His sound head and sane Christian faith refused to submit to any physical or psychical complex, knowing how little they really meant to any man of intelligence. Even when the Hottentots were advancing upon him, he told his batman the story of another famous fidalgo and his superstitious presentiments, only to laugh at them. "I believe in God rather than in illusions of this kind", he said. If God called him because his work was done, he was ready to go, but he would not allow even the fate of Kilwa to make him a slave of his nerves.

No attempt was made to restore the prestige of Kilwa. Such Arab chronicles as exist speak of it no more. Mombasa became the stronghold of the dissident Muslim. The Arabs of Mozambique had already shown themselves more alert in gauging the new factors in Africa and the needs of the new situation.

The handsome and vigorous sultan, Zacoeja, who had turned truculent and refused to confirm the trade agreement already made, when he found that Vasco da Gama was a Christian, was dead when Gama called there on his second journey. The new ruler was a less picturesque person, but a sensible man who gave the fleet all it needed,

for cash down, and seemed glad to have such excellent customers. Ever afterwards these Muslim of Mozambique were almost as easy to deal with as the Christians of Europe.

It was however not till 1512 that the political experiment in Kilwa ended. The place was a bad debt, which might well be written-off, and the idea of reconciling the Muslim factions was just a European mirage. So Anthony de Saldanha, on the termination of his period of office as captain of Sofala and Mozambique, came to break down the fortress of Kilwa, transferring Pestana to Socotra, where he was to stand guard over the exit of the Red Sea.

The better known Kilwa of to-day is the town on the mainland near the mouth of the Matanda River. But the Quiloa of the Portuguese whose fortunes we have been discussing, is the island now known as Kilwa Kisiwani.[308] The remains of a fortress are still to be seen there. But these ruins are what is left of a later Arab construction, built upon the wreckage of Almeida's fortress.

Pestana would perhaps have had some reason to feel aggrieved at the collapse of the Kilwa experiment, as he still believed that it might be made a success. But these captains had a keen sense of their duty of carrying on the King's government, even at the expense of their feelings. In any case it would be possible for Albuquerque to pacify him with those same words of the Bible,[309] which Albuquerque himself used on another occasion to calm the ruffled feelings of the same Pestana: "is thine eye evil because I am good?" It was certainly a good thing for Ibrahim, and perhaps for Portugal; because Ibrahim was so impressed with the generosity of the King's pardon, that he died enjoining upon his sons their duty of loyalty to the King of Portugal.

CHAPTER XIV.

European Pioneers in the Goldfields of Mashonaland.

WHEN the Portuguese first came into the Indian Ocean, King Manuel made Sofala the capital of the settlements on the east coast of Africa. Mozambique was then a subordinate station. This was because Sofala was considered to be the port of entry to the land of Ophir. The captain of Sofala became the chief representative of the King, and his main duty was to organise the gold traffic in part of what we now know as Mashonaland. "Your captains discovered and re-occupied the great mine which some believe to be Ophir, and is now called Sofala", wrote Edward Pachero Pereira in 1505[310] to the king. The Bible of the Portuguese supplied the name of Ophir, and many interpreters of the Bible had already located Ophir of the *Book of Kings* in the mysterious land behind the coast of Sofala.

During the previous reign of John II definite news on this fascinating subject had come from Sofala itself, which Pero da Covilhã had reached from India after a mainland journey from Lisbon to Calicut through Egypt. No letters of Covilhã have survived, but we know that full reports were sent home. At a port dominated by the Muslims, as Calicut then was, Covilhã must have gathered up the facts on this subject which were the common talk of the East. In those waters that washed the cradle of the human race there was an immemorial traffic of ships between the opposing shores. Not only King Hiram of Tyre but the Ptolemies of Egypt had ports of call on the Zanzibar coast in their trade between Alexandria and India.

Long before the rise of Mohammed the Persians and the Arabs, having a central position at the head of the Indian Ocean, took an active part in the trade between east and west by establishing stations at Socotra, Sofala and Ceylon. The first Muslim dynasty of the Omayyads,

dominating the eastern Mediterranean from the highlands of Syria at Damascus, looked westwards for its expansion rather than to India or to China. But when the Abbasid caliphs fixed their capital at Baghdad on the Euphrates in 750 A.D., the new opportunities tempted the traders of the new caliphate down to the ports of Basra and Siraf on the Persian Gulf, and so to India and China.

One of the most popular books of the Arab East, the *Chain of Chronicles*, tells how Solayman of Siraf in 851 A.D., went from Baghdad to China, and how other ships touched at Madagascar[311] on the same errand of trade. Masudi met the author of this work, Abu Zaid Hasan, at Basra sixty years later, and they both chronicle the voyages of a merchant, Ibn Walad, to the Far East. Once, they tell us, Walad was prevented from going to Canton, because the Bantu slaves from Zanzibar had revolted and taken possession of the southern province of Mesopotamia, blocking the exit upon the ocean from the Tigris and the Euphrates.

Big ships from Persia and Arabia did not go much below the Red Sea then, but the smaller ones made Sofala for gold, ivory and slaves. Of these doings Europe had much vague information even in the days of Prince Henry the Navigator. But Covilhã would be able to assure King John II that the traffic in gold between the Malabar coast and Sofala still went on, and was probably more vigorous than ever through some of the islands like Angoche and Mombasa, as well as Kilwa. That King's early death prevented him from acting upon the information which he possessed, as such hints always found a ready echo in his receptive mind.

Through the first voyage of Vasco da Gama, King Manuel learned that the chief promoters of the gold traffic were now the merchants of Cambaya in India, and that they brought calicoes and beads to exchange for gold. Though Gama sailed past Sofala without seeing it, he discovered at the mouth of the Zambesi and at Mozambique that the inhabitants were not surprised to see his ships, thinking that they were larger and more perfect specimens of the kind that came regularly from India to

the Sofala coast. "From the fame of the mine of Sofala, which was heard by Vasco da Gama in his voyage of discovery of India, King Manuel ordered Peter Alvares Cabral in 1500 to send Sancho de Tovar there."[312]

King Manuel's quest began badly. Cabral took Bartholomew Dias out to be the first governor of Sofala, because his experience on the gold coast of Guinea was rightly considered a sound preparation for this work. We have already narrated the tragedy that overwhelmed that project and Dias himself.

Even before Cabral heard of this disaster, he captured an Arab ship which was going home with a valuable cargo of gold from Sofala. But the first actual deal in gold there was made by Sancho de Tovar, whom Cabral dropped there on his return journey from Mozambique, in order to make a report on the mines, in place of the report that Dias was to have prepared. Tovar did his work so quickly and had such luck at sea, that he reached Lisbon a day after Cabral, the twenty-fourth of June, 1501.

The reports of both captains convinced King Manuel that he had attained his goal. Cabral had learned that the real controller of all the mines was the Arab ruler of Kilwa, who made many promises of fair dealing coupled with hostile acts. Tovar was more explicit. Not only did he bring home beads of gold, which the Sheikh of Sofala had exchanged for European goods, but he had obtained a letter in Arabic from him, praying that more Portuguese ships would call at his port. King Manuel was amazed to hear that even the oxen at Sofala had collars of gold. This was probably true enough of the Bantu chief's chosen cattle, but it did not indicate the immense amount of gold that one would naturally imagine with such a fact in mind.

A significant hint of much trouble in store was given at the end of Tovar's short visit to Sofala. He sent an Arab Christian to do some business among the Arab traders there, taking the precaution of holding one of the local Arabs as a hostage for his safe return. After waiting for three days, he had no news of his messenger. With the experience that the Portuguese had gained in India they realised that there were some hostile forces ashore, and

that only proof of their military and naval strength would guarantee the peaceful trade which they sought. The Arab hostage was taken to Lisbon with them.[313] As he was a person of some importance, he would give them valuable information about the country and its prospects.

But the main conclusion derived from these first reports was that Kilwa contained the outer key to Sofala, because Kilwa had asserted an effective suzerainty over the other Arab settlements here. From its foundation in the ninth century by wealthy Persian refugees, it became naturally the leader of the Arabs and mixed breeds, since the Persians set the fashions among the Muslim peoples, and Persia was an aristocrat in Islam. Though Persia was reduced to a tributary province of the Caliph's empire, the Portuguese knew well from their Latin classics and the Bible, how famous the Persian empire had been from the day of Cyrus the Great, a thousand years before Mohammed.

In the fourteenth century Ibn Batuta found the Sultan of Kilwa, Abu Muzaffar Hasan, dominating the Bantu tribes and Arabs of Sofala by the steady pressure of military raids. The same writer also heard of the gold of Manica that came through Sofala. But he noted that the Bantu blood was already evident in the features of the coloured Persians of Kilwa. Its wealth so impressed this wide traveller among the Muslim peoples, that he called it the most nobly built city in those Islamic circles of the earth. Gold had the power of speaking even in those days.

When Edward Barbosa saw the Muslim settlement of Kilwa in 1500, he observed that some of the people were white and others black, so that the old Persian stock was still holding its own to a considerable extent. The houses were built solidly of stone " with many windows in our style". The doors were beautifully carved, and there were terraces and orchards with many water leadings. He also notes that much of the gold that merchants got from Sofala was distributed through the markets of Arabia. Many men and women were able to afford textiles of gold, silk and cotton, with jewellery of all kinds.

That pre-eminence was clearly why King Manuel ordered Vasco da Gama to call at Kilwa on his second voyage, in 1502. For fear of the powerful ruler of Kilwa "no ships went to Sofala without first touching at this island", wrote Barbosa. A hostile sheikh here would make it impossible for the Portuguese ever to share in the exploitation of the mines. As a proof of good faith, the Admiral demanded that the Sheikh should acknowledge the suzerainty of King Manuel, just as President McKinley did in Cuba in 1898, and England did in the Egypt of 1882. How effectively Vasco da Gama carried out his task has already been told.

With these data of the shape of things in Africa, Manuel became convinced that only a Portuguese garrison at Kilwa and another at Sofala would ensure the creation of more rational methods in the development of the gold mines, and the removal of the barriers of Arab suspicion and Bantu indolence. To use the widely applauded phrases of a modern ruler,[314] Manuel saw "no aggresion in curtailing the free economic intercourse of the Muslim of Kilwa and Sofala, in view of the inevitable distrust that their conduct had aroused". For these purposes of the new order two separate fleets left Lisbon in 1505.

We have seen how Francis de Almeida sailed in March of that year to build a fortress in Kilwa, and the results of that mission. In May of the same year Pero da Naia left Lisbon with six ships to perform a similar task at Sofala. We have also seen how the wooden fortress of Sofala was built, and successfully defended against the onslaughts of Arabs and Kafirs. In both places the garrisons were in a position to control the ports, which as the Portuguese then thought, were the best entrances upon the trails of the gold traffic.

Naia began his gold seeking on sound lines. Not only did he make friends with the Kafirs, but he gathered around him a small colony of Arabs who were ready to be his partners in the trade. Their leader was a Muslim from Abyssinia named Yakut, who employed the others as his commercial travellers among the tribes. They in their turn came into contact with independent Arabs in the interior, and with the inland Kafirs when peace reigned. In the words of Barros, "these Kafirs have

so little reticence that for the gift of a strip of cloth they will tell you all they know". Thus it was that Yakut came to hear of the conspiracy that Yusuf the Sheikh of Sofala was instigating among the Kafirs of Macombe's tribes, because he was alarmed at the profits that the Portuguese were making in gold. When the attack matured, which has already been described, Pero da Naia had the assistance of Yakut and his comrades, as well as one hundred faithful Kafirs.

But the old Sheikh's prophecy, that the malarial climate of Sofala would work greater havoc with the Portuguese than any weapons, was verified at least in the case of Naia himself. He died of fever within a year, but not before he had gathered much information about the routes to the mines inland. From Naia the King received important reports, which are either lost or have not yet been published. Diogo de Alcaçova says that he entrusted Naia's reports to Lawrence Moreno in 1507, when Alcaçova passed through Cochin where Moreno was factor at the time. Naia's successor, Manuel Fernandes, also despatched detailed letters on this subject to the King; as we learn from Peter Quaresma who reached Sofala on the eleventh of June 1506, when Naia was already dead. But this report of Fernandes has not yet been found.

The only report of his that we possess was written six months later, a few weeks before he relinquished the post of acting captain. But the services of Manuel Fernandes were highly rewarded by the King, and must therefore have conveyed much information about the topic that then filled the King's mind, the state of the gold trade. Manuel Fernandes was a person of some standing. He had been chosen by Naia on the voyage out to take over the ship of Pero Cão, when that captain died. In building the fortress he had been one of the leading spirits; and Naia would have been killed by the blind Sheikh if Fernandes had not cut him down first. His honesty as an administrator is fully attested by the quittance in the King's chancellery, which covers the full term of his office from September 1505 to the end of the year 1506.[315]

This is clinched by the patent of nobility, with a coat of arms, which the King conferred upon him and which makes up for the loss of many documents. The heraldic shield contains the tower of a castle and the head of a Kafir, symbols of the chief work he had done to merit this reward. He had risen to the level of his opportunities in safeguarding the defences of Sofala, and in conciliating the Bantu. But when Vasco Gomes d'Abreu reached Sofala on the eighth of September 1507, to become Captain of Sofala and Mozambique, Fernandes sailed to India, as he did not wish to return to the lower grade of factor after having acted as captain. The full details of his activities among the neighbouring tribes would disclose the first systematic efforts to reach the Rhodesian mines on the part of the Portuguese.

Among the surviving documents the first hint of European pioneers in the interior of Mashonaland comes from Diogo de Alcaçova in 1506. Writing to the King from Cochin on the 20th November he relates what he had done whilst he was working with Pero da Naia, and how his information was gathered on the spot, when he was factor of Sofala.[316]

After telling the King that malaria had compelled him to leave Sofala, and that he had deposited with the King's agent in Cochin a present of gold from the Sheikh of Sofala, he gives an account of the gold fields of the land, which he calls Vealanga. "No one will be able to describe it better to Your Highness than I can, because I enquired carefully what amount of gold is available, how it is mined, where it comes from, and why the supply has ceased temporarily". His description of the Kafirs at work in the surface mines reads like the account of an eyewitness.

The country of Vealanga as he pictures it, "a very large kingdom with many large towns besides a great number of other villages", indicates all the territory between the Limpopo River and the Zambesi, where the greater chiefs and indunas gathered large kraals about them, whilst the smaller kraals were scattered far and wide. Within this rough circle we discern what we now know as Matabeleland, Mashonaland, and that part of the present Portuguese territory which is south

of the Zambesi. The Portuguese entered this gold bearing country from the east through Sofala; and nearly five hundred years later the pioneers of the Chartered Company of Cecil Rhodes entered the same gold-belt from the west, through Tati on the upper Limpopo opposite the Bechuanaland border. The unchanging feature of the centuries has been the central area of gold workings, which attracted the continuous series of ancient, medieval and modern expeditions to this alluring land.

Alcaçova states that the name of the paramount chief at that time was Quesaringo Menamotapam: "as we should say", he adds, "King Quesaringo of Vealanga". His principal city, where he resided habitually, took the Kafirs about twenty-four days to reach from Sofala, and it was called Zumubany (Zimbabwe) of Sofala. But travelling as we do in Portugal", it was merely a matter of about twelve days; because the Kafirs spend in eating and sleeping the hours between midday and the early morning.

Most of the gold (Alcaçova's report continues) comes from the lands of the chief induna, whom he calls the amir Toloa. His kraal was evidently situated in the high lands among the Mashona hills, where the best of the old workings are found, and the source and centre of the alluvial drifts. It is not lack of gold that makes the supply intermittent, but the wars that have been going on for thirteen years, from before the arrival of Vasco da Gama. The trouble began in the days of the King Makomba,[317] Quesaringo's father; and Toloa has declared that he would never make peace with Quesaringo because he had killed his master Changanir (Tschanganijr).

When fighting flares up, Alcaçova goes on, the Arabs are no better treated than the Portuguese by the Kafirs. No one dares to venture more than twelve miles away from the coast in wartime. Strangers would be robbed and killed then, as the Kafirs have no loyalty to anybody or anything. But "when the land was at peace, three or four ships carried away from Sofala annually a million meticals of gold, and sometimes an extra 300,000". It was therefore a common concern of Portuguese and Arabs to settle this quarrel between the paramount chief and Toloa.

Alcaçova's peace plan for bribing both belligerents with splendid presents is described elsewhere. He goes into details of customs tariffs imposed by the Arab rulers, which display a complete knowledge of the complicated system obtaining in Kilwa, Mombasa and Sofala. He notes however that the Sheikh of Sofala had already made use of the protection of Portugal to shake off the tribute that he was accustomed to pay to Kilwa. Those Arabs of Sofala were a considerable community, chiefly of mixed breed. There were four hundred of them in a village near the sea, and another four hundred in the Sheikh's village about two miles away. Few Kafirs lived in these villages, but the Sheikh seems to have had at his command in scattered huts about ten thousand Kafirs, of whom seven thousand were warriors. To these he was a kind of chief.

This practical man of business, Alcaçova, claimed that along the lines of his sketch peace could easily be obtained. King Manuel appears to have agreed to try the plan, which was most successful for a number of years. In 1508 Diogo Lopes de Sequeira[318] on his way to Malacca was confidently ordered to call at Sofala, in order to collect the gold revenue, to examine into, and order improvements in all matters from Mozambique to Malindi. Edward de Lemos who put into the port in September of the same year, wrote a letter full of complaints, but not a word about trouble with the Kafirs at that time.[319]

There is plenty of gold in the country, wrote Lemos, but it is not replenishing the royal exchequer mainly because of the tricky Arabs. Now that they are under control in Kilwa, they are establishing a focus of contraband operations in Angoche, an island about two hundred miles north of the Quilimane estuary of the Zambesi. He mentions that a report has been sent to the King, signed by the magistrate of Sofala as well as the factor and secretary, in which part of the blame is laid on the other officials, who in his opinion lack enterprise in pushing the barter for gold among the Kafirs. He singles out for praise the acting Captain of Mozambique, Edward de Mello, whose care and ability were saving the situation in the meantime.

But as Lemos was a fiery soldier, he believed in drastic measures. The Arabs are the chief culprits, as they are

secretly disloyal, while professing loyalty to Portugal. They bribe the crews of the Portuguese ships, and thus get valuable cloths for the price of four chickens. Then they smuggle these goods to Sofala and up the Zambesi in fishing canoes. Some foreign Arabs from Aden and Ormuz are in league with others in Mozambique and Sofala, who are ruining the trade. The only way to end this mischief at Angoche is to root them out, and blow them up. Thus speaks the soldier rather than the administrator and King Manuel's knowledge of the character of this energetic officer would enable him to discount the advice.

The officials, who, in the opinion of Lemos, needed a dose of ginger were the magistrate, Rui de Brito de Patelin, and the factor, Peter Pessoa. The late Captain of Mozambique, who had just been lost at sea, set a worthy example. He enlarged the accommodation of the Sofala fortress and provided a ship, the *Saint John*, which its captain plied constantly between Sofala and Mozambique with provisions and goods to be used for bartering in the gold trade with the Kafirs. "And yet when I passed through Sofala there was no money to make the payments which Your Highness instructed me to make".

A less hasty witness than Edward de Lemos shows that this is a one-sided view of the situation. Edward Barbosa completed his *Livro* in 1516 whilst working in India, and it includes his report about the Sofala coast, which he had visited much earlier. He reveals the important fact that the gold fields had been reached not only from Sofala, but also by going up the Zambesi for a distance of 170 leagues. The river was entered from that mouth where the Kafir king called Mongalo reigned. This was the Quilimane branch of the Zambesi, which Vasco da Gama had named the River of Good Tokens. Mongalo was there when Vasco da Gama called in 1498. He lived to be over a hundred years old, and Father Monclaros interviewed him in 1570. Many unrecorded voyages into the interior must have contributed to the knowledge which Barbosa possessed. Lemos confesses that these were years of peace when experiments could be made, and there were many tributaries on the south bank of the

Zambesi through which the various gold workings could be reached.

But the words of Edward de Lemos must be taken in their context of contemporary happenings. The letters of such an observant writer are mirrors of the moment when they are penned. It was a moment crowded with doubt and tragedy on the coast of Azania, to use the old Greek mariner's word for this stretch of Africa. At the end of September of the year 1508, Lemos as yet neither appreciated the difficulties of the officials at Sofala, nor knew what they had really done. Peter Pessoa for example, whom he censures, later obtained a receipt from the Treasury of Lisbon for six million reis in gold and money, which he handled during the years 1508 and 1509, when he was factor there.

Lemos had only arrived from Lisbon the month before he wrote, and his education in the difficulties of colonial administration was just beginning. He saw how Vasco Gomes d'Abreu had come the previous year as the first captain of the combined command of Sofala and Mozambique, a significant token of the diminished importance of Sofala in the opinion of the King. Before Abreu arrived Nuno Vaz Pereira had been installed as captain of Sofala with a commission from the Viceroy Almeida, and speeded on his way by Albuquerque, who happened to be at Mozambique as he passed in February, 1507. As soon as his supplanter appeared unexpectedly, the popular Pereira dutifully handed over his charge, and sailed back to India twelve days later. But it was not only the immense distances that made difficult the consistent administration of this great Empire. Lemos now began to see what blows the very elements could deliver against the best laid plans of King Manuel.

When Abreu reached Sofala he sent Edward de Mello at once to Mozambique, in order to make preparations for the building of a strong fortress, to represent the enhanced status of the port and island. Having overhauled the arrangements of Sofala, Abreu installed Rui de Brito Petalim as Acting Governor and Peter Pessoa as factor. Abreu himself sailed for Mozambique, but was never seen again. It was the thirteenth of March, 1509, before definite news came that his ship had been sunk

with all hands on board. Even more startling to Lemos was the news that his own chief, George de Aguiar, had disappeared in the Atlantic, ship and all. When therefore Anthony de Saldanha arrived in September, 1509, expecting to wait two years before he could succeed Abreu, he took office at once. Thus too Lemos became Admiral of these seas immediately in succession to Aguiar. These appointments were made by the ocean storms, which removed the two principals appointed by the King for these important offices.

Though Lemos now became president of the Council of Mozambique, he worked well with the new commandant, Saldanha. When the latter visited Sofala, he seems to have had little difficulty with the Kafir tribes, as the admirable system of placating the chiefs with suitable presents was still in vogue, and worked well. His worries came from the unpredictable conduct of some of the Arabs.

A typical incident occurred in June, 1511. The Arab colony with its women and children was an important adjunct of the fortress. These were the Arabs who were practically partners of the Portuguese in the gold traffic. The settlement was governed by a sheikh named Malidi. With the approval of Saldanha this ruler went for a holiday, as it seemed, to a place named Inyamoninka across the Buzi River. He tarried so long that the discipline and trade of the Arab settlement were suffering. Several messengers, Portuguese and Arab, were sent to ask him to return, but after some months he made it quite plain that he had no intention of going back. At first the Portuguese suggested that the Arabs should elect another sheikh, but the Arabs were afraid to do so, lest Malidi should make this a pretext for raiding their settlement,[320] knowing their man better than the Portuguese could.

Then it became public property that Malidi had founded a new village at a place called Pandini, evidently with a following of pure Kafirs. His Bedouin blood, diluted as it was, made him tired of the comparative peace of Sofala and of the need of deference to another man, although he had no quarrel with Saldanha, who was at this moment

visiting the outposts of Malindi and Mozambique. The neighbourhood in which Malidi settled was close to the kraals of Maconde, the Kafir chief who had been defeated by Pero da Naia in his attack on the fortress. Malidi lost no time in marrying many of the daughters of the chiefs and indunas in his new area, and he began to nourish ambitious dreams. With the aid of Maconde the traders were now molested, food and supplies and especially grain were witheld, and the trade zambucos were prevented from entering the port of Sofala.

In September, as Saldanha was still away, the factor of Sofala called a council of war, and it was resolved that Malidi must be captured or killed as he had become a serious danger to the gold traffic to Sofala. At night two armed zambucos sailed for Pandini, surrounded the hut of Malidi by a swift march of 24 Portuguese, who despatched him. When the Arabs heard that he was really dead, they summoned up courage to elect his brother Kiyunbi for sheikh. With this second experience of the promptitude of the Portuguese in dealing with irreconcileable enemies, Maconde was glad to make peace.

At the end of the year 1512 King Manuel received two more detailed reports on the Sofala gold mines. One was made by the retiring factor of that place Bartholomew Perestrelo, who went to Lisbon to present it in person. The other was from his successor, Peter Vaz Soares, who sent his report through one of the King's Council, Martin de Castelbranco, Count of Vila Nova. These accounts have never been published, if they have not been destroyed. but their existence shows that the King was better informed about these mines than we can be to-day.

A second report of Soares has survived.[321] It is dated the thirteenth of June, 1513, and proves conclusively that the King's policy of pacifying the Bantu had been working well for some years. "At present the whole country is at peace as far as Monomotapa, the chief king and master of the entire country". This had been brought about by a considerable expenditure from the royal treasury. "By means of gifts and presents our captains have worked hard to make friends of all the kings and rulers who carry on the trade here". Some had regular allowances which were delivered to them every six moons, as this

was the method that pleased them best. A banner of Portugal was given to every pensioner among the chiefs, in order to impress upon their minds that they had promised loyal co-operation with the government of King Manuel. All this signified that every six lunar months saw the agents of the King of Portugal travelling through the land to the principal kraals, and delivering the promised goods. In practice this meant supervising the country, roughly, from Beira to Bulawayo.

Soares himself doubts whether this expenditure was justified. True, enough gold comes in to cover the costs of administration, but little more than that. Having been trade agent at Elmina, capital of the gold coast of west Africa, he contrasts the revenues of the two places. At Elmina large ingots of gold, large bracelets and necklaces were often seen. But in Sofala one found only small beads and bangles of gold. When the Kafir chiefs receive a present worth forty meticals, they reckon that they have responded handsomely by sending small beads of gold worth about twenty meticals.

For this he does not blame the Kafirs. They rarely come to barter directly with the government storekeepers at Sofala, because the amount of gold that each native fossicker gathers up is so small, that it is not worth the journey. They go preferably to the fairs (called by the Kafirs *sembaza*[322]) which the Arabs hold in the principal kraals.

The blame really lies with the Arabs. Though the roads have been made safe for their large profits by the generous policy of Portugal, they only pretend to be grateful. They go about whispering against the Christians and they spoil the business of the warehouse in Sofala by telling the Kafirs that Arab goods will always be cheaper. Soares gives figures to show that the revenue of this factory barely covers the salaries of the officials, the upkeep of the establishment and the equipment of the caravels required on the coast.

But he maintains that a profit could be made, if a judicious plan of retrenchment were adopted, which he sketches. A governor, for example, is no longer necessary, because " the whole country is now safe under the aegis

of the fortress", and the abolition of that office, which the Captain holds, would save one-third of the entire cost of the establishment. This was his view after eight months of experience on the spot.

At this time the great Albuquerque in India was under the delusion that all the gold of Africa came from the land of Prester John. Not only the gold that went to India through Suakim, but also the gold dust and spangles that came from Sofala, Mogadishu and Mombasa, were in his opinion from sources in Abyssinia. Knowing nothing of the Bantu by contact with them, he imagined that it was all a question of treating the Arabs generously.

Some of the local Arabs however were genuinely attached to the Portuguese through the all-round fairplay that King Manuel inculcated upon his captains. Soares gives an instance of this. The governor of Sofala at the time was Francis de Marecos. He had been chief magistrate, and succeeded to this office unexpectedly because Simon de Miranda died on his way from India, whence he was sailing to take the place of Anthony de Saldanha in 1512. Marecos had come to Sofala in the great fleet of Marshal Countinho three years before. Thus he was no novice.

He determined to make fresh experiments on the Zambesi route, and sent a caravel, as Soares tells us, to begin trading with a Kafir chief who lived on an island in one of the estuaries of the Zambesi. Four Portuguese sailed with a crew of "respectable Moors" of Sofala. The Kafirs ambushed them by pretending to be ready to trade, and all the Portuguese were killed. Most of the Arabs escaped, and Soares does not exlude the possibility of treachery on their part. But the fact that they brought the caravel back, and that some of them were killed, must count in their favour, The only reply left to such bad news, writes Soares to the King, is to send a small gunboat in order to make suitable reprisals, and to prevent a repetition of the offence.

He goes on to say that the deadly peril of the gold traffic lies in Angoche, because there the Arab traders of Kilwa and some from Malindi have a large warehouse for storing goods for barter, which they send up the Zambesi in zambucos. The Arabs of Mozambique are

to some extent in collusion with them by means of messages, informing them when the last of the Portuguese fleets have departed and the coast is clear. There is only one effective remedy for this kind of thing, he declares. This nest of smugglers must be expelled from Angoche, and the King must set a naval guard on the Mozambique channel during all the months in which it could be used for the contraband trade in gold.

But the best proof of the prosperity that reigned in Sofala up to the year 1513 is the estate which Soares left to his heirs.[323] It was filed in the Chancellery in the last year of Manuel's reign, and must therefore represent legitimate gain. His estate was worth 25,028 meticals, which is equivalent to 4,216 ounces of gold. This means that at the valuation of gold which was current before the First World War, he was worth £18,972. There can therefore be little doubt about the peace and prosperity that he saw in Sofala in his day.

Little written record remains of the Portuguese agents whom Soares used in this thorough work of pacification. But the ship's carpenter, Anthony Fernandes, must have been one of them as he had been active on this coast for twelve years. The factor who succeeded Soares, Gaspar Veloso, has preserved some details of the adventures of this *degredado* whom the Arabs called the Christian spy. This Portuguese word does not mean a convict, but sometimes merely a reckless youth, whose dangerous living has brought him into the sphere of observation of the police. Robert Clive, who founded the English dominion in India, was a boy of this type, whose family was glad to get rid of him. Both these men displayed a gift for oriental languages and a power of impressing unlettered races. The magistrate of Sofala, John Vaz de Almada declared that the Bantu adored Fernandes, and that he had a quasi-hypnotic power of preventing tribal wars when the blood of the Kafirs was up.

The earliest documentary notice of his operations that we have is in a letter of Albuquerque to the King from India, dated the twenty-fifth of October, 1514. "The officials of Sofala tell me that they have had news of the man they sent to investigate the city of Benomotapa,

from which the gold comes. On the way he fell ill and was entertained by the Moors. I am sure the officials have given Your Highness a full account of the expedition". The man indicated was clearly Fernandes,[324] though his name was not considered sufficiently important to mention.

Many others, as we have seen, had sent reports to Lisbon and India about the natives of the interior of Sofala, since the first call of Vasco da Gama there in 1502. The casual reference of the nameless Belgian (as we should call him to-day), who was then sailing in one of Gama's four ships, also shows how all these men were constantly on the alert for information of this kind. This Antwerpian author of *Calcoen* tells how nervous the Sheikh of Sofala was, lest Gama and his men should discover the pathway up the River Buzi to the country of the Bantu tribes, whom the writer in his quaint Flemish calls Paepians, in whose lands gold and silver were said to abound. By coining this Flemish word to signify the Bantu tribes, the coiner shows that he shared the opinion of many travellers of that very early period who thought, that Prester John was the supreme lord of all that country. Paepians were the subjects of Paepian (Prester John). Whilst outwardly friendly, the Sheikh took every precuation to prevent any of Gama's men from going up this river of the Paepians. But he could not prevent the busy Flemish investigator from cross-questioning some Paepians, who were prisoners of the Arabs in Sofala. At this time, we are told, the Sheikh was at war with the Paepians, and this made it doubly dangerous for anyone on friendly terms with the Arabs to venture into the interior. But it was an age of keen enquiry, commercial and scientific, and men risked every thing to open up new avenues of activity.

Five days before Albuquerque wrote the letter just mentioned, he had written to the officials of Sofala, showing that he understood some of their difficulties in developing the gold traffic. He notifies them that he is sending Luis Dantas to Sofala with a cargo of cloth, which will stimulate the barter for gold. In the same ship he also sends Peter Sobrinho to help in the trade, because he was formerly secretary there and knows the needs of the market.

But Alberquerque suggests that the best way to counteract the illicit activities in gold of the Arabs of Angoche is a brisk counter-offensive in trade by sending the caravels all along the coast, even to Mombasa. As to the Arabs scattered in the interior behind Sofala, who obstruct the gold traffic, the remedy would seem to be to gather them into one spot, and to encourage them in every way to trade where their operations could be watched. The rations due to the Portuguese crews on this coast should be paid in actual provisions, and not in cloth, because they naturally sold this cloth to the Arabs and spoiled the market.

He also advises the King to change the method of shipping the gold to India. The custom was to pay all the expenses of administration out of the gold accumulated at Sofala, and to ship the surplus to Goa. Albuquerque thinks that this is a provacation to extravagance on the part of the local officials. Send half of the output of each year to India, he recommends, and pay whatever is possible out of the remainder. If any year this half share of the gold should not suffice, orders on India could be given for the balance of the salaries. This would spur the local officials to do their best with one half of the output.

He is quite explicit about India's opinion of Sofala, that Sofala can never become anything more than a port of exit for gold. Meantime at the request of Simon de Miranda, Albuquerque (in a letter of the tenth of December, 1514) informs them that he has ordered a brigantine to be built for the Sofala trade up the rivers. But the officials had meantime been approached by Anthony Fernandes with a scheme of his own.

This man went to Gaspar Veloso, either late in 1514 or early in 1515, and confided to him what he thought was a great secret,[325] which he believed would be of real value to the King's government. He related the dangerous movements of the Arabs of Angoche, but that was no secret to the King, as he had full information about it all seven years before from Edward de Lemos and other officials. Nor is it likely that the names of the principal tribes and their habitat, which Veloso gathered from chats with Fernandes and jotted down, were altogether new

to the King. What is novel in the memorandum, sent by Veloso to the King, was the plan which Fernandes believed would checkmate the Arabs of Angoche. "The Arabs are saying that Your Highness will soon have to close down the factory of Sofala, just as you closed down Socotra and Anjediva. They regard your establishment of a factory at Malindi as a confession of failure, and they are all working together along this coast to hasten the inevitable end".

This was the threatening disaster which Fernandes thought he saw a means of averting. If he could see the King, he would disclose a method of changing the course of the gold traffic, so that this den of pirates could be left out of the reckoning. "As he was going back to Monomotapa with the risk of being killed in some one of the wars of the interior", Veloso persuaded him to dictate this plan for the King's information. It was an ingenious plan based upon a wide acquaintance with the territory and the tribes, and this is no doubt why Veloso induced him to mention the names and positions of so many of them. It would commend the right of Fernandes to be heard in the matter. But there is no evidence that any special journey made by Fernandes is described in this document, except perhaps in the last paragraph, which is a kind of postscript to the main purpose of Veloso's report.

Fernandez proposed that the King should build a warehouse (feitoria) on a large plain, about the size of a racecourse, in one of the forks which the main river of the land of Quitengue makes with one of its tributaries. At that spot the Portuguese could tap all the gold of this land of Monomotapa. The Arabs of Angoche at present reach these same goldfields by bringing their merchandise up the Zambesi, and thus the Portuguese trade of Sofala is menaced by a little river which flows from the land of Quitengue into the Zambesi, where the Arabs of Angoche carry away in zambucos the gold exchanged for cloth and beads. By means of an armed brigantine patrolling the rivers Arab trade could be blocked in that direction. "If Your Highness carries out this suggestion" writes Veloso,[326] "Fernandes thinks that you will open a shorter route by which you can obtain all the gold mined in

Quitengue, as well as in Monomotapa". This shorter route would lead down the Buzi River to a spot just below the present Beira, which is twenty miles from Sofala. It is in fact a path facing the route of the existing Beira-Mashonaland railway, which follows the lines of the Pungwe River.

Where is the Quitengue of Fernandes? A study of the many maps of this region prepared by experts helps to solve the question. They show how the Umtali valley in the Manica district was for centuries unequalled in its gold deposits, both for the quality and quantity mined. Moreover the bulk of the Mashona tribes have always inhabited the slopes of the valleys that go down from the great watershed of the Mashona mountains, across the Odzi River (a tributary of the Sabi) right into the forks made by the tributaries of the Revue and the Buzi Rivers.[327] These are the facts of the situation that men have been unable to alter, and which no written document can affect. Numerous ancient workings have preserved evidence of the large quantity of gold extracted here. Monomotapa is ten days away from Quitengue, and between them they have all the gold of this country; thus Fernandes is interpreted by Veloso. The Zimbabwe area and Manicaland are still the main reserves of gold above Sofala. As the former area was generally called Monomotapa, the latter would contain Quintengue. Our Manicaland, both Portuguese and British, could comprise Quintengue in the north and Quiteve in the south.

Thus it seems clear that Quitengue is the rich valley east of Umtali. The site of the warehouse suggested by Fernandes would be somewhere between Macequece and the spot where the Buzi River fans out into its tributaries. Fernandes calls it an island, and that is what the old Portuguese writers called a tongue of land in the fork of rivers, a river-holme in archaic English. Sofala itself was on the south side of the delta of the Buzi River. The proposed warehouse would tap the two main goldfields of Manica and Mashonaland, whilst the Revue or the Buzi River would bring their consignments of gold by a route shorter and safer than that used by the Arabs down to the coast near Beira or Sofala.

But King Manuel and his advisers in Lisbon do not seem to have been greatly impressed with this ingenious plan of Fernandes. We have seen how they were already contemplating the bolder plan of contesting the Zambesi route itself with the Angoche Arabs. But in any case they would consider that the views of a *degradado* needed careful sifting.

Captain Peter Quaresma showed this in 1506 at Mossel Bay, when he was looking for the remains of Lopo d'Abreu's ship. No one on board was able to identify Mossel Bay, as none of them had ever visited it before, but when they saw the shrine of Saint Bras on the hill, there could no longer be any doubt about it. Reporting to the King, Quaresma wrote that his chief, Cyde Barbudo sent two men, a ship's boy and a *degradado*, who marched three days and stated that they reached the place where the ship had been, finding only the skeleton of a man and the fragment of a broken mast". But I do not know sir, how far what they say may be true". They did not expect the King to shape his policy on such information, but on the data furnished by experienced pilots and educated captains. Sofala was already discredited in Lisbon by the malarial climate and the uncertain behaviour of the contiguous tribes. Fernandes himself was now to find that his past successes with the natives were no sure guide to their future behaviour. In any case it is clear from a letter of Almada's to the King in 1516, that the proposal of Fernandes, made through Veloso, had been set aside by the King. For Almada makes a new proposal of his own, He forestalls any doubts about the information of Fernandes, which the King may have conceived by saying that Fernandes describes correctly enough what he saw. But the greatest need is to get some determined man to carry out the right plan.[329] The Magistrate of Sofala in 1516, John Vaz de Almada, has left us a far more important account of the trade and of the natives. He was a man of judgment and experience who could express his ideas clearly, though the contractions in words that were the custom in those days when paper was scarce on the Zambesi coast are sometimes difficult to decipher to-day.

Almada was no newcomer on this coast. He had

been chosen as Captain of John Leite's ship, when the Captain of Naia's fleet disappeared overboard whilst fishing in the Atlantic. He made his first acquaintance with the Bantu in that year 1505, even before they reached Sofala. Off Delagoa Bay he saved the ship of John de Queiros, as it drifted along helplessly with five men aboard, none of them sailors, the leader being the ship's notary, Anthony de Gá. They were the only survivors; twenty of their number having been killed by the Kafirs on the Island of the Cows, where they had landed to get water and food.

At Cape Saint Sebastian Almada was hailed by Anthony de Magalhaes, whose ship had rescued five men from Lopo Sanchez's ship, wrecked at the mouth of the Limpopo River. Sixty others had preferred to march to Sofala, knowing that Naia's fleet was on its way there. Only twenty of these survived to become prisoners of the Arabs in Sofala, until Pero da Naia arrived to free them. From all these daring travellers Almada must have gained much information about the tribes of the coast between Delagoa Bay and Sofala. During the intervening eleven years Almada had dealings in many capacities with both Arabs and Kafirs. Hence he was appointed temporary commandant of Sofala during the absence of Christopher da Távora in 1516.

Then it was that he received an unexpected visit from the envoys of a chief named Inyamunda, whom Anthony Fernandes had not met as yet. This last fact we learn from the envoy's statement that their master had never met a white man. The Kafirs brought some gold for barter and a small quantity as a present for King Manuel. Inyamunda was in rebellion against the Monomotapa, and he now wished "to become a brother and friend of the Portuguese", as he phrased it. Almada was greatly pleased, and sent back an equally valuable present saying so. His messengers were a Kafir employee of the factory and two friendly Arabs. They were instructed to apologise for the absence of any Portuguese envoy, because now in the fortress all were urgently needed. Captain de Távora had taken most of the garrison with him on a tour of inspection,

as he had arrived a few months before this and desired to see for himself the state of the country under his command. Only forty Portuguese were left at Sofala, the minimum necessary to guard it effectively.

On the twenty-eighth of February 1516, whilst Almada's messengers were away, Sofala was swept by a devastating storm, the havoc of which he describes in detail. "Not even on the high seas did death ever seem so near", he wrote to the King. Within one month the three travellers returned with a pressing request from Inyamunda. There were two things he had never seen, a Christian and a cannon; and he greatly desired to see both at once.

This ardent request decided Almada to send three Portuguese immediately, in order to humour this influential chief. The men selected were all apparently conversant with the Bantu language. Two of them were batmen of fidalgos, Francis Cunha and John Escudeiro, the latter having lived in Sofala ten years. Anthony Fernandes was added because he knew many of the tribes and had a good name among them. His credit there was still believed to be unlimited.

By *zambuco* the kraal of Inyamunda was normally five days' journey from Inyambibe, the nearest landing on the nearer bank of the Buzi River. On leaving the boat here Cunha and Escudeiro went down with malarial fever, and were at death's door. Fernandes did not continue the journey, because he felt bound in honour to nurse his two friends. It would seem that one of Inyamunda's queens was living in her own kraal at this spot. Almada writes that a wife named Sonadonyamunda gave them some food and a sharp message from the chief. He was vexed that the white men were delaying so long; and he punished his own messengers for not bringing them on at once, sick as they were. He now insisted on having four bombards instead of one. Evidently the men struggled home with this message; because Almada says that he promised to satisfy Inyamunda, as soon as Christopher de Távora returned with the necessary provisions. This reply he sent by the Kafir and the two Arabs, warning Inyamunda that the artillery would be of no use to him without white men to handle it.

Then Almada informs King Manuel again that there is little doubt about the large quantity of gold awaiting barter in these lands. Up to the present the real difficulty has been to get the cloth, beads and trinkets carried to the rich markets of the interior. " If we place the goods in the fairs we shall get the gold. All I know up to date is that I have sent the Kafir and the two Arabs back, and that the messengers of Inyamunda went away satisfied with the promise that I gave them ".

But meantime Anthony Fernandes had brought to Almada a fresh bit of important news,[330] gained by Fernandes during the mission to Inyanmunda on which Almada had sent him. One hundred leagues from Sofala he was warmly welcomed by a chief named Onyaqouro, who governs a large territory and many tribes. He had much money and lived four days from where the gold is found, his kraal being near a great river. " From trustworthy information that I have received I am convinced that this river is the Zambesi, forty leagues from here in the direction of Mozambique and the largest river of this coast. This town (*kraal*) must be the place where the Arabs of Kilwa and Malindi go to dispose of the goods which they steal from our ships". This wise deduction from the crude data of Fernandes made by Almada shows how the Portuguese leaders, whether in Sofala or Goa or Lisbon, took a wider view of the situation than Fernandes was capable of doing. They proposed to close the dangerous little river of which Fernandes spoke to Veloso in a more effective way, by controlling the big river, as they eventually did control the Zambesi. Almada's description of Onyaqouro's lands would seem to place them in the neighbourhood of Sena, where the Portuguese were soon to establish their first fortress on the Zambesi. It was also a likely spot for the Arabs of Angoche to have landed when they pushed up the Zambesi. to the goldfields. The natural gorges and river beds, leading thence to the gold mines of Macequece, made it the shortest and easiest way to reach the mines from the Great River. Here then the Portuguese could come, said Fernandes to the Chief, and help him to become more powerful than the Arabs could make him.[331]

Almada tells the King that he hopes this year (the second half of 1516) to explore the country of Onyqouro by going up the Zambesi in a little caravel built in Sofala, with some *zambucos*. "Thus I hope to render a service such as no one has rendered since the days of the Admiral (Vasco da Gama)".

His plan was to establish a warehouse in the kraal of Onyaqouro, only four days from where the gold is mined. But for this purpose he asked the King to send him men and provisions from Portugal, and such ships as would be suitable for the work. To counteract "the sickness of these rivers" the ships must have awnings, so that the men may be screened from the pestilential dews. A brigantine of forty benches would be needed with the corresponding number of rowers. In Sofala there was already a small caravel which had been built on the spot, and a smaller one was in course of construction by order of Christopher de Távora. A doctor with all the necessaries, especially medicines, should accompany the expedition. Almada further proposed to push on by water, in order to visit all the other tribes of the Monomotapa area also, "tribes of whose existence people have no idea". Success can only be attained by a determined man, but in this way "Your Highness will have possession of the gold fields".

But a better informed man than Anthony Fernandes about the prospects of copper mining in the same regions went to Almada on the twenty-eighth of May 1516. He was an Arab trader whom the Portuguese trusted, and whose Arabic name they acclimatised in the form of Aquatino. This man had just returned from Outonga in the interior, where he met a gang of twenty-five slaves very like the blacks who worked for the Portuguese in Sofala. They told him that in a land called Ambar there were abundant *aspas* of copper, apparently articles of wrought copper.

This Ambar was probably the Mombara of Fernandes, which was also a copper-producing country, though he takes only a mild interest in the prospects of its trade in copper for the Portuguese; but relates by preference the tale of the tribe of dumb traders who had tails like sheep, a story which might indicate one of the islands of Bushmen

left isolated as the waves of Bantu invasion swept them down the continent of Africa. But the Arab Aquatino came to Almada with the more practical news that these strange people wanted a white trader to go there with samples of "the cloth that our cowherds wear", and Ambar had asked him to convey this information to the Captain of Sofala.

"When I was receiving this news, another respectable Arab was preparing to go into the interior with goods purchased in our warehouse in order to barter for gold". Hence Almada wrote a circular letter, and asked the traders in Sofala who had agents in the interior to get this Arab to distribute copies of his circular wherever they had agencies. In this circular he offered to anyone who would act for him in promoting this copper trade one hundred meticals in goods and a yearly allowance.

He insists emphatically with the King that the only method of securing such peace among the tribes as will allow more profitable trade, is to send presents of cloth to the chiefs of the lands through which the traders pass. This is what the Arab King Yusuf did whom Pero da Naia killed. "We captains too, when we hear of quarrels among the Kafir chiefs, send gifts to quiet them". In this way Sofala used to have a large and steady income from gold, but the factors and secretaries object to this policy, thinking to do better. They wish to deal only with people who will bring in immediate returns. "I can prove to them that a man must give away one year in order to gain many years". He begged the King to read over carefully this manuscript of his, "as it contains matter of great importance to your service".

The factors were perhaps right in thinking that peace might cost too much in this way. There were elements in the Bantu character, as long as they were in the tribal state, which were incalculable. There is an unconscious hint of it in Almada's own letter. One sentence contains the germ of the whole history of Sofala to the end of Manuel's reign, though this able magistrate could hardly have been conscious of the fact that his account was almost a prophecy. "Your Highness will know already that the king of this land, who may be compared to the sea,

has grandees who may be compared to our rivers: the Tagus, the Guadiana and the Mondego. Inyamunda is one, Sono is another and Omboiro is a third. All these are in rebellion and they claim to be the Monomotapa". Some months after these words were written Inyamunda began to act as if he were the lord paramount of all the land. The whole region was flooded by the overflow of this river, which no longer ran into the sea.

What happened to Anthony Fernandes later we do not know, but he had evidently lost some of his hypnotic power over the tribes nearest to Sofala as he failed to prevent the disastrous rising of Inyamunda. It would not be surprising if he were killed in the wars that now began. That tragedy of the murder of a chief's favourite has been enacted a hundred times in those wilds from that day to this. For gold the Bantu had little regard, and the European or the Arab could take all he wanted. It was like the milk of the cow, food for babes, and no concern of warriors as they claimed to be. But land and cattle were their dearest possessions, and any suspicion that the stranger coveted their land roused them to sudden fury. Matabele Thompson has given us the gruesome details which he witnessed, when Lobengula hacked to pieces his own chief induna Lothie, because of a sudden suspicion that this man was in league with Cecil Rhodes to steal his land under cover of a gold concession.[332] Inyamunda proved to be equally suspicious of Portuguese and Arabs.

At the beginning of 1518 Inyamunda had so far overcome the Monomotapa, that he controlled the whole country behind Sofala. This we learn from an observant fidalgo, Anthony da Silveira, who came to Mozambique on the twentieth of February of that year.[333] Already trade to the interior was blocked for some months, and great damage had been done to the factory and other houses of the settlement.

Silveira was a man of action who afterwards had a distinguished career under two viceroys of India, and he believed that a strong government was a safer guarantee of peace than bribes. He too wrote to the King of Portugal offering to cure the temporary paralysis of trade in Sofala, if he were appointed captain for a period of six years.

His other conditions of service were also very definite. The King must authorise a decree that no Arab from abroad was to sail beyond Cape Delgado. There must be a reduction in the amount of the commissions received by the Portuguese captains from ships plying between Sofala and Cambaya. The trade in ivory must receive more encouragement, and its cost must be reduced by making Mozambique the sole depot. From there the annual fleets would carry it to India, thus saving the expense of transport now borne by the Sofala traders. There must be more stringent bylaws forbidding Spaniards and Frenchmen from coming to the Sofala coast under any pretext. When in Mozambique Silveira had heard that on the eighteenth of August, 1517, a trader from Florence named John da Varanzano had piloted twelve Frenchmen to Mozambique, pretending that he had missed the Straits of Magellan and was steering for Sumatra. Another shipload of Frenchmen had landed at Kilwa, led by Santiago de Castro. All this must stop, wrote Silveira to the King, and he must have power to deal with such incidents drastically. Before the King could reply Silveira was in the vortex of Indian politics, and had greater tasks in hand.

What happened during the next two years is graphically narrated by Francis de Brito [334] who, as he tells us himself, became factor of Sofala in September 1518. "This country is ruined", he wrote to the King, "on account of Inyamunda, a chief who has reduced all the territory around the fortress to such a state that no trader can venture to leave the fortress with merchandise, neither can anyone dare to come from the interior. The subjects of Inyamunda are always herding cattle, so that nobody can come or go without being observed. Thus the Portuguese and Arabs are robbed and sometimes murdered. The traders of Bouro, where it is said that there is much gold, desire to trade with us; but they dare not for fear of Inyamunda, and there is no road but through his territory. This holds also for the Arab traders of Manica and Benabotapa with whom Inyamunda is also at war, and for many other parts of the country where there is said to be much gold".

This barbarian was also at war with the other Bantu tribes. The early Portuguese were inclined to ascribe what we may call political motives to these tribal warriors, such as the desire to usurp the position of paramount chief. But a European writer who lived among the Matabele a great part of his life, and knew their language thoroughly, declares that the chief sometimes broke out into war out of pure sadism, even on the pretext that he had a fit of gout.[335] This writer has described how Lobengula sent ten thousand of his warriors, at the end of March each year, to kill all they met of the smaller tribes of the Zambesi area. They assagaied whole villages, sparing for a while only the old women and children. The old women were used to carry the spoils of the dead to the *Zimbawe*, where they were tied to trees and burned. The children were sold as slaves. Without sufficient armed forces therefore neither the Portuguese nor the Arabs could count on security of trade for long in these eruptive zones.

A case in point occurred on the third of April, 1519, when a well-laden ship from Cambaya came to Kilwane, which was on the site of the present city of Beira. Its position can be inferred from Brito's statement that it was a port about eight leagues from Sofala. The ship brought pieces of calico, thick cotton cloth called macassar, dimity, bars of soap, tin and red beads: all goods then in great demand. Yet people were so disheartened that little of the stores were sold, no gold was obtained in barter, and only a moderate amount of ivory changed hands.

Brito begs the King to remove him from such an unprofitable post, and to give him something more lucrative in India. "Your Highness is a family man, and you will understand my anxiety to earn enough to support my wife and six children". At this moment however King Manuel was thinking less of his family affairs than of his friendly rivalry with the kingdom of Spain under his brother-in-law the Emperor Charles V. Mexico was just beginning to send some gold, wrought and unwrought, to Spain. A shipload had come to Seville worth fifty thousand ducats, of which the Emperor's share was seventeen per cent., between royalties and

customs dues. Cortes was conquering the country, and there were rumours of presents of gold from the treasures of Mexican kings.[336]

But Brito does not despair of the future of the gold trade, if the right policy were pursued, and before leaving Sofala he indicates what he thinks that policy ought to be. The prosperity of this traffic can best be achieved on the Zambesi route. The delta of that river must be patrolled, as well as the whole coast up to Malindi. Sancho de Tovar, who in 1518 had come to Sofala as governor for the second time, was working on the right lines.

He had indeed encountered bad luck with a wooden tower which he constructed, intending to erect it at a spot eight leagues up the Zambesi. But the caravel which he had built at Mozambique to transport it was wrecked. Nothing daunted he promptly built another caravel, and with an added brigantine stationed on the Zambesi he hoped to be able to prevent the contraband trade of the Arabs. Thus the Portuguese would have a route to the mines which was safe from the depredations of Inyamunda and his warriors.

This was the system which attained a great measure of success in the next reign. As the Arabs of Kilwa had once asserted their supremacy over the unwilling Arabs of Sofala, the Portuguese of Mozambique now took control of the Zambesi route, keeping Sofala as a branch of the industry. The last governor of Mozambique during this reign was Diogo de Sepulveda. But he arrived in June of the year in which Manuel died, too late to exercise any influence on the policy of the government of this King.

But the Portuguese leaders and scholars began to realise towards the end of this reign that their expectations of gold from Sofala had been too high. Damian de Goes in his *Chronica*[337] of the King blames the Greek historians for having raised these excessive hopes in the minds of those who trusted them. After quoting Herodotus, he observes that the Greeks were rather prone to give rein to their imaginations. Having heard from the Persians that there were unusual quantities of gold

in the two Ethiopias, Abyssinia and Mashonaland, Greek writers represented these two countries as one big plate of gold.

Sofala, Goes continues, is the principal centre of the Upper Ethiopia of the Greeks. "Before we went there Sofala was subject to the great King of Monomotapa. The Arabs taught this king to value gold, and paid him tribute. We have taught him to value it even more, since we discovered the land seventy years ago". This three-cornered contest for the gold of Sofala was one of the circumstances that made a steady advance in the industry difficult. But in spite of this and other obstacles the courage and intelligence of the officials, coupled with the wholesome control of the governments of Lisbon and Goa, enabled Sofala to make a notable contribution to the Indian state, besides meeting the whole cost of the Mozambique administration. Full figures are not likely to be obtained now.

But the fragmentary statements of the gold output that have survived are sufficient to show that Sofala was a valuable source of gold during Manuel's reign. Albuquerque was right in saying that it was not suitable for an emporium of all this coast, but it was an important factor in producing the wealth that made Manuel's Portugal the envy of Europe.

If all the ledgers of the Treasury in Lisbon had been preserved, we should have a complete picture of the gold production of Sofala, because these accounts were very carefully kept. We see it in the useful fragments that have survived. These have been published in the *Archivo Historico Portuguez*.[338] Their survival has been due to a chain of fortunate circumstances, which however did not save the whole series of receipts and expenditure. We have a considerable part of the Civil List of the country, published under the title of *Tenças del Rei*; and a lesser fragment of the Treasury receipts under the title *Cartas de Quitaçao*. The *Tenças* are a summary made by the Treasurer General of King Manuel, Afonso Mexia, for the guidance of the next king, John III, whose treasurer he also became. Though a smaller proportion of the *Cartas* has survived, these documents are more illuminating, because each receipt of the

Chancellary enters into minute details of the moneys expended or the goods received.

The first clear impression that we gain is that only the gold of the west coast of Africa went directly into the Royal Treasury of Lisbon for home administration. Gold ingots, gold coin and gold ornaments are acknowledged from Elmina, Arguin and Guinea. But they do not form a large fraction of the total income. The royal household was maintained by the King's estates, chiefly farms in the country. But the public service was financed by means of customs dues and excise levies.

One of the largest items of Guinea gold recorded in these surviving papers is that paid in by Afonso Mexia himself in 1513, when his term of office as factor of Elmina expired.[339] He handed to the Treasury 2,705 *marcos* of gold, or 21,640 ounces. If we take the approximate value of gold that reigned in Europe just before the first World War, which was £4 10s. 0d. per ounce, then Mexia brought into the Treasury nearly one hundred thousand pounds worth of gold.

Sofala gold figures significantly in a Treasury receipt given by King Manuel to Lawrence Moreno, "who was our factor in Cochin during the years 1506 and 1507". He had accounted for 119 *marcos* and four ounces plus four *oitavas* of Sofala gold, which means 956½ ounces. In the letter of Diogo de Alcaçova already mentioned he informed Manuel of a gift of gold to the writer by the Sheikh of Sofala; and as Alcoçova was promoted to Baticale, and was leaving Cochin, he placed this gift in charge of Lawrence Moreno. In modern terms and at the rate already mentioned the value of this present would be practically £4,305 or 5,680 *meticals* in the currency of the day. Moreno had fulfilled his commission and duly delivered the gold.

This helps to dissipate the doubts which a weighty writer like Theal casts upon the estimate of Alcaçova: that in the early days of peace the output of gold in Sofala amounted to one million *meticals* or more.[340] Anthony Nunes in his *Livro dos Pesos, Medidas e Moedas*, gives the value of the metical as 47½ to the *marco* or eight ounces. A million *meticals* would therefore not be an

impossible sum, for the income of the whole gold industry, at a time when the Sheikh could afford a personal gift of 5,680 *meticals* to King Manuel.

This is certainly a larger sum than the subsequent history of the trade in Sofala would lead us to suspect. But resting upon the considered estimate of a sober and experienced official of this type, who had every opportunity of verifying the facts, it cannot be rejected on any grounds that have been alleged by modern writers. The Sheikh was clearly one of Alcaçova's informants; and he was in as good a position to give exact data as a member of the Chamber of Mines in Johannesburg, when discussing similar matters to-day. It is true that Alcaçova speaks of the Arabs in the gold area as poor, miserable and untrustworthy. That was true of the bulk of them; as it is true of the majority of the inhabitants of so many camps and mining cities where the gold industry has flourished.

But this capable fidalgo was well able to distinguish among the Moors those who were likely to supply reliable information. If the new sheikh, who had succeeded the hostile Arab whom Naia had killed, was willing to make a peace offering of £4,305 to conciliate the Portuguese, it is palpable that a great change had come about in the months since the weary and stricken Pero da Naïa had sent his last message to the Viceroy, saying that "there was no peace and friendship and that trade there could not be carried on by force".

Experience in this region however had taught Manuel and his advisers, that no trade in gold was possible without a sufficient show of force to keep order among the Arab factions, and to prevent Kafir raids. It gradually became clear that the best avenue for this force behind an orderly commerce was not Sofala, but the Zambesi. For most of the men on the spot there was little doubt that with the proper measures the trade could be made highly lucrative.

The outstanding fact was that neither Lisbon nor Goa contributed a single *cruzado* to the upkeep of the establishments of this coast. This was covered by the income of the country, which was chiefly derived from gold and ivory. Albuquerque contended that with

more economical administration there ought to be a larger surplus for the government of India to use. This could be achieved, if the spending of each year's output of gold were determined in Goa and not in Mozambique. He hinted at a danger inherent in financial administration, wherever and whenever treasuries exist. When coin or gold dust passes through too many hands, it is liable to adhere to some of these hands.

All this was conformable to what Osorio shows to have been Albuquerque's waking dream; a great empire of widespread colonies, in India first and then along the other coasts of the Indian ocean. He thought less of the safety of the cargoes, whether pepper or gold, than of the spread of these settlements, which would become busy centres of cultural activity that no disaster on the sea could imperil.

This chapter opened with the cosmographer Pacheco's high hopes of the prospects of Ophir, or the kingdom of Sofala, when King Manuel began to reign. We may well close with a summary of what the best informed mind in Portugal then thought of the results achieved, just after the end of Manuel's reign.[341] John de Barros had read all the documents on the subject, most of which have now perished. In 1552 he published the first volume of his *Da Asia*, in which he records his views of the kingdom of Sofala.

He describes it as an immense triangular island between rivers and the sea, whose boundaries are 750 leagues in extent. Two sides of this triangle are formed by the course of the rivers Zambesi and that called Delagoa. These rivers divide shortly after they issue from the great lake (lagoa) which is their source, as well as the source of the Congo and the Nile. The third side of the triangular kingdom is formed by the coastline from the Quelimane branch of the Zambesi to Delagoa Bay.

Fifty miles from the coast inland there is a vast and chilly plain where cattle and elephants abound. The large amount of ivory sent to India every year confirms the statement current among the local Kafirs, that four or five thousand elephants are killed here every year.

Then comes the plain of Manica with a circumference of ninety miles of mountains, in whose basin the nearest goldmines are situated, about 150 miles from Sofala. At a distance of from 300 to 600 miles lie the mines of Boruo and Quiticuy.

This Quiticuy of Barros cannot be the Quitengue of Anthony Fernandes. Such an identification would do violence to phonetics and to Veloso's account of the activities of Fernandes; as the Portuguese scholar Caetano Montez has shown. But Quiticuy might possibly be Que Que in Rhodesia. This would indicate that, either at the end of Manuel's reign or shortly afterwards, the Portuguese captains penetrated to the mining camps of the Arabs near Sena. Barros adds that the tribes here were too lazy to dig for gold themselves, and needed to be enticed by the Arabs through constant presents.

But the most ancient mines, he continues, are in Toroa, also called the kingdom of Batua, which is ruled by the chief Borrom, an induna (vassal) of the Paramount Chief (Monomotapa). There you have also the puzzling Symbasa buildings with an inscription that nobody can read. These lands are about 510 miles from Sofala, and are watered by six tributaries of the Zambesi that wash down the gold. This part of the country is mountainous, healthy, temperate in climate and thickly populated. But the coast region from Quelimane to Cape Corrientes is another Guinea in its pestilential atmosphere.

Thus does Barros give us in words a skeleton map of what we now know as Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese district of Lourenço Marques. It was an area full of difficulties and dangers, but also full of hope to men who were accustomed to seek out difficult tasks and see them through. The literature of contemporary Europe is fascinated by this vision of the land of Monomotapa. It was a name to conjure with, like the later names of California and the Witwatersrand.

The lost *Geography* of Barros must have contained many maps of these regions, to which he devotes so much attention in his *Da Asia*. The earliest extant map of the Zambesi, and of the gold area watered by its southern affluents, is that of Bartholomew Velho[342] in 1561, published

eight years after the appearance of the first volume of Barros's history. There must have been many earlier maps. The school of Portuguese map-makers, of which Lopo Homem was then the official leader, was so vigorous and so far ahead of every other European country, that each important step in imperial progress was mapped for the instruction of the King's officials. This was the custom since Prince Henry's day.

In regard to the outside world however there was a wise policy of secrecy, which greatly helped in achieving Manuel's great successes. Yet this policy entailed a great loss to posterity in acquiring a knowledge of the stages of Portuguese progress. The most remarkable instance of this has recently come to light. There is now no doubt that King John II believed that the expedition of Diogo Cão discovered the Cape of Good Hope in 1484, four years before it was reached by Bartholomew Dias.[343] The discovery was publicly announced in Rome by the Portuguese ambassador, Vasco Fernandes de Lucena, in a speech made in the presence of Pope Innocent VIII on the eleventh of December, 1485. But the detailed proofs were revealed to the Pope only in confidence, when the cardinals had retired. So carefully was the secret kept, that to the present day no item of these details has transpired.

Though Velho's map appeared ten years before the Barreto expedition to the Zambesi, it has marked upon it all the principal places that Francis Barreto visited later. In this unusual case the map tells us more than the contemporary documents that have survived.

But we have many documentary hints of the wide extent of the travels of the Portuguese officials in the area of the south Zambesi during Manuel's reign. In 1506 Diogo de Alcaçova states from his own knowledge, that the journey from Sofala to the kraal of the Chief Quiteve (The Zimbabwe of Sofala) took about twelve days. Peter Lourenço, who in 1508 was told off to patrol the Zambesi delta against the Arab goldseekers of Angoche, wrote a memorandum on the subject to the King from Santarem in 1510. In 1512 Manuel received two full reports from Sofala which have disappeared.

In 1513 Soares assures the King that the whole country, as far as Monomotapa, has been pacified by the royal agents. In 1514 we have the account of Anthony Fernandes' peregrinations. Barbosa was certain in 1516, that the Zambesi was navigable for 510 miles. That same year Almada offered to open up the Zambesi into the gold fields. These data must have furnished the material for many maps.

But there was no question of a gold rush in the modern sense of the word. To cast such feverish ideas back into the reign of Manuel, is to misunderstand the policy of the King. That policy assumed that Portugal had lands enough, and did not aim at dispossessing the tribes, or at compelling them to work for the newcomers. By using the mineral wealth of Brazil the Portuguese founded a great nation there, whilst preserving the native inhabitants in a way that gold rushes seldom do.[344] The same policy guided Manuel on the Zambesi. The large amounts that the royal officials spent in preventing the tribes from destroying one another and their patience in meeting the whims of wayward chiefs show that they fully understood the aims of their home government. Modern financiers have calculated that every year the officials of King Manuel sent home from Guinea and Sofala an amount of gold of the average value of £500,000, a fact which coupled with the popular form of Portuguese government goes far to explain the solid prosperity of the Portuguese people during this reign.

CHAPTER XV.

The Settlement at Mozambique.

WHEN the Portuguese first came to Mozambique, they found that the Arabs had long been accustomed to make it a port of call for their dhows ; where they could repair them, replenish their foodstuffs and obtain fresh water. Captain Joo Queimado's enthusiastic report about Madagascar though endorsed by the great name of Tristan da Cunha, did not impress King Manuel and his Council with the advantages of that large and healthy island as a half-way house to India.

Other reports, dealing with Mozambique seemed more substantial ; since they gave facts to show that Mozambique was the centre of the most considerable traffic between the Cape of Good Hope and India. From this port the Muslim of many races plied their trade between India, Sofala and Arabia. Most of them were indeed black, and lived in mud huts both on the island and the mainland. But there was a sprinkling of dark Moors, who were more intelligent, though none of them could be called white. All spoke the easy dialect of Arabic called Swahili. But as the emporium was a low island, marshy and unhealthy, it did not attract the Portuguese immediately, nor fulfill the high hopes that made them weep for joy on first entering it in 1498.[345]

Castanheda tells us that it was on the second voyage of Vasco da Gama that he established a warehouse there in order to store provisions for the passing ships. Gonsalo Baixo was then placed in charge, according to Gaspar Corrêa. This was the first step that led to the practical assertion of Mozambique's supremacy over the other ports of this coast. The logic of events did the rest step by step.

So friendly had the new Arab ruler become in 1503, that he delivered to Lopo Soares d'Albergaria the important letter entrusted to him by Peter de Ataide. Ataide was the chief captain of Sodré's cruiser squadron,

based on the Red Sea to watch the Turks. This squadron was a section of Vasco da Gama's fleet of 1502. Sodré had died, and his successor Ataide brought this letter to Mozambique, containing a report of what had transpired since Gama left for home. Thus Albergaria learned that he was urgently needed in Cochin. Sailing at once he met Saldanha and Ravasco at Malindi. Though they were held up there by the winter weather, they reached India in time to be of great service to the Viceroy, who was preparing the expedition that was to sweep from these seas the forces of the Muslim ruler of Calicut, and to check his attempt to overwhelm Portugal's ally the Hindu Rajah of Cochin.

When Almeida was engaged in warlike preparations at Kilwa and Mombasa, on his way to India in 1505, his sea scouts brought him good news from Mozambique about the dispersed ships of his own fleet, and the latest bulletins of the state of trade and politics in India. Thus he was able to save valuable time and push on to his principal goal in India, knowing that the King's business was advancing in Mozambique without the deplorable wastage of war. The first tangible result of Almeida's work was that south-east Africa began to assume in the mind of the King and Council the nature of a separate trade area, needing a unified control on the spot.

This economic fact seems to have been brought home to the King, fully and finally as a matter of urgency, by Vasco de Abreu, one of the captains who sailed from Lisbon with the first viceroy. Abreu apparently returned from Mozambique to Portugal with the first ship that Almeida sent home, before reaching India. The King now commissioned Abreu as first captain of both Mozambique and Sofala, and gave him control of a cruiser squadron of four ships, which were to police the coast and the islands from Sofala to Malindi.[346] The experience gained had thus begun to disrate Sofala, and to substitute Mozambique as the centre of government and chief port of refreshment on this coast. Each place had its own chief magistrate.

Evil fortune however dogged the path of Vasco Gomes de Abreu. Even when he was with Almeida he lost

touch with the fleet, and only rejoined it after the stirring fight at Mombasa was over. This time he sailed from Lisbon on Tuesday the twentieth of April 1507 with six ships, of which two were to join the Indian fleet, and he arrived at Sofala on the eighth of September. There he took over the command from Nuno Vaz Pereira.

Abreu was instructed to build a fortress at once in Mozambique. For this purpose he sent Edward de Mello with a staff of mechanics to Mozambique, whilst Abreu himself was taking stock of the position at Sofala. Some months later Abreu set out to join them, in order to speed up the work; but the only token of him or his ships that was ever seen again was a mast of the flagship, washed up on the beach near Kilwa.

The disaster was generally thought to be due to one of those sudden tornados of this coast, which sometimes assume the proportions of a short typhoon. Some of the Portuguese however with their keen sense of justice thought, that they saw in this accident a chastisement for high-handed though capable way, in which Abreu brought order into the affairs of the Sofala Arabs after the interregnum of weak government which followed the death of Pero da Naia. Pero had installed as ruler Solyman, the young son of Yusuf; because he was pleasant and tractable, and had in fact ruled peacefully since. But Abreu arbitrarily regarded him and some of his leading advisers as a danger to the new fortress of Sofala, and exiled them to Malindi and other places on the coast. "If the cries for justice," writes Barros,[347] " which everyone asks of God when injured, are heard by God whether uttered by heathen or Catholics (though His judgments are hidden from us), it would seem that the prayers of Solyman were heard ".

A rumour also gained currency that Abreu was pursuing private schemes of his own, when he met with disaster. The statement which he gave out about going to Mozambique was just a feint to cover a business venture in Madagascar. Another rumour spread about was that, when Tristan da Cunha called at Madagascar, he had obtained no valuable cargoes simply because the Moors of Sada did not want him to know the lucrative truth. It was said that on the south coast of the island there were stores

of ginger, cloves and silver. Abreu hoped that the secrets of this wealth would be disclosed to him. So many-tongued rumour whispered. The one fact of his journey to Madagascar was confirmed by survivors who reached Mozambique in other ships that had met him on the way to Madagascar, as they thought.

The building of the fortress however went on at Mozambique after his death. The Italian traveller Varthema was there during the last fortnight of 1507, and saw the work going on.[348] Nearly all the ships that sailed from Lisbon that year met with bad weather, and were obliged to winter at Mozambique. The crews were kept occupied by helping in the building operations. Before they left they had completed the two storeyed fortress, a large hospital and the church of Saint Gabriel. Nearly all the ships that reached Mozambique had a considerable quota of sick men. Abreu's fortress is not the gigantic pile, of which the remains are so striking even to-day. That was built fifty years later.

Of course the Captain of Mozambique did not have an entirely independent command. He was subject to the jurisdiction of the Viceroy at Cochin, and later at Goa in matters of general interest, though he had a free hand in local affairs. This change of headquarters in the dominion of India was the eventual result of the changed policy of the new Governor of India, Afonso de Albuquerque.

He did not believe in relying chiefly upon the fighting navy to develop Portuguese trade in India. In such an extended territory power thus founded could not last, unless the first line of defence were a series of impregnable fortresses on land with a settled community there loyally attached to Portugal. One such fortress would not do, as Almeida thought. Albuquerque's far-seeing policy entailed four of them: Malacca to control the trade of the far East, Aden to police the Red Sea, Ormuz to hold the Persian Gulf, and Goa as the key of India proper. With just enough ships to convoy the spice fleets safely to Lisbon the trade of Portugal need fear no rivals in these markets. Mozambique was not only a half-way house of rest and refreshment, but a clearing house for news, where the ships, going and coming, could exchange the latest information about home and India.

Albuquerque captured Goa finally on the twenty-sixth of November in the year 1510, but he used to say that he had a harder task in defending it against the Portuguese at home, than in capturing it twice from the Turks. He was referring to the opposition of four members of the King's Council in Lisbon, who maintained that the possession of Goa was useless and provocative. " They sit like idols in their pagodas ", Albuquerque wrote, " and bear false witness against me ". A prominent Arab of Cochin was nearer the mark, when he heard of the capture of Goa : " now indeed the Governor has turned the King's key in the lock of India ".[349]

But it was only after the death of King Manuel that the headquarters of the government were moved finally, in 1530, from Cochin to Goa, which has remained the capital of Portuguese India ever since. The bases at Malindi, Mombasa and Mozambique were useful factors, especially for victualling in this naval situation. At one time Albuquerque meditated a death blow at Cairo from the Red Sea : by diverting, as he thought he could, the waters of the Nile from Abyssinia into the sea ; and by a lightning raid of cavalrymen, to carry away the body of Mohammed. Fortunately he took in hand first, schemes that were more practicable and these filled the remaining years of his life. Malacca was captured in July 1511, Ormuz of Persia in May 1515, the latter a few months before he died in the roadstead of Goa within sight of the town.

He did not live long enough to bolt the Red Sea door of the Indian ocean by erecting a fortress at Aden. The only attack which he made on it, in 1513, was a failure. Edward Barbosa[350] who probably accompanied him in this adventure, says that " this place has a greater and richer trade than any other in the world, and also this trade is the most valuable in commodities ". But in 1507 the naval battle of Diu gave Portugal command of the Gulf of Aden, and this was enough to cause in the town a deadly decrease in the volume of trade and shipping. Mozambique was to take the place of Aden for a while, as the most renowned seaport in the world for the number of its ships. Only for its malarial climate it might have become a second city of Lisbon.

Before the Portuguese had full experience of this coast, golden Sofala was what appealed most to their imagination. Up to 1507 it was the only place on the east coast of Africa where a settlement was made with the complete accompaniment of warehouses, a fort and a captain with the title of governor. During the reign of King Manuel the coast of what we used to call the Cape Colony hardly entered into the calculations of the Portuguese traders. Edward Barbosa probably expresses the current opinion when he remarks, that between the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Saint Sebastian he descried "certain fair lands" from the sea, about which he evidently would have liked to know more. "The dwellers in this land are black folk", he writes, "they go naked wearing only skins of deer or wild beasts, and some of them wear French capes. Our men could never learn anything of the speech of these people. They know nothing of navigation, nor do they make use of the sea; and the Moors of Arabia and Persia have never sailed into that region nor discovered it, because Cape Corrientes is exceedingly stormy".

What they began to obtain at once from East Africa was the gold of Sofala, ivory, ambergris and some pearls. Compared to modern standards the output of gold was low; yet it was not only sufficient to finance the local market for Indian clothes and trinkets, but it enabled the Portuguese for a while to ship what were then regarded as considerable quantities of gold to India and Ormuz. Mozambique became the clearing house for the trade of the coast and the islands. With a strong government in India under Albuquerque trade began to develop along the coast from the hinterlands of Sofala (Rhodesia) to Mogadishu (Italian Somaliland).

Long before the Arabs embraced Islam they had been for centuries the middlemen of this trade with India, Arabia and Persia; and to a large extent this continued under the new masters of Africa. Portuguese trade agents had their warehouses in the fortresses, but within gunshot of every fortress there nestled a self-governing village of Moors, who paid taxes to the commandant of the Portuguese. The treatment of these Moors varied according to the views of the captains in

matters of detail, though the general lines of policy were laid down in the royal instructions. Much depended of course upon the conduct of the Arabs themselves. Portugal sought her prosperity in the increase of these markets, and welcomed Arab traders who were willing to submit to the laws of the Portuguese empire.

On the Indian side this ancient Arab commerce of Africa had been conducted with " the great kingdom of Cambaya ". In order to control this emporium also, Albuquerque tried to obtain a factory on the island of Diu. But the governor Malik Ayyaz was too formidable a diplomatist, and succeeded in putting him off. Then the easy-going viceroy Diogo Lopes de Sequeira made a half-hearted and disastrous attempt to capture Diu in 1521, the last year of Manuel's reign. Thus it came about that opportunities of smuggling goods into East Africa were not difficult to devise. Gujarat traders in Diu and Arab traders in Sofala, Kilwa and the islands, formed a standing league, to evade the vigilance of the Portuguese factors.

We may here supplement the details of our last chapter by noting the inevitable steps by which even the gold industry of Sofala, because of this Indian link, came to be centred in Mozambique within fifteen years after Vasco da Gama first passed this way to India. The first deal in gold was the work of Sancho de Tovar in 1501. In partnership with some Arab traders of Mozambique he bartered for gold in exchange for Cambaya cloth, beads, trinkets and some wine. Tovar received strings of gold beads worth twelve or fifteen times the market price of these goods.[351] After this auspicious beginning the trade seems to have developed steadily for five years.

But in 1506 Diogo de Alcaçova, writing from Cochin, complains that the gold revenue from Sofala has already fallen far below the opulence of the years of peace. This was ascribed in part to the tribal fights among the natives, which were encouraged by the Arabs, so that the Portuguese might get as little gold as possible. But there was also a trade reason: because the Arab sheikhs imposed a heavy tax in kind upon all cloth brought to their ports. At Kilwa it was 66% of the cloth, at

Mombasa 50%, at Sofala 15%, besides a fixed tax in gold *meticals*. Duties on ivory were also heavy. Alcaçova contended that these Arab chiefs must be persuaded to reduce their prohibitive demands on traders, and those who most needed to be appeased were the rulers of Kilwa and Sofala. The halcyon days of peace of which Alcaçova wrote would seem to be just before the coming of the Portuguese, as he states that the harmful war of succession among the Kafirs had been going on for twelve or thirteen years. Another good reason this for concentrating in the more tranquil atmosphere of Mozambique.

In September of 1508 the captain of the cruiser squadron, Edward de Lemos, reported to the King that if there were not more gold in the stores of Sofala, "it is your officers who are to blame". Yet he admits that the Moors of the Angoche islands are helping to ruin the trade, because they are smuggling the gold in collusion with their co-religionists of Sofala. "When your captains and their men bring cloth here, (i.e. Mozambique) these Arabs purchase it for four hens, sell it to Angoche for provisions, and then it is passed on to Sofala. The Arabs of Mozambique are a low lot, content to live like slaves on a pound of corn. Those who do the mischief come from outside: Ormuz, Aden and elsewhere".

The real remedy is to insist that the captains shall remove these foreign Moors from the whole coast. "They are unscrupulous traders and should be blown to pieces", is the bluff tar's way of putting it. Everybody (Moors, officials and other Christians) agrees, he adds, that gold is plentiful at Sofala. Perhaps even Afonso de Albuquerque was hopeful overmuch, when he wrote to the King in 1514, that more gold would be forthcoming if the Arabs were given fair treatment, and protected. The practical difficulty was to establish a thoroughly efficient system for watching these wily orientals in such a large area. If a system of this kind were possible, it could only be worked from Mozambique, where the Arabs were comparatively harmless.

After eight months of experience on the spot the factor of Sofala, Peter Vaz Soares, informs the King in 1513 that drastic retrenchment in the staff of officials is needed,

if the gold output remains at its present level, which is inferior to that of Guinea. As things are, no individual can earn enough in the gold traffic to make it worth while. The smuggling continues unabated, and worse still the Arabs back it with a war propaganda of lies against the Portuguese traders amongst the natives.

Edward Barbosa supplies us with the key to the situation in 1516; when he notes that where there are no fortresses, the Arabs drive a considerable trade of their own. Their partnership with the Indian merchants of Gujarat continues; and in return for Indian silks, spices and beads, they send gold, ivory, amber and wax. In gold especially their profits are enormous; because the natives never think of weighing it, not setting a high value on this metal. The Arabs however in retailing it measure it most carefully. In fact we find that at Kilwa they had an inspector of weights and measures.[352] Only a strong net of fortresses along the coast could have coped fully with the situation. But the Indian trade absorbed most of the men and equipment available, as its profits were quick and easy.

But during the last twelve months of King Manuel's life he and his advisers were absorbed in a more terrifying problem, which threatened to undermine the whole position of Portugal in the Spice Islands, as guaranteed by the Treaty of Tordesilhas, and consequently to lower the prestige of Mozambique. A disgruntled subject of King Manuel, who was dissatisfied with the rewards of his work on the Mozambique coast and in India, had entered the service of the King of Spain, and sailed from San Lucar near Seville on the twentieth of September 1519, for what was to prove the first voyage right round the world. But what disturbed Manuel was that this Captain Francis Magellan proposed to reach the Spice Islands of the Pacific by sailing west; and thus to show that the Moluccas, already annexed for Portugal by Anthony de Brito (a brother of the querulous captain of Sofala,) were at least in part within the area assigned to Spain by the Treaty of Tordesilhas.

Magellan did in fact reach the Moluccas a month before Manuel's death, but the King died in blissful ignorance of the fact.[353] The next King of Portugal was

to inaugurate a complete change of policy in regard to East Africa. But before this happened Mozambique had already begun to consolidate its position as the metropolis of Portugal on this extensive coast.

Considerations of trade alone were not the determining factor in the decision that was taken regarding Mozambique. The Portuguese being the most expert seamen in the world, soon saw that it was the best available station for ships among the ports in use. It is a flat coral island in the centre of a safe harbour on the edge of the monsoon area. At that stage of the development of medical science they could not know, that the climate of this perfect harbour would prove the deadliest enemy of Portugal in the whole East. Neither Egyptians nor Turks nor Persians nor Indians nor Malays nor later European rivals ever inflicted so many casualties upon the nobleman and the plebeian of Portugal as this coast. On the other hand many a large fleet, laden with wealth in goods or money, would have perished in a vain struggle with the monsoons, it it had not been possible to winter at Mozambique, when their time table was upset by unseasonable storms in one or other of the oceans.

The instructions which Ferdinand Soares carried with him in 1507 may be called the first charter of Mozambique.[354] It ordains the new procedure by which ships were not, as a rule, to stop at any port between the Cape of Good Hope and Mozambique. At the latter port they were to leave letters or reports containing all the information likely to be useful either to the home fleet or the Indian fleet. Any ship which was unable to complete the journey to India safely, was to remain at Mozambique until properly provisioned, or repaired or the winds were favourable.

These instructions are a sample of the care that King Manuel bestowed upon the welfare of his men, who sailed in these fleets. The rollcall was to be carefully checked at Lisbon before starting, a special guard to be enrolled on each ship in order to prevent fires, victuals especially water and wine to be carefully packed, and signals to be constantly exchanged between the ships when at sea. Muslim ships from Malindi, Cananor and Cochin,

were not to be molested; but other Muslim craft were to be attacked wherever found, and if captured the spoils to be divided according to a graduated schedule, giving a share to each man on the capturing ship. No merchandise was to be brought home from India that had been sent there from Lisbon, unless with a permit from the King's agent; and no slaves were to be brought to Portugal on any account. The captain was charged to have special care of the sick; and if they were in danger of death, to see that they received the last rites of the Church, that they made their wills, and that their goods were inventoried for the benefit of their heirs. Gaming for high stakes was to be strictly forbidden, though the men could be allowed to play for low stakes or no stakes at all.

But this decision to establish headquarters at Mozambique was only taken after full consideration had been given to the alternative of Madagascar, and further search made there for a port suitable for a half-way house to India.[355] The only permanent result of Tristan da Cunha's expedition to the west coast of Madagascar in 1506 was the name of the large bay opposite Mozambique. For some years it was called the Bay of Maria da Cunha, the court lady to whom Tristan's son, Nuno, was to be married. Two years later the King conceived high hopes of finding a healthy port on the east coast of Madagascar. Nor would he abandon all hope of discovering the rumoured spices there in spite of the adverse report of Tristan da Cunha, who recanted his earlier predictions of great wealth there.

For the purpose of realising these expectations, and to place *padroes* on the coast, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira was ordered to Madagascar.[356] But such spices as Sequeira obtained were found to be the leavings of the cargo of a wrecked Malay junk. The King was prepared for this chance of failure, and had provided another string to Sequeira's bow. He was to investigate the land called Malacca, and if possible to find out all about the people called Chins (Chinese); the nature of their country, its distance; the articles in which they trade; the build of their ships; their wealth; whether they are warlike; their customs; and whether they have Christians amongst them.

Thus it happened that Sequeira was the first Portuguese to visit the town of Malacca. There he saw several Chinese junks, but the suspicious hostility of the Malays prevented him from getting into direct touch with the Chinese and Siamese ships. The foreign Muslim had preceded them, and stirred up the feelings of the Malay Sultan against the Portuguese visitors, so that in the end Sequeira and his men barely escaped being massacred, and that only through the vigilance of a cabin boy. The Captain Major was playing chess on deck and several of the Malay leaders were standing behind the players, ostensibly watching the game but each with a murderous kris in his hand. The lad aloft on the mizzen-mast suddenly saw men on the Sultan's palace ashore signalling for an attack to the Malays on the Portuguese ships. He piped a warning in time, and the ringleaders plunged into their boats or into the sea. Sequeira got back to Lisbon with little business done, but with much information about the Far East. Madagascar at least was ruled out of the plans of the King, though it continued to fascinate individual captains with its legendary wealth. Enterprising men found it hard to believe that such an immense island had no golden stores.

Thus by a process of gradual elimination Mozambique became the only possible seat of the central government on this coast in the conditions of the sixteenth century. The first system adopted to police the seas was to send every fleet in two divisions, which kept together as far as the weather permitted until they reached Mozambique.[357] Then one division, usually the larger, went to India for spice cargoes, whilst the other cruised with its base at Socotra, in order to guard the weakest spot in the lines of communication, the opening of the Red Sea. With the co-operation of the ships stationed at Mozambique, the one fleet controlled the long line of coast from Sofala to Diu, the other patrolled the Indian coast from Diu to Cape Comorin. But Socotra proved a most unsatisfactory base, and Mozambique absorbed the functions of a naval base also. This capped its importance as a vital joint in the machinery of Portuguese imperial defence.

The most efficient collector of royal tribute that King Manuel ever sent to Mozambique was Edward de Lemos.

He was reputed to be the tallest man in Portugal, with an arrogant manner and protruding teeth that made him look formidable.[358] When he arrived in 1509, he found that the annual instalments of tribute to the King from his vassals on this coast were all overdue. He set out to gather them in.

To every request for the remission or reduction of the tribute he replied in words curiously reminiscent of the stock phrases, with which the modern League of Geneva endeavoured to extract astronomical figures of reparations from its war victims. " I have not come to violate the sanctity of treaties of peace, but to remove causes of war".[359] In this spirit he visited Kilwa, Malindi, Monfia, Zánzibar, Pemba, Socotra, several other islands and Ormus in Persia. Monfia paid in loads of tar and pitch, commodities more valuable than money for the upkeep of the Portuguese ships in these distant waters.

With the harvested tribute of goods and cash in hand Edward de Lemos presented himself before the Governor-general, Afonso de Albuquerque next year at Cananor, where he was suitably rewarded for his fruitful zeal in the King's service.

Another important source of revenue, in the form of cheap labour, was opened by the new administration of Mozambique. Bantu servants for India were obtained easily from this new source of supply by the richer Portuguese of India, as well as sailors for the menial tasks on the ships. These were then called slaves, but it would be a grave error to confuse their status with that of the slavery practised by the Arabs, or the awful slave gangs of the eighteenth century in the North American plantations, whether English or Dutch or Yankee. Mozambique did indeed share the evils of indentured labour and the press-gang, as practised in England against Englishmen for several centuries after this, in order to recruit for the army and the navy.

But South African slavery, whether contrived by the Portuguese or the Dutch of the Cape of Good Hope, was a different system form Muslim or North American slavery. Neither the Koran nor the Mohammedan traditions ever contemplate the abolition of slavery. But both at Mozambique and at the Cape of Good Hope, where a

century later the Dutch began to introduce slaves from Angola and Mozambique, the blacks were brought into human and domestic contact with their masters, and were not handled as mere cattle for the mill or the gold mine. These masters, both Portuguese and Dutch never lost, even if they sometimes forgot, the Christian instinct which first found literary expression in the beautiful letter of Saint Paul to Philemon, pleading for "this child of mine", the slave Onesimus. Any unbiased reader of the *Regimentos* of King Manuel, or the despatches on this subject that passed between Jan van Riebeeck and the Chamber of Amsterdam, must feel that an ideal is at work behind these documents, inspiring humanity not merely as a matter of good business, but as an obligation of the Christian law. The ideal led in time to the abolition of slavery, in which Portugal first led the way in her Brazilian colonies, followed by England a generation later.

But in Benin, the Congo and Angola, the trade in Bantu slaves already had a considerable history when it began in Mozambique. Guinea House in Lisbon had an annexe called the Slave House, or *Casa dos Escravos*, under the administration of a royal commissioner. It was not as rigorous a confinement as the concentration camps of all the leading nations at war in the twentieth century, but more like the well-ordered compounds connected with the Johannesburg mines. The regulations for the control of this *Casa* under a fidalgo show that the slaves had recognised rights and the masters corresponding duties. Islam gave the sanction of its religion to the master's power of life or death over his slave, and to the master's claim to cohabit with any female slave. No such excesses were tolerated by Portuguese law.

King Manuel showed his dislike of all forced labour by his abolition of the last vestiges of the veiled slavery tolerated in Portugal as an inheritance from the Visigothic code. The so-called "servants belonging to the glebe" were hereditary farm-hands, whose services passed to the new proprietor when the land was sold. "Such an obligation is contrary to right reason, being equivalent to slavery", said Manuel's amendment of the law. These servants were given the option of continuing their services or of refusing to do so.[360]

Regarding slavery in the newly-discovered lands the Christian conscience of Europe found a worthy mouthpiece, a year before Manuel came to the throne, in Queen Isabella of Spain, whose daughter, Manuel was to marry. In 1594 she refused to accept as a present from Columbus the first shipload of 500 native Americans which he brought as slaves to Spain. She ordered them to be sent back to their homes in America, and slavery remained always illegal in Spain in the eyes of the law, though abuses crept in through the special licences called the *assiento*.

But where it was a question of degraded and fierce tribes such as some of the Bantu of western Africa, even humane men like King Manuel thought that there was a balance of gain for the blacks themselves when they were shipped to Portugal, as they escaped a worse fate in the intertribal massacres, the frequent famines and epidemics. The negroid tribes of the Guinea coast, as well as the Bantu of Congo and Angola, were drawn upon for the Lisbon market. The numbers recorded however show that these slaves in Manuel's reign were not more numerous than the needs of domestic and farm life would demand.

For the first three years of the reign the Chief of Customs in Lagos reports an annual average of ninety.[361] For the years 1509 and 1510 the Slave Commissioner of Lisbon registered about fifty-five each. The Native Commissioner of Guinea shipped an annual consignment of 420 for the the three years 1511-3, and in the last four years of Manuel's reign the annual average fell to 340 according to the factor of Elmina.

All these slaves were imported under royal supervision, and Manuel would permit no drives or raids for slaves. This is plainly laid down in the instructions given to Simon da Silveira, when he went to the Congo in 1512.[362] The pertinent paragraph may be thus summarised. "Be careful that in marching through the lands of the Congo to the King's court, no damage is done and no hurt to the inhabitants, so that they may be glad to see our men. Tell the King of the Congo that we were pleased to welcome his brother and his cousin, who are now with us in Portugal. In all your arrangements you shall consult him,

and you shall chastise any of our men who give offence, sending back to Portugal any of our officials who are guilty of misdeeds. You shall load the returning ships with such cargoes as the native King of the Congo thinks well to supply; slaves, copper, ivory or other goods. You shall see that provision is made for sufficient food and drink for the slaves on the ships." A slavery of this kind was clearly a happier lot than the precarious existence of west African jungles.

In the *Casa dos Escravos* of Lisbon reasonable care was taken of the slaves until they were purchased by Portuguese masters. They were however under strict discipline, and were forbidden to walk the streets at night. They were allowed to bear arms only when accompanied by their masters. Wandering slaves without passes could be arrested, and the cost of their maintenance was recoverable by law from the master, or his estate if he were dead. Medical attendance was also provided.[363]

But the radical evil of all forms of slavery, ancient or medieval or modern, is that any human being should be legally dependent on the whim of a master or employer. Hence both as an act of religion, and for good services rendered, the best masters tended to manumit their slaves. In Lisbon and Lagos there were religious confraternities of slaves. In Africa if a *degradado* had children by a slave woman, the wife and all the children were declared freemen by law.

This mild treatment accounts for the remarkable fact narrated by Bernard Rodriques, in his *Annals of Arzila*. In the last year of Manuel's reign there was a famine in Morocco, and many of the Muslim went to the Portuguese captains asking to be bought as slaves, and sent to Portugal. Life in this condition was at least worth living, whereas in the later North American plantations it was a hell of torture and starvation. John dos Santos tells us that in his day the Kafirs of the Zambesi and of Mozambique, when drought and bad crops came, would offer themselves as slaves in the same way.[364]

But apart from these extreme conditions Sir H. Johnston has shown what positive compensations the Bantu of the west coast had under the system of slavery obtaining in Portugal. If captured by their Bantu enemies

they were tortured when not murdered. In the Congo basin the Portuguese introduced among the tribes much wealth in brass and silver, as well as firearms which enabled them to control the wild beasts, and to obtain ivory for their profit. The bronze art of Benin is almost entirely due to the inspiration of the Portuguese, who also planted the sugar cane. European historians hardly realise the fact that drought, influenza epidemics, small-pox and inter-tribal wars would probably have exterminated these tribes but for the foodstuffs which the Portuguese taught them to cultivate, precisely to prevent this result. Even the cannibal tribes now found it more lucrative to sell their enemies to the Portuguese as slaves rather than to devour them.

Some eloquent denunciations of this slavery have survived, which were uttered by literary men of that day in Portugal, but they thought that the slaves were doing only too well, and that disaster threatened Portugal not Africa. Even during the preceding reign of John II the poet Garcia de Resende growled, that whilst the Portugese were sailing away to annex the world, the blacks were walking in to possess the goodly land of his fathers. The Flemish humanist, Nicolas Clenardo, who was a professor in Braga, complained that Lisbon was being swamped by blacks and Mohammedans.

But these were the flights of poetic minds, high in the stratosphere above real life. The statistics of Lisbon, as late as 1521, show that all the imported slaves were less than 2 per cent. of the population, whilst the coloured population of Cape Town in 1921 was about 45 per cent. of the whole number of inhabitants.

Writers like Whiteway dwell with soapy iteration upon the cruelty of the Portuguese towards inferior races, an accusation which will not stand the test of comparative statistics. Moreover the *Ordinaçoes* of King Manuel protected these races better than the Criminal Code of England protected Englishmen from the days of Queen Elizabeth to the year 1822, when Englishmen could be hanged for no less than two hundred offences, some of them as trivial as stealing five shillings or cutting down a tree.[365] In the execution of the law the Portuguese loved freedom and fairplay just as much as the Englishman.

The sadist is an ugly phenomenon that oozes out of the mud of every nation, but no literature that I know denounces its own sadists more fiercely than that of Portugal.

Bantu slaves on the whole coast of Azania often showed great devotion to their Portuguese masters. Thus in the defence of Sofala against the hordes of the interior, Pero da Naia received valuable assistance from them. But Manuel saw clearly enough that the attraction of Portugal for slaves and masters was not altogether for the good of Portugal. His first official notice of the traffic in Mozambique Kafirs takes the form of a prohibition.

When sending Abreu to Mozambique in 1507, he issued the following order to Ferdinand Soares, the chief captain of the outgoing fleet. " We forbid any slaves to be carried in the fleet except those for whom we have given special licence. You will however have power to fill the places of the dead or disabled seamen, or other positions necessary to navigate the ship. But these slaves must be young enough to discharge their duties efficiently". Before leaving India on the way back to Mozambique, Sofala and Kilwa, the bill of lading and the passenger list of each ship had to be checked accordingly by the chief factor of Cochin, George de Vasconcellos.[306]

But the men on the spot in Mozambique found that they had no choice in the matter of employing Kafir slaves. From the days of Vasco da Gama wherever they landed on the coast, they saw the farm labour, the carrying and the other rough work being done by these slaves of the Arabs. The guileless German, Hans Mayr, who sailed with Almeida in 1505, expresses his wonder at the large number of these black slaves compared to the small number of their Arab masters. The booty of the first siege of Kilwa included 180 Bantu slaves belonging to the Sheikh, so that the slave system was a going concern.

Enough cases have survived in written documents to show that the Portuguese gave these slaves every opportunity of rising in life. We have seen how Captain John Vaz de Almada sent as chief of his mission to the Kafir King Inyamunda " a slave of Your Highness who speaks very well", with two Arabs subordinate to him. Letters patent of John III have come down to us, which confer

the rights of a Portuguese citizen on the black slave, Sebastian Fernandes, because in Sao Thomé docks he had reached the position of master carpenter, his period of service as carpenter dating back to the days of King Manuel.[367] Instances of these kinds might easily be multiplied.

The duty of teaching them the Christian faith was taken for granted. Wherever this was possible it was done. During Fogaça's captaincy of Kilwa the two priests of the garrison had instructed forty slaves in the faith, and wished to baptise them. At first the Sheikh objected, not realising that the monopoly of Islam had passed away. He was over-ruled by Fogaça and the baptisms took place. The small number however shows that there was no question of mass conversions. Some personal and individual effort was plainly required, especially as political privileges followed the profession of the Christian faith. We see this in the treaty which Albuquerque made with the Rajah of Calicut in 1515, which stipulates that " all Christians are to be treated as Portuguese, whether native converts or foreigners ".

From Mozambique these slaves spread not only to India, but to Malacca and China. The way in which the chronicles and despatches speak of them indicates that their treatment was as humane as that of the unskilled labourer in some countries of Europe of the nineteenth century. Their work was a hidden asset of great value in the development of Portuguese prosperity.

Manuel strengthened his position in East Africa by thus reducing his commitments and concentrating in Mozambique. By the return fleet of 1512 he received a letter from Albuquerque exhorting him to this very policy.[368] It may be condensed into a few sentences. " If you entrench yourself, you will have all the riches of the world in your hands, the gold of Prester John, the spices and merchandise of these parts, and India can only receive the goods you choose to send in your ships. Cairo's trade will be blocked, the pearls of the Red Sea will be yours, also the gold of Nubia through Suakin. The Red Sea is not far from Guinea, and in my opinion it is only 600 leagues by land from the Red Sea to the Congo ".

The fundamental difficulty for the Portuguese on this

coast was to know how they could possibly entrench themselves and their trade, in a land such as East Africa then was. Albuquerque was accustomed to dealing with the settled civilisation of the Hindus, and he did not grasp the immensely greater difficulty of stable contact with the elusive and semi-nomadic tribes of the Bantu. The whole life of the Bantu tribes was a quagmire, upon which no considerable edifice of trade or civilisation could be built, until stakes were driven into the soil, to support these structures of trade and culture. Such stakes must take the form of some kind of considerable European settlement, and the immediate tasks in India put such plans out of the range of practical politics for this generation of King Manuel's subjects.

CHAPTER XVI.

Relations with the Bantu.

THE Portuguese now began their long and chequered career of association with the Bantu of East Africa. On the west coast they had long been in immediate contact with the native races, and only in a few places, like Arguin and Elmina, did they deal with them largely through the Moors. With the Hottentots and Bushmen of South Africa they had little intercourse during Manuel's reign, and that was so unpleasant that they voted it useless to seek relations with people so barbarous and shy, in a land where no prospect of trade or settlement allured them.

A native Bantu writer of distinction has noted that in South Africa the Bantu tribes are immigrants, or colonists as he calls them, just as the Europeans, the Bushmen and the Hottentots are. None of them originated in the soil of South Africa, though they differ in the dates of immigration.[369] The yellow races mentioned came to South Africa first, apparently from the east by way of Madagascar, as they disclosed eastern characteristics before they became practically extinct. The only specimens of these types now existing are mixed breeds, who are still popularly called Bushmen and Hottentots. In the Cape Province of the Union of South Africa the European arrived before the Bantu.

The Bantu however migrated from the north, as their own tribal traditions relate. "About two thousand years ago they dominated the greater part of central Africa, somewhere about the great lakes. From that region they migrated southward in successive batches, and crossed the Zambesi at different periods and at different points". What prompted these migrations is not recorded in the traditions or folklore of the tribes. To-day their descendants are to be found in all that immense area from the lakes that feed the Nile to the Cape of Good Hope, and between the shores of the Indian

and Atlantic Oceans. The fact that they belong to a common stock finds living proof in the linguistic affinity of their many dialects. A copious literature of research has established this fact in all its moods and tenses.[370]

The main branches of these Bantu tribes in the South Africa of to-day are the Matabele of Southern Rhodesia, the Swazis, Zulus, Xosas and Fingos on the coast between the Limpopo River and the Kei River, the large number of tribes with the generic name of Bechuanas both in Bechuanaland and in the Orange Free State, and finally the compact nation of the Basutos. But during the reign of King Manuel the main contacts of the Portuguese with the Bantu were formed with the tribes of the Congo and Angola, which have remained part of the Portuguese empire from that day to this. Here the foundation of friendly co-operation between the Portuguese colonists and the somewhat earlier Bantu colonists was well and truly laid by the excellent principles that King Manuel expounded in the instructions which he gave his captains.

In regard to the native tribes of the east coast of Africa the attitude of the Portuguese during King Manuel's reign has characteristics which distinguish it from the periods that follow. Unlike the negroids and Bantu of the west coast, these eastern Bantu were not as a rule in direct contact with the Portuguese during this quarter of a century. They were dealt with through the Moors. This convenient term, as used by the Portuguese, designates all the Muslim races in Africa and India, whether hostile or friendly. At Kilwa, Mombasa and the islands they were hostile, and in this way formed an effective barrier for a short while to any intercourse with the natives of the interior of these regions. Those of Malindi were friendly enough, but the Portuguese had no interest in the natives of that part of Somaliland which lies behind Malindi.

Gold was the magic key which first opened the way of the Portuguese traders into the heart of the Bantu tribes, as we have seen. The Moors of Sofala were to some extent in the beginning especially, associates of the Portuguese officials in exploiting the gold deposits of what is now Rhodesia. At best it was a precarious partnership, which can well be summed up in Iago's

opinion of the Moor, Othello[371] in the *Merchant of Venice*. "These Moors are changeable in their wills, fill thy purse with money, the food that to him now is as luscious as locusts, shall be to him shortly as bitter as coloquintida". At Sofala the Moors were equally changeable. As long as Portuguese help was useful or necessary in protecting their traffic with the natives of the interior, they were friends, but most of them not a moment longer. Yet precarious as this partnership was, it had far-reaching effects as a link between the European colonists and the blacks.

One of Pero da Naia's ships, captained by John de Queiros, was to meet the Kafirs sooner than anybody on board anticipated. A storm drove them to take refuge on an island near Delagoa Bay. The natives abandoned their kraal when they saw the Portuguese landing, and the Captain entered it, hoping to find provisions there which he badly needed. But the Kafirs suddenly turned back, and out of twenty men only four or five escaped with their lives. Barros,[372] rather gratuitously, looks for a scapegoat among the Portuguese for this fierceness of the natives. It was not the fault of Queiros, he notes, but of Anthony do Campo, one of Almeida's captains who passed that way some months before, and took some prisoners from this kraal. "Whatever petty larcenies our men commit", writes the impartial historian, "those who come after them invariably pay the penalty." In the eyes of the Kafirs the rapt of a few of their number would certainly be counted a mere petty larceny, but the punishment inflicted on Queiros and his men greatly exceeded the crime of Campo

The three ships of Naia were on their way to take possession of a fortress in the "kingdom of Sofala". Naia's commission was to establish at Sofala a replica of Elmina with all the necessary officials. Rumours of his coming had preceded him, and he found an Arab deputation from the Sheikh waiting for him, and asking to know exactly what he wanted. Pero da Naia insisted on seeing the ruler himself in spite of the excuses proffered, namely, that he was old, blind and living far away.[373] The Portuguese were impressed by the dignity and fine address of the old Sheikh. His son-in-law, Mango Musaf, and most of his followers were against allowing a fortress to be built.

Naia pleaded that King Manuel needed it to protect his officials engaged in the gold trade, as they already had similar protection in Kilwa, Mozambique, and Malindi. He pointed out that the Arabs themselves would gain a new security against the Kafirs, and increased trade as the Portuguese always stood by their friends. The old Sheikh finally agreed, not for these reasons, but because, as he predicted to his intimate friends, the Portuguese would soon be exterminated by the climate.

Barros, relying upon an Arabic Chronicle of the Kings of Kilwa which he had in his hands, states that this Sheikh Yusuf bin Muhammed had another personal reason for welcoming a limited amount of help from the Portuguese. In his youth he had come to Sofala as the trade agent of the Sultan of Kilwa, and becoming master of the local gold trade he had proclaimed himself Sultan. Now that he was old and blind, his son-in-law, Mango Musaf, had arranged a plot to supplant Yusuf's son in the succession. Yusuf hoped for Portuguese help to prevent this.

The first disappointment of the Portuguese was the discovery that the goods which they had brought for barter with the natives were unsuitable. They had shipped what was customary in the market of Elmina. They now learned that the Kafirs were accustomed to Indian goods, especially those of Cambaya, and that they would take no others. Fortunately the Viceroy, Francis de Almeida, had forwarded some of the booty taken at Kilwa and Mombasa, and with this a start was made. These goods suited the taste of the Kafirs, who also received better prices and more civility from the Portuguese than the Arabs had given them.

Perhaps it was this successful rivalry in trade that shook the loyalty of the Sheikh of Sofala. At any rate he sent word to a powerful Bantu chief in the neighbourhood named Maconde (probably the Makonda of other writers), saying that these rich strangers were vagrants who might be attacked with profit, and easily beaten in their weak state of health and with their poor supply of food. The gold and merchandise which they had belonged of right to the Paramount Chief, who was the real lord of the land. Faithful Arab spies in the service

of the Portuguese reported these plots. They were also warned by an Abyssinian named Yakut,[374] a favourite of Yusuf, evidently of Christian origin but captured when he was ten years old.

With these faithful friends and their families the Portuguese retired in time to their wooden fortress, to await the onslaught of the conspirators. It was to be a victory of courageous minds over numbers and brute force. For thirty-five sick Portuguese, a few friendly Arabs, and two greyhounds who were trained to do wonders, held at bay first and then drove headlong six thousand Kafirs. They were so enraged at their defeat that in retreating they pillaged the Arab village. Pero da Naia with a few picked men went by night in a brigantine to the house of the Sheikh, at a place called Yangowe, and dispatched him as a traitor. Blind as he was, he nearly killed Naia with one of the assegais which he hurled all round the room. His Persian blood, derived from a Sultan of Kilwa, had a strong infusion of the more fiery blood of the Bantu.

The quill of one of Naia's men gives us one of the earliest first-hand descriptions of the mining operations of the Bantu. The writer is Diogo de Alcaçova, who came to Sofala with Pero da Naia, but left after a few months and before the death of the chief captain. This letter was dated from Çochin on the twentieth of November, 1506. The Kafirs are mentioned to explain why so little gold came from Sofala. Three causes of the slow progress are given: the Bantu habit of robbing the Arab traders whenever they can; the inter-tribal wars which were raging then; and in a minor degree the smuggling of gold by the Arabs down the Zambesi to Angoche, whence foreign Moors took it to India. This is how he describes the primitive method of Kafir mining. "They dig down into the earth, and then tunnel under it for the space of a long stone's throw. They extract the earth mixed with gold in veins, and place it in a pot which they keep a long time on the fire. When well boiled, they throw it out to cool. Then they have the earth separated from the fine gold". No one can mine, under penalty of death, without permission of the King whose official title is Menomotapam.[375]

This is the first form of the word which became famous in the sixteenth century as Monomotapa. Later it was used to depict a wonderfully organised kingdom of the Kafirs, which never existed. But Alcaçova tells us that it was the dynastic title of the paramount chief, in the region of Sofala, whose full name was Quesarymgo Menamotapam. Whether the title be interpreted "chief of the water elephants," "chief of the mountains" or "chief of the mines", it is the kind of title likely to be bestowed on the tribal head of a primitive race.[376]

But Alcaçova calls the kingdom or state subject to these rulers, Vealanga. These natives whom the Portuguese first met were Makalanga, whom the Portuguese generally spoke of as Macaranga. They called themselves "children of the sun", for that is the meaning of the root "langa," which Alcaçova has preserved in mentioning the kingdom of Vealanga. They are scattered tribes to-day. The Mashona of Rhodesia represent one fragment of them, and other fragments are embedded in the Makokolo, the Benyayi and the Thongas.[377]

A constant splitting up and a lack of tradition are badges of the Bantu tribes, as long as they are known to history. They probably arose first from the intercourse of Negroes and Hamites in the neighbourhood of Lake Victoria Nyanza, or more precisely in the basin of the Tana River, which enters the ocean north of Mombasa. They are not a stock race like the Negroes, Hottentots and Bushmen, and though Theal thought that there is not a single tribe in South Africa to-day that bears the same title, has the same relative power, and occupies the same ground as its ancestors, three hundred years ago, more recent research has shown a remarkable persistence of the basic stock amid the currents of dispersion.

A Bantu writer assigns four causes for the dispersion of the tribes of his race.[378] Their southward movement was first a mere following of the line of least resistance, because all the stocks hostile to them were in the north. The Arab slave drivers were another goad which drove them before it for a thousand years. Perhaps to this goad we ought to add the Black Death in 1348.[379] But the main causes lay in the habits of these peoples themselves: polygamy and the habit of "whistling aggressively at

one another", as their own expressive idiom puts it. Polygamy not only multiplied the tribes at a great rate, but it also multiplied the sons of very warlike chiefs, and these youths all wanted to command tribes, with the consequent sub-divisions and wars. "Polygamy may increase a population rapidly, but it fails to bind the people together. As the Bantu themselves express it, 'polygamy enlarges population, but assegais are its offspring'".[380]

Diogo de Alcaçova records how the troubles of the first paramount chief whom the Portuguese met, arose from these last causes. This prolific father Mokomba left twenty-three children. His chief induna, Tshanganyr[381] whom the Portuguese writer calls the emir or chief justice, fell out with his paramount chief and killed him, after Mokomba had killed twenty-one of his own children. The only surviving son, when twenty years of age, came back from exile in an uncle's kraal, and took the field against the ursurper, killing him. Then he found two other pretenders against him, a son of the dead man and another relation named Toloa. And this was the war which absorbed all the energies of the tribes between the Zambesi and the Limpopo in 1508, making it impossible for the Arabs to get any gold, or for the Portuguese to sell their goods to the Arabs. The Arabs themselves would not move first in the matter, because they believed that the Portuguese would be the greatest gainers through a stable peace.

It was clearly a case for diplomacy, as trade cannot be coaxed by artillery, of which the Portuguese had a sufficient supply. Like the rest of his countrymen, Alcaçova had no contempt for the lesser breeds within or without the law, so he suggests to King Manuel a device by which all parties would benefit. His informants at Sofala had told him that the only arguments which appealed to Kafirs more strongly than assegais were good rich gifts, especially flaming red cloths of Cambaya. If both the Monomotapa and his deadly enemy, Toloa, who claimed to be the legitimate successor of Tschangyr, were loaded with presents on condition that war between the tribes ceased, peace was assured. The people to provide the price of peace, the cloths, were the

Portuguese traders whose losses through the Kafir wars were a joy to the Sheikhs of Kilwa and Sofala. Both sheikhs were losing less heavily than the Portuguese by the cessation of the gold trade, as other traffic still brought them fairly large taxes upon the transit of other goods, such as ivory, through their territories. Alcaçova estimated that there were no less than ten thousand Moors (mostly no doubt Kafirs who had become nominal Mohammedans) under the jurisdiction of the sheikhs, and he believed that the Portuguese would greatly benefit by the coming of a real peace founded on the interests of the Kafirs, even if they had to pay substantially for it.

When Edward de Lemos reported two years later upon the conditions of Sofala, he has no word about the Kafirs. We may infer that Alcaçova's plan of peace had the desired effect for a while at least. Moreover Lemos remarks that there is plenty of gold in the country, and that the royal officials are mainly to blame, if more gold does not find its way into the royal treasury. This latter statement may perhaps be discounted, as Lemos is a hasty and unreliable witness where he criticises his colleagues. He dares for example to clinch his arguments against them with the assertion, that all their talk about Sofala's unhealthiness is mere gossip. "It is healthier than Sintra", he writes brazenly. That stamps the character of the man, since Sintra was the most favoured health resort of Portugal.

We are on safer ground when we come to the report of Peter Vaz Soares, factor of Sofala in 1513.[382] By this time all was quiet on the Monomotapa front. The captains had not only taken the hint of Diogo de Alcaçova, but bettered it by themselves placating the Kafir chiefs with presents. Chiefs and indunas were given regular allowances, which were paid every six moons, as this was the method of payment best suited to their habits. The Moors were now able to pass safely into the interior and back, and they set up fairs in certain places to facilitate and attract Kafir custom.

And yet the gold did not flow to the King's treasury in India as abundantly as was anticipated. Soares complains that in eight months he had only collected 6,600 *meticals* of gold, but this was no small revenue considering

the size of the Mozambique budget, and only such a capable and ambitious official could regard it as small, because his aims were so high.

" Of the Kafirs and traders of the interior I see so few here, that from them to the present time I have not obtained in barter as much as five hundred *meticals*". Very little gold is ever seen in large smelted nuggests, he complains. One never sees the large bracelets and necklaces of Elmina or the Guinea coast. The beads and trinkets into which the Kafirs mould their gold are small. Soares came to the hasty conclusion that there was not enough gold obtainable here to cover the cost of a fortress, garrison and the necessary ships, and that nothing of importance was to be gained by cultivating the indolent Kafirs.

But the most observant visitor who came to this land in King Manuel's reign was Edward Barbosa. He first came to east Africa with Cabral in the year 1500, and he was killed in the Philippines, when circumnavigating the globe with his brother-in-law, Magellan in 1521. Thus his period of active work coincides with Manuel's reign. Moreover he was in sympathy with the dark races, as he showed with his intimate friendship with the Rajah of Cochin, and the fact that he learned the Tamil language perfectly. It was in keeping with his character that he should be the first European to describe sympathetically the south-eastern Bantu, " These pagans of Benomatapa whom the Moors call Kafirs", are set before our eyes, just as we know them to-day, with their love of finery and arms, leaping and swaying in warlike dances. Besides the familiar assegai he mentions " their bows and arrows of medium size, not so long as those of the English, nor so short as those of the Turks. They are warriors and some of them traders ".

It is from Barbosa that we first hear of the Monomotapa's fire. He describes it as being renewed annually by messengers of the Paramount Chief. Every kraal extinguished its fires before the messenger arrived, and received new fire from his hands, as a token of submission to the Monomotapa. Those who did not submit to this rite were considered rebels, and destroyed. This rite of a sacred fire has disappeared for a century at least

among the Xosa tribes, and even where it is maintained as a magic rite in various forms, its use as an instrument of government has disappeared everywhere.[383] The religious rites of the Bantu are notoriously short-lived, and their traditions about the meaning of customs usually negative or contradictory. Questions of origins are often answered by the pure myth of the reed and the camelion.[384]

But the words Zimbabwe and Zimbawe, in their many forms, are first given by these Portuguese writers, beginning with Diogo de Alcaçova. With him the Zimbawe is a big city about twenty day's journey from Sofala, " in which the King always resides". According to Barbosa this large town is made up of many houses of wood and straw, a large kraal, as we say in South Africa. A capable and modern explorer of Bantu origins agrees almost entirely with the form and meaning of the word used in this connection by early Portuguese writers, who prefer Zimbaboe to Zimbabwe. " The group of dwellings which the king, or *mambo*, occupied with his family, is called Simbawoye. The natives are quite clear about the meaning of this word. *Simba* means a house, and *woye* is a word of honour, which may be translated lofty or elevated. The lofty house". So writes Dr. Frobenius. In short these Makalanga tribes applied the word Zimbawe (which represents the pronunciation of the Portuguese Zimbaboe) to any large kraals of their people.

But the Portuguese were taught by the Kafirs to apply the term Zimbabwe to certain majestic ruins of stone far inland, which few of the Portuguese of this period ever seem to have seen, though they heard wonders about them. All narratives agreed that these Zimbabwes (for they were said to be many) were fortresses, built to protect the gold mines.

Vincent Pegado, who was secretary to Vasco da Gama during his third visit to India and became governor of Sofala in 1530, asked intelligent Arabs how they thought these buildings originated. They confessed that they did not know! They added that the workmanship was too advanced to be the product of such barbarians as the Kafirs, and it was not Arabian because no Arab could read the inscriptions there. The Kafirs replied that these

buildings were the work of the Devil, which was their way of confessing that the construction was far beyond their skill.

If a man of Pegado's experience, as well as the Kafirs and Arabs in 1530, knew nothing of the origin of these ruins, it is impossible to believe that the vague allusion in Gaspar Veloso's report of 1514 about Sofala can have any reference to this subject. He writes that Anthony Fernandes told him that at Embire's kraal, on the boundary of the lands of the Monomotapa, " they were constructing a fortress called Camanhaia in stone without lime".[385] That the Kafirs should have forgotten all about this sixteen years later and that no Arab should have heard of it, is incredible.

What Fernandes probably saw was the utilising of one of these minor ruins of Zimbabwe for a shelter, and the process of repairing it for this purpose. He may have imagined that they were building, when they were only patching up. But such a second-hand report can have little value in the solution of the Zimbabwe riddle.

Moreover fortresses of any kind were useless to the Bantu. Their method of warfare was attack with the large impi in the open field. One of the main advantages that the Portuguese always had over them was the art of erecting fortifications, wherever there was wood or stone available. This and the gun enabled a handful of Portuguese to defeat hordes of Kafirs at any time. But in all the voluminous literature of the battles between Portuguese and Bantu there is no instance of the Kafir use of anything that can be called a fortress. They seemed incapable of even copying the fortresss that they saw the Portuguese making, which they visited every day in time of peace. It is a Bantu writer of our day who has stated most emphatically, that no tribe in South Africa has shown any skill in stone work.[386]

The historian, John de Barros, examined all the witnesses, oral and documentary, available in his day, before so much of this precious material perished. He came to the conclusion that the stone Zimbabwes were built by some great prince from a distant land, in order to maintain possession of the mines, " just as we built fortresses at Elmina and Sofala". He suggests that this

prince may have migrated from Abyssinia, or more likely Egypt, because the measurements of Ptolemy's geography would seem to indicate that the Egyptians were acquainted with the country down as far as this. Damian de Goes adds that the king at whose command this fortress was built had cut over the entrance an inscription, "so ancient that no one understands what it means".

King Manuel's reign closes with dismal news about the attitude of the Bantu. "We are at the mercy of the Kafirs", writes the factor of Sofala, Francis de Brito, on the eighth of August, 1519. "This country is ruined, without any merchandise arriving from any part of it on account of a chief named Inyamunda, who has reduced all the territories around this fortress to such a state that no trader can venture to leave the fortress with merchandise, nor can anyone come here from the interior". He hears that traders of Bouro, Manica and Benabotapa desire to do business, but cannot get past the territory of Inyamunda. A ship had just discharged a large cargo of trading goods from Cambaya at Kilwane, eight leagues from Sofala, but the men were disheartened, as they could see no prospect of sales. In the eight months before this letter was written the only revenue was 250 *meticals*. All the cash received from Brito's predecessor had to be expended in salaries.

What the Portuguese generally thought of the Bantu at this time is contained in Barros's picture of Zanguebar. The full account was published in his *Geography*, a valuable work which has been lost. But the outlines of his views have survived in his *Da Asia*. For him and his contemporaries Zanguebar meant South Africa, which he defines as a huge triangle, whose angular points are Mozambique, the Cape of Good Hope and the mouth of the Congo River.

The Bantu of the Congo and Angola he calls Pangalungos, and he believes them to be the Hisperios of Ptolemy. The tribes which inhabited this area were of the same race as those of the whole coast of South Africa, from Malindi round the Cape of Good Hope to the Congo. But they had so many languages, that they possessed no common name except two imposed by the Persians and Arabs: Zanguy and Kafirs. The second had already become the more common, although the first survived

in the name Zanguebar, meaning in Persian " land of the blacks". Zanguy meant blacks, and Kafirs meant unbelievers. Barros explains the greater popularity of the second name " because of the many slaves that we have from among these natives". This somewhat cryptic reason would seem to mean that the Bantu slaves preferred to be called Kafirs.[387]

The country here is so low, marshy, covered with dense and high vegetation, poisoned with malaria, and the toxic growths which accompany it, " that it might well be called a second Guinea". Beasts and birds were fierce and wild, and the inhabitants some degrees more barbarous than the Bedouin of Arabia. But Barros is so full of the milk of human kindness, that he refuses to believe that Providence can leave any race without some grounded hope for the future. So he points out how even this rugged and unpromising land produces gold, in which fact he discerns the finger of Providence. " God gave these people the patience to support their present unhappy conditions, and to us the desire for gold, which has prompted us to face so many dangers of land and sea, in order to prompt them to emulate our achievements in the mechanical arts, and thus supply to them the necessaries for civilised life".

But about their present degradation he has no illusions, and he notes one of the main symptons of this degradation is the prevalence of witchcraft. " These people are black with curled hair, idolaters, and such firm believers in divination and magic charms, that in the critical moment of some business transaction they will stop, if anything of this nature strikes their imagination".[388] This has proved the most obstinate fault of the Bantu races for civilisation to cure.

Under all these adverse circumstances it is intelligible how the Portuguese, zealous as they were for the spread of the Christian faith, could make no serious and consecutive attempt during these years of King Manuel's reign, to preach the Gospel to the Bantu of this coast. Among the Bantu of the Congo considerable progesss was made. The first church for the natives was built in 1491 by order of King John II.[389] In 1504 King Manuel sent a large mission, well supplied with books and church requisites,

to teach the natives reading and writing. Tools were also introduced to teach them agriculture and trades after the manner of Europe.[390] The son of the Congo chief (the most powerful in those parts) returned with this fleet to Europe, in order to receive a European training and to become a leader of his people. His response to the education given him disappointed his Portuguese teachers at first, though he improved as time went on, and in the end seems to have given complete satisfaction.

Again in 1508 the King sent as missionaries a company of thirteen secular priests,[391] living together as Secular Canons and popularly called *Loios* or the Blue Canons, from the colour of their habit. All of them remained working in the Congo until they died. Some Dominicans were the next workers in this vineyard. King Manuel insisted on frequent reports of the progress made, and also sent carpenters and stone-masons to instruct the natives in these handicrafts.

There were of course many difficulties and misunderstandings, but in 1516 Father Rui de Aguiar wrote from the Congo a remarkable letter to King Manuel, which shows that the missionaries had won the heart of the native King whom they had christened with the name of Dom Afonso. Manuel is informed how Dom Afonso is assiduous in reading the Scriptures, how he attends Mass daily, and how his sister goes about establishing schools for girls, whilst the King himself has already provided schools for one thousand boys. " I have often heard him say that Your Highness is king of the Congo and he king of Portugal ", writes Father de Aguiar.

Two deeds of King Manuel indicate that the Congo was reacting favourably to the friendly gestures and tactful humanity of Portugal. In 1512 Simon da Silva went as special envoy to the Congo, in order to promote closer economic relations, but his letters-patent instructed him to give certain friendly advice to Dom Afonso on behalf of King Manuel, as from one Christian king to another.[392] Manuel suggests that the Congo king should send an embassy to the Pope as head of the Church, " to make obeisance according to the usage that we Christian princes and kings observe ". It he agress to do this, " we shall order all that is required for the journey which is five

hundred leagues from our kingdom to Rome, and we shall send them by land or by sea, as they may wish. And they shall receive the honour due to the ambassador of a great king like himself, which will be increased by the love that we bear him". The embassy was duly sent, and at its head the Congo heir-apparent, whom the Portuguese called Prince Henry. They reached Rome in 1513, just after the death of Julius II and when Leo X had been elected.[393] The Kafir youth was coached to recite a Latin oration in the audience with the Pope.

After this, Prince Henry remained in Portugal studying for the priesthood. Meantime King Manuel was inspired to an act of devoted friendship for the Congo king. Two of Manuel's sons were bishops and cardinals, so he wrote to the Pope, suggesting that it would promote an even greater expansion of the Church in the Congo, if the Bantu Prince Henry were made bishop. Leo X hesitated for six years to grant this unprecedented request. But such was Manuel's insistence that the Pope replied in 1518: "Although what you ask of us and this Holy See is one of those things most difficult to grant, yet we have prevailed upon our venerable brethren (the cardinals) to come round to our opinion, that this promotion will conduce much to the spread of the faith in view of the integrity and faith of the new bishop. But we think it right that you shall provide him with some learned theologians and canonists, so that his knowledge may be increased. We hope that Your Majesty and his father will provide him with sufficient income, so that he may be able to live as becomes his episcopal dignity". Thus this son of the Bantu chief was consecrated in Lisbon as titular Bishop of Utica[394] during the course of the year 1521. Returning home, he settled at San Salvador, where his father lived. His position was that of assistant to the Bishop of Madeira, the largest diocese in the world which then included the Congo. He died there about the year 1535.

These events are chiefly of interest here, because they show that the excellent principles of medieval law about the rights of barbarous, and even pagan, nations were taken seriously by King Manuel in his relations with the natives of Africa. There was already an ancient tradition

of sound thinking on this subject. Five years after Manuel's death a young professor of law was beginning to lecture at Salamanca in Spain, who codified all the ancient wisdom of Christian Europe, from the Evangelists and Saint Paul up to the learned lawyer, Torquemada,[395] and applied these principles to the case of the new pagan nations that the Portuguese and Spaniards were meeting in the new worlds of Africa, America and Asia. This lecturer was Francis de Vitoria,[396] one of the greatest names in international law. He did not invent new principles, but voiced the current opinion of the best minds in that generation of Christian tradition.

What right had the Iberian explorers to enter these countries at all? Neither the Bantu nor the Indians had invited them. Vitoria rejects all pleas based on the superiority of the Christian faith, the alleged right to punish idolatry or crimes against nature, or the duty of preaching the Gospel. None of these purposes can justify such a policy of exploration, if it should be contrary to the natural law of nations. Because these black races were unbelievers, who often practised vices forbidden by the law of Christ, they did not lose the right to govern their own country, and to control their own property. John Wycliffe and the Waldenses had indeed asserted this false and unwholesome principle, but the Church had condemned it at the Council of Constance, because it would render impossible all human government, whether civil or ecclesiastical.

The fact of discovering a country only gives the right of holding it, if it is uninhabited. "According to the law of nations", writes Vitoria, "that which has no owner becomes the property of him who first seizes it. But the possessions now being discussed had a master, and therefore do not come under the title of discovery".

Before coming to the constructive part of his answer, he defines the term "law of nations." Whatever the natural reason of man lays down as right between the nations, that is the law of nations. Thus pagan nations cannot refuse to have human relations of intercourse with Christian nations, just as Spaniards cannot refuse arbitrarily to deal with Frenchmen. The same holds good for trade, as long as the application of the principle

does no harm to the people who own the country. Vitoria bases these conclusions on the maxim ; " thou shalt not do to another what thou wouldst not wish done to thyself ". Gold and pearls are not valued by American Indians (and the same could be said of Kafirs), and these have no right to prevent civilised nations from using them. " The Portuguese," writes the Spaniard, Vitoria, " have a big trade with similar people without reducing them to subjection ".

But neither in trade nor in the preaching of the Gospel did the Portuguese have the success in east Africa, during Manuel's reign, that they had in west Africa and in India. Faria e Sousa,[397] the historian, says in his epigrammatic way : " After inheriting the good fortune of the most fortunate of monarchs, Manuel succeeded Saint Thomas the Apostle as a preacher of the Gospel in India ". On the African shores of the Indian Ocean the only churches were those of the garrisons, and the only priests were those of the fleets and fortresses. Thousands of Kafirs became Christians in the Portuguese settlements of the east coast, and in the service of Portuguese families both in India and Portugal. But during this reign there were no Christian missions where the tribes lived under native law and customs.

Amongst the Franciscans there is a tradition of a priest, Friar Pedro, who was martyred in Monomotapa at this period.[398] But he was probably one of the chaplains of the fortresses, who made some zealous effort of his own. No concerted action was possible among the Kafirs. The chapels erected in fortresses like Sofala, Mazambique and Angoche, where tombstones of this period have been found, absorbed all the clergy that could be spared from India, Brazil and the Spice Islands.

The leading Franciscan historian, Luke Wadding, was convinced, from his own experience in research, that many missionary records of this period have perished. Letters of missionaries were rare in those days, and the laymen were mainly interested in exploration, trade, war and personal quarrels, just as they are to-day. This lack of data was especially the case where secular priests are concerned, who formed such a large part of the early pioneer clergy. Their labours were either omitted entirely,

or briefly described by the sailors, soldiers and merchants. Zealous preachers were thus left to their own devices, and had no monasteries to chronicle their isolated achievements, or even to preserve the memory of their names.

One of these early heroes was shipwrecked after leaving the island of Socotra, off the coast of Somaliland, in 1510. It was the Franciscan priest, Anthony Loureiro, who had sailed with Tristan da Cunha. He was carried a prisoner by Arabs to Surat, and sold to the Sultan Mahmud of Cambaya. After some years of captivity he was allowed to visit Goa, in order to arrange a ransom for himself. He promised to return to prison, if he could not secure the money needed for a ransom. When he reached Goa, Albuquerque was away with the fleet, and nobody knew whether he would ever return. The friar went back to Cambaya and surrendered to his captors, to the surprise and admiration of the Muslim. "In human relations nothing confers such prestige as good faith", writes the chronicler of this deed.[399] Of good faith and self-sacrifice we have many memorable examples among the men who devoted their lives to the preaching of the Gospel in that generation.

It is too often forgotten that Portugal was the first European nation to deal with the African races by direct control through a responsible central government, which acknowledged its obligation of acting on Christian principles. For centuries Holland, France and England, followed the less desirable method of giving control to companies of merchant adventurers, and private individuals bent on dividends alone. A clever Englishwoman,[400] who spent many years of scientific research in the footsteps of the Portuguese among the Bantu in west Africa, has recorded this little known fact. "Portugal at heart was never bad, as nations go. Her slaving record is in the point of humanity to the cargo, the best that any European nation can show which has a slaving west African past at all". That fact declares, more eloquently than any figures, that the humanitarian sentiments of the Portuguese code and of the official documents of King Manuel's government were not empty formulae, but had a real influence upon Portuguese policy in the treatment of African blacks.

If the Portuguese missionaries nourished the childish hope that the Swiss ethnologist, Henri Junod, acsribes to them " of saving the native tribes from the power of heathenism by a mere substitution of the Catholic rites for those of the animistic religion", their hope would certainly have been in vain.[401] But symbolic rites gain character from what they symbolise, and the rites of the Christian Church were incomparably more spiritual than the degrading ritual of the mere animistic belief of savages. No more spiritual method has been devised than that of leading men from symbols and figures into the highest truth. Centuries later the Anglican Bishop, Colenso, earnest as he was, found to his cost that you only dumbfound the infant mind of the Zulu, when you begin by facing it with the most complex problems of Bibilical exegesis. These problems can wait for the adult mind. The Catholic rites were the symbols of the spiritual teaching of the historic Church of Christ, of which teaching the Bible is a part. In this way the Church had led to Christ the barbarian Franks, the Germans and the Anglo-Saxons, and the Portuguese knew that the Bantu and the Bushmen could do no better than to follow in the footsteps of their own Iberian ancestors.

A Portuguese humanist who knew personally most of the leading captains and traders of King Manuel's day, has preserved the impression that Bantu religion made upon them. This is how Damian de Goes sums it all up.

" The barbarous and rough condition of all the tribes between the Red Sea and the Cape of Good Hope shows that they are Ethiopians of a different type from the Egyptians and Abyssinians described by the traveller Diodorus, who lived in Sicily but wrote in Greek. These inhabitants of Monomotapa are popularly called Kafirs. They have no idols, but worship the one God creator of all things, to whom they pray. They observe certain feast days, amongst others the birthday of their king. They marry as many wives as they choose, but the first is the mistress of all the others, and her children are the heirs. They never marry before puberty. At the accession of the Monomotapa he sends a fire from which all the minor chiefs must light fires in token of obedience.

The captain (induna) Zono inflicts chastisement by war upon all those who refuse the symbolic fire ".

Educated in the literature of Rome and Greece, Goes knew how many of the fine intellects of pagan antiquity were under the bondage of superstitions like witchcraft and the Eleusian mysteries. The Church had freed their minds from the pernicious symbols of the wanton gods, and filled out the pale shadows of better things in their otherwise noble literature. These Christian humanists among the Portuguese felt that the new wine of the Gospel could not be poured into the sordid receptacles of Bantu customs and myths without bursting many of the old bottles. But in the glimmering truths that unspoiled reason had taught these Kafirs, Goes like the rest of his countrymen, recognised that even this low-grade of reason hungered for true religion, as it did for bread and music. Portugal believed that it had the best to offer them, and every contemporary writer broaches the question of how to provide it most effectively.

Though the results in our Negroland of the south were not striking compared to what was being done in America and India during this reign, that field was not forgotten in the councils of the King. Faria e Sousa's apology for the meagreness of the first chapters of his Chronicle of the Portuguese expansion may well apply here. " The greatest things never had great beginnings, since the greatest and most glorious victory had its beginning in the stable of Bethlehem ".

CHAPTER XVII.

The Quest of a Naval Policy in African Waters.

TABLE MOUNTAIN received its present name in 1503, and the Portuguese captain who bestowed this name is the first European recorded to have climbed the mountain. Table Valley, the site of the present city of Cape Town, was called after him by the Portuguese, and for a whole century it was known as the Watering-Place of Saldanha, until the name was transferred northwards to our Saldanha Bay.

Anthony de Saldanha left Lisbon in May of the year mentioned, as commander of a fleet of three ships which were to patrol the seas from Cape Guardafui to Aden. Each of these ships was destined to do something memorable that was not part of its official commission. As if to prepare for this, violent storms scattered them as soon as they reached the islands of the west coast of Africa. State policy in strong hands can control many things, but the sea is not one of them.

Off Cape Verde Captain Diogo Fernandes Pereira of Setubal lost sight of the other two ships, and was the first European after Cabral to reach the island of Socotra from the south. His full report of this island caused a sensation among those European scholars, who did not travel much and who still attached supreme importance to the geography of the Greeks and Arabs, which painted this historic land as a kind of Island of the Blessed. But the Portuguese were out to upset all these fossilised ideas of the scholars. They were not surprised to find that the soil was rather infertile, producing only red gums and aloes, adapted for pasturage alone on a small scale, but they hoped that it might prove important as a strategic base in the policing of the India seas. As a feat of seamanship Pereira's unbroken journey from Cape Verde to Kilwa is unique, and must also have meant an unusual concatenation of favourable winds during the twelve thousand miles of sailing.[402]

The two captains who left home with Saldanha were again driven apart after they left the latitude of the island of Zanzibar, which Vasco da Gama and others had passed by, as being of minor importance. Captain Rui Lawrence Ravasco now took possession of it in the name of the King. But Manuel was far from pleased with the manner in which this act was carried out, when the full facts were revealed to him. Ravasco was one of those practical politicians, who, when they set out upon a political journey, go straight to the point, " neither tempted by wayside flowers nor very scrupulous of small lives underfoot". He proceeded to reduce the Arab ruler by intimidation in Zanzibar. In the phraseology of modern imperialism he would have said that his action was inevitable, as against a horde of barbarians he could only effect his purpose, if he made full use of his artillery, which constituted his sole advantage over them.

Only in this way could he blockade " the lord of the island", whose headquarters were on the mainland. Establishing himself on a point of the island, which every ship entering Zanzibar had to pass, he was able to capture more than twenty zambucos laden with provisions, and bound for the town. At sunset more ships and zambucos[403] anchored on the other side of the island, and were similarly treated.

In the morning a boat came alongside Ravasco's ship with messengers from the Arab king, and a protest against these high-handed proceedings. The African ruler offered to make peace, if Ravasco would restore the artillery and goods which he had confiscated. Damian de Goes, who reflects the views of King Manuel, writes " to this message Ravasco answered more harshly than was decent, paying no attention to such a just and reasonable request ".

Of course the Portuguese captain had a plausible answer ready. He honestly believed, like the less successful President Woodrow Wilson in 1917,[404] that the measures he was about to take would " tend to secure the future peace of the world", including these enemies, who were not to be allowed to enjoy " the selfish advantages which they had wrongly gained for themselves and their private projects of power". Ravasco was even more eloquent than Woodrow Wilson in describing the wrongs which he

thought he had suffered. "I have not found", he replied to Zanzibar's envoys, "in any of the ports of the province of this island what is generally given to every man for his money, provisions and necessaries, but I have been received with bows and arrows. I have acted as those do who are attacked, both in personal defence and in retribution for wrongs done me".

With artillery at his back Ravasco was determined to break "these forces of autocracy", and demanded instant submission to the suzerainty of the King of Portugal. In addition he demanded the payment of an annual tribute, by way of reparations, of one hundred *meticals* which would also be a guarantee of good faith. If Zanzibar submitted to these terms of peace, "as several of the neighbouring kings and princes had done, its provinces would have real peace, be richer and more powerful than they had ever been before".

But the Imam of Zanzibar, though conscious in a general way of the might of the Portuguese, did not realise the power with which the Portuguese guarded the freedom of their trade on the high seas.[405] He determined to fight. The result can be imagined, when a multitude of brave warriors on shore tried to resist the bombardment of their country by an armed cruiser. It must be said in some slight extenuation of Ravasco's conduct, that he gave the Africans a chance of understanding the position before he took extreme measures.

When they sent some armed vessels to capture Ravasco's scouting launch, the Captain despatched the ship's dinghy manned by thirty-five men to meet them, under the command of the ship's notary, Gomes Carrasco, and another courtier, named Lawrence Feio. They easily disposed of the native attackers, and captured four of their boats. In spite of this lesson the ruler of Zanzibar assembled four thousand men with some weak artillery, to resist the landing of the Portuguese, who approached with picked men in two zambucos and one boat containing their accessories. The ships turned their prows to a stretch of the beach where they wished to land. The natives moved in a crowd towards the spot, offering a massed target to the cannon of the ship. Thirty-five men fell, among them the Imam's son, at the first

broadside. The Arabs and natives fled and Ravasco landed his men on a deserted shore.

Further resistance was clearly impossible, and the Imam now turned to diplomacy. He knew that one of the ships in the bay belonged to a nephew of the Muslim King of Malindi, the fast friend of Portugal. This ship carried the royal standard of Portugal, which had been presented as a safe-conduct upon the sea by John da Nova. The Zanzibar ruler borrowed it, and sent it as a flag of truce to the seashore. The standard-bearer shouted "peace" again and again in Arabic, as he marched down the slope to the shore.

The talisman worked even more effectively than the Arabs could have expected. Ravasco doffed his helmet, falling on one knee as if King Manuel himself were approaching, and all the men followed suit. A truce was granted, but the Captain refused to palaver on land. He insisted that the peace embassy should come to the ship, where he felt that he could impress them with the sight of his artillery, ship equipment and the pomp of a formal meeting in gala dress.

Ravasco rowed back to the ship, and left his subordinates to arrange the details of the armistice and peace conference. Later on, the Arab standard-bearer and four sheikhs arrived on board as envoys of Zanzibar. They were received with every mark of respect by the Portuguese captain, who tactfully conformed to local custom by seating the envoys on a fine carpet. On behalf of Zanzibar they agreed to become vassals of the great King of Portugal, but the Imam thought that the death of his son should be taken as ample indemnity for such guilt as theirs, "if indeed there be any guilt in defending one's own country".

But the Captain was firm, if moderate, on the subject of reparations. One hundred *meticals* of gold was the customary tribute of every king in these parts to the suzerain of the empire, and thirty sheep should be delivered in addition. This latter fine was a penalty for not displaying at once the royal standard, but keeping it hidden until it served their purpose. When these terms were complied with, Ravasco restored the four ships which he had captured. The two belonging to the chief

of Malindi were restored unconditionally, the other two for a ransom, as their owners hailed from Zanzibar and Pate.

From the purely naval standpoint it was a well-managed and important victory, in the best vein of the Portuguese sailor, who was the finest fighter in the world. But it did not satisfy the Christian conscience of the day in Portugal, as exemplified in the thinking of representative men. Thus Goes, a contemporary and the official biographer of King Manuel, voices the dissatisfaction of many. " Rui Lawrence was not justified in acting as he did, since the Prince of Zanzibar was at peace with us, and we had never received any injury from him. Ravasco's conduct was not in accordance with the rules and regulations of just war". But if this " absent-minded beggar " had forgotten the moral law, he had remembered and promoted the main idea of the imperial policy of Portugal. This conquest extended the factories on the shores of the Indian Ocean, and thus helped to secure the inland trade of India, Persia and Africa. In our less squeamish times patriotic writers would consider such gains as sufficient justification of Ravasco's exploits. The scientific propaganda of our day would adorn the moral issue in the most alluring colours.

To protect Portuguese trade still further, Ravasco then proceeded to measures which impressed all the coast of Africa with the loyalty of Portugal to her friends. He found the ruler of Malindi hard-pressed by his Muslim rival from Mombasa, who had come along the coast on land, and threatened to overwhelm Malindi with his larger army. Ravasco took the wise course of counter-attacking by a blockade of Mombasa. He captured many ships which were on the way to trade with or provision Mombasa.

Here he showed how he could be generous with enemies, when reasons of state did not seem to require severity or injustice. Among the ships he captured were some belonging to the Muslim republic of Brava on this coast. The governing corporation of the town of Brava not only ransomed the ships, but acknowledged the suzerainty of Portugal by paying a tribute of five hundred *meticals*. Shortly afterwards a very rich merchantman belonging to

the same owners was sighted. As soon as it established its place of origin, the Portuguese captain let it pass to the great amazement and admiration of the Arabs.

Meantime the pressure of the Portuguese blockade was having its effect upon the land forces of the Sultan of Mombasa. He was already contemplating retirement from the siege of Malindi, when Anthony de Saldanha arrived from the Cape of Good Hope. This new threat determined Mombasa to make terms with Malindi. The whole Zenj coast had received an object-lesson in the practical value of the protection of the royal standard, which the ships from Lisbon unfurled so proudly when attacked.

The subordinate captains of the fleet of Anthony de Saldanha now learned from his own lips of the exploits of their chief at the Cape of Good Hope. When Saldanha lost touch with the other ships of his little fleet, he was making for the Cape, intending to double it. But his pilot was not an experienced sailor. He imagined that he had rounded the Cape, when he saw a pleasant harbour which seemed to offer the chance of a real rest. It was Table Bay; they recognised it when they saw the stately pile of sheer rock sloping down from near its base to the sea, which former visitors had described.

Barros paints this verbal picture[406] of what they saw of the Cape Peninsula. "The figure of the peak of this grand Cape of Good Hope stands out from the body of the mainland, as if it had been cleft from Cape Agulhas, which is twenty-five leagues away towards the east. The Cape is shaped like the thumb in relation to the other fingers, when you place the palm of the hand downwards. At the point it is blunted like a finger. Almost at the joint with the mainland which is in the middle of it (that is, in the middle of the Cape Peninsula) there is a very high terrace above the rest of the land, which on top forms an open plateau, beautiful to look at and fresh with plants like the wild mint and other flora of Portugal and Spain".

With this fresh vision in his mind, Anthony de Saldanha gave to Table Mountain the appropriate name of Table of the Cape of Good Hope. Having left Lisbon in May and spent some time on the coast, he probably arrived at

the Cape in the early days of spring, when so much of our wonderful flora is in the green leaf, if not all in flower. But he bore away also the less pleasant souvenir of a wound in the arm, which he received in the course of an attack by some two hundred Hottentots, who had prepared an ambush for a man whom Saldanha sent to barter for cattle. Saldanha went to his rescue and they fortunately escaped with their lives.

In King Manuel's mind however the most important result of this expedition was the full information that Captain Pereira brought home about the island of Socotra. No Portuguese ship had as yet made a thorough examination of this spot, which loomed large in the ancient and medieval maps. When Pereira made his report to the King, Manuel was preparing two fleets for the East: the spice fleet of eleven ships under the command of Tristan da Cunha; and a fighting fleet under Afonso de Albuquerque, which was to patrol the coasts of Arabia, and to watch the mouth of the Red Sea.

Socotra, equidistant from the coasts of Arabia and Africa, seemed the predestined base from which naval operations could be most easily controlled. It looked a natural watchtower guarding the entrance to the Red Sea, especially now that the Portuguese had brought into these waters such powerful ships as they had never seen before. The fleets that sailed from Portugal in 1506 were ordered to meet at Socotra, and to take it from the Arabs. Tristan da Cunha duly arrived in April of the following year, and took possession of the fortress and island after three hours of hard fighting, leaving there Afonso de Noronha as commandant.

It served as a safe base during the hustling years when Albuquerque was Governor of India.[407] But within ten years it had outlived its usefulness, and was abandoned as a liability, the inhabitants being little better than savages. The Italian merchant, Andrew Corsali, travelling to India in 1517 with Lopo Soares de Albergaria, visited the island and saw that it was re-occupied by the Arabs, and the fortress razed to the ground.

But Tristan da Cunha's fleet was not idle on the African coast, either going or coming. He was not the type of man to be satisfied with humdrum navigation. He was

the son of Nuno da Cunha, whom the King had originally destined to be the first Viceroy of India, and only when he was temporarily blinded, was the office conferred upon Francis de Almeida. When Nuno da Cunha had recovered from his illness, this high office was again offered to him in 1505. But his friend Albergaria returned from India that July and advised him, probably for his health's sake, not to make a sojourn of years in the Indian climate. This family friendship with the King came to the aid of Tristan da Cunha when he asked the King for the command of the next year's spice fleet, and the governorship was given to Albuquerque. But Tristan da Cunha and Albuquerque sailed from Lisbon in command of separate fleets on the same day, the sixth of March, 1506, being Palm Sunday. Eleven spice ships were under Cunha's command, and five cruisers for the Red Sea under Albuquerque's.[408]

Tristan da Cunha was a great fidalgo, a man of original ideas and iron character; but he had not the clear and definite purposes of Albuquerque. The former seems to have scattered his energies and to have been somewhat uncertain about his plans. At the moment of his departure from Lisbon the plague was raging and it played havoc among the soldiers and sailors at sea, of whom there were 1,300 on all the ships. The cold of the south Atlantic also caused many deaths among those poorly-clad. The seamen were so benumbed that they could barely handle the sails. On this journey, midway between the present Buenos Aires and the Cape of Good Hope, they discovered a group of three volcanic islands, which have ever since been known collectively by the name of Tristan da Cunha. Here a storm scattered the ships of the fleet, and they only came together again at Mozambique.[409]

One of Cunha's captains, Lionel Coutinho, was rushed by the winds to Kilwa where he wintered. Another, Rui Pereira, touched at Matatana in Madagascar and captured two Arab boys, whom he brought to Mozambique. These boys gave such a glowing account of the trade wealth of Madagascar to Tristan da Cunha, that he called a special meeting of his captains and fidalgos, to propose an expedition of the whole fleet to that promising field of adventure. Cunha convinced them that this large island must prove

to be another India. They took with them an Arab of Mozambique, named Bogima, who knew the language of the country. This man was put ashore to negotiate with the local sheikh, but he was badly handled by the Arabs and negroes, and only rescued from death by the guns of the Portuguese.

Next day Cunha made a landing on an island fifteen miles away, which seemed more civilised, as it had a stone mosque like those of Kilwa and Mombasa. The inhabitants fled in a panic to the mainland, and as the boats at their disposal were few and small, hundreds were drowned in their frantic efforts to escape. By dint of great patience on the part of the Portuguese, friendly relations were finally established, and abundant food procured, but neither spices nor information about spices was to be obtained.

In disgust at the loss of his ships, Tristan da Cunha sailed straight back to Mozambique. The same day John da Nova arrived in a battered ship with a cargo of pepper from India. The cargo was transferred to another ship of one of the dead captains, and sent home under the command of Anthony de Saldanha. It carried despatches for King Manuel, and the two boys captured at Madagascar as witnesses of some of the facts reported. Nova's ship was refitted and sent to join the fleet of Albuquerque, a present which the latter had occasion to regret, as this captain was not in harmony with the ideas of his chief.

Meantime Saldanha was hurrying home with the urgent despatches about Madagascar. He carried samples of silver obtained there, and the native boys were to convince the King by their personal testimony that the island was full of cloves and ginger. The King was resting at his villa in Abrantes, which looks down upon the Tagus, when Saldanha reached Portugal. The Captain was received at once, and was in high hopes that he would be sent back with a considerable fleet under his command, to exploit the riches of this new miniature India. But Manuel was too well-informed to jump to such a conclusion, as he had other sources of information that counselled caution. He merely commissioned Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, who was preparing to open up the Malacca trade, to call at Madagascar on the way and furnish him with a fresh report.

It was a wise decision. But Saldanha was rewarded with the reversion of the Captaincy of Sofala, when the term of Vasco Gomes d'Abreu should expire. They did not suspect that the big seas of the Mozambique Channel would bring Abreu to his final journey's end within a few months.

The impetuous Cunha however had already arrived at Mozambique, where he received stirring news from the north. This news led to the grandiose manoeuvres on the Malindi coast, to which coast Tristan da Cunha attached undue importance. He seems to have been urged to this by the Arab Sheikh of Malindi, whose messages he took at their face value. He knew nothing of the ancient feuds of the sheikhs of Malindi with their Arab neighbours, and believed that all the woes of the present ruler of Malindi were due to his friendship and alliance with Portugal. Cunha was a nobleman sensitive on the point of honour, and he was prepared to make any sacrifice to save this weak people, to whom his country had pledged its word.

The chronic insecurity of Malindi really came from two other sources: the Kafirs of the mainland up to Kilimanjaro, and the other sheikhs and imams of the coast. Away from the coast here the Arabs could not hold a square foot of land, as the hordes of barbarous Bantu always made short work of them, when they attempted any kind of settlement. Here the Portuguese could not help them. All that Malindi and other Arab towns could do was to erect thick mud walls around their settlements, and to make homes of stone as well as their fortresses.

But the Sheikh of Malindi now complained that he was in danger from other Arab rulers in Hoja, Lamu and Brava, lower down the coast. The Arabs of this coast had a saying that suitable men are forthcoming for all times and all circumstances, just as there is a rhyme for every word in the dictionary. For the present occasion Malindi thought Cunha just the person to deal with their enemies, and he was certainly willing.

Hoja has disappeared from our maps of to-day, and was probably situated at the mouth of the Osi River.[410] Like Lamu it was strongly fortified and it flourished on the slave trade. But Lamu was of Persian origin, and thus one of the aristocrats among the settlements of the

coast. Even to-day many of the local Swahili have a Persian cast of countenance. Both places surrended to Tristan da Cunha after a hard fight, which was led by Cunha and Alberquerque in person.

But more remarkable than any military valour was the chivalrous deed of the nobleman, George da Silveira, during the attack on Hoja. Whilst the Arabs were beating a hasty retreat to the palm grove behind the town, Silveira and his foster brother came upon a distinguished looking Arab in rich dress, who was covering the retreat of a handsome young woman, evidently his wife. The two fidalgos gained on him, and when the woman saw this she turned back and clung to her husband, determined to die with him. "When George da Silveira saw them thus linked in a rivalry to die", he put up his sword and beckoned to them to save themselves, "as he refused to separate such true lovers."[411]

At Brava the most stubborn fight of this naval campaign took place. Brava was strongly built on a spot where razor-edged reefs made the approach of attacking ships very difficult and perilous. From the fighter's standpoint this was a famous victory. The slaughter of Arabs defied all counting, and even the victorious Portuguese had over one hundred casualties. Tristan da Cunha, though an old soldier who had seen hard fighting in Europe, felt that it was a fitting occasion for the distribution of knighthoods. It would have been wiser perhaps if he had left it to these Arabs to fight out their own quarrels. Reading the names of the fine youths who perished before the barren town of Brava, we are reminded of the far more tragic holocaust of Europe's youth in the sad years 1914 and 1915.

Atrocities are the brood of war in every age. But in 1506 the Portuguese were honest enough to pillory their own men, when they broke the recognised rules of war, whilst in our day the enemy alone is usually credited with barbarities. In the heat of battle at Brava some of the lower ranks of the soldiery had cut the bracelets from the arms of Arab women, because they were of gold, and these men wished to get rich quickly. A boat laden with these eighteen men and their ill-gotten booty overturned in attempting to return to the ships, and all were drowned.

" God cannot be pleased with what is revolting to humanity", writes John de Barros. " So these men and their bracelets were swallowed by the waves".[412]

The fortunes of Malindi at any rate were rising. The Arabs there had a tradition that they were the heirs of a town named Quitau, which once dominated the whole Somali coast. In those brave old days Hoja, Lamu and Brava with many other strong places were subject to the ancestors of the Malindi people. With the help of the Portuguese they hoped to bring back those golden days.

But the enduring work of these two admirals, Tristan da Cunha and Afonso de Albuquerque, was done when they passed on to India. The naval battle of giants at Ponani soon showed the Muslim of India, that at their best they were no match for the Portuguese. These stirring events however do not belong to our story. On the tenth of December, 1507, Cunha left Cananor for home in charge of the heavily laden spice-fleet. Calling at Kilwa, he left despatches for the first captain of that fortress, Pero Ferreira Fogaça, confirming negotiations begun with Nuno Vaz Pereira. The fleet reached Mozambique again on the ninth of January, 1508, and found there three of the fourteen ships which had come from Lisbon the year before. What happened here is an object-lesson in the importance of Mozambique as a clearing station for the defence and trade of India.

Tristan da Cunha was able to revictual and refit his squadron for the second stage of his journey home. Having taken wood and water, he sailed with three ship leaving orders that the other three were to sail in convoy when they arrived. All arrived safely in Lisbon except that of Job Queimado, which a storm isolated, thus delivering it an easy prey to the French pirates. Though all the other ships of Cunha's fleet reached Lisbon without mishap, the crews suffered from malaria contracted through a stay on the Guinea coast and many died.

By the twentieth of September the whole of the fleet which had left Lisbon on the twentieth of April, reassembled at Mozambique except the caravel of John Chanoca, which ran ashore near Cape Verde in the Bay of Bezeguiche, and was plundered by the natives. From the Guinea coast outwards all the ships sped along with their

grappling irons ready, lest they should be attacked by French pirates. But it was now too late to sail safely to India, on account of the adverse monsoon, and thus this fleet of George de Mello Pereira was compelled to winter at Mozambique.

The problem of keeping order among so many idle sailors and soldiers might have been a serious one, if the captain of the fortress, Edward de Mello, had not arrived with instructions to build the fortress which he was to command, as well as a hospital and a church. The men worked with a will and the materials were at hand.

But there would surely be anxiety and perhaps discouragement in India, if no ships arrived that year, as it was known that a whole fleet sailed annually. The captain of the fleet in the bay and the captain of the fortress consulted their subordinate officers, and came to the decision that one ship at least must sail, whatever the risk, to reassure those in India, who would otherwise imagine some unprecedented disaster. The perilous task of captaining this ship was joyfully accepted by a distinguished visitor who had remained behind from the fleet of Tristan da Cunha. The volunteer was a knight of the military order of Rhodes, named Rui Soares. He had been trained by the Prior of Crato, brother of the Viceroy, Francis de Almeida, and he was glad to accept the great risks involved, in order to be of service to the brother of his friend, as well as to serve his country.

Sixty miles out from Mozambique, Rui Soares came upon a labouring caravel, which turned out to be a lame duck of the fleet of Tristan da Cunha. It had left Lisbon under the command of John Gomes, but Captain Gomes had perished in Matatana on the island of Madagascar. He and his pilot went ashore in a dinghy, when Cunha paid his second visit to the island. A sudden storm blocked the river up which they went, and after four days of waiting the ship was obliged to depart without a pilot, "commending themselves to the mercy of God", as they said. Rui Soares was able to give them a new pilot and an experienced captain, George Botelho de Pombal. The Knight of Rhodes himself was a magnificent seaman. Not only did he bring his ship safely to India, but a few years later he handled his fighting galley so skilfully in

the famous Battle of Diu, that he called forth the enthusiastic applause of the Viceroy in the middle of the battle.

The orders given to the next year's fleet were an indication of the rapidity with which things had developed on the east coast of Africa. The King decided to split the naval command of the Indian Ocean. India proper was to be the province of the Viceroy, whose letters of appointment which were to cause such dissensions in India, were carried in this fleet. A new naval area of separate command was created, extending from Sofala to the city of Cambaya.

The former magnificence of Cambaya is attested down to this day by the ruins of the palaces, mosques and rich tombs, which once adorned it. That prosperity was built upon manufactures, chiefly of cloth. But business was done, not so much with India as with Africa, Arabia and Persia. The gold of Sofala, the pearls of the Bahrein islands on the Persian Gulf, the horses and incense from Shael on the Arabian coast went to Cambaya[413] in exchange for its manufactures. Manuel's aim was to wrest the monopoly of this trade region from Egyptians and Turks, but also to develop it greatly in favour of the many nations for which Portugal guarded the freedom of the seas. There was no question of substituting Portuguese middlemen for the Arab sheikhs and traders, who had the commerce in hand. The factors of King Manuel in the chief ports of east Africa, Arabia and Persia, came with cash to do fair trade with these old established firms. What they exacted were reasonable terms in the first place, and then a token payment in recognition of Portugal's leadership in this empire of trade. Only a strong fleet could exact these reasonable terms from races with whom chicanery and force were the ordinary methods of government, and of business. In creating this separate command, bordering on the east of the Indian ocean, Manuel also hoped to relieve the head of the Indian government of responsibilities which seemed too great for the shoulders of one man.

George de Aguiar was the first admiral to be appointed to the charge of a separate and independent fleet in this

area of Mozambique. His flagship, the *St. John*, was the largest vessel that had as yet sailed from Portugal, and she left Lisbon on the ninth of April, 1508, with twelve other ships. Only five of these belonged to Aguiar's command, eight being the ordinary spice-ships of the year. No fleet ever got such a scattering as this throughout the whole journey to Mozambique. The ships were hardly ever to hail one another. Captain Alvaro Barreto reported at Mozambique, that the flagship had sunk one night with all hands on board among the islands of Tristan da Cunha, and among those drowned there was an unusually large number of noblemen. This news was confirmed later by the captain-elect of Kilwa, Francis Pereira Pestana, who whilst passing these lonely islands gathered some wreckage which unmistakeably belonged to Aguiar's fine flagship.

But before this definite news reached Mozambique, the second-in-command, Edward de Lemos, arrived on the eighteenth of August. On the last day of September, he wrote a letter to King Manuel, which gives a vivid account of the buffetings which his ship received after leaving Madeira, and of the actual conditions of Mozambique. The first haven of rest on the journey was found somewhere on the coast of Pondoland, which Barros describes as the Meadows of Gold, extending this phrase of the Arabic geographer to lands of which Masudi, who coined the phrase, knew nothing. This port was entered on the nineteenth of July.

Three days later Lemos fell in with Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, in such perfect weather that they were able to sail along chatting. Then the wind fell, and Lemos was reluctantly compelled to anchor and join Sequeira near the mouth of the Limpopo River. There they rested for two days, when Sequeira sailed for Madagascar and Lemos for the north. One night as the ship of the latter lay at anchor three miles from Sofala, they were bombarded from the fortress, the Portuguese garrison evidently mistaking them for enemies. Not wishing to lose time, Edward de Lemos pushed on to an island within the estuary of the Angoche River, about sixty miles south of Mozambique. The east winds kept them prisoners for eight days. But the Arab king on the mainland was

profuse in loyalty to King Manuel, and gave them all they needed in the way of refreshment.

Most of the ships of Aguiar's fleet reached Mozambique before Lemos. On the first of September the *Santa Maria* was sighted, and every boat went out to welcome it, thinking it to be the flagship of the new commander. "I never felt so sad about anything in my life as about this lack of news concerning George de Aguiar", writes Lemos to the King. The writer adds that he and Edward de Mello are keeping the men busy by refurbishing the ships and working every day at the fortress. He also informs the King that the mainland of Mozambique has forests of black wood, most suitable for building any number of ships. It would be cheaper to build here than in Portugal, and such ships would last longer than those built in Europe. "Edward de Mello is building a fine sailing brigantine, which has also twelve benches for rowers, and a barge useful for carrying wood and water to the ships". He ends by reminding the King respectfully that most of the men's salaries had not yet been paid. The cash for this purpose had gone to the bottom with the flagship though this was not yet known for certain. Some ships he had been obliged to send on to India on his own responsibility, with the consent of the captains, as they could wait no longer if they were to reach India this year.

The definite news of the loss of the flagship arrived after the despatch of this letter. The right of succession to the command of Aguiar's fleet had been given by letters-patent to this nephew of his, Edward de Lemos da Trofa. He set about his new task with all the vigour of an ambitious youth, already full of plans of action. Sending Pestana to captain the fortress of Kilwa, in the boat of Anthony Pereira, he ordered the latter afterwards to proceed to Malindi, and to ask the Arab Sheikh to prepare winter quarters for him there.

Then he set out to collect the overdue tribute of the African coast, as we have already narrated in detail in dealing with the trade of this coast. Whilst wintering at Malindi, Lemos set up there a trade agency for the King. Ships of Cambaya had the habit of calling regularly with clothing suitable for native wear. Edward Teixeira was

appointed the first manager of this warehouse with a few secretaries, and he was ordered to buy these goods with Sofala gold, and to retail them for the account of the royal treasury. The young Admiral de Lemos left Malindi, with seven ships at the end of August, 1509.

His first intention was to give a lesson to the troublesome Arabs of Mogadishu, who were strong on the Somali coast. Two things frustrated his intention. The town was better prepared to resist and in a stronger natural position than he had anticipated, in any case the strong currents carried his ship past Cape Guardafui to the coast of south Arabia. Close under this coast were the Kuria Muria islands, within whose channels he found a safe anchorage on the third of September. It was a secluded spot where the inhabitants spoke an Arabic dialect of their own, so remote were they from the rest of their race.

This haven of enforced reflexion suggested a bold scheme to his mind. He would go to Ormuz and collect the tribute which the king, Coge Atar, agreed to pay the year before when defeated by Albuquerque. Admiral de Lemos had heard that the Persians were in a surly humour, and that they now felt themselves in a stronger position. It was a chance for daring and meritorious diplomacy.

On the way to Persian Ormuz he put into the port of Calayat in Arabia for supplies, which he badly needed. With the sound of Albuquerque's guns still booming in their ears, the Arabs began evacuating the town, as soon as the unexpected Portuguese ships entered the harbour. Lemos sent them a fleet messenger to remind them that he came as the representative of the King of Portugal, with whom they had signed a treaty of friendship, and that the Portuguese were faithful to their friends. All he asked of them was food and naval requisites, for which he was ready to pay in cash.

In reply to complaints about the past, he announced that he was prepared to forward to his King any record of injustice done by Albuquerque, if they gave him chapter and verse. King Manuel's fleets were built to destroy the Arabs of Mecca and the Mamluks of Egypt, not those Arabs who were the King's friends. Socotra was fortified merely to keep these common enemies from entering the

Indian Ocean. With these plain words the Arabs were persuaded to negotiate. The Portuguese received their supplies, passing on to Ormuz at the end of September.

The same kind of complaints were put forward here by the Persians. In this case Edward de Lemos went further in the way of appeasement, and told them that King Manuel sided with the Portuguese captains who had opposed Albuquerque's naval campaign against Ormuz. In any case that was a thing of the past. "I cannot repeal the promise you made of a tribute of fifteen-thousand *seraphins*. The sanctity of treaties must be maintained. The King, my master, has instructed me to take for granted the Treaty of Ormuz, which you signed". He recalled to their minds that this treaty has been engraved in duplicate on plates of gold. The one authentic copy in Persian was kept at Ormuz, the others equally authoritative in Arabic was sent to Lisbon.[414] The Admiral went on to point out that the payment demanded was the lightest of peace conditions, in view of what might have been extracted from them. The Persians ought to be delighted to pay double that sum for the protection which the Portuguese fleet gave them against their enemies in Cairo and Constantinople. With the fifteen-thousand *seraphins* of tribute in his coffers, the Admiral returned triumphant to his winter quarters at Malindi once more.

He had carried out to perfection the greater part of his orders by establishing a secure zone for ships from Sofala, along the east coast as far as the Persian Gulf. At the end of the winter he made a tour of inspection of all the factories down to Sofala, returning to Socotra at the end of May in the year 1510 and passing on to India in order to report to Afonso de Albuquerque, the governor-general.

But even in Albuquerque's presence Lemos could not divest himself of his overbearing manner. He sailed into port with his ensign of an admiral unfurled, which he had no right to fly where the Governor of India was present. But Albuquerque was a master of the keen irony which pierces the toughest hide. "Two Saint Christophers look ugly painted on one wall", he remarked as he looked up at the offending ensign. Lemos could tackle the most

brawny Moor in a personal contest, but this sarcastic smile of Albuquerque's was too much for him. He lowered his flag.

Though the Governor gave Lemos due praise for the solid work he had done, he realised that he had to deal with one of those ambitious men of subtle arrogance, who would have supplanted him if he could.[415] So when the latter came to Cananor in that same year, to ask for help in ships in order to complete his task between Sofala and Cambaya, Albuquerque was confirmed by his whole bearing in the view, that he had rightly discerned at first the kind of man this subaltern of his was.

Evidently the letters of the Mozambique Admiral had impressed the same troubling picture upon the mind of the King. For Gonsalo de Sequeira now arrived in India with royal letters recalling Edward de Lemos, just when the mischief-makers were beginning to use this willing tool against Albuquerque. Castanheda tells us that Lemos dissimulated his rage, but he was certainly a thorn in the side of Albuquerque for the months that he remained at Cananor and Cochin.

The King ordered Albuquerque to give Edward de Lemos a ship and to send him straight back to Lisbon, but the magnanimous Governor-General placed him in command of a small fleet of four ships, mindful of the merit of his real achievements. Thus vanished finally at Lisbon in 1511 the dream of the vice-royalty which Edward de Lemos de Trofa had dreamed. This episode also convinced King Manuel of the danger of dividing the supreme command of the seas in the lands washed by the Indian Ocean. East Africa and India clamoured for one policy and one head.

CHAPTER XVIII.

South Africa within the Dominion of India.

"THE dominion of India begins at the Cape of Good Hope and ends at present in Nankin of China". So writes an anonymous author at the end of the sixteenth century,[416] who thus also indicates the expansion that had taken place since Almeida's day. He describes a condition of things which became permanent after the failure of the separate naval government of the south-east coast, described in the last chapter. South Africa was now considered politically a part of Asia, and when the Portuguese writers of this century speak of Africa simply, they mean north Africa.[417]

The Viceroy of India was the head of that dominion of Portuguese India. His authority, which rested upon a strong and resourceful navy, controlled three sea-areas: the Chinese Sea; the sea of Bengal; and that immense stretch of the Indian Ocean from the Cape of Good Hope to Cape Comorin, in other words, from the southern point of Africa to the southern point of India. What we now call South-East Africa was then called Eastern Ethiopia, and it extended from the Cape of Good Hope to Suez.[418] This big wing of the empire comprised Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and north-west India. The story of the formation of the protecting Portuguese navy by King Manuel, and its exploits of several centuries, form a record of naval daring and wise management which has nothing to fear from comparison with the most lauded history of any other nation.

Our interest in these pages is limited to the events that affected the African coasts. These coasts were important in Indian policy for many reasons. They afforded a series of useful harbours, which served as ports of refuge in emergencies on the way to India. They also helped to counter the new tactics of the Muslim of the Red Sea. These, finding the regular patrols of the Portuguese navy too vigilant to break through, began to sail due south

upon the high seas, and then to run at right angles to the part of the Indian coast where they hoped for spices, or to Malacca. In this way they had some success until the African patrols began to operate from Malindi to Mozambique. But as "arms cannot be sustained without trade", to use the words of a contemporary writer, the Bantu customers of the land they called Monomotapa and the gold of Sofala were perhaps the most important motive for developing an effective hold upon the whole south-east coast.

At one critical moment in Albuquerque's efforts to capture Ormuz from the Persians, he found Malindi a useful base for revictualling. After the first abortive attack on that town he was forced to retire to Socotra, because he was not fully seconded by some of his captains who did not agree with his policy, just when victory seemed to be within his grasp.[419] Whilst waiting to renew the attack which succeeded, he sent Francis de Távora to Malindi for an urgently needed supply of corn. Malindi itself produced rice, millet, meat and fruits of various kinds, but its supplies of corn were imported from Cambaya and stored. The Persians gave Albuquerque the nickname of Al-Malindi, or the man from Malindi, because they first heard of him as he sailed north from that place.

Neither the east nor the west had ever succeeded in bringing together at Mozambique such a galaxy of fine ships as those that anchored there on the twenty-sixth of August, 1509.[420] Their profiles stood out boldly against the translucent sky and sea, when they were reviewed from the shore that evening by the Admiral, Ferdinand Coutinho. These fifteen ships, which had left Lisbon on the twelfth of March, all arrived in good trim, and they carried a large number of noblemen, knights and members of the King's household. To take part in the stirring events of India had become the ambition of every promising youth. The admiral of this fleet was the Marshal of the Kingdom, a personal friend of the King, and he went to India with unprecedented powers.

News received through the Mediterranean had caused anxiety to the King about the military and naval resources of India. A Portuguese knight of Rhodes, Diogo do Amiral, had warned Manuel that a powerful fleet was

massing at Suez, which the Sultan of Cairo destined to overwhelm the Portuguese navy in Indian waters. Coutinho was given these strong ships and a great store of ammunition, in order to render invincible the fleet which was already in India. But a month before Coutinho left Lisbon, Francis de Almeida had not only scented the danger but sallied forth to Diu, so as to take the offensive against Cairo and its allies, and he had routed them. The King's able representative on the spot solved the problem before Lisbon knew its full seriousness. Thus at Mozambique Coutinho learned that his first mission was forestalled by the vigilant viceroy.

The second chapter of Coutinho's instructions was in some ways a more delicate matter. Society in India was rifted by the differences between Albuquerque and Almeida. It was one of those quarrels, writes John de Barros, where victors and vanquished both lose to a large extent.[421] Both were great men. But the interference of lesser men tangled the issues beyond the wit of two impulsive leaders, who were over-sensitive to their human environment. Albuquerque's fault was that he became unduly suspicious of some men who were anxious to help him, whilst Almeida erred in trusting a few followers who were unworthy of his confidence. So at least Barros thought who had access to all the documents of the eventful controversy.

When the Muslim fleet was destroyed on the third of February, 1509, patriotism no longer demanded a common front from these personal partisans. Thus the bickerings grew more acute. Coutinho heard of this, and therefore he tarried only two days at Mozambique. He called at the island of Pemba for fresh water. But though his men were assailed there by the Arabs, he would not dally a moment to avenge these poor insults, but pressed on to India.

He reached Cananor on the eighteenth of October, and the tension was immediately relieved. Coutinho had in writing the most complete record of the whole quarrel and its causes, furnished to the King by Gaspar Pereira who had been secretary to Albuquerque as well as to Almeida. Being a born intriguer, Pereira had taken each side warmly in turn. As he was now in the responsible position

of Secretary for India, he had the opportunity of making his opinion felt. But the King's hopes of a just and friendly settlement were centred in Coutinho himself, because he was a nephew of Albuquerque and a personal friend of Almeida.

Within a few months both Countinho and Almeida were to be killed, because both under-estimated the fighting capacity of the African and Indian natives. Of Almeida's death at the hands of Hottentots mention has already been made. But Coutinho was almost ashamed when he inspected the strong posse of Portuguese soldiers, with which the King had ordered him to subdue the hostile city of Calicut. "My lord the King shall know that with a cap on my head and a cane in my hand I went to the house of the King of Calicut, and our King shall know how falsely they misled him with the fear of this famous Calicut, which contains only little naked blacks with whom it is a disgrace for armed men to fight". Albuquerque begged him to realise his dangerous contempt of these weak, but numerous enemies. The palace of the Samuri, or King of Calicut, was indeed easily taken, but the rash Marshall was overwhelmed by the thousands of puny adversaries, whom he thought so harmless. In trying to save him, Albuquerque was so badly wounded that no one expected him to recover, although he did.[422]

When Countinho called at Mozambique, he had left behind him there Anthony de Saldanha, with a competent staff, to govern that coast with headquarters at Sofala. He was the first effective officer with the double title of Sofala and Mozambique, as his two predecessors in the enhanced office survived only a few months. His jurisdiction embraced the whole of the east coast, subject to the viceroy or governor of India.

The duties of the captain of a military settlement of this kind were usually assigned in detail by instructions from the King, which were called a *Regimento*. The captain was the chief authority in military, judicial, administrative and commercial matters. But he was expressly bound by written instructions not to interfere with the jurisdiction of the law officers, not to give any law-office to his own relations or dependents, to make

peace by agreement between the fidalgos when they quarrelled, to keep strict account of the Orphans Fund, to trade on his own account only within the limits conceded by letters patent, to observe honour and morality in dealing with women, not to accept gifts from persons who came to do business with him, and to promote the work of teaching the heathen the Gospel of Christ.

When Anthony de Saldanha by the King's command destroyed the royal fortress of Kilwa at the end of his term of office, this town became a rendezvous of the Arabs friendly to Portugal under their own King Ibrahim. Thus a *modus vivendi* was established.[423] The captains of Sofala and Mozambique claimed no direct jurisdiction over the Arabs of the coast. These governed themselves in separate communities. Portugal exacted two conditions: the Arab ruler must be a friend of Portugal; and the laws of fair trade must be acknowledged. Thus Arab traders passed freely with their wares to the Portuguese settlements of the coast.

But there remained the incalculable island of Angoche, so conveniently situated for the smuggler, which had always served as a refuge for those Arabs who found it profitable to evade the trade regulations and tariffs enacted by the Portuguese government. Angoche was on the bend of the coast, at the mouth of a small river of the same name, and sixty miles south of Mozambique. As African towns went in those days, it might be called large. Only the leaders spoke Arabic, the rest using the Swahili dialect. But they were in close touch with smugglers in Mozambique, Sofala, Mombasa and Kilwa.

Their confederates in these places knew when the Portuguese vessels were absent or engaged; and they employed small ships called *zambucos* to carry their contraband to Angoche, chiefly gold and ivory. To counteract these evasions of the customs-laws of King Manuel, Anthony de Saldanha established a system of patrol caravels which policed these seas. Despite all the vigilance of the captains of Sofala and Mozambique a good deal of illicit trade was done through the smugglers' den of Angoche, with Cambaya in India on the one hand and with the Bantu tribes on the other.

At one time Saldanha thought that he could check

this contraband trade between India and the east coast of Africa by dealing directly with a Kafir chief, who lived on an island at the mouth of the Zambesi.[424] It was reported that this chief was the middleman of a lucrative trade in gold and ivory, with which he paid the Arabs for their cloths and foodstuffs. Saldanha began to cultivate the friendship of this influential chief by the time-honoured method of rich presents, trinkets especially. When amicable relations were established, Saldanha sent a caravel to make arrangements for the opening of a Portuguese trading-station on the island.

Knowing the doubtful character of those natives who were under hostile Arab influence, Saldanha warned the captain of the ship to proceed with caution. On no account was more than one Portuguese to go ashore at a time. For him and the friendly Arabs who accompanied him, hostages were to be exchanged. Instead of carrying out these instructions the captain, the factor, his secretary and an artilleryman who was acting as interpreter, went ashore together at the Chief's invitation, to swear peace and friendship in a formal treaty. The trick had been suggested by the hostile Arabs of the Zambesi. All the Portuguese were slaughtered, and only their Arab friends escaped by swimming to the caravel, as they were quicker to realise the danger. An attempt was also made to capture the caravel. But by a prompt use of their crossbows and cannon against many *zambucos*, armed only with bows and arrows, the survivors eluded their pursuers in the river and killed five or six of them.

A punitive expedition seemed imperative after treachery like this. Saldanha led it in person by order of Albuquerque. But it was thought best to make reprisals on the Arabs of Angoche, as they were the root of all this enmity that the Bantu displayed. Unfortunately the expedition was only a partial success. The town was burned down, but the Portuguese took among their prisoners one whose capture was to discount considerably the value of the complete military victory. He was a Sheikh who had the reputation of being a holy man; so that the Arabs of the whole coast were in

commotion, both those friendly to Portugal and those hostile. As soon as Saldanha recognised this, he arranged to exchange the embarrassing prisoner for a fidalgo named Francis Nogueira and his two sons, who had been wrecked on the shoals of Angoche some months before when he was captain of a ship.

It was this commonsense restraint of most of the Portuguese soldiers and traders in matters of religion that made impossible any united front of Islam against them. Skill in arms and economic pressure could help to induce trade; but only Christian piety and true religion could overcome the Muslim faith, wrote Bishop Osorio the biographer and friend of King Manuel. That was the accepted view of those times.[425]

When Saldanha's term of office, three years, was over, he received orders to sail for India in the fleet of Garcia da Noronha. This nobleman was Albuquerque's nephew, and as he left Lisbon he heard the false rumour that his uncle had been drowned in the Malacca seas. When they arrived on the bar of Goa, the fifteenth of August 1512, there was great rejoicing; and Albuquerque was greatly cheered by the double mark of the King's favour, in sending such strong reinforcements under the command of his nephew. With such help and encouragement he felt able to do everything needful for the security of India.

Thus at the end of November he succeeded, after a long siege, in forcing the Muslim out of the grim castle of Benestarim, the last obstacle to the complete possession of Goa. "I took Goa", he wrote to the King, "because it was the headquarters of the league to oust us from India". This did more for the prestige of Portugal "than all the fleets that have come to India during the last fifteen years".

The safety of every settlement in south-east Africa was pivoted upon the possession of Goa and the consequent alliances with the Hindu kings, especially the powerful Emperor of Vijayanagar. "Your people", the Governor General wrote to King Manuel, "pass safely through the whole land of India and through the seas; in Cambaya no one asks them where they are going; and in the Deccan and Malabar they trade as

freely as if they were in Portugal". A few days later he paints a rosy picture of his high hopes for the future for the same royal eyes.

This second governor of India and South Africa was a man of rare vision, energy and industry. Two of his successors filled the remaining years of King Manuel's reign. Each of these made a short but memorable call at Mozambique, as governor-general.

In August of the year 1515 Mozambique saw the arrival of a fleet of thirteen ships under the command of Lopo Soares de Albergaria, the new viceroy. Eleven years before he had brought a similar fleet to Mozambique and India, when he was only an admiral. He had shown such judgment, being moreover a son of the Lord High Chancellor, that he seemed just the man to fill the great role of successor to Albuquerque. A splendid man for viceroy, one would have thought from his past record, if he had not actually become governor-general. In the Red Sea and in India he displayed a certain lack of prompt decision, which cost Portugal something in missed opportunities, both political and military, though he had a successful term of office as far as trade was concerned.

At Mozambique he met two ships which had left Lisbon in June of the previous year, and had spent this long time in a fresh effort to found a trade settlement in Madagascar.[426] One of the captains, Luis Figueira, was a member of King Manuel's household. He landed at the populous centre called Matatana, where the previous captains landed, and where he found a few Arabs from Malindi. As usual he was promised large supplies of ginger, if he would only wait for the proper season. Meantime the other captain, Pedreannes Francez, went along the coast exploring. He discovered some valuable amber with which he went straight to Mozambique. Figueira waited six months for the promised supplies of ginger, which never came, whilst he was steadily being robbed of his own goods by the Madagascar people. In disgust he too set sail for Mozambique. With these additional ships Lopo Soares made for Goa, where he arrived on the eight of September. The winds and the waves were always kind to this viceroy. At Mozam-

bique he left in the fortress Christopher de Távora, who was to take the place of Sancho de Tovar, the seasoned colleague of Cabral.

Three other famous men trod the pathways of Mozambique during these days of the stay of Lopo Soares. Among them was Fernão Peres de Andrade, who was to be the first Portuguese ambassador in China; and also Matthew the ambassador of Prester John, who was returning home in low dejection, as will be told in a later chapter. Peres was a fine soldier, who had been knighted by Francis de Almeida in the hard-fought siege of Kilwa in 1505. In China he showed himself as just as he was brave. Before leaving the country he issued a proclamation that "anyone who had been injured by Portuguese or was a creditor of theirs should come to him for complete satisfaction". He brought home from China a new method of strengthening the Portuguese ships against the dangerous seas of the western ocean. It was modelled upon a characteristic of the Chinese junks, and consisted of a double lining of timbers with a bituminous mixture in between. The ingredients of the mixture varied, but it was called by a Malay name, *lapes*, which thus became a Portuguese word.[427]

The third notability was John da Empoli, the Italian contractor who hailed from the beautiful and fertile region around the town of that name on the left bank of the Arno.[428] This was his third voyage to India. He had begun business in Flanders in the service of two Florentine firms of bankers. The firm of Gualterotti and Frescobaldi then sent him to do a deal in India, and he took passage in Albuquerque's fleet of 1503. Touching at Brazil, the Cape of Good Hope, the island of Ascension and Malabar, he brought home a valuable cargo of spices for his principals. In Florence he then lectured before the Gonfalonieri and the chief Maggiorenti of the city about Africa and India, giving his personal experiences. Again in 1509 he and Leonard Nardi travelled in the annual fleet of Portugal as representatives of Antwerp investors. On arrival in India Albuquerque commandeered them to help in reconquering Goa and capturing Malacca. So well did Empoli fight in these campaigns that he was knighted, and was left in command of Malacca with three ships.

But warfare did not satisfy him. In 1514 he slipped away from Goa with three ships, and made for Lisbon, in order to appeal to King Manuel for damages on account of Albuquerque's action of conscripting him for war, and thus compelling him to neglect his employer's business. Two months before he left Lisbon for his third journey, he had come there with letters from Pope Leo X, urging the King to award compensation to John da Empoli, "our friend and yours", if the facts are as he states about Albuquerque's action. The King went further than compensation. He appointed the Italian his trade agent in Sumatra, sending him with the annual fleet commanded by Lopo Soares. In this way he was now back in Mozambique on the road to his new appointment.[429]

But two years later, in 1517, Mozambique sent invaluable aid to Goa, when it was being hard pressed by a captain of the Deccan, whom the Portuguese called Sufo Larij. By a stroke of good fortune John da Silveira, with four hundred men on his ship, was delayed and compelled to winter at Kilwa. Anthony de Saldanha also heard at Mozambique of the desperate struggle of the small garrison of Goa agains tremendous odds on land and sea. Hurrying to the rescue he arrived twenty days later than Silveira, but in time to turn the scale with his five ships. The Emperor of the Deccan, named by the Portuguese the Hidalcan, called his captain off as victory was no longer possible, and he was glad to make peace once more. It was a reminder to the Muslim that, even though the new Viceroy's metal was not the old alloy, "men were still ready to sacrifice all for honour", and were not bent merely on making money by trade. The last of King Manuel's governors in India reached Mozambique at end of the year 1518. He was Diogo Lopes de Sequeira,[430] controller of the household of Prince John who was to become the next king, and a justice of the peace at Alandroal. His record as a soldier and administrator was distinguished, as he had worked in Madagascar, Malacca and North Africa. Two years before he saved Arzila when besieged by the Moors, bringing a fleet of thirty ships to the rescue. Now he was on the way to India with thirteen ships and 1,300 men.

Just before reaching Mozambique one of the ships, captained by John da Lima, seemed to strike a hidden rock as it quivered all over. But the pumps showed no extra flow of water into the ship. When overhauled, it disclosed that a large sword-fish had pierced its ribs, leaving the long snout embedded there whilst the fish broke away.

These last years of Manuel's reign were humdrum years in south-east Africa, but full of moving incident in India and in the land of Prester John, as will be seen in later chapters of this book.

Sancho de Tovar was now set down at Mozambique by Sequeira for a second term of office on this coast.[431] When we remember that he was second in command of Cabral's expedition nearly twenty years before, we wonder at first why so many and even younger men should have received high commands since, whilst he was relegated to this minor post after such years of service. The reason is not far to seek.

He was a Spanish nobleman whose family seat of Tovar was about twenty miles from Burgos. His father had taken the Portuguese side in the early quarrels between Ferdinand of Spain and Afonso V of Portugal. At the beginning of Manuel's reign Sancho de Tavor was a refugee. Then the King hoped to restore Tovar to his family estates; because at the time Manuel's own son, Michael, was heir presumptive to the throne of Ferdinand and Isabella. Now however Prince Michael was dead, and Charles I had succeeded to the Spanish throne. Manuel was not prepared to offend him by special favours to one whom King Charles must regard as a traitor. Thus Tovar was the victim of political changes, the kind of victim that every moment of modern life produces.

He was brave enough to make the most of this post. In collaboration with the factor of Sofala, Francis de Brito, he did all that was possible to encourage the Kafirs of the interior to bring gold to the coast. In Bouro, Manica and Monomotapa, as they then called Mashonaland and Matabeleland, he found a chronic state of inter-tribal war which did not permit great results At this time a large ship from Cambaya discharged a

valuable cargo of cloths and other merchandise at Kilwane, within a creek about twenty miles from Sofala. But the difficulty of obtaining gold or ivory from the Kafirs, in exchange for the goods, was so clearly insuperable that few agents had the heart even to make the attempt.

Captain de Tovar then resolved to try a new route up the Zambesi. He cut and prepared the materials for erecting a strong wooden tower, which could serve as a base for trade operations along the banks of the river into the interior. But the caravel which Tovar especially built to carry materials of this fortress, to a spot twenty miles up the river where he intended to erect it, was lost in bringing millet from Kilwane to Sofala. He set to work at once to build another, as well as a brigantine to patrol the delta of the Zambesi. But by this time his term of office was over, and he was succeeded by Diogo de Sepúlveda, a few weeks before King Manuel died.

These men could receive little support at this moment from the Viceroy. His hands were full of urgent work in Malacca, China, Persia, India, Ceylon and the Red Sea. The trade agents of the African coast often grumbled at the lack of trade, and one of them confessed to a feeling of despair; but the captains, who were generally fidalgos, never faltered, even when hope seemed forlorn. They were bred to the consciousness that these months of hardship, semi-starvation, Arab treachery, constant fevers, lonely sea-watches and riotous Kafirs were a necessary prelude to the triumph of Portuguese culture, which alone could save these slavish and ignorant barbarians from their miserable conditions. Barros [432] voiced the sentiment of the men of that generation. "God's mercy in working so many miracles in favour of the Portuguese showed that He was with them". If these noblemen loved arms like a bride, they were always the foremost in posts of danger and the last to abandon a sinking ship. Their confidence in God's guiding hand has been justified by the permanent results achieved, not only in America and Asia but in South Africa.

In the year 1520 nine ships anchored near Mozambique

out of fourteen that had left Lisbon in April. Four had gone straight to India. But the fourteenth of them under a Spanish captain, Luiz de Guzman, took to piracy on the way. He was a very exceptional type among Spanish noblemen, more like a low-bred mercenary than a Spanish fidalgo, to use the words of a Portuguese historian. From hints that Guzman dropped in the early part of the voyage some of the crew began to suspect that he was a dangerous adventurer. Before reaching the Cape of Good Hope the rudder of his fine galley broke, whether by ill luck or malicious design it is hard now to decide.

This accident brought them to the coast of Brazil, where the natives set upon them and killed over fifty men ; among whom was the pilot, apparently an obstacle to the secret plans of Guzman. With the aid of Spanish accomplices that he had brought in his train, he proceeded to disarm all the Portuguese by a trick, killing those who resisted. Then he disclosed his plan, which was to become a sea-robber on the coasts and islands of Italy.

When he had captured a number of ships, King Manuel heard of his exploits and warned the King of Spain. Guzman was captured and imprisoned in Seville. There he jumped from an upper storey of his prison and broke both his legs. He was brought to a monastery and nursed back to health. But thence he fled to Italy, "where he had a violent end, as his deeds deserved," writes the chronicler. The Mozambique coast was fortunate to have escaped harbouring a reckless rover of this kind, who would have found a favourable field for his operations in the setting of the Arabs and Kafirs against the Portuguese. But this unique escapade of its kind during a quarter of a century shows how carefully the credentials of ships and passengers were examined in Lisbon by the navy board.

One of the nine ships now in front of Mozambique soon ran a tragic course on this coast. This was the galley *Santo Antonio* under the command of Manuel de Sousa. When making for India, it was driven back by the winds to a place named Matua on the Somali coast. A boat with forty men was sent ashore to get water, which they needed so badly that some had already

died of thirst. The natives received them well and gave them all they wanted. Since they had to go a good distance inland to a large native village for the water, they were watched by the Arabs, and intercepted by a mob of two thousand of them, as they were making for the beach. Meantime the tide had risen considerably, so that the boat was left high and dry on the shore, and the galley was now nearly a mile out to sea. The Portuguese were thus at the mercy of the Arabs, who killed nearly all of them, among the dead being the captain and the pilot.

The survivors of the galley then sailed for Hoja which is sixty miles north of Malindi. Five men landed here under the quartermaster, and to their astonishment they were so well treated that they remained there six days, so that their friends became alarmed. Confusion reigned on the galley, as the most experienced leaders had been killed at Matua. Thinking that the men ashore at Hoja had also been killed, the galley crew made for the open sea. By unskilful handling the ship was wrecked on the rocks of Kilwa. Here they were again assailed by Arabs, the ship was burned, and all the crew massacred except one boy, a nephew of the quartermaster. The Sheikh of Zanzibar proposed to present him as a slave to his suzerain the Sheikh of Mombasa.

This boy, the men marooned at Hoja and the guns of the *Santo Antonio* were retrieved a few months later by Gonsalo de Loulé from India. No punitive expedition could be sent for the moment, because the Viceroy was in the midst of extensive operations, from China to the Red Sea. Moreover the Arabs who had perpetrated these deeds were wild men, over whom the regular sheikhs of Mombasa, Zanzibar and even Kilwa, had no means of effective control. In the absorbing pageant of power and prosperity, which Diogo Lopes de Sequeira was then leading in the wide domains of Hindustan and Malacca, there were few ships and men to waste just then on the less pressing enterprises of the Mozambique coast.

The problem of European settlement in America was already being forced upon the attention of King Manuel by the enterprise of the Portuguese traders, and by the need of countering the rivalry of the French poachers in

Brazil. The success of contractors like George Lopes Bixorda,[433] who brought back to Lisbon glowing accounts of the soil and people of that immense province of America, awakened interest in its possibilities for emigration, which resulted in the great system of *donatarios* of the next reign. But the coasts of South Africa offered as yet no such inducements for settlers or traders. The distance deterred the settler, and the trader found infinitely more alluring prospects in India, Persia, the Malay Islands and China.

Portugal was certainly the first western nation to endeavour seriously to extend to her dominion of India, with its appanage of South Africa, the benefits of European knowledge, mechanical arts and religion. Her success was mainly limited by the colossal difficulties of the task at that period. But in so far as good will and much sacrifice could discharge the task, it was accomplished with results that must amaze anyone who takes the trouble to examine them. Much of what Portugal accomplished was wantonly destroyed by the selfish and unscrupulous men who controlled the English East India Company in the first stages of its operations. Their misdeeds are found written in many of their own shameless reports.[434] But in Goa, the Malabar coast, Ceylon, Angola and Mozambique enough remains to show how well the foundations of the dominion of India were laid in Manuel's day.

San Roman de Ribadeneyra, a Spanish Benedictine who wrote the story of Portuguese India up to 1557, and published it before England had any colonies of her own, enumerates twenty-eight tributary kings of this part of the Portuguese empire. Nine of them were from the South African end of the Indian dominion, and eight of these from the east coast. But the ties that Lisbon sought to forge with these African and Asiatic races were ties of mutual interest and mutual respect, based on the consciousness of a common humanity.

CHAPTER XIX.

Cape Cargoes on the Rialto.

AFTER Vasco da Gama's return from his first voyage, the name of the Cape of Good Hope was often heard at Venice on the Rialto, the stock exchange of that city. There was not of course the complete organisation of a modern exchange with its jobbers and brokers, but the whole substance of such an institution was there. Throughout the fourteenth century the regular purchase and sales of securities had flourished in the trade marts of Paris, Barcelona, Avignon, Montpellier and Bruges.[435] Stocks, bonds and shares had not developed to the extent that made them easily negotiable on a large scale, as in the eighteenth century. But there were already bonds of many kinds that could change hands by way of speculation, as well as shares in the spice cargoes and promissory notes. Antwerp, Venice and Amsterdam became new markets in the sixteenth century, in which such transactions were the order of the day.

Inside information was as important a factor in the life of speculators then as now. In India the superstitious even consulted the witches of Cochin, in order to know whether their cargoes would weather the Cape of Good Hope safely, or reach Europe in good condition, just as the superstitious of our age consult fortune-tellers or mediums or astrologers or even Bible lots. But the sober speculator and merchant looked for more reliable information than this. They wanted to know when the ships had actually passed the Cape of Good Hope, what the amount of their cargoes was, and the approximate date of their arrival in Lisbon, or Antwerp which Dutch town now began to grow rich on the fruits of Portuguese enterprise. All this was valuable information, and much of it came overland and through the Mediterranean to Venice.

There were two places in Venice where the most dependable news of this kind could be obtained.[436] There was first the Noblemen's Walk, called the *Broglio*, where the

political conditions of the moment were discussed by those who were in touch with the governing classes. Then there was the *Campo di San Giacomo*, the real exchange on the Rialto. The exchange had grown up gradually with the growth of Venice, in the square before the church of St. James (Giacomo or Jacopo), which was founded in 421 A.D. according to a local tradition. The Greek mosaic work in this church reveals that, as the buyers and sellers began to frequent the site habitually, the ecclesiastical authorities felt it proper in 1073 A.D. to face them with these warning words: "around this temple let the merchant's law be just, his weights true, and his covenants faithful ".[437]

Venice was at the height of its wealth and well-being, when Vasco da Gama first trod the paths of Mozambique. The Rialto buildings had become stately, and the Piazza was crowded morning and afternoon with merchants of many nationalities, both in its quadrangular courts and its fine open galleries. Nearly a century later Shakespeare shows how it was once regarded as the hub of the business world of the Mediterranean. An aside of Shylock reveals it : " Signor Antonio, many a time and oft in the Rialto you have rated me about my monies".

In endeavouring to assess the importance of the trade that now took the Cape route instead of the old paths, we have the assistance of the invaluable *Diaries* of Marino Sanuto. He held the highest administrative offices of the city of Venice from 1496 to 1533 A.D., and frequented daily both the *Broglio* and the Exchange of the Rialto. By a special decree of the Council of Ten he was permitted to see all public records, and to make extracts from the despatches of governors and ambassadors, and from other confidential papers. So well did he use his opportunities, that he left behind 58 folio volumes in manuscript, each volume consisting of 500 pages. These volumes are a mine of information about the fluctuations of value in spices at Venice, because of the competition of the Cape route with the Mediterranean.

Thus on the first of March 1501, Sanuto notes a serious drop in the price of spices due to this cause, from 130 ducats to 102 per load.[438] The German merchants in Venice had ceased bidding at all a whole month before.

In July of the same year another Venetian diarist, Jerome Priuli, drove the lesson home in plain language. "If Venice loses this commerce, it is as if a baby were to be deprived of its milk. Hence I forsee clearly the ruin of our city, because without this trade there will be no money, and money has been the origin of the glory and fame of Venice". Friuli's own bank had soon to close down on this account, and he realised the new dangers of speculation in cargoes, when he found himself a broken man after a long struggle to maintain his business solvent.[439]

At this very moment Sanuto noted that King Manuel was bringing all the ships that he could recall from the Levant, which Venice controlled, to Lisbon, in order to tap "the new veins of gold at Sofala".[440] Further reports stated that the King had set his heart upon the Indian trade, and was quite sure that he had conquered all the main obstacles to the success of his enterprise, which could now become a regular traffic. If the Venetian galleys would join in the carrying trade under Manuel's control, he would welcome their co-operation.

But that was a policy to which Venice could consent only under the stresss of dire necessity, because sea traffic was her life, and she could not submit to foreign control in this vital commerce. It was the fundamental difference between Genoa and Venice.[441]

Venice held the monopoly of sea-transport in the Adriatic, but Genoa was compelled to share the control of the Tyrrhenian Sea with powerful rivals, whilst her great Bank of San Giorgio was an institution which even foreign invaders were afraid to coerce, lest they should injure themselves.[442] The Venetian galleys of Flanders, of Tana (Asof), of Beyrout and of Alexandria were state ships, which for a certain period of the year went to these places after the cargo-space had been let to Venetian merchants by public auction. In Genoa shipping was in private hands, though subject to state supervision. Venice had grown out of the seas, and her very existence depended upon the freedom of her galleys to maintain her sea communications with the East, and to defend the strategic points of her colonies which were vital for trade. Thus she was considered strong enough to control Italy. But

she could not afford to share risks on the ocean so far away as the Cape of Good Hope, even though she needed to know all that was happening there.

Another place in Venice where the progress of trade round the Cape of Good Hope was being watched with special anxiety was the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, a kind of counting-house for all German merchants. The German traders had come to Venice in the thirteenth century, and the links of trade between Germans and Venetians were so close and ancient, that they seemed one people in business matters, writes the contemporary, Jerome Priuli.

But misfortunes never come singly. The year after Vasco da Gama returned from his second voyage with spices, the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi* was burned down. The famous firm of the Fuggers of Augsburg had just spent a large sum in decorating the rooms with the aid of the great Italian artists, Georgione and Tiziano, which they engaged for a forward movement in the Venetian market. The Senate showed by its prompt action that this fire was regarded as an even greater disaster for Venice than for the Germans.[443] The day after the fire the Senate voted a sum of five hundred ducats to help in the rebuilding of the *Fundaco*. Further and larger sums were contributed later by the Senate, until the building was opened in 1507. It contained 84 rooms, of which all but eight were occupied by German firms, and six of these eight were reserved for visiting traders from Germany.

There can be no doubt that the Germans needed some enticing to keep them on the old paths at Venice. Even before the fire, as early as 1501, some of these merchants had begun to buy their spices at Lisbon and Antwerp in place of Venice. In 1505 it was even worse. Nearly all the Germans kept away from the Spice Exchange in the Rialto, with the result that everywhere there arose great uncertainty as to the future of these stocks. There was a considerable improvement in the following year in the case of all stocks except pepper, which the Portuguese had succeeded in cornering.[444]

A further misfortune overtook the Venetian spice-exchange at the beginning of 1508, when war broke out between the Signoria of Venice and the German Emperor

Maximilian I. But fortunately war was a more respectable business in those days than it is to-day. It was not considered decent to rob enemy subjects of all their property and goods, or to destroy the good name of enemy nations by vile propaganda. Though trade between the belligerents became more difficult, it was still possible. By granting safe-conducts to genuine merchants both the German Emperor and the Venetian Senate helped to keep trade alive during the years that this war lasted between them. In the very middle of the war, in January of the year 1511, the Germans ended a bumper season of trade in the enemy territory of Venice. On the Rialto they spent 140,000 ducats in the purchase of spices, sugar and other wares.[445]

There was of course much confusion on the Venetian stock exchange. Venice's monopoly was broken, but her trade was not destroyed at once. This was graphically described by the secretary of the Portuguese trade agency in Venice in a letter to King Manuel, dated the thirteenth of May 1508.[446]

Afonso Rodrigues tells the King how money was so tight, that people were amazed who remembered what this city used to be. All business is done on long credits. The only part of last year's Cape cargoes that he was able to sell was a small lot of spices, for which he had to accept a bill on Lyons, as there was no cash in Venice. The sole alternative was to lower prices, which he would not do. But in spite of all this the Venetians had driven the Emperor's troops out of Gorizia, Friuli, Trent and Fiume. "If it were not for the present lack of spices, the Venetians would be masters of all Italy. That, please God, they will never be. Your Highness will make Lisbon another Venice". It was a critical time in the course of European power-politics, and the Portuguese believed that the Cape liners played a decisive part in the events that followed. Yet a not inconsiderable supply of spices continued to find its way to Venice by other routes than the Cape of Good Hope for a whole century.

Occasionally a few ships would evade the vigilant blockade of the Portuguese navy at the entrance of the Red Sea. But more often a few boats would creep along to Aden, which was not entirely under Portuguese control,

and from there the spices would be conveyed by caravans to Cairo. Later on there were even some Portuguese who indulged in contraband trade, allured by its large profits. Once this merchandise was dumped even on the south Arabian coast, it could be brought to ports like Jedda,[447] and thence up the Red Sea in the inconspicuous boats which the Arabs called *jelbas*.

Sometimes the Venetian captain of the Barbary fleet had to threaten the middlemen of Alexandria, as Lawrence Loredan did in 1510, that the ships would rather return empty than pay the old prices for pepper, ginger and cloves, which were now exhorbitant.[448] The rapacious middlemen were warned that they only brought grist to the mill of the King of Portugal by such excessive prices. By a reduction of prices the inevitable loss of profits, on the old scale, could be divided between Alexandria, and Venice. The Arab traveller, Al Hassan Ibn Mohammed, who visited Oran and Honein at this period, shows how even in north Africa Venice was feeling the pressure of a strong rivalry from Portuguese and Spaniards.[449] When he saw Oran, it was entirely controlled by the Spaniards, whereas formerly Venice disposed of a large amount of merchandise there annually.

The stock exchange of Venice also received shocks from England, which were repercussions of the steady advent of the Cape cargoes to Europe.[450] At one time the Venetian merchants were able to bring pressure to bear on English trade, through their flourishing factory in London, by threatenening to cut off the supply of certain luxuries, which were necessaries of life to the monied class of Englishmen. These were the Greek wines popularly called Malmsey, brocades, spices, silks and other oriental merchandise. For nearly two centuries the multi-oared galleys of the Flanders fleet had been bringing these annual cargoes to English ports from the eastern Mediterranean.

But towards the end of King Manuel's reign Cardinal Wolsey, in an effort to lessen the pressure of taxation which was making him unpopular with the English merchants and his merciless master, Henry VIII, complained to the Venetian ambassador that the galleys came almost empty to Southampton, that the Venetian retailers could

not pay cash for English wool, and that the shipments were most irregular. The Rialto promised to mend its ways, but it was a promise that could not be fulfilled. Sea power was too firmly in the hands of the Portuguese. For neither Venice nor England had any control of the Cape route to India. Three years after Wolsey's fall from power the last of the Flanders galleys from Venice was seen in England.

The vacillations of Venice's foreign policy, in regard to Portugal's position in the East, were another ground for hope or fear on the part of speculators who frequented the Rialto. When for example Selim I entered Egypt as a conquerer in 1517, the Venetians sent special envoys to congratulate him, and to make a fresh attempt to revive their trade in spices as partners of the Turk. The Republic was handicapped in these negotiations because the Church, in defence of Christian civilisation, forbade Christian nations to furnish the Sultan with wood, copper and iron, and certain other wares that would enable him to attack the Balkan States.[461] Some ambassadors of Venice went so far as to advise the Sultan to ally himself with the Indian princes, so as to drive the Portuguese out of India. But in 1512 Dominic Trevisani was a more authentic representative of the real Venice, when he wrote that the Republic of Saint Mark could give no effective help against the Portuguese without offending the Church and the Christian princes, and thus endangering its own existence.

Some investors however were prepared to place money on the chance that Portugal would soon collapse, under her big financial burden of policing the two oceans and of maintaining such a huge long-distance traffic, for which they thought that neither ships nor men could possibly be found in the near future. They were backed by a few scholars who quoted Strabo, to prove that there was a natural and Providential harmony in trade among the nations in the regions watered by the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. But who ever heard of trade being sustained along the whole length of two oceans ?

But in 1520 there was a serious crisis on the Rialto, which induced Venice to reconsider its attitude towards the spice-ships that came round the Cape of Good Hope. Hitherto two chief factors determined the price of pepper,

which was the barometer of all the other spices in the matter of price. The amount of the year's supplies brought from India and the price that the large syndicates were prepared to pay normally formed these determining factors. Political elements now entered into the calculations of Venice.

The rapid rise of the Turks in Europe, whilst at the same time they controlled the coasts of Syria and Egypt, seemed to constitute a crushing menace to all the sources of Venice's supplies. In February of the year 1520 the Doge convoked a meeting of the Pregádi, a council of citizens which he only summoned in circumstances of great gravity, in order to hear their advice.[452] The pressing question was: what orders to give the Barbary fleet this year? Was it to go as usual to Alexandria and the coast of Palestine, in spite of the disturbances and the meagre results of recent years?

There was an influential party, led by John Contarini, which maintained that the time had come to close with King Manuel's offer, and to buy spices at Lisbon. In the course of a long debate the most stirring speech was made by Jerome Querini, one of the leading trade commissioners of the Republic. He pointed out that Portugal was becoming a land of gold, by means of the spice trade and the gold of Sofala, and that Venice was wasting all its natural advantages as a great seaport by refusing to come to terms with Portugal. "If we can thus recover the spice trade, it would be as great a gain for Venice, as it would be for the Emperor if he had the help of another million men against the Turks".

The leader of the opposition to this proposal was Mark Anthony Loredan, a kinsman of the reigning Doge. He reminded them that years ago a Spice Committee had been appointed, to deal with this whole question of the Indian spices that came by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Once a Jew had come from Portugal with the offer of a most favourable contract. But it had been refused, because at that time the Signoria could not afford to offend the Sultan. "If we fail to trade with the East this year, the Turkish Sultan will lose his usual customs dues. Is this a time when we can afford to flout him in such a way? Or are we really living in some new world?"

This spokesman of the conservative circles of Venice failed to convince his hearers. An overwhelming majority of the Pregádi voted in support of Contarini, advising the Doge to send the Barbary fleet to Lisbon, and to spend fifteen days there. Then the fleet should sail for Seville and remain in that port ten days, in order to do all the business possible with Spain, Germany and England. Seville was a convenient half-way house for English trade with the Levant. Perhaps at this moment Roger Barlow of Bristol was in Seville,[453] thinking of the remote chances of an all-English route to the spices of the East Indies. The whole world was awakening to the possibilities of wealth in sharing the spice market, and many were thus concerned in finding alternate routes to that which passed south of the Cape of Good Hope.

Up to the end of Manuel's reign some still hoped that they would discover an alternate route of this kind. Cardinal Wolsey[454] was offering John Cabot high terms, if he would command such a naval expedition which the Cardinal had destined for exploration, though it seems to have miscarried in the end for lack of cash support from the cautious merchants of London. Ferdinand Magellan too was actually preparing for the successful sea-raid to the Moluccas, which was to give Spain a valuable share in the spice market for a while at least.

Whilst these stirring events, prophecies and expeditions, were shaking the world, speculation on the Rialto must have been a fantastic operation. If they could have known in Venice what we know, that the Cape route would hold its primacy for two hundred years, it would have saved many from bankruptcy on the Rialto.

The plan adopted for rebuilding the Rialto Piazza in 1520 is one of those significant straws, which show how the wind of trade was blowing. In 1513 all the buildings of the *Campo di San Giacomo* had been destroyed by fire except the church. "At that particular moment Venice happened to have no money in her pocket to build it (the Piazza) up again. There was really nothing for it but to build the thing cheap", writes John Ruskin,[455] "since it had to be done. Fra Giocondo of Verona offered her a fair design, but the city could no longer afford it". She was obliged to accept Scarpagnino's make-shift plan instead,

as her impoverished condition did not allow her to build a more stately mercantile home on the Rialto. The main cause of these sorrowful circumstances of hers was the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope.

Ruskin points to the faults of the Venetians themselves as contributory causes "that reduced her people to misery and her politics to shame". These faults in his view were the vulgarisation of literature by the new art of printing, the lasciviousness of her splendid art, but above all the lack of discipline in religion. But such a judgment surely mistakes the symptoms for the disease, the effects for the causes. The material decline of Venice may have stressed these faults, common to so many nations at the period of their economic prime. Perhaps it made these faults more visible, as poverty in nations and individuals always does. But if fiscal wisdom in its rulers and self-sacrificing patriotism in its people could have saved Venice, then Venice would never have gone down.

The first of the Tudor kings of England, Henry VII, not only admired the rulers of Venice but took them as his model,[456] and he was as shrewd a business man as ever took part in the high places of English government. He was a dictator, though no selfish and ferocious dictator like his son, Henry VIII. But he realised that only when a people respond promptly to wise leading can a nation prosper, if circumstances otherwise make prosperity possible. This magnificent obedience to the demands made upon them by the drastic regulations of Venice's policy of trade protection, was a constant characteristic of the people. It was a Spartan sense of discipline, everything for the welfare of the Republic.

In the great debate of 1520 among the level-headed and experienced merchants who formed the Pregádi Mark Anthony Loredan hinted that they had suddenly dropped somehow into a new and unfamiliar world. Their eyes were dazzled by the strange light of the new order, which had been gradually taking shape unawares to the average man. It was a world disclosed by the opening of its gateway at the Cape of Good Hope. Neither the wisdom of the Senate nor the stamina of the Venetian people could close it again.

CHAPTER XX.

Prester John Approaches.

THE year 1514 was the culminating point of the glory of King Manuel's reign. Since the great victory over the Sultan's fleet at Diu in 1509, there had been a continuous series of triumphs in the lands around the Indian Ocean and in the Far East. The rich spice-emporium of Malacca was captured after a long fight,[457] Goa was taken with a fleet of twenty-three ships and was a precious pledge of security for the whole empire, an embassy came from the King of Ormuz who really represented the wealthy merchants there, submissive letters and rich presents arrived from the Rajah of Malabar and the kings of Pegu and Siam, the Lord of Goa called the Hidalcan, the King of Narsinga, the King of Cambaya and the Captain of Diu were humbly asking for treaties of stable peace and friendship. The victories of Albuquerque on land and sea, and his fame as a magnanimous conqueror, stirred up a rivalry among the rulers of the East in bidding for the friendship of Portugal.

But the most welcome and long expected news came to King Manuel on the nineteenth of February 1514, at a country town called Alverca, as he was travelling from a holiday among his orchards at Almeirim to Lisbon.[458] A post-haste messenger brought him word, that two ships captained by Bernadin Freire and Francis Pereira Pestana were approaching Lisbon, and that they had on board the ambassador of the long-sought Prester John with his suite. To measure the King's joy, it is necessary to remember the continuous efforts of which this seemed to be the happy consummation.

As far back as 1442 Prince Henry the Navigator had commissioned Anthony Gonsalves, when he was sent to the Gold Coast for the second time, to keep a sharp eye open for any vestiges of Prester John. When John Afonso Aveiro discovered Benin in 1486,[459] the cosmographers of John II thought that he had reached the

area within which Prester John was suzerain. Comparing the distances with the data of Ptolmey's maps, these scientists assured the King that this was the same kingdom which the Greek geographer placed below Egypt. Peter da Covilhã had disappeared into the mountain fastnesses of Prester John in 1492. Letters, most important letters, came from him for a few years, but for twenty years now silence had descended upon the doings of the old traveller. In 1498 Vasco da Gama obtained no definite news about him, though he was told at Mozambique, that Prester John lived many leagues from there in the interior.[460]

The most sensational failure to reach Prester John was that of John Machado, who sailed with Peter Alvares Cabral in 1500. Machado was a ticket-of-leave man. Barros tells the full tale of the romantic escapade which led to his imprisonment in Portugal. Exile to Africa was preferable to a youth of his energy and resource. His crime was the kind of escapade that men of the world easily condone, especially as he displayed great courage and generosity, once his initial error had been made. Cabral put him ashore at Malindi with a promise of the highest rewards, if he returned with news of Prester John's country. Machado's companion, Luis de Mora, settled down in Malindi, becoming a useful messenger and interpreter between Portuguese and Arabs. But Machado seems to have done everything possible to carry out his commission, though he could obtain no guide to Abyssinia. Finding it useless to continue the quest alone in a trackless land, he took ship for India, probably in an Arab dhow.

There he was able to render conspicuous service to King Manuel, which was fresh in the memory of the Portuguese public at this very time. At first Machado entered the service of a Mohammedan prince, who was at peace with the Portuguese. But when this prince joined in the siege of Goa, defended by the Portuguese, Machado refused to serve him any longer. The besieged garrison of Portuguese were soon in a desperate position, so desperate that a cavalry leader named Peter Bacias, "a man of great bravery but weak in the Faith", resolved to desert to the enemy. Machado, who was still in the enemy camp, heard of this and went to see the deserter. As

luck would have it, it was Maundy Thursday, the day before Good Friday, when Machado got the news. Seeking out his defaulting countryman next day, "Machado like a Catholic and a gentleman reminded Bacias what day it was, and what that day meant to their Faith, with such earnest words that Bacias's eyes filled with tears, and he repented of what he had done". Machado marshalled all the Christians he knew in the camp of the Muslim prince, and with Bacias they entered the despairing fortress on Good Friday, nine of them all told. It was not their numbers that mattered, but the moral effect of their courage in joining a starving and battered garrison. Thus they were able to hold out until relief arrived with the fleet of Manuel de la Cerda from Lisbon. If a man of Machado's courage failed to reach Prester John, it began to look to the average Portuguese of the day like a forlorn hope. At this time Machado was governor of the fortress of Goa.

How it happened that in spite of all these apparently insuperable difficulties relations were at length established between King Manuel and Prester John, is one of the wonders of that adventurous age. Peter da Covilhã, though he had disappeared over the Portuguese horizon, had not been idle.[461]

When he had fulfilled the mission confided to him by King John II, he expressed the wish to return home. But the Negus Eskender, though giving him verbal permission, put so many practical difficulties in the way that he was unable to leave. Eskender was killed in a mysterious ambush during May of the year 1494. A boy of seven became king, and reigned only six months. A period of intrigue and fighting followed, in which Covalhã took no part. Lebna Denghel who succeeded was destined to reign from 1508 to 1540. This new negus refused point blank to allow Covilhã to leave Abyssinia.

By this time he had become a kind of national institution, having endeared himself to all ranks of the people during the many years of his sojourn. He was an adaptable man, a good linguist, and he had no ambition for power. He seems to have made the best he could even of the strange form of Christianity that he found in vogue there. Three of its practices adopted from the Old Testa-

ment surprised him: circumcision, the keeping of the Sabbath as well as the Sunday, and the prohibition of pork. To the last two he had no difficulty in conforming, regarding them as national customs rather than religious laws. He saw with pleasure that they had the Mass, the principal sacraments, churches, priests and the Bible. At first he went to Confession, as he was accustomed to do in Portugal, but finding that the Abyssinian priests were not as strict as Catholic priests in observing the seal of Confession, he discontinued this practice until Father Alvares arrived in 1520. Thus Covilhã became the head of a small, but influential circle of Europeans who had settled in the country.

Prominent among these was the Venetian, Nicolas Brancaleone, whom the Abyssinians called Marcoreos. He was an artist of great merit, who had been in Abyssinia thirty years and decorated with fine paintings the walls of the principal church of Saint George.[462] There was also another Italian named Thomas Gradani. The Franciscan friar, Battista of Imola, who was delegated by the Pope to visit the Negus in 1483, tells us that he then found eight Italians living there, also a Frenchman, a Spaniard and a Syrian, all greatly in the confidence of Ba 'eda Maryam the reigning sovereign, who loved to discuss with these men questions of politics, geography and theology. Some of them were probably still alive in Covilhã's day.[463]

But in 1508 the select company of Europeans was reinforced by two new arrivals. They were John Sanches and a secular priest, John Gomes. Along with an Arab named Saidi Mohammed they had been set down near Cape Guardafui, dressed as Moors, by Tristan da Cunha in 1506 with instructions to find their way to Prester John.[464] Once the highlands of Ethiopia were reached, these Arabic-speaking visitors found a certain affinity in the people with the tribes of the south Arabian peninsula, which they knew. But all the Europeans formed a nucleus of western culture in the midst of the numbing mass of semi-barbarism, which was the settled condition of this isolated and proud people.

As far back as 1505 the first news of the Portuguese victories in the Indian Ocean filtered through to Abys-

sinia, from Egypt and the Muslim ports of Zaila, Suakim and Massowa. Covilhã had long been trying to impress upon the minds of the Negus and the Abuna (Patriarch) Marcus, what deeds of valour his countrymen had performed. But even more important was the influence that these events had upon the dowager Queen Helena. To her and the Patriarch the boy Lebna Dengel, or King David as the Portuguese preferred to call him, owed his succession to the crown, as against his uncle who also claimed it. Helena and Marcus between them had nearly all the *rases*, or chiefs, in their hands.[465]

Helena was a woman of rare ability. Her family were all Mohammedans, her father and brother were successively petty kings of the province of Adea. But she had thrown herself wholeheartedly into the ways of the country and the Christian religion of her husband, Zara Yakob. "She was thoroughly well acquainted with the laws of the kingdom, because she dwelt in the palace of three noble kings who had acquired great fame", says the *Chronicle of Lebna Denghel*, written in Ethiopia.[466] Being wealthy in her own right, she built a splendid church in honour of the Blessed Virgin, in the construction of which she sought the advice of Covilhã. "It was so rich in ornaments", writes Father Alvares after seeing it, "that a guard was always on duty there", until it was destroyed thirty years later by the invading Muslim. Queen Helena learned to recognise in these Muslim kingdoms, especially that of Adel, the deadliest enemies of her adopted land.

During the minority of King David his grandmother, Queen Helena, was the real regent of the kingdom, though the title was given to his mother, a nonentity whose name alone has survived. The regency was no sinecure, and only a woman of courage, sound judgment and tact could have succeeded as she did in the discharge of this office. She saw clearly how a menace of new energy was awakening in the Muslim neighbours all around. The Somali chiefs of Harrar, especially one named Mahfuz, were beginning again to make periodical raids, choosing the season of Lent when the Abyssinians were fasting and engaged in their ecclesiastical functions. The ports of the Red Sea were also being attacked by Egyptian

corsairs, and there was a danger that the whole coast would fall into their hands. The more Helena heard of the Portuguese, the more she became convinced that they alone could save her country from being submerged.

It took some time to devise a method of linking the fortunes of Abyssinia with the protection of the powerful Portuguese. To send any of the Europeans then in her land with letters to King Manuel would be to court disaster, as the Muslim chiefs on the border could make short work of such an embassy. The strategy to which she resorted was daring.

According to Gaspar Corrêa, she persuaded a Muslim of Armenian race to turn Christian secretly and to become her envoy to Portugal.[467] His name of Ibrahim was changed into Matthew, and the eleven persons he took with him were Abyssinians, all pretending to set out on a trading expedition to India through the port of Zaila. In Abyssinia the real object of the mission was known only to a few, probably only to the King, the Queen, the Patriarch and Covilhã. At the moment of departure Matthew was first informed of the route that he was to take, letters were placed in his care for King Manuel, and he was ordered " to make his way to India and beg the Captain-General to grant him a passage to Portugal ".

It was no easy task for Queen Helena to make up her mind thus, to sue for help from abroad. She had heard from Zara Yakob how in days long before he married her, he had subdued the neighbouring kings, and even sent a defiant embassy to Cairo.[458] There he offered the Sultan a present of gold; symbol of peace, and if he refused that, he offered iron, the symbol of war. " As you know better than I do ", he wrote to the Sultan, " your Prophet says that evil must be rendered for evil. According to him I should have the right to give you as much as you have given me. But my master, Jesus Christ, commands us to render good for evil, and not to punish without giving an opportunity for amendment. I have therefore resolved to give you this warning and choice ". The Sultan chose to keep the gold as well as the peace. But the reign of the weak Negus Neod had changed all that in fourteen years of office.[469] Abyssinia was now obliged to look for allies, more especially as she had a boy for king.

Thus Matthew sailed from the Gulf of Aden into the Indian Ocean before the end of September 1512, in order to catch the monsoon. Following the usual route of the dhows, he landed at the port of Dabul.[470] It was an unfortunate start, as this small port was a preserve of the Muslim traders. They promptly robbed the Abyssinian embassy of almost all it possessed. Matthew managed to save the relic of the True Cross, which he was carrying in a silver reliquary as a present for King Manuel, by concealing it about his person. But they kept him a prisoner until they consulted the Hidalcan, the Muslim sovereign who controlled the Goa region except the town of Goa, which town Albuquerque had just finally conquered.

A message from Afonso de Albuquerque soon put an end to this imprisonment. He sent one of his captains to inform the Arabs of Dabul, that he would tolerate no interference with any man who sought the friendship of his King.[471] Matthew's captors hastened to restore everything they had stolen "down to the last bit of string". Matthew came to Goa and was received with great pomp, civil and religious. The relic of the True Cross which he brought was welcomed with a gorgeous religious procession. All the fidalgos went out in their boats to welcome the Ambassador. He was entertained with lavish hospitality, and his wife and suite were fitted out with everything they needed.

Some of the gossips in Goa now began to murmur that this was just Albuquerque's love of show. What proof was there that this man had come from Prester John at all? The hostile rumours increased when the party of Abyssinians reached Cananor, where they were berthed in the rudder cabin, the cabin of honour, in John da Pina's ship, to await the spice-fleet for Europe. At Cananor the enemies of the great Governor-General found a mouth piece in Gaspar Pereira, who insinuated in letters to the King, that his chief was angling for an earldom.[472] The Abyssinians were black, this envoy of Prester John was white, and looked more like a spy from Cairo. Matthew's wife was reported to have told an Arab slave girl that her husband was really a pilot and wizard. Albuquerque himself did not believe in this impostor, said Albuquerque's critics.

There was a small grain of truth in the last accusation. Matthew was a man of venerable appearance, but he had brought no line from any of the Portuguese resident in Abyssinia. The Governor-General refused to dogmatise on the subject. He had often expressed the opinion that Portugal would gain greatly, if it could establish trade based on friendship with Prester John, and he was about to make an assault on Aden, so that this could be brought about more easily. But " it was not his custom to open letters that were addressed to the King of Portugal, nor to cross-examine ambassadors who were on their way to His Highness ". He had good reason to hope that this was really an embassy from Prester John, and in any case it was his duty to despatch it at once to the King, who alone could examine the credentials and decide with authority.

Thus the Ambassador Matthew left Cananor in the ship of Bernardin Freire, which was accompanied by that of Francis Pereira Pestana. The adverse weather compelled them to winter at Mozambique. There these two captains who were bitter political opponents of Albuquerque, put Matthew in irons, and they behaved so badly that the author of the *Commentaries* refuses to specify the details of their behaviour, " because they are dead ". But Gaspar Corrêa is not so reticent, and his account amply justifies the verdict of King Manuel, who punished both these captains by interning them in the Castle of Lisbon all the time that Matthew was in Portugal. Some passing ship must have outsailed the spice-fleet with news of what had happened, because the captains were arrested as soon as their ships entered the Tagus.

On the same day, the twenty-fifth of February 1514, Matthew and his staff wer conducted to the home of one of the richest merchants of Lisbon, Gonsalo Lopes, where they were installed as honoured guests. The following Monday the King received them publicly in the palace of Santos. Matthew was led in by the Bishop of Guarda, the newly-elected Count of Vila Nova and many other noblemen.

Next day the Bishop of Safim took Matthew to call upon the Queen and the other members of the royal

family. A fortnight later the letter of the Negus was officially presented, and King Manuel received the relic of the True Cross, kneeling upon the ground to do so. It looked all that it purported to be in the beautiful golden reliquary, which Albuquerque had ordered to be made at Goa to cover the silver casing, as he did not think that rich enough to render due honour to a relic of the Cross of Christ.

Queen Helena's letter, written in the name of her minor grandson, David, was probably drawn up in the Ethiopic language, of which the Amharic of to-day is a later dialect. The original of this letter has been lost, but we have four contemporary translations: in Italian, Latin, Spanish and Portuguese.[473] Several of the chroniclers of these events speak of it as composed in Arabic or Persian, but this is most unlikely as these kindred languages had largely become the vernaculars of Islam, which was anathema to the ruling powers of Abyssinia. Several of our graver authorities state that it was in Chaldean, a word often used to designate the Ethiopic language. Ethiopic is a purer Semitic form of language than Arabic or Persian. Moreover its literary use has been almost exclusively in the service of religion, the Church and the Bible, whilst it was also a touchstone of Abyssinian patriotism. Thus too it became a distinctive factor of healthy reaction against the Islamic influence of Arabic.[474]

The letter opens with a profession of faith in the Trinity, Jesus Christ and the Four Gospels. It mentioned the arrival of two of King Manuel's messengers who had come to Abyssinia for men and victuals, two Johns, one of them a priest. It recalled the fact (not previously recorded in European history) that when the Portuguese were attacked by the Sultan of Egypt, the Negus had sent offers of help in India to the Portuguese.[475] Abyssinia was still ready to forward soldiers and equipment to Mecca, Babelmandeb, Tor or India, in order to tackle the common enemy. "We have no power on the sea, but, thank God, you are the most powerful of nations on the sea".

If the Portuguese would attack the Moors by sea, Abyssinia would deal with them on land. What was most needed was joint action. There was an Ethiopic

tradition, how Christ once prophesied to His mother, Mary, that a king of the European followers of His would arise, who was to destroy the Moors finally. That time has come, wrote Queen Helena. "Matthew knows our views perfectly and can explain them. We send you one half of our precious relic of the True Cross, which we received from Jerusalem. It is in a small silver case. We should have liked to send you much gold as a gift, but the Moors would steal it on the way". Thus we may condense the diffuse oriental style of Ethiopia. The letter ends with a suggestion that Portugal and Abyssinia should arrange marriages between their young princes.

Every circumstance of pomp was devised by King Manuel to make this ceremony of receiving Prester John's letter one of real impressiveness. The envoy, Matthew, and his staff had been clothed in striking garments, such as Portugal of the Renaissance thought to be becoming in the case of an honoured ambassador. Manuel arrived in the hall with his full court in festive attire, a brave retinue of bishops in Roman purple, and fidalgos of every noble order. This memorable scene in the royal palace of Old Santos opens the modern history of Abyssinia, and brings that country for the first time into the cycle of modern civilisation. It was not merely a question of the union of the Abyssinian Church with the mother Church of Europe, as happened at Rome in 1441, but the Abyssinian state now became involved in the tangled skein of the international politics of modern Europe.

Hitherto Abyssinia had not only been warred upon by its Muslim neighbours, but despised as a miserable and black step-child by its mother church of Coptic Egypt. The hostile followers of Mohammed recalled the chapter of the Koran which rejoiced in the destruction of the army of the Viceroy of Abyssinia, when this Viceroy set out for Mecca to destroy the pagan temple called the Ka 'ba, which Mohammed had suddenly adopted as the cynosure of Islamic eyes, in place of his former choice of Jerusalem.[476] It was looked upon as a judgment of God, especially as it occurred in the very year of the Prophet's birth. Whatever the lack of consistency in this judgment ascribed to God, the words of the surah of the Koran served to represent Abyssinia as the enemy.

The Coptic Church through its patriarchs of Alexandria had less excuse for treating the Ethiopian Church as an inferior, especially since their treatment helped to keep it so. They retained the appointment of the abuna, or Abyssinian patriarch, in their own hands, would never concede him the full title and privileges of a patriarch, opposed the increase of Abyssinian bishops as much as they could, and would allow none of them to be consecrated in Abyssinia itself. Except for these negations they took no interest in the country. It is not to be wondered at, that as early as 1177 A.D. Abyssinia began to entertain overtures from Rome.[477]

Great therefore must have been the joy of Queen Helena and her grandson, when they heard that their envoy was received by King Manuel on the same footing as the ambassadors of the European kings. Pope Leo X himself wrote King David a personal letter of gracious friendship, which is most striking when we remember, that the writer was not only head of the great Church of that refined age, but the son of the most powerful banker of his day, Lorenzo de 'Medici, and a citizen of Florence, the home and centre of the Italian Renaissance.

"We have asked our fellow-citizen, the merchant, Andrew Corsali, to convey to you our greetings", writes the Pope. "We[478] have asked him to say that we love you for your consideration towards us, and for your zeal in the cause of the Christian commonwealth. We exhort you to promote the glory of Our Lord Jesus Christ in every way you can. The Lord whom you worship, and to whom you are grateful for the great blessings that He has already bestowed upon you, will cherish and help and provide for you always". This letter is dated the first of October, 1514. Corsali was sailing for India, where a friend of his, Peter Strozzi,[479] was high in the esteem of the Portuguese government on the coast of Coromandel and later became captain of the fortress of Kilwa. This messenger enabled the Pope to show a direct and personal interest in the young Negus, as soon as he was informed by King Manuel of the arrival of the ambassador, Matthew.

Whilst these things were happening in Lisbon, an important letter was on the water from Albuquerque, bearing upon the problem of Prester John. This letter

was written at Cananor on the fourth of December 1513 after a visit to the Red Sea, and it contains a full report of the military, naval and commercial conditions of the lands on both sides of that sea. The passages that relate to the land of Prester John are what concern us here.

From his own observations, the reports of Arab spies, Portuguese and Spanish Jews, the Governor-General is convinced that this land of Prester John is an immense kingdom. It is in fact an empire, because the Muslim and the Abyssinians agree in giving Prester John the title of *Elaty*, which means emperor. This empire starts from the Red Sea, goes down through Mogadishu, Mombasa and Sofala to the Cape of Good Hope, then right up to the shores of Angola and Congo, including all the continent between the two seas. It is so rich in gold that "I hesitate to tell you the enormous value of it that has been reported to me". Prester John would rush to meet any Portuguese captain that could land in his country. His people are excellent Christians, and are anxious to fight and die for the faith of Christ. The Moors themselves report that there is a prophecy current among them, that some day the horses and elephants of Prester John will feed in the house of Mecca.

Albuquerque then goes on to tell his prophetic experience in the Red Sea one moonless night. Near the island of Camaram, the ships being anchored, there appeared over the land of Prester John a sign from heaven in the form of a clear and resplendent cross.[480] A cloud came towards it, and reaching it, divided without diminishing its splendour. "I believe that Our Lord wished thus to point out the road which He desires us to follow".

Gaspar Corrêa, who was with Albuquerque, at this time, adds that the cross was formed by nine stars, and that this constellation set over Abyssinia. Albuquerque was a genius whose mind was teeming with noble visions, which were always very real to him, and in a comparatively short life he made realities of many of them. His cordial, but discriminating, welcome to the envoy of Prester John prepared the way for the entry of that potentate into the politics of Europe.

CHAPTER XXI.

Prester John's Envoy in Lisbon and Rome

SINCE the days of Pliny at least Africa enjoyed the reputation of ever producing something new and startling, mainly, however, wild animals of strange shapes.[481] But few of its wonders could have aroused such a sensation as the envoy of Prester John. His mere presence in the Portuguese capital raised the prestige of King Manuel in the other courts of Europe. Hence the consideration with which the ambassador Matthew was treated during the fourteen months of his stay in Lisbon.

Rui Leite, the King's treasurer, was ordered to see that the travel-worn garments in which Matthew arrived, were changed into such as befitted his rank and importance.[482] He was to have a robe of clouded silk bordered with crimson serge, a herald's cloak emblazoned with the arms of the Negus, a doublet of satin with knee breeches and stockings to match, all of the best quality and all at the charge of King Manuel. The nephew of the ambassador was to have a wide cassock and cloak, such as it was the custom of professional men to wear. The rest of the staff, including the Bantu slaves, were to be fitted out in the way that the retainers of a gentleman usually dressed. As they went about the city, it was impressed upon the minds of citizens and strangers, that King Manuel was indeed unique among kings in being courted by sovereigns from so far across the ocean.

The people would naturally ask who these black gentlemen were that came to Mass on Sundays, and behaved like good Christians. From the Abyssinians themselves they would learn the substance of their national traditions. A few years later, Father Alvares found the whole story of these traditions written in a chronicle of the town of Aksum.[483] They related how this town was once the capital of the Queen of Sheba, who went up to Jerusalem to see the great temple that Solomon was building, and to help the holy work with a present of gold, carried on the humps of many camels. The

present dynasty of Prester John, they claimed, descended from a son of Solomon and this Queen.

This son of Solomon controlled the whole Indian Ocean with his sixty ships. The Abyssinians also claimed to be the first Christians in the world outside of Jerusalem. For Aksum was the capital of the Queen Candace mentioned in the *Acts of the Apostles*. The eunuch whom the evangelist Philip baptised by the roadside, as he was returning home from Jerusalem, was the major-domo of the Queen as well as her treasurer, and he brought the Christian faith to Abyssinia. Thus too was fulfilled the prophecy of the psalmist, David: "Ethiopia shall arise and stretch forth her hands to God". These lifelike traditions would impress the people of Lisbon, familar as they were with the New Testament.

In these narratives the clergy of Lisbon and the educated laity would be able to separate the basis of Scripture facts from the superstructure of Abyssinian tradition. They would therefore attach more importance to the historical evidence of Rufinus in his *Ecclesiastical History*.[484] According to his more reliable story Christianity came to Abyssinia in the fourth century. Two Christian boys from Tyre were travelling with their tutor, when they were wrecked in the Red Sea about 340 A.D. Captured by the Ethiopians they were carried to the King at Aksum. After many romantic adventures one of them, called Frumentius, was consecrated bishop by Saint Athanasius at Alexandria, preached the Gospel to the Abyssinians and became their first prelate. As all this happened in the days of the Emperor Constantine, who died five years before Rufinus was born, the historian probably got most of his information from persons who knew the chief actors in this great drama. Hence it was naturally accepted by learned men in those days, especially as Rufinus was no mere novelist, but a scholar and a friend of such scholars as Origen and Saint Jerome. Of course Rufinus called the country of the Abyssinians a part of India, as everybody did then, because India began at the Nile in their phraseology.

This account of the origin of Abyssinian Christianity helped the Portuguese leaders to understand why that church had been dependent upon the Patriarch of Alex-

andria for guidance. It also caused them to rejoice when they heard that the Abuna, head of the Church of Prester John's land, was prepared to acknowledge the supremacy of the popes over the whole Christian Church. A memorandum in the English Record Office of the year 1517 expresses the view that now became current in Europe, that the deterioration of Abyssinian religion since the Abyssinian delegates signed the decrees of the Council of Florence in 1441 was intelligible, because "not having been visited by prelates, thorns have sprung up in the garden of the Faith".

King Manuel saw that before Rome could be approached it would be well to find out exactly what was the real nature of the Christianity that these people professed. He therefore asked some prelates of his court to discuss the matter in detail with Matthew, and to make a report to him. The Envoy's answers were written down in Portuguese by the King's observer, Anthony Carneiro. A copy of this happened to be sent to Rui Fernandes de Almada, the King's agent in Antwerp. There fortunately the historian, Damian de Goes, who was secretary to Fernandes, made a copy of his own. Some years later, when he visited the court of Catholic Denmark, he was asked by the Bishop of Upsala to make a Latin translation of it, as the Bishop did not understand Portuguese.[485] A happy accident thus saved for us a faithful report of the views of Matthew in Latin.

It was a most unfortunate expression of opinion, and gave a wrong impression from the beginning. One can hardly blame Matthew, as he was a recent convert to Christianity, was no theologian, and was trying to please his hosts. One would imagine from this statement, that there was little difference between Ethiopian Christianity and the teaching of the Catholic Church. Only two differences are noted and these are watered down. Christians of Abyssinia do practice circumcision, but merely as an old national custom without religious significance. They have never formally recognised the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, as the successor of Saint Peter, but this was simply because the distance and their encirclement by Muslim nations made it extremely difficult for them to go to Rome.

Thus began a tragic misunderstanding. The truth was that the Abuna and his spiritual children adhered to an incongruous mixture of Judaism and Christianity, which is unique in the history of religion.[486] It was not merely a question of circumcision, but they observed both the Jewish Sabbath and the Christian Sunday, celebrating Mass and refraining from work on both days. They observed the Old Testament regulations about food and unclean meats. They reverenced the Ark of the Covenant at Aksum, and they placed on every altar a stand for the chalice, which is called the *tabot* and seems to represent the Jewish Ark. This backward and isolated people had no theologians to point out the clash between these practices and the New Testament. Though they read the *Epistles of Saint Paul* in their liturgy, they acted as if Saint Paul had never written a line. Thus the Portuguese opened their intercourse with this people under the completely erroneous notion that religion would be a strong bond between them. It was indeed a bond, but also a field of debate and some misunderstanding.

One question rises unbidden to the mind of anyone who reads all the available records of this interesting period. Why, during this long discussion of the nature of Ethiopian religion, was no use made of the Abyssinians then living at Rome in the Hospice of San Stefano? The magnificent embassy which Portugal now sent to Rome sought no contact with these Roman Abyssinians.

The establishment of this hospice for Abyssinian pilgrims in Rome seems to have been the sequel of a former Ethiopian mission in 1481, which came through Jerusalem.[487] In that year the ambassador of the young Negus Eskender took with him two Franciscan friars from the Convent of Mount Sion of Jerusalem, and went to ask the Pope for a prelate to anoint the King, though he had already been three years on the throne. They were all graciously received by Pope Sixtus IV. Although the mission failed in its direct object, part of the lavish hospitality of the Pope consisted in the assignment of this hostel for pilgrims in perpetuity. The account books of the Basilica of St. Peter's in Rome show that the Canons of that church provided the houses and their

upkeep, whilst the Pope himself was responsible for the boarding of the guests.[488]

Two extant papal bulls give us the names of Abyssinian Dominicans, both priests and laybrothers, who were visiting Rome in 1503 and 1515. They desired to return home by way of Jerusalem, in order to visit the sepulchre of Christ, and some wished also to visit the famous shrine of Saint James at Compostella.[489] As they were very poor, they applied to the Pope for the money necessary to make these journeys. Thus it happened that Alexander VI and Leo X issued these letters, exhorting good Christians to contribute to a fund for these purposes. Eight of the Abyssinians tarried for a while at Valencia in Spain, and celebrated Mass there in the Convent of Saint Dominic.

It is also a remarkable fact that, whilst Prester John's envoy to King Manuel was rounding the Cape of Good Hope, the first book printed in the Ethiopic language was being published in Rome, as a result of the literary co-operation of these Abyssinian pilgrims. The book was entitled the *Psalter of David and Some Biblical Hymns*. It was the work of a German priest, John Potken, Provost of the church of Saint George in Köln. In the preface he tells us that he learned the language, which he calls Chaldean, from the Ethiopian monks of San Stefano in Rome, so that he was able to prepare this edition of the Psalms of David. At this time there were about thirty Abyssinians at San Stefano, and a note at the end of the volume reveals the name of Potken's teacher, Thomas, the son of Samuel, the Hermit. A copy of this book is registered in the catalogue of King Manuel's library which has come down to us.[490]

This hospice was well-known to the Romans, and Leo Africanus must have had it in mind when he wrote that the Abyssinian friars, notorious on account of the cross branded on their foreheads, were to be seen all over Europe, but especially in Rome.[491] The Roman populace called the church of the Hospice Saint Stephen of the Abyssinians, or " of the Blacks", or "of the Indians", or sometimes " of the Egyptians". The quarter of Rome where it stood, just behind St. Peter's, was called " Egypt". There can therefore be little doubt that this was an

institution, whose light was not hidden under any bushel in Rome.

The curious fact will emerge from the history of King Manuel's guests, that their fellow countrymen in Rome were never asked by the Portuguese to help in clearing up the difficulties, which a thorough knowledge of their language might have helped to solve sooner. The King was satisfied with sending, in his letters to the Pope, the impressions which his own theologians had gathered from the strangers. It was however from this source in Rome undoubtedly that the Pope learned to be so cautious in receiving the overtures of the Abyssinians who came by way of Portugal.

But for the moment to King Manuel the religious aspect of the Abyssinian question was a secondary matter, important indeed also for him, yet secondary just then. It fitted conveniently into a scheme of his own which was maturing independently. Before Matthew reached Rome, King Manuel was arranging to send a special embassy to pay homage to the new Pope, Leo X,[492] who had been elected in March 1513. Matthew arrived in Lisbon during the following February. The letters patent of Tristan da Cunha, the rich nobleman who once commanded a large fleet for India and was now appointed head of the embassy to the Pope, were dated the twenty-first of September 1513, but he was not presented to the Pope until the twelfth of March of the following year. This gave Manuel time to insert into his final instructions a reference to the importance of Prester John in the defensive crusade against the Turks, a subject which was then uppermost among the anxieties of the Pope.

A copy of Queen Helena's letter was surely sent as well. This would impress any ordinary reader as it impressed the contemporary Venetian ambassador in London, who saw a copy of the Latin translation and wrote to his brother in Venice that " its expressions resemble those of Saint Paul in his Epistles, with so much Christian charity and faith that it would be impossible to speak better".

All this enhanced the impression made by Tristan da Cunha's embassy in Rome. Few of the triumphs of Manuel's brilliant reign could have given him greater

satisfaction, than the surprise and applause that all Rome tributed to this singular pageant of the wealth of the Portuguese court, garnered from India, South Africa and Malaya. Dr. John de Faria,[493] the ordinary ambassador in Rome, wrote to the King when the procession was over. "It seemed not so much your act of homage to Rome, as the triumph of Your Highness entering Rome". By general consent, wrote Tristan da Cunha himself, it was voted the most distinguished and rich embassy that ever entered Rome. It certainly impressed the people more than the wealthier, but stodgy, cavalcade of the German Emperor's mission of the previous year.[494]

The most precious of the gifts offered to the Pope were a cope, a chasuble, a pair of dalmatics and a heavy antipendium of brocade, all covered with Sofala gold and Indian pearls. These treasures were probably plundered in the sack of Rome, twelve years later. But from contemporary samples of Portuguese art that have survived, we may surmise that they were ornamented with the arms of the King but mainly embroidered with scenes from the life of Christ. Leo X in thanking the envoys protested that these vestments were too rich for the adornment of any man, and could only be fittingly used in the liturgical service of God.[495]

But what drove the Roman populace frantic with excitement were three exotic animals, which took part in the Portuguese pageant: an elephant from the Malabar coast; a leopard from the Malay islands; and a Persian horse which was a gift of the King of Ormuz. No one had ever seen a leopard before, except in the rigid conventional form in which it figured in the armorial bearings of many abbots. But this wondrous creature with its beautifully spotted fur and graceful tail was a feast for the eyes.[496] It was placed in a gilded cage upon the croup of a horse ridden by an Indian huntsman in native garb.

The elephant however outshone all his rivals. There had been elephants here in the days of pagan Rome but they had been captured from the Carthagenians of north Africa.[497] They had only crossed the Mediterranean. This animal had been the first of its kind to cross the Indian Ocean from Cochin to Mozambique. It had doubled the Cape of Good Hope to Lisbon, to Alicante in

Spain and the Balearic Islands, and then along the Mediterranean to Port Ercole in Tuscany, whence it walked to Rome. The scenes of enthusiasm at every port of call remind us of the gaping modern crowds that worship some cinema star or popular boxer. There was a dense line of humanity from Orbetello, near which the elephant was landed, to Montalto, Corneto, Civitavecchia and Rome. But the circus tricks, to which it had been trained by the King's master of the horse, Nicolas de Faria, captivated all hearts. When it came before the Pope, it dropped on its front knees and gave three roars of greeting. A whole literature of broadsides sprang up about this wonder of the world, and even the genius Raphael, induced his pupil, Giulio Romano, to paint a fresco of Hanno (that was the elephant's name) on a tower of the Vatican.[498]

But the serious business of this mission took place in the consistory hall, where the fifth Lateran Council of the Church was being held, and in the church of St. Peter's. In the Sixtine Chapel of the Vatican also, on the seventeenth of April, the Pope performed a ceremony which everyone regarded as the substance, of which the gala functions were but the trimmings. Before the assembled cardinals, the ambassadors of Poland, France, England, Spain and the Emperor, Leo X, blessed and presented for the second time to King Manuel's envoys the Golden Rose, which was then the blue ribbon of all European kings.[499]

He accompanied it with a striking discourse. For Leo X was a fine orator, who spoke classic Latin with perfect grace and ease. We may thus paraphrase the Ciceronian periods which he used, addressing King Manuel present in the person of his plenipotentiary,[500] Tristan da Cunha. "This red rose, reminiscent of the blood of the martyrs of Christ, is a symbol also of the mind and strength of a prince, who has spared himself nothing to spread the Christian faith unto the ends of the earth. This gift will spur you, we trust, to even greater achievements. Your letters have just informed us of a far distant and most Christian prince David, who joins the band of Christian kings. No task is so arduous and intricate that courage cannot achieve it. Thus we hope with your help and

courage, to extend still further the boundaries of the Christian commonwealth."[501]

The long reference to the Abyssinian king in this homily shows how largely the matter bulked in the eyes of Rome at this moment. All these months the Pope had been kept informed of what was happening in Lisbon, both by the King's letters and by conversation with the Portuguese envoys. Amongst the latest items of news was a message from Albuquerque, saying that as soon as the weather was favourable, he intended to sail with his whole fleet for the land of Prester John.[502] This made it all the more urgent that the Pope should give an official reply to the suggestions made by Manuel, in regard to the method of dealing with these African Christians and especially the matter of religious belief and practice. Leo X lost no time in drawing up a breve to Manuel, containing his instructions. It was expedited in the middle of the year.[503]

The Pope begins by reciting Manuel's statements, that Matthew is "a wise and sagacious man", taking it for granted that Manuel had given a correct account of the religious position, and that the Negus had 66 Christian kings and six Mohammedan kings under his sway. The Abuna Mark "as the ambassador tells us", is a man of excellent life, a true Catholic and anxious to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Holy See. Under these circumstances Leo X wishes him to be informed that the Pope recognises him as papal legate in Abyssinia, and is willing to appoint a successor to the Abuna in the event of his death, as he has been requested to do.

This new friendship leads the Pope to express the hope that the liberation of Jerusalem, and of the Holy Sepulcre, has been brought nearer. Leo expresses his willingness to agree to the suggestions of King Manuel and King David, "in so far as we can in the Lord", so that "the Christian commonwealth may be under one banner of the Faith, one baptism and one God". But circumcision must be abolished at once, and any other errors amended. The execution of these instructions is entrusted to the King of Portugal and his clergy. As no well-informed priest or prelate had as yet reported on Abyssinia with personal knowledge gained on the spot, it was impossible to know

at the moment how far the religious conditions supposed to exist there, did in reality exist.

The most serious miscalculation of the Portuguese was about the character and tenets of the Abuna Mark. Looking at the matter from the European side, they certainly had reasonable grounds for optimism. Did not the bronze gates of the principal entrance to St. Peter's church in Rome record, in a Latin inscription, how the Ethiopians had been reconciled with the Roman church at the Council of Florence? This was in 1441. They had signed the decrees of the same council, as the official acts showed. Moreover they had taken away a copy of the acts. The Pope was right in thinking that this document was greatly valued, as Father Alvares was able to testify, when he visited Abyssinia five years later.[504] And yet all this did not mean that the head of the Abyssinian Church was a Christian in any sense that would make immediate union with him fruitful. Hence the Pope's demand for further enquiry and the immediate correction of errors incompatible with the teaching of Christ.

The religious mentality of the Abyssinians, from their chief priest down to the lowest nomad, was one of chaos. As between Christianity and Judaism they never seem to have quite made up their minds, and much as they detested the political government of the Muslim tribes, some Mohammedan rites found favour. When captured by the Somali tribes, they thought nothing of becoming Muslim for the time being. When they escaped back to their own country, they were baptised again, and this was regarded as a normal procedure.[505] The return of the delegates from the Council of Florence added another bone of contention. Most of the people, and especially the lowest classes, had a fanatical antagonism to anything foreign, bred of the isolation of their mountain fastnesses and this is the real secret of their long resistance to any higher civilisation.

The Negus of the period of the Council of Florence desired to ask the Pope to send them a bishop, now that they were in communion with Rome, but a considerable faction would have only an abuna from Alexandria. The result was that the post remained vacant for twenty-three years. Lest the Faith should be lost altogether, the

Negus Eskender sent to Alexandria for Mark, who was now Abuna, and had held the office for nearly fifty years. Personally he was most anxious to have a bishop from Rome to succeed him.

But the people had not been prepared by their leaders for a change so startling to their habits of life, and Mark was in no position of authority, by reason of training or knowledge, to enable him to prepare them. To have such a man appointed papal legate, seemed to be founding the new order on a broken reed. But it is amazing to read later what miracles of results Portuguese optimism did construct upon this somewhat shaky foundation.

The Negus David III, or Lebna Denghel, as his people called him, was not much better as an ally of the Portuguese. For in the few years since Queen Helena's letter was written, things had moved fast with young David. He had reached the age of seventeen and took the reins of government into his own hands. He was evidently one of the many born Napoleons, who only needed Napoleon's material resources and opportunities in order to make an equal name in the world.

About the time when King Manuel was receiving the Golden Rose from the Pope, the renowned general, Mahfuz, of the Muslim kingdom of Adel, made one of his annual raids into Abyssinia, which had been taking place regularly for twenty-four years. David was determined to put an end to them, now that he had reached manhood. With a picked army of warriors from his immediate neighbourhood he marched night and day, until he outflanked the raiders at a mountain pass in their own territory. At the same time he sent a large force to guard the only pass, by which they could advance further into Abyssinia. The Moors were forced to fight and were completely routed.

The head of Mahfuz was exhibited in Abyssinia as a proof of the security that King David had won for his people, and for the confusion of the grandees who had opposed the expedition as the impulse of an inexperienced youth. With this victory to his credit, however, the young Negus did not feel the need of Portuguese help, which had been voiced in Queen Helena's letter to King Manuel.[506] The few ultra-conservative *rases* who had

opposed the Queen's policy from the beginning, would now reassert all their old repugnance to abet any culture from outside, especially as they had not consented when the Queen's appeal to the Portuguese was made.

Whilst Abyssinia seemed to King Manuel full of promise for the future, he now became really anxious about the position in another part of the Portuguese empire in Africa, Morocco. This very year of 1514, in July and October, Dom Peter de Meneses Count of Alcoutin and Governor of Ceuta, had warded off two determined attacks of the Sharif of Fez. Two years before, the pleasant valley of the Sus, once a Muslim republic in friendly relations with Prince Henry the Navigator, was occupied by the fanatical Saadians from Dra. Morocco now meant one continous campaign with nothing to show but defensive victories.

The attractions of adventure beyond the Cape of Good Hope had developed so greatly, that it was increasingly difficult to obtain soldiers and even officers to man the Portuguese garrisons in Morocco. The crusading spirit of the military orders had died down with the decrease of any visible danger to the Christian faith at home. Where men volunteered before, it was now necessary to pay them well.[507] Mazagan, Safin, Tite, Almedina and Azamor had been captured from the Moors, but at a prohibitive price in blood and money. They were held only by constant fighting.

In King Manuel's distress, as he termed it, he turned to the Pope for assistance. By agreement between Church and State in Portugal special taxes could only be imposed upon the clergy with the consent of the Pope. This is what the King now asked and the Pope conceded.[508] Tithes and " thirds " were imposed upon all ecclesiastical revenues, in order to support the military orders in their fight against the enemies of religion in north Africa. Bishop Osorio, though a friend of King Manuel and his official biographer, waxes indignant when he chronicles this concession granted by the Pope.. The people, however, applauded the Pope's action and so did the leading playwright, Gil Vicente and the historian, Damian de Goes.

Such privileges, Osorio wrote, had sometimes been

rightly conceded in the past to sovereigns, who had been exhausted in fighting the cause of God. But Manuel was rich and Portugal never so prosperous. Moreover some unscrupulous legates introduced by their influence a fresh clause in the grants, enabling the King to apply the proceeds to any good cause. Revenues were squandered in luxury by men who never drew a sword. Our experience of the frauds perpetrated in modern warfare, by those who have the handling of large government funds, inclines us to believe that the good Bishop was right in denouncing these small beginnings of the gigantic waste of public money in the scientific wars of our day. The Bishop exonerates King Manuel personally from the blame of such abuses, but he states that his military agents in churches and monasteries fleeced these institutions, leaving little for the support of the clergy. Bishop Osorio was not alone among the King's advisers in saying that these wars in Morocco were too expensive, exhausting and inconclusive. But the majority of the Council sided with the King in holding that the need of the hour was more vigour in the prosecution of the war, and consequently more money to secure a final settlement in Morocco.

Pope Leo was lavish both in granting money and in spending it, as he was brought up in the lap of luxury, being a member of the richest family in Italy. This very year he made prodigal concessions to two royal archbishops of the Hohenzollern family in Germany, which were to prove more disastrous.[509] They led to remonstrances of different kinds, from the Dutch Cardinal Adrian of Utrecht, who was to be elected Pope Leo's successor, and from an eloquent friar of the Augustian order, who was still regarded as an orthodox but noisy Catholic, Martin Luther. But this Pope could not imagine any danger to the Church in mere disputes about money. In Portugal at any rate he proved to be right. There was grumbling galore, as taxation never pleases, but Africa and India offered wide fields of action for clergy and laity who were dissatisfied at home.

The whole expense of the Abyssinian pageant in Rome was borne by Tristan da Cunha himself. In September of 1514 he returned to Lisbon from Rome with

solid political gains for his royal master, only to find that Prester John had become a bone of contention between factions of Portuguese society. The enemies of Albuquerque were now strong, especially since he had imprudently asked the King to create him Duke of Goa, because he intended settling there when he ceased to be governor of India. Considering his popularity in Goa, it was easy to insinuate that he was thinking of a dictatorship. Yet the King as well as the friends of Albuquerque backed Matthew as a genuine ambassador, whilst he was regarded as an impostor by those hostile to Albuquerque.

Preparations were now being made to send back to Abyssinia with Matthew ambassadors of Portugal, who should consolidate the happy relations initiated by King Manuel. But Tristan da Cunha must have been unpleasantly surprised, when he learned that the new viceroy was Lopo Soares de Albergaria, who was to sail in command of the next Indian fleet. Albergaria was a notorious opponent of the policy of Albuquerque.[510]

This was one of the few blunders that Manuel made in the choice of servants of the Crown. The viceroy elect was a worthy man, but stern and unbending, a splendid ornament of a cultured and ceremonious court like Manuel's. It was the kind of appointment against which Albuquerque had frequently warned the King. What was wanted in Africa and India was the practical man, not the courtier, but the man who would treat the Africans, Indians and Malays, in the way they liked to be treated. Sticklers for the ways of Europe would block progress in the East.

When Albuquerque heard of the arrival of Lopo Soares de Albergaria at Cochin towards the end of September, the former had left Ormuz and was already sailing for Goa. He learned also that two captains whom he had deported from Goa for insubordination, had been appointed commandant and secretary of Cochin. At this time Albuquerque was a dying man, worn out by terrific labour, fevers and shipwreck.[511] As soon as he heard the bad news, he turned to the chaplain on board and said: "It is now time to seek asylum in church. I have made enemies by zeal in the King's service, and I have offended the King by my severity to some courtiers". Then he asked to receive the last sacraments. "It is well

for me to go now", he said to his confessor, and he requested him to read aloud for the last time the three chapters of Saint John's Gospel, which tell of the sufferings and death of Christ. The sonorous Latin of the priest brought out all the tender bitterness of Christ's "consumatum est". Albuquerque expired within sight of Goa on his own flagship, an humble and repentant Christian, but an unrepentant champion of the land he loved so well, whose interests he believed to be those of Christian civilisation.

Thus it happened that the Portuguese embassy to Prester John arrived in India, when the most ardent supporter of these negotiations had passed away. The new Viceroy did not conceal his dislike of Prester John's returning envoy. Two letters of Matthew's, written in Arabic, have survived, in which he complains bitterly to the King of Portugal about the treatment he received on board during the return voyage to India.[512]

This treatment was certainly not King Manuel's fault. He had done everything possible to make the mission a success. At the head of it he placed Edward Galvão, a veteran diplomatist who had been ambassador at the courts of the Emperor Maximilian, Louis XII of France and Pope Julius II. Not only had Galvão dealt with some of the most delicate phases of the Turkish question, but he had the fame of a literary man, having written among other works the standard *Life* of one of the early kings, Afonso Henriques.

Rich presents for the Negus and Queen Helena were in charge of Lawrence de Cosme.[513] Besides expensive garments there were two organs, one hundred books, and among them a handsomely bound volume of the *Hours of Our Lady* decorated with illuminated miniatures, which the Queen of Portugal was presenting to Queen Helena. Twenty artisans and experts accompanied the mission, among them a printer, a musician and a painter. But the real hero of the party was the secular priest, Father Francis Alvares, who acted as chaplain. A man of infinite tact and patience, he smoothed out many a dangerous quarrel, and was trusted by all. But Galvão was too old for a gruelling voyage of this kind, and he died in the Red Sea before entering Abyssinia. The sub-

sequent vicissitudes of his subordinates will be best dealt with, when we discuss the fortunes of the mission of 1520, which was a continuation of this one.

What one cannot fail to note is the momentary vacillation of policy which overtook King Manuel, when the visit of his envoys to the Pope ended. There are signs that he began to have misgivings about the envoy of Prester John. How else can we explain the appointment of Lopo Soares, who was notoriously hostile? This impression is confirmed by a statement attributed to Edward Galvão, on evidence that is not negligible:[514] "that the King was half ashamed of having written to the Pope and the Christian princes, as he began to doubt whether Matthew was really an ambassador". After this, however, he sent Galvão to accompany Matthew with every mark of royal favour.

Then came another sudden change. Lopo Soares had sailed for India in March of 1515 with a commission to supersede Albuquerque. After his departure Manuel heard from his ambassador in Venice, that the Sultan of Egypt was preparing a large naval and military force with much artillery at Suez, in order to recapture Ormuz, which was the key to the wealth of Persia. The King naturally feared that Albergaria, being less experienced than Albuquerque in these seas, would fail to do justice to a situation so full of pitfalls. He resolved therefore to retain Albuquerque in command of the Indian naval forces, whilst Lopo Soares would remain in charge of the government in Cochin headquarters. With these amended orders he despatched a fleet of six ships under John da Silveira in March, 1516.

But Albuquerque had died in the meantime and Silveira's fleet had a disastrous voyage. Providence, however, came to the rescue of the Portuguese, for the plans of the Sultan were even more seriously deranged. These incidents illustrate the difficulty of controlling effectively, under the conditions of those days, an empire whose lines of communication were over ten thousand miles long. The Muslim of Persian and Arabia used to call Albuquerque *Almalindy*, "the man from Malindi", because he first appeared to them out of that horizon. But it was sometimes only the remnants of the Portuguese

fleets which issued thence to fight. The Cape of Good Hope, Kilwa, Madagascar, Inhambane, Mozambique and Malindi often harboured the battered ships that could go no further, or the sound ones which arrived too late for the monsoon.

But since the advent of Prester John, Mozambique seemed to take on a new significance. He had spontaneously offered to help the Portuguese in their fight against those Muslim forces whose focus was the Red Sea. These hostile forces were working on inner lines of communication, which were incomparably shorter than the stretch from Lisbon to India. If the forces of Islam had been as efficient as those of King Manuel, or if the Islamic races had any common aim or ideology, the task of Portugal would have been hopeless.

Now even the handicap of distance seemed about to be reduced in favour of Portugal by the prospect of an ally in Prester John, whose country was within striking distance of the enemy lines of communication. To the moral and intellectual superiority of the Portuguese was now added the useful factor of a new use for Mozambique, where ships could muster in supportof Prester John in the Red Sea. He had not only placed the fortresses of his land at the disposal of King Manuel, but suggested that the forces of the two Christian allies could best pool their efforts in the Red Sea.

CHAPTER XXII.

Prester John in the Chancelleries of Europe.

THE name of Prester John became one to conjure with in the chancelleries of Europe during the first half of the sixteenth century, as a result of King Manuel's activities. It meant so much to some statesmen and so little to others. An elaborate joke, perpetrated by King James IV of Scotland, will illustrate this better than many documents. It was early in 1513, when the Scotch King was threatening to make war on Henry VIII of England. The Dean of Windsor, Dr. West, who was the English ambassador in Scotland, pointed out that the Pope would not remain silent, if a Catholic nation like the Scotch attacked another Catholic nation like the English with so little justification. James replied that he would not give the Pope time to stop him with spiritual censures, as he proposed to act suddenly without giving warning to anyone.[515]

West replied that such a course would be unjustifiable. If the King of Scotland brushed the Pope aside in this unceremonious way, there was no authority superior to the Pope, to which he could appeal for justification. James then laughed the matter off by saying that he would appeal to Prester John.

It was an ingenious pun, however bad the policy and the morals, in the circumstances of the day. For Prester John was commonly regarded as a king-priest, who might jokingly be taken as superior to kings. To grasp the full flavour of the pun however, it is necessary to remember that one form of the name of Prester John then in use was similar in sound to that of Prégeant (de Bidoux), a knight of St. John of Jerusalem who was then in command of the French fleet. France was an ally of Scotland, and this fleet had been giving considerable anxiety to Henry VIII by its raids on the English coast. The Prester John to whom the Scotch King meant to appeal was evidently the French fleet under Prégeant.

But to us, who know Henry's last phase, his letter to Cardinal Brainbridge in Rome reads like a worse joke than that of the Scotch King. "It is impious to abuse the Pope, the head of Christendom", writes Henry VIII a month later. "Such folly ought to be chastised. The King of Scotland had dared to say that he would pay no obedience to the Pope, if he issued any writ against him for breaking the peace with England, using other arrogant expressions after his fashion".

Henry VIII declared that the Battle of Flodden, which took place the following August, was a judgment of God upon the Scotch King for his disloyalty to the head of the Church.[516] James IV fell and his army was annihilated. This fact is of interest here only because it set Henry free from a great anxiety at home, and allowed him to entertain overtures about Prester John of Abyssinia, which had been made to him before by King Manuel.

These two young kings were firm friends at this time. Katherine of Aragon whom Henry had married was a sister of Manuel's wife. This marriage was a great diplomatic triumph for Henry's father, because it linked his upstart dynasty of the Tudors with the two powerful and ancient families of Spain and Portugal. Henry cultivated Manuel's friendship by presenting him with the Order of the Garter. After the decisive victory of Flodden Field, when Prêster John's envoy appeared, Manuel again approached Henry VIII, indicating what a valuable pawn this was in the resistance of Christian Europe to the aggressive Turk.

The Portuguese King had pressed the claims of the Turkish campaign several times upon Henry VII, the father of Henry VIII.[517] In 1505 Manuel sent his confessor, Frei Henrique, to London, in order to offer 25,000 men to fight under the English flag and side by side with the English bowmen, whose arm was considered especially suitable for victory in north Africa. Two years later, when Henry VII recovered from a severe attack of quinsey, he nerved himself for this unselfish work, as men of character do under the stress of personal grief. He wrote to the Pope and King Manuel that the chances of a crusade were now favourable, but death prevented him from taking any practical measures.

At that moment Pope Julius II was too much engrossed in warding off the European perils of the Holy See, to be able to give any primary attention to the Turkish question.[518] As soon as the States of the Church were safe, he would set out in person to deliver Constantinople and Jerusalem. But he praises Manuel's efforts to unite the Catholic princes for a forward movement. If he suceeds in his project of a general meeting at Lisbon, and goes personally to Africa in command, the Pope promises to sanction a tax of three-tenths on the ordinary ecclesiastical revenues of Portugal.[519] Manuel, however, did not have sufficient weight in the councils of Europe to bring about this unity. All his power was on the ocean highways, and there he had no peer in the whole world.

But Manuel now began to hope that the advent of Prester John might change the apathy of his royal cousins in Europe. The new Pope expressed the conviction in 1514, that this might provide a fresh opportunity of freeing Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre. The fifth Lateran Council, now sitting in Rome,[520] had repeatedly urged the same project in strong words. " Can we recall our losses to the Turks during the last sixty years without shame ? What are we waiting for now ? Even now they are entering Hungary and making war in Sclavonia, this moment they are scouring the seas unchallenged, seeking to enter Italy". Thus spoke Camillo Porzio, the famous humanist, who became Bishop of Teramo, in a discourse praising King Manuel, delivered in the presence of Leo X.[521]

Manuel was certainly taking his full share of this crusade by means of his policy in the Indian Ocean, but he saw all the more clearly, how urgent it was that the other European powers should implement the work. Portugal had no political entanglements on the continent of Europe, so that her King discerned quite distinctly the real features of the whole Muslim menace.

On the other hand, having no material pawns of the diplomatic game of Europe in his hands, the only influence that he could exert on that continent was that of the voice of reason and faith, always so feeble in the contests for power in every age. The decisive influence based on European power rested with the Big Three : the Emperor

Maximilian ; the French King (Louis XII and Francis I) ; and Henry VIII.

When Manuel proposed to Henry VIII in 1514, to march against the Muslim of Syria, so as to effect a junction with the forces of Prester John and seize the Holy Land,[522] the actual politics of the Big Three must have looked like a game of blind-man's-buff to the Portuguese King. Louis XII of France died on the last night of that year, and was succeeded by Francis I. This King had an interview with the Pope at Bologna, in December 1515, and afterwards wrote like a real champion of the Faith, much to the comfort of Leo X.[523] He even sent some help to attack Bizerta and defend Rhodes. When the Pope held up this good example to Henry VIII for imitation, the latter warned the Pope that he should check the French King's thirst for power, and beware of being dragged into his wars. Francis meantime regarded an imminent alliance between Spain and England, even for the purpose of facing the Turks, as such a menace to the French monarchy, that in the end to prevent it he signed a formal alliance with the Turkish Osmanlis themselves. The rest of Christian Europe was openly disgusted both with the animosity of England against France, and with the illicit union between the crown of Saint Louis and the sword of Islam.

Meantime Erasmus, with the lack of responsibility of a mere literary man, was making paltry jokes in classical Latin about the idea of a crusade against the Turks. In his emotional pacifism he spoke of the proposed crusade as a war of Turks against Turks. The Pope being better informed took a different view, as he had gruesome evidence of the deadly peril of Hungary and Rhodes, which were key positions of Christian civilisation. The Turkish pirates were also swarming in the Mediterranean. Once they rifled the famous shrine of Our Lady of Loretto, near Ancona, another day they entered the Tiber, penetrating as far as Pali with their raids for slaves and other loot.

In October, 1516, the Pope communicates to King Manuel a new and more serious development.[524] He had just heard from Ragusa that a letter from the son of Sultan Selim I told of his complete victory over Egypt.

If this serious news be true, writes the Pope, the Christian princes must wake up lest Europe be next subjugated. If it is false, and the Turk is still engaged with Egypt and Persia, it is an excellent opportunity to catch at a disadvantage this aggressive enemy of the Christian faith.

Three months later this news was definitely confirmed by the Pope in another letter to Manuel. The Sultan of Egypt had been killed, and the Turkish Sultan, Selim, was now free to turn all his might against Europe. Manuel and the other Christian kings were invited to send to Rome deputies empowered to discuss measures of defence for their collective security. On account of the dominating power of the Venetian navy in the waters of the Mediterranean a distinguished bishop was sent to solicit the personal help of the Doge. On the sixth of November 1517, the conference that the Pope desired began its sittings in Rome, and all the powers were represented except Portugal and Venice. The Portuguese delegate was ill, but Portugal's good will was so well known that her active participation could be taken for granted. Venice was suffering the usual internal tragedy of conflicting emotions, torn between its commercial interests and the danger to its civil and religious freedom.

But the international conference worked with a will, and in six days produced a plan of campaign, which represented a determined effort of some of the ablest minds of Europe to meet a grave situation. Offensive warfare was urged by land and sea, as the best method of defence.[525] The Emperor and the King of France were to be in command, a plan for raising the necessary sum of 800 thousand ducats was sketched, and the soldiers needed were to be recruited from Switzerland, Germany, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Greece, France and Italy. The warships would be provided by Venice, Genoa, Naples, Spain, Portugal, France and England. The land and sea attacks were to be simultaneous, and Constantinople was to be the objective of a massed offensive. The last suggestion to be made was an intelligent effort to avoid dangers, into which the Allies against Germany fell in the first world war, when by secret treaties they divided the spoils before they were in their hands. All conquests, said this memorandum of Rome, were to be common property, and divided at the

end of the war. The League was to be called the Brotherhood of the Holy Crusade.

These proposals were sent to every sovereign of Europe, and copies of the project are to be found to-day in all the record offices. It formed a touchstone of the sincerity of their profession of loyalty to the interests of the Christian commonwealth of nations. The replies to the Roman memorandum are illuminating.

The plainest answer was that of Spain. The Spanish idea was that the immediate dangers should be dealt with first. The exposed parts of Italy, especially Ancona, should be put in a state of defence, and for this purpose King Charles was prepared to give 14,000 men.[526] He had tried to meet this danger by an attack on Algiers last year, but he submitted that any attack proposed should be first directed against the active Barbary pirates of Africa. There was great personal ambition behind this seemingly modest plan. For Charles of Spain, who had succeeded Ferdinand the Catholic the year before, was one of three exceedingly capable and ambitious young men, into whose hands the fortunes of Spain, France and England had fallen. They were all ambitious rivals of the same age, just as resentful of one another's achievements as the biographies of modern statesmen often show them to be. Charles I of Spain wished no grandiose scheme, in which he might have to share the glory with Francis I and Henry VIII.

Francis I also declared himself favourable to the proposed plan of campaign in principle, though it took him a long time to say so. In the very last week of the year he replied that he would provide his quota of soldiers and horses, on condition that he was made treasurer-general of the Crusade funds. King Francis being already notorious as a spendthrift of the first water, it was asking too much to propose that he should have the handling of cash which it was going to be difficult to collect.

In dealing with the same crisis Henry VIII saw the prospect of gains in power for himself, greater than anything his rivals could hope for, but this entailed spoiling the whole plan with cunning devices. He grasped the opportunity ruthlessly with the aid of the pliant and resourceful Cardinal Wolsey. They found their opening

gambit in the Pope's proposal that, as a preliminary step, the Christian princes should agree to a five years' truce among themselves. With a genius of the kind that knows no higher law than national patriotism, and with amazing industry and tact, Wolsey achieved a limited treaty of peace between England, France and Spain, these three nations binding themselves to deal with any aggressor, even if one of themselves. The real object was to make London the arbiter of peace or war instead of Rome.[527] Not only was the London pact vague and insufficient as a basis of a crusade, but it gave Henry power to dictate to the Pope whether there should be a crusade or not. And Henry was as little interested in the Turkish peril, as if it threatened the inhabitants of Mars.

Neither Henry at this time nor Wolsey, was really indifferent to the welfare of Christendom. Perhaps they thought that the Church, being of divine origin, could safely be allowed to run risks which England, being just an earthly kingdom, ought to be protected against by every means in their power. On his death-bed Wolsey lamented that once an ambitious idea was planted in King Henry's mind no power on earth could remove it.

Two sovereigns only gave the Crusade wholehearted support, the Hapsburg Emperor, Maximilian, and King Manuel. The concrete plan of campaign submitted by the Emperor bears traces of Portuguese co-operation in its drafting. It proposes to defeat the Turk utterly in three years. In the first year, Maximilian and Manuel were to clear the Turk out of north Africa, and to encouarge the friendly Muslim kings of Tlemcen, Fez and Morocco to join them. At the same time Prester John and the Shah of Persia were to be urged by the Portuguese, who had access to them in the Indian Ocean, to keep the Sultan of Turkey engaged on his eastern frontiers. The next year the kings of England and Denmark with the Grand Master of Prussia were to help in an attack on Alexandria and Cairo. The third year was to muster a combined offensive of all the Christian powers on Constantinople and European Turkey.

European historians[528] have agreed to call this plan fantastic. The only reason for such an opinion seems to be, that they all ignore the more wonderful exploits of

King Manuel's soldiers and sailors in a more difficult task in the Indian Ocean, which would have been called fantastic if it had not been accomplished. If Portugal could send its army and navy more than ten thousand miles, beating the combined Turks and Arabs at the end of the journey, it surely would not have been difficult for the combined armies and navies of the richest sovereigns of Europe to carry out the plan outlined by the Emperor Maximilian, which at most entailed a journey across the Mediterranean. What was really lacking was an honest zeal and singleness of purpose like that displayed by the Portuguese and the Hapsburgs.

Venice was the worst offender. When Cardinal Sadoleto preached the opening sermon of the Crusade in the church of the Minerva in Rome, he alluded to the past services of Venice against the Turks, but the Venetian ambassador protested and demanded the omission of the relevant passage from the printed version of the sermon.[529] The Signoria forbade any religious services in furtherance of the Crusade to be held in Venice. Not only did the Republic renew its treaties with the Sultan, but it kept him well primed in regard to the measures that were being taken to promote the Crusade. These deeds were unworthy of the Republic of St. Mark. The lion of Saint Mark began to look like a Golden Calf.

Of Germany much less had been expected. Clergy and laity, plain men and humanists were agreed that no money would be sent to Rome for this Crusade. Not many were prepared to go as far as Martin Luther, who in the winter of 1518 preached a sermon condemning as wrong by texts from the Bible any resistance to the Turks, an opinion which he retracted a few years[530] later. Luther at this time looked on the Turks as God's instrument in punishing the Christian world for its sins. In the last matter the Portuguese agreed with him about the facts, but they drew a wiser inference. Repentance of past sin should proceed side by side with resistance to the Turk, who was not only a far greater offender but the bitterest enemy of Christian civilisation. This was in fact the official view of the Church, as well as sound common sense.

The plan of campaign issued by Cardinal Carvajal[531]

began by saying that "the Christian princes were to reform their own lives and to punish all vices in the army". Despite the Pope's promise that all monies collected in Germany would be entrusted to German administrators, the Diet of Germany refused to sanction the raising of any fund for the crusade. But the final blow came with the death of the Hapsburg Emperor in 1519. The election of a successor to this highly-coveted office so absorbed the activities of all the ambitious young kings of Europe, that the crusade against the Turks was forgotten by all the leading powers of that continent except Portugal.

As our histories of Europe are usually accounts of the intrigues and battles of a few of these leading powers, the historians generally forget to mention that the Crusade was not abandoned altogether, but was carried on courageously and successfully by the Portuguese in the region beyond the Cape of Good Hope. This was the task to which King Manuel now devoted himself, alone among the Christian princes. Fortunately for him and his noble cause rival ambitions divided the Muslim camp in the East, even more hopelessly than the Christian camp in the West.

The reign of Manuel was conterminous with that of Ismail Shah, a disruptive statesman who founded the Safavi dynasty of Persia, reigning from 1499 to 1524. In European writings of the day he is referred to as the Sophi. The Portuguese brought this name to Europe, when they heard it applied to Ismail at Ormuz, which was a dependency of his. He became a valuable asset to the Portuguese in their movement to outflank the Sultan of Turkey.

Edward Barbosa was in the Persian Gulf when this "young Moor" was hacking his way to power, and has described him. He had Greek blood in his veins, and was educated in early youth by an Armenian friar; he was fair, handsome, abnormally strong and brave as a game-cock.[532] His earlier career of lawlessness gained him the name of the Leveller, being a genial robber of the Robin Hood type, except that he handled villages and towns instead of purses. Within a few years he became master of Bagdad, Armenia, the whole of Persia, great part of

Arabia, Afghanistan and the plains of north India from the Punjab to Bengal with the exception of the Deccan.

The red caps which Barbosa noticed as the badge of Ismail's followers, were not a mere personal token of his leadership. They were the *kizilbash*, distinctive of the seven Shiah tribes of northern Persia, who professed Sufism. The Shiah were then a minor sect of Islam.[533] Ismail claimed, with no justification in fact, to be a lineal descendant of Ali, the son-in-law of Mohammed. His claim was backed by these tribes, and was the beginning of a powerful opposition to the Sunni form of Islam, which had hitherto dominated the rest of the Muslim world. Ismail succeeded only in establishing a great empire, in which the Shiahs were safe from the persecution of the Sunnis, and which contained all the principal sacred places of the Shiah sect. To-day these two sects are the most influential among the countless sects of Islam. In King Manuel's day it was largely a contest between Persians and Arabs led by Turks.

The man who blocked the comprehensive ambitions of Ismail was Selim I (1512–1520), the Sultan of Turkey who succeeded the easy-going Bayazid II. As soon as he heard of Ismail's initial victories, he massacred forty-thousand of his own Shiah subjects by way of reprisal. By means of artillery, which Ismail did not as yet possess, Selim brought him to a standstill in 1514. Ismail had been long coquetting with the Portuguese, whose astonishing naval victories over the combined fleets of Egypt and India in 1509 had impressed him deeply. Within the next six years he sent four embassies to Afonso de Albuquerque,[534] who welcomed Ismail " as a thunderbolt sent by God upon the sect of Islam ".

But Albuquerque was a statesman who realised that in politics idealism is not enough. He felt it his duty to see that it had roots in the hard realities of this workaday world, if it was to have a chance of prevailing. Hence his efforts to negotiate a commercial and military treaty with this rising power in the East. Though several Portuguese embassies went to Shah Ismail's capital in Persia, the main contact with him took place in Ormuz. Over this opulent town, the gem of the middle east, he claimed a suzerainty, but this was wrested from him by

Albuquerque, and the Shah acquiesced in view of the benefits of Portuguese friendship.

The policy which King Manuel established here was a model of imperial moderation and wisdom. The boast of Peter Teixeira,[535] penned a hundred years later, was amply justified. "Our kings do not fail to maintain undisputed therein the legitimate succession of the native kings (of Ormuz) to this very day" under the suzerainty of Portugal. The bazaars of Ormuz became the wonder of travellers, and here the wealth of two hemispheres met, and men of every shade and faith. No man was a stranger in a Persian city which welcomed Arabs, Portuguese, Bantu from Zanzibar, English, Spaniards, Italians, Frenchmen, Dutchmen and Indians. Thus by the common links of trade all men became interested in sustaining this Christian stronghold on the flank of the Ottoman empire. As long as the Safawi dynasty lasted, the Portuguese had a Muslim ally on the mainland, whose ties with Portugal gave pause to thoughts of aggression on the part of the Sultan of Turkey.

This, however, did not satisfy Manuel's ambition to establish a new framework of world trade. The Ottomans were a diseased growth in the body of the European commonwealth of nations. To be a healthy foundation of this world organism, Europe needed a surgical operation, the excision of the Turks. For this purpose to the day of his death Manuel never ceased to cherish the hope that he might organise an offensive against Constantinople with the assistance of Prester John.

How fully Rome shared the hopes of Portugal, can be seen in a letter that Cardinal Carvajal wrote to Henry VIII in September 1516. "The navigations of the Portuguese will be of great service in driving the Turks out of Europe. The Portuguese are in touch with the Sophi through the Persian Gulf, and as the Sophi does not indulge in polygamy, they think that they could persuade him to become a Christian, especially as there are ten times more Christians than infidels in the Turkish provinces. Prester John is ready to attack Egypt, which formerly belonged to his ancestors".

All Manuel's forward campaigns in north Africa were parts of this plan. Damian de Goes tells us that the King

on his deathbed expressed the keenest regret, that he had not gone in person to Morocco, in order to force the pace there. A number of letters in Arabic have survived which show, that a good many of these chiefs found it in their interest to be steady supporters of the Portuguese, ready to share also these burdens of imperial expansion.[536]

As late as 1520 King Charles of Spain, newly-elected Emperor, wrote to Manuel reminding him of the dangerous nest of pirates who operated freely from the mouth of the River of Tetuan, and offered to build a strong fortress, as a protection for both Portugal and Spain. Three years before this King Manuel had sent Diogo Lopes de Sequeira there on a two months' cruise, with a strong fleet and orders to root out all the pirates from Gibraltar and from Tetuan as far as Melilla. But these Barbary pirates were as elusive and as recurrent as the waves of the ocean.

Hence it seemed quite clear to Manuel, that the main drive against the Turk would have to come from the land of Prester John. To bring this about, Manuel devoted the last years of his life to finding out what the real position of that potentate was. Thus originated the two embassies to Abyssinia, which have been so fully recorded by Portuguese writers. King Manuel ceased to have any interest in the squabbles of the Big Three of Europe. When the King of France sounded him about joining his league against Spain, Manuel replied that he would gladly gratify Francis of Valois in everything that was not detrimental to true religion, but on no account would he join any league of Christians against Christians.[537] He now turned in hope to the one Christian king of Africa.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Entering the Land of Prester John.

No previous event of Portuguese history in east Africa is preserved so fully in documentary evidence as the last, and finally successful, effort of King Manuel to reach the land of Prester John. This episode may be said to start with the departure of the Portuguese envoy, Edward Galvão, accompanied by the Abyssinian Matthew, in the fleet of Lopo Soares de Albergaria on the seventh of April 1515. It was a dismal start.

King Manuel himself, as has been noted, appears to have begun to nourish misgivings about Matthew. The Governor-General of India, Albergaria, made no secret of his opinion that the man was an impostor, probably a paid spy of the Sultan of Cairo. His uncouth manners grated on the nerves of the Portuguese noblemen, when they came into daily contact with him aboard ship. They also found him touchy, hard to please, and unreasonably obstinate in following his native customs in the face of the Portuguese company.

But the Devil began to sow cockle with both hands, Father Alvares tells us, on the grave of Matthew's nephew, Jacob, who died at Cananor.[538] Matthew became convinced that they had let him die, "because he was a Moor" and he blamed Edward Galvão. Disasters at Mozambique, Malindi, Socotra and elsewhere made the voyage memorable in the annals of ill-fated ships. But the honest chaplain, Father Francis Alvares, does not exonerate his countrymen from their share of the blame. "Things are done in India by favour and not by justice, and they cover the sun with a fan there". Thus does he hint somewhat subtly in a letter to the King, that there were two sides to this quarrel. Father Alvares never lost faith in Matthew, cheering him up in the darkest moments, and at the same time he won the respect of the viceroy and his captains, who could not resist his rare blend of straightforwardness and tact. In this way

the Chaplain succeeded in preventing a complete breach between the two parties into which King Manuel's mission had split.

The only halt they made on the journey out was at Mozambique, where Albergaria found two ships which had tried again, without success, to found a settlement and fort at Madagascar. Taking these two ships with him he reached Goa on the second of September. At Cananor he drew up a full report (with the evidence in writing of the principal parties concerned) of the complaints and quarrels of the two ambassadors, Galvão and Matthew, for transmission to the King.[539] Reading this report to-day, we see clearly the personal antipathy between the two men. It must have been galling for a veteran statesman like Galvão, who had been the intimate friend of three kings of Portugal, of the Emperor and of the Pope, to be shouted at by a semi-Beduin of so little breeding as the worthy Matthew. Even at the enquiry the interpreter, Michael Nunes, declined to translate some of the latter's Arabic vituperation into Portuguese. To make matters worse, Galvão's assistant was not loyal to his chief. Thus the whole year 1516 was spent in Cochin in an atmosphere of intrigue and grievance, whilst Albergaria was busy with his preparations to deal with the Turks in the Red Sea, and to enable the King's envoys to discharge their commission in Abyssinia.

This new Governor-General of India had not the galvanic energy of Albuquerque.[540] Months went by in overhauling the fortresses of the Malabar coast. But the greatest delay occurred in completing some large galleys and long row-boats, specially designed for fighting in the Red Sea, which Albuquerque had begun. Then came the winter season in Cochin, during which the land preparations were made, as little could then be done at sea.

Before the Red Sea fleet was ready, a special naval courier arrived from King Manuel. This was Diogo de Unhos, a great seaman who had been in charge of the ships in Table Bay, when Almeida was killed there. Now his ship had left Lisbon a month after the annual fleet, and it arrived in India a month before the annual fleet. The King wished Albergaria to know as soon as possible,

that the Sultan of Cairo was busy again, and was assembling a fleet of fighting ships at Suez, about which Unhos brought detailed information.

This was supplemented, and in part counteracted, by a capture which the Viceroy's fleet soon made outside Jidda, the port whose golden waters saw many a shipload of Mecca pilgrims disembark. But this time it was a *jelba*, a small boat which contained a number of Italians, chiefly Venetians. They had deserted from the Egyptian fleet, into whose service they were forced at Alexandria, as they were all expert mechanics. They reported that the courage of the Egyptians was at a low ebb, because Egypt was in dread of the dark designs of the Sultan of Constantinople. But as the Viceroy, who was still in Cochin, only learned this conforting news later, he assembled a formidable fleet of ten large ships and twenty-seven small ones, gathered from various ports near Goa, and they sailed for the Gulf of Aden on the eighth of February, 1517. One of his aims was to land the ambassadors in the realm of Prester John.

This time the two ambassadors sailed on different ships. Father Alvares had brought about a reconciliation between them during the months of waiting at Cochin. He had even prevailed upon Matthew to apologise to Galvão for his unconventional language. It was certainly wise to avoid repeating the risks of daily contact. So Father Alvares went on board the *São Pedro* with Matthew, in order that he might continue to be his mentor. Galvão boarded the biggest ship of the fleet, the *Santa Catherina do Monte Sinai*, a fighting galley of eight hundred tons.

The long name of this flagship, christened by the Portuguese, is a flashlight, showing how vividly these Christians of the sixteenth century realised the significance of the chapel which the Greek Emperor, Justinian, erected on Mount Sinai, where they believed that the law of God's commandments was first given to mankind, where Elias passed in his flight to Mount Horeb, and where the burning bush roused Moses to his task of leading Israel's exodus from the slavery of Egypt. The noble lady and Christian martyr of Alexandria, whose name the ship also bore, recalled the long line of Christian martyrs, monks and hermits, who led their cloistered lives amid this

wilderness of hostile Beduins. The Portuguese were now conscious of the mission of binding closer the ties of east and west in a common tradition, of which Mount Sinai and Saint Catherine were the outstanding links on the shores of this remote creek of the Indian Ocean, which they were approaching. In Abyssinia King Manuel proposed to forge a new link that would clinch the whole cycle, and complete a world chain binding all men in a spiritual union to the feet of Christ.

The details of Albergaria's weak campaign in the Red Sea do not belong to our story. With a formidable fleet and 1,200 of the best sailors in the world behind him, he refused to accept the surrender of Aden, because his instructions were not to waste time in taking it, but rather to push on, in order to deal with the combined fleets of Egyptians and Barbary pirates. If he had been an Epaminondas, he would have risked even the King's ire to acquire such a pledge of security as Aden, which was the one unfulfilled desire of Albuquerque in his plans to control the Indian Ocean. "It is sometimes the highest form of courage," comments Bishop Osorio,[541] "to revise orders received in accordance with a change of circumstances".

What the King intended by his instructions on this point was that Albergaria should not risk being delayed by besieging Aden. That the Muslim ruler should offer to surrender it out of hatred of his Muslim enemies of the Mediterranean, was a stroke of good fortune which had not entered into King Manuel's calculations.

Soon after Albergaria's arrival in India some of the best captains, men trained in the school of Almeida and Albuquerque, realised the new Viceroy's slackness in what these soldiers regarded as matters of honour, in other words, his inclination to look by preference to trade gains. They sailed for Europe in disgust. The Moors, they said, could only be kept in check by men of iron. Thus it was not the Muslim that brought about the "sad and pitiful tragedy" of Albergaria's nerveless government. Never was such a large fleet dissolved without fighting, by constant disasters on land and sea. Fortune seemed to delight in thwarting the man who threw away its gift in Aden.

But at least the Abyssinian wing of his fleet reached its destination. It was a terrific storm that decided the course which the ambassadors of Prester John were to take, separating them from the main body of the fleet and from one another. The *São Pedro*, having a clumsy junk in tow, had fallen behind the rest of the ships. On Good Friday the junk became so waterlogged by the storm, that it was cut adrift and sank. The towing ship thus lightened was carried along the coast of Somaliland and Erithrea before the furious gale, drifting within sight of the land. The first safe spot where they could anchor was a creek of the island of Dahlak. In this neighbourhood they remained twenty-eight days, not knowing what had happened to their comrades in the other ships.[542]

Among the visitors who boarded the ship from the island were two distinguished looking men, who addressed Matthew as Abraham Matthew, and gave him the friendly salaam of the East. They also brought a letter from the local ruler, welcoming the strangers. To this Matthew sent a reply in Arabic, telling of the great Portuguese fleet which was coming on after them, and asking the ruler of the island to inform the nearest captain of Prester John, that his servant Matthew had arrived with the Portuguese. When these messengers departed, Matthew warned Captain John da Silveira that this Sheikh of Dahlak was not to be trusted. On this advice Silveira changed the anchorage of the *São Pedro* to a smaller island close by named Daruá.

During the stay in these waters a more welcome visitor arrived, who had heard of the coming of the Portuguese. He was a boy named Gabra Chrestos, sent by Dori the Barnagash or Abyssinian governor of this coast. By this boy King David sent an invitation to the Portuguese to come at once to his country, and to build a church there whenever they wished. At the same time he warned them that the Muslim rulers of Dahlak and Massawa were preparing men and ships to attack them. After a short conversation Matthew and the messenger found that they had common friends, among them "the Bishop of the Monastery of the Vision, which was 2½ days' journey distant". Father Alvares was most anxious that they should accept the royal invitation at once, and volunteered

to accompany Matthew. But Captain da Silveira would not hear of it, though the Chaplain pressed his request more than once.

Whilst the matter was being debated, two ships from the grand fleet hove in sight. Lopo Soares de Albergaria had sent them from the island of Camaran, where he was waiting to search for the vessels that were missing. He added an instruction that must have disheartened the ambassadors. They were ordered to rejoin the main fleet immediately at the island, just when the first distant view of Prester John was cheering them.

Worst of all for them was the news they received at Camaran, namely, that the navy of the Muslim in Jiddah had not been destroyed, as everybody had hoped would be done in accordance with the known orders of King Manuel. In consequence there was a bitter dispute among the Portuguese captains.[543] For Albergaria, after spending eleven days in a blockade of the port of Jiddah, decided in the end that it was not worth taking; because he now saw clearly that the Muslim forces there comprised a poor fleet, which could never constitute a peril to India. True, they had just received the news of the Turkish conquest of Egypt. But the Turks would be kept busy many a year holding down Egypt, reducing Syria, campaigning in Hungary, and guarding their back door from the assaults of Ismail Shah.

It would be absurd to risk the fleet upon which the safety of India depended, to win such a paltry prize, in the face of land batteries and the military resources of the town. That was the matter-of-fact view of the Governor-General of India. But the old lion Edward Galvão forgot his personal troubles in this crisis of Portuguese honour, as he chose to call it. He went to the Admiral's cabin, and conjured him for hours not to lower the prestige of Portugal in this way. But Albergaria only locked his cabin against further interviews.

The fleet raised anchors, and sailed away amid a salvo of murmurs from the disgruntled captains and fidalgos, who groaned that Albuquerque would never have done this. A parting shot came from the shore in the shape of a letter in Spanish from Rais Soleyman, who "regretted that Lopo Soares de Albergaria would not be his guest

ashore, as he had been waiting to give him a warm reception". But the Viceroy was quite equal to the occasion with his reply. "If the fleet which Rais Soleyman has borrowed from the Sultan will come into the open, where it can be grappled with, the Portuguese will return his friendly hospitality with double measure. If Soleyman really wants Lopo Soares de Albergaria, he will be able to find him at the island of Camaran".

To this island then the Portuguese sailed in May, and the Viceroy's main object in going there was to pull down a fortress partly erected by Soleyman. They remained here from the second of May to the tenth of July, a period of gruelling heat.[544] Water and food were scarce, so that nine hundred of the Portuguese died, and most of the Malabar sailors as well as the galley slaves. Into this sea of sickness and discontent sailed the *São Pedro*, having on board Father Alvares, Matthew and the Italian merchant Andrew Corsali.

Going ashore they found Edward Galvão in the last stages of his last illness, fighting hard against death in spite of his 72 years. Amongst the ships still missing, whose fate was unknown, was a foist built in Cochin and captained by Galvão's nephew Alvaro de Castro, with his son, Rui Galvão on board. As soon as Father Alvares had greeted Edward Galvão, the latter asked him why he had not told him of the drowning of his son and nephew. "Moreover Father", he added, "Lawrence de Cosme and some men of his ship whom you have just left at Dahlak, have been decapitated by the Arabs there". How did he learn these secrets? They were confirmed two days later, when the caravels returned from Dahlak. The historian John de Barros,[545] who narrates the facts, ventures to explain. "It would seem that the soul when about to leave for the region of the spirits, half parted from the body, sees in the spirit what is hidden from us". On Whitmonday the ninth of June 1517 Edward Galvão died, and with his remains was enterred the first embassy from Christian Europe to Prester John.

Father Alvares mourned him very sincerely. In Portugal his death was regarded as a national disaster. Apart from his reputation as a veteran servant of the

King, he was famous as a writer. All his published works seem to have perished; but Barros has preserved the fact of his contemporary fame, as a learned humanist and historian. His last work was a reasoned defence of his commission in Abyssinia, the plan of which he had sketched as far back as 1505, and at King Manuel's request placed before the Pope, the Emperor and the King of France. Old as he was, he considered it a point of honour to accept the onus of carrying out this plan, when it was offered to him. A younger man might have been able to see it through.

Even then the hope of doing this boyed up Father Alvares for a few days. He begged the captain, Dom John da Silveira, to allow him to go with Matthew, a few friars and the Abyssinian messenger boy, to Arkiko where the Barnagash ruled, feeling confident that the rest was only a matter of arrangement with this high officer of Prester John. The Captain's reply, sent through his secretary to Matthew, was peremptory. Matthew was to be transferred to another ship; and he would be allowed to disembark only at any one of three ports which he might choose: Barbera, Zeila or Aden. It would lower the prestige of the Captain, if he brought back to India such a signal failure, and he refused to continue a farce which had been going on too long already.

But Silveira had not reckoned on the tenacity of the Oriental, backed as he was by Father Alvares. Matthew replied that his sense of honour did not permit him to disobey King Manuel, or to obey a captain who ventured to give orders contrary to those of his King. What he did not tell them was that he regarded the order to tranship him, as a trick to get him ashore, and leave him there among Somali enemies. He was aboard the King's ship, and rather than leave it he would die like a Christian and a gentleman. When the master of the ship was sent to dislodge him, he barricaded himself in his cabin; and there he remained unti the *São Pedro* reached Cochin.

The letter of Father Alvares, to which we owe most of these details, was written from Cochin on the ninth of January 1518.[546] He ends by warning the King that there are "too many people in India who prefer to do business

rather than fight for the Faith". Even the welfare of crews and passengers is neglected by some captains, who find abundant room for saleable goods, but little for proper food. I shall say no more, because I am remaining in India. My one request to Your Highness is that, if you send a new embassy to Prester John, I be not left out. But meantime I shall not abandon the Ambassador here until someone else takes his place".

Two long years passed before the King felt able to take any decisive step in this difficult matter. Meantime letters on the controversy, as well as messengers, were passing between Lisbon and India. Prester John had given the Portuguese King the hardest nut to crack in his overseas policy. One abstacle at least was removed in 1519, when Lopo Soares de Albergaria returned home on the expiry of his term of office as governor-general, having atoned to some extent for his naval misfortunes by unusual luck in the matter of spice-cargoes.

Matthew must have been in Cochin in January of that year, when the new Governor Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, who had arrived in India some months before, showed such exquisite courtesy to his departing colleague. It was evidently the gentle firmness of a man who was commissioned to reverse much of his predessor's guidance of overseas affairs.[547]

Twelve months later this was visible to all men, in so far as Prester John was concerned. The new Governor-General sailed with the nucleus of a large fleet from his official headquarters at Cochin on the second of January 1520, and he invited Father Alvares and Matthew to accompany him. They called at various ports of the Malabar coast, in order to augment the strength of the fleet, and left Goa on the thirteenth of February with twenty-four handsome ships and three thousand men, bound for the Red Sea.[548]

Sequeira had arranged with King Manuel the approximate date of his arrival at Cape Guardafui ; and when he reached the spot pre-arranged, he was met by an ocean courier much employed in this way, Pero Vaz de Vera. He brought the latest news about the Turkish fleet in the Red Sea, obtained from the friends of Portugal in the Levant, and a fresh injunction to the Governor-

General that at all costs Matthew must be utilised for the adventure in the land of Prester John, in order to obtain the fullest information possible.

At the entrance of the Red Sea Sequeira's ship struck a rock, and foundered, though all the men were saved aboard the other ships. But this misfortune was obliterated in the sailors' minds by a good omen, much prized in nautical circles. On the evening of Easter Sunday, as the sun was disappearing behind a mountain, they saw what the seaman called the cock's fan on the disk of the sun. On Easter Monday early in April, they were able to anchor in the waters between the island of Massawa and Arkiko on the mainland. The *jelbas* had announced the approach of foreign vessels, and the Muslim of Massawa fled to Arkiko with all their belongings, thinking that these were Egyptian ships, as they had often been plundered by them. When they discovered that they were Portuguese, they returned to their islands. But two messengers now came from Arkiko, one a Christian and the other a Mohammedan.[549]

They were the bearers of a letter of welcome from the Abyssinian captain of Arkiko, written in Arabic. He recalled the prophecies current among his people, and recorded in their sacred books, promising that they would be delivered from the constant menace of the hostile Muslim by the advent of a Christian people from over the sea. The Governor-General, who spoke Arabic fluently, entertained these visitors hospitably and promised that Prester John's subjects, whether Christian or Muslim, would always be protected by the Portuguese.

In token of this he handed the Christian messenger a banner of white damask with a red cross upon it, the standard of the Order of Christ, which was also the flag of the Portuguese navy. So delighted was the Muslim envoy with this reception, that when their brigantine neared the shore, and his Christian colleague was busy unfurling the banner for the crowd on shore to see, the Muslim jumped overboard and swam to the beach, in order to be the first to bring these good tidings to the Captain of Arkiko.

A few days later the Abyssinian captain of Arkiko himself came to the shore in rich Moorish garb, with an

escort of thirty cavalry and two hundred men on foot. Sequeira had him ferried on board, and passed a considerable time in conversation with him about his country. The Captain of Arkiko stated that he had already written to the Abyssinian governor of these frontiers, whose title was the Barnagash,[550] telling him of the friendly visitors; but this high official of Prester John would not be able to come until the next week, as they considered Easter Week too sacred a season for the distractions of a long journey.

The Governor of India purposely refrained from any mention of the ambassador Matthew, as he was anxious to get at the truth about him; and he feared that leading questions might only prompt the Captain and his staff to invent such tales as they thought might please the Portuguese. To his astonishment the questions came soon enough from the Abyssinians. Had the Governor-General heard anything, in Portugal or India, of an ambassador who had been sent nine or ten years ago by Prester John? Sequeira asked his name. This was correctly given, and also that he was a merchant of Cairo, whom Queen Helena had often used for negotiations of various kinds.

The Governor-General then sent for Matthew to come and meet the visitors. As soon as he appeared, he was lionised by the Abyssinians with every mark of respect, and addressed as *Abuna*, which is also the title they give their Patriarch. When this much abused man found himself once more amongst friends who believed in him, his eyes filled with tears which rolled down his long white beard. Then Sequeira and his subalterns, in spite of the personal dislike which many of them felt for him, regretted the injustice that had been done him, and expressed their pleasure that he had been vindicated at long last.

Meantime the rumour had got about among the sailors, that this land of Prester John was full of gold mines in the interior. Three of the men from one of galleys deserted and struck inland. Sequeira made use of the incident to secure further information about the remoter parts of the country, which he knew would be very grateful to King Manuel, since it would be the report of eyewitnesses.

So the Governor-General commissioned a man of great experience in the East to go to the Captain at Arkiko, and ask permission to look for the sailors who had deserted. This man was Ferdinand Dias, an expert in the Arabic language, which was understood by the Abyssinians in this province contiguous to the Muslim coast. The fugitives were duly brought back.

Then Pero Gomes de Teixeira, chief magistrate of India, asked to be allowed to visit the Abyssinian monastery called "of the Vision", about which he had heard wonders during the fortnight of their stay. He was anxious to check the information which he had received from some Abyssinian friars, who came from that monastery to pay their respects to the Governor-General. "We are glad to be with you Christians", he said to them, "in a land where there are monasteries and houses of prayer in which God is worshipped".

Permission was granted to the polite stranger to visit this sanctuary, and Teixeira brought to Portugal a manuscript on parchment, which some say was a breviary of the Coptic Church. Others say that it was a history of the Church with the Gospels, Epistles of St. Paul and the Psalms of David. All agree that it was in "Chaldaic", namely, in the Ethiopian language.

Whatever else this manuscript may have contained, it certainly comprised a statement of the main tenets of the Ethiopian Church. This we know from the best qualified exponent of Abyssinian beliefs, the head priest of the great Monastery of Bizen (the Vision), who presented it to Teixeira as an answer to his questions on the subject. The priest's name was Samara Christus.

Teixeira had asked permission to visit the monastery because he was deeply interested in their whole history. Being an assiduous student of the Bible, this Chief Justice of India had already come to the conclusion that the Abyssinians were the descendants of the lost ten tribes of Israel, which had been dragged into captivity to Assyria after the fall of Samaria. The *Books of Kings* give us the impression that these tribes became absorbed into the races among which they were forced to live, and that they were lost to history as a separate people. But to Chief Justice Teixeira the fourth

Book of Esdras seemed to throw fresh light upon the subject.[551]

There in a vision Esdras saw how the lost tribes were brought away from this land, which they entered in the days of Salmanazar. This is how Teixeira puts his reading of the vision of Esdras. "The ten tribes passed the Euphrates to a distant country, travelling a whole year; and there they will keep God's commandments until He will open a road for their return. Perhaps these people of Prester John descend from that race, and God by means of our lord the King wishes them to return to the Holy House. Our King has discovered so many new lands, and as yet no other trace of these ten tribes. Moreover these Abyssinians are said to have some manners and ceremonies of the Old Testament, besides inhabiting a large country".

The Catholic Church was the Holy House to which Teixeira thought that they would be brought back. Esdras called the new home of the ten tribes Arsareth. Teixeira concluded that Arsareth might well be Abyssinia.

After examining the two monasteries on the highest mountain, he invited Samara Christus with five or six of his friars to a friendly discussion on the sloping meadow in front of the larger church. There seated on a rock, with the Bible on his knees, Teixeira examined them on their history with the acumen of a trained lawyer. Below them were the smaller peaks of the ranges, which fell away to the distant Red Sea. He first questioned them about their Bible, and checked it book by book, to see whether it tallied with his Catholic Bible. They proved to have everything he valued except the *Fourth Book of Esdras*, a great disappointment to Teixeira as a scholar.

But he found some compensation in other things which he now learned. The Abyssinian Church according to the friars owed its original foundation to the Apostle Saint Matthew. They practised Confession, the custom of tithes, and acknowledged the Bishop of Rome as the successor of St. Peter and the fountain of all jurisdiction in the Christian Church. "They had not been able to show their practical loyalty to the Pope; because Rome was so far away, and many enemies intervened to prevent their

going to Rome". The last sentence of the friars was more pleasing to the Portuguese than strictly accurate. It represented the views of the less ignorant among the Abyssinian clergy, who still clung to the tradition of the Council of Florence, but not the views of the illiterate multitude. But the endeavour of the friars to please the Portuguese shows that they had made a friendly impression.

Teixeira returned to Arkiko next day in the firm conviction that he was dealing with an alert Christian people, who only needed the assistance of the Portuguese methods to learn their faith more fully, and to make rapid progress in the arts of civilisation. Meanwhile, he wrote to the King, that these good friars "with their prayers formed a spiritual fortress of Christianity", which had achieved the miracle of holding out for centuries against a besieging army of Muslim, stretching from Somaliland through Egypt to China.

But the crown of all these forunate adventures was the visit of the Barnagash himself. Having met Teixeira and feeling that he could trust him, he insisted that this official should come up to fetch him, and accompany him to Arkiko. Some Muslim friends of the Barnagash had already begun to poison his mind against the Portuguese. His whole attitude showed that he feared some kind of ambush. Hence he refused to meet Sequeira on the seashore, possibly fearing the proximity of the artillery of the fleet. Then he declined to enter the gala tents that had been erected for his meeting with the Governor-General. But the good nature of the Portuguese overcame every objection, by yielding to the whims of this suspicious semi-barbarian in the matter of procedure. After much preliminary discussion the ceremonial of the formal meeting was finally arranged by Anthony de Saldanha, whose name is so closely associated with the coast near Cape Town.

Three decorated seats were erected in an open plain away from the seashore. The two viceroys (for the Barnagash was really the viceroy of the Negus) came to positions agreed upon, and halted facing one another. Then these two leaders with the ambassador Matthew moved into the centre, where the chairs had been placed,

and greeted one another each after the fashion of his own land.

Sitting down, they began the momentous conference which meant so much for Portugal and Abyssinia for the next hundred years. They had not only a common language, Arabic, but a precious common interest, the Christian faith. Lopo Soares de Sequeira opened the discussion by explaining the aims of his sovereign, especially his desire to send an embassy to the court of Prester John, in order to establish friendly and permanent relations between their two nations. The Barnagash listened attentively, and complete agreement was reached in detail.

Then the Abyssinian Viceroy beckoned to a priest who came forward with a cross, symbol of the imponderables that united these two peoples so dissimilar in culture and in outward appearance. "May that peace and love", intoned the priest, "which Christ our Redeemer commanded to his disciples ever be maintained between our sovereigns and people". To maintain this peace, was the oath they took in the presence of myriads of Abyssinians and some hundreds of Portuguese. It was a day of conscious triumph for Sequeira. That this was fully understood by contemporaries can be seen from the letter which Pero Gomes de Teixeira, who was present at this scene, wrote to King Manuel from Cochin in the following November. "At last we know the truth about Ethopia", he wrote in effect; "up to this everything seemed so uncertain, that the quest for Prester John began to look like a bad joke".

At the end of the meeting Sequeira presented to the Barnagash the ambassador of Portugal, whom he had brought with him. His name was Dom Rodrigo de Lima, a man of the highest nobility and fine presence, but of mediocre intelligence though good natured. The part he played in the great events that followed was not a conspicuous one.

The same must be said of the second in command, George de Abreu d'Elvas, whose intractable character made him a liability in the adventure. A printer, an organist, a painter and several mechanics were added to the usual officials of such a mission. But the sorely

tried Matthew died at the Monastery of the Vision, a few days after the caravan began its tedious march.

The two men who were to exercise a decisive influence on the course of these events were Father Alvares and the physician John Bermudes. Their full activities belong to the next reign, that of John III. No one could then have suspected the amazing career that the quiet doctor was to have. But the Governor-General already knew the sterling worth of Father Alvares. "Dom Rodrigo", he said, "I am not sending Father Alvares with you, but you with Father Alvares; and you are to order nothing of importance without at least hearing what he has to say".

The purposes of this mission are amply described in the long instructions, which Sequeira handed to D. Rodrigo before starting.[552] A summary of them will throw a clear light on the mentality of these Portuguese pioneers. "You shall be careful to keep our customs and Church rites; but on no account must you criticize those of the Abyssinians, as you are guests in their country. You shall explain King Manuel's motives to Prester John, showing what our sovereign has already done, and that you are sent to seek the friendship of Abyssinia. Tell Prester John that we have always been able to beat the Moors. Relate to him how we discovered India, Sofala and the Chinese. You shall also enquire about the geography of this country, its trade, population, mines and the relative number of Christians and Muslim. Note how the administration of justice is carried out, and what Prester John's relations with the Sultan are, as well as the exact distance to Cairo. You shall find out what you can about the Patriarch who is said to govern their Church, what his powers are, what rites they practice and what ecclesiastical laws they have. You shall enquire of Prester John what help in men and provisions he would be prepared to give, in the event of an attack upon Cairo."

"You shall inform Queen Helena that the present embassy is the outcome of her letter, presented by the ambassador Matthew. You shall pay your respects to her, to the Patriarch and to the grandees. But above all, be correct and exemplary in your conduct, so that they may

have no just complaint to make. We shall be judged by what you do. You shall also find out about the sources and course of the Nile, and whether the kingdom of Prester John extends as far as the Cape of Good Hope. If you are not able to return home by next March, when our fleet calls at Arkiko in the Red Sea, you shall at least leave letters for us".

With these wise and searching instructions to guide them, they left Arkiko on the last day of April for the court of Prester John and their great adventure. We gain a useful idea of the Europe from which these bold men came, if we recall the three outstanding events that occurred in Europe during the months of their trek from the Red Sea coast to the court of Prester John.

Soleyman the Magnificent became Sultan of Constantinople the year before, and the Pope had rejoiced, thinking that he had to deal with a peace-loving Turk. Before long Soleyman belied his reputation by seizing Belgrade, as the basis of an offensive against Hungary.[553] A fresh band of Catholic reformers, four cardinals among them, began to meet in Rome as the Oratory of Divine Love, with the warm approval of the Pope. The third event was the excommunication of Martin Luther. The last two events would arouse little interest in Portugal, as the Church was accustomed to reformations, and these seemed to concern Italy and Germany only, where the Portuguese believed indeed that some reformation was urgently needed.

But the new phase of the Sultan of Constantinople alarmed King Manuel. As the Turkish peril increased, he felt the greater urgency of a move against Constantinople through Cairo. Prester John became a more precious pawn than ever. Now more than ever, to quote the mixed metaphor of Barros, the Portuguese became "militant Catholics in the vineyard of the Lord".[554]

It must therefore have been balm to the soul of King Manuel, when in the early months of 1521 Captain Vaz de Vera, renowned as the ocean greyhound, arrived in Lisbon with the news that Prester John's kingdom had been found, and that the Viceroy of India had met face to face the Viceroy of Prester John. At the end of the year the new king, John III, received a letter from King

David of Abyssinia, offering a treaty of alliance and promising to send an ambassador.

The news about Prester John sent all Portugal into ecstasies. Manuel had it published officially in every town and village, such was the importance that he attached to it. The celebrations were as joyous, though not as riotous as in the cities of our day, when the nations acclaim some victory in which myriads of lives were sacrificed. This victory was almost bloodless, chiefly a test of will-power, efficiency and endurance, and it was fittingly celebrated with religious processions, as well as popular rejoicings.

The Pope was promptly informed of the unique event. "We have at last found Prester John so long sought after", wrote Manuel. After replying with congratulations to Manuel, Pope Leo X wrote a noble letter "to the archbishops and other prelates, the clergy of Ethiopia, Abyssinia and the Nile kingdom", which is dated the twentieth of September, 1521. Within less than three months both Pope and King were dead.

But the Pope's letter shows great restraint, as he could discern the difficulties of the situation more clearly than the King. Pope Leo tells the Abyssinians that he had heard from King Manuel of the arrival of Portuguese ships in their land, and rejoiced to hear that they were good Catholics. After exhorting them to persevere in the Christian faith, he invites them to Rome, and is glad to know of their King's friendly league with the King of Portugal.

The Portuguese were soon to learn what a difficult task they had assumed, in endeavouring to civilise this African race. The Abyssinians had received from Alexandria only "the husk of the Christian faith",[555] and were at first profoundly suspicious of any attempt to reveal the kernel of the Faith to them. The few indications of science or culture or theology among them were the work of European visitors, chiefly Italians. Both the leaders and the mob were superstitiously afraid to assimilate the culture offered to them. The bastions of the gigantic mountain-ranges of Abyssinia had generated in the people a mentality of aloofness, which amounted to an almost instinctive distrust of the outside world.

The outstanding gain of Sequeira's visit was that, by acclamation, Abyssinia ratified the Lisbon and Rome negotiations of the dead envoy Matthew. The last few weeks of his tormented years of office had built him an epitaph of the kind which the "corroding rain" cannot destroy. This triumph was not due in any great degree to the efficiency or tact of Matthew himself. Courage was his only personal asset, and that alone would not have spelt success.

The happy ending of his contentious mission was due to the faith of King Manuel in the star of Prester John, to the hope of Albuquerque which defied all obstacles, and to the charity of Father Francis Alvares that could think no evil.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Land Routes to Prester John Through Africa

KING MANUEL devised several plans to carry out an idea which had long been simmering in his brain, the idea of a land route to Abyssinia from the west coast of Africa. Roads have always been indispensable arteries of empire, as Manuel would learn from the solid stone highways of the Roman empire, which were still admired in Portugal itself. Had not Cicero[556] ascribed the decline of Greece to excessive dependence on sea routes alone? These made Greece an annexe of the Barbarians, whereas roads would have brought the culture of the Greeks to the Barbarians.

Even John II had a vague feeling that there must be a way to Prester John from the Gold Coast, and he made a fruitless attempt to find it by following the course of the Senegal River. Manuel had tried to reach the same goal by pushing up the Congo River. That was in 1512, when he sent Simon da Silva to make a full report on the economic conditions of that colony. The detailed instructions then given contained this item. "You shall send some men up the Congo River as far as its source, and report what people live there". At that time, and more than a hundred years later, all Europe believed that the Congo River and the Nile had the same source, so that Manuel hoped in this way to reach Prester John by road, as he was reputed to have control of the upper waters of the Nile.

The King was greatly encouraged in these plans by a letter which Afonso de Albuquerque wrote to him in 1513 from India. "If you take up a strong position in the Red Sea, you have all the gold in the world in your hands, because you will control all the gold of Prester John". Then comes this significant statement.[557] "The Red Sea is not far from the sea of Guinea, because the journey from the Red Sea to the Congo by land is not longer than six hundred leagues in my opinion". This was an excellent

calculation on the part of Albuquerque, though it took no account of the twists, turns and ascents. If Albuquerque had lived a few years longer, he would undoubtedly have found a way across. He had that fount of unbounded energy in himself, by which some men do things that are impossible to the majority.

The Portuguese at this time already knew enough about the continent of Africa, to feel sure that it could be traversed from the Congo to Mozambique.[558] There was an early tradition, preserved by Garcia de Orta in his *Colloquios da India*, about a secular priest from the island of San Thomé, who performed this feat during the reign of King Manuel. Twenty years after Manuel's death, when John III sent Christopher da Gama to Abyssinia, he takes it for granted that the journey from the east coast to the west coast was possible, and suggests that Christopher should order some of his men to make the attempt.

But in 1520 Manuel thought that he had at last found the person, who could carry out his plan of going from the Congo to Abyssinia. It was Gregory da Quadra,[559] a traveller who had just returned from India with an astonishing record even for those astonishing days of daring. His story was preserved for us by Damian de Goes, who was an intimate friend of his, and heard it from his own lips.

Quadra sailed from Lisbon in 1509, as captain of a brigantine which was told off to assist Edward de Lemos in his lively task of collecting the tribute due to the King by the Arabs of the "Meadows of Gold", as Barros called the coast south of Cape Corrientes. The islands were also included in their beat: Zanzibar, Pemba, Monfia and the rest. Whilst cruising in the neighbourhood of Cape Guardafui, they were caught in a hurricane and thrown upon the beach at Zaila, a Muslim port which had once been under the Negus. Quadra was enslaved to the local sheikh in his chief village, named Zibit. Being a resourceful man, he learned to make Moorish capes out of odd bits of cloth, and thus earned sufficient to keep himself, and to help the survivors of the ships who were imprisoned with him.

Two years passed in this fashion, when the land was

overrun by a neighbouring sheikh who freed the European prisoners, of whom only six survived the privations of their captivity. By this time Quadra had learned Arabic perfectly, as well as those few rites and phrases that enable a man to pass as a Mohammedan. He now posed as such, and was taken to Medina on a pilgrimage by the victorious sheikh. By a stratagem he escaped from this master and set out for Damascus, but nearly died in the desert where he had lost his way. A caravan of pilgrims picked him up just as he lay down to die, and they brought him to Baghdad, thinking him to be a pilgrim like themselves. Finally he reached Ormuz, whence it was easy to get home. In fact the spice ships of 1520 were just about to leave India when he reached it. King Manuel sent for him, as soon as he got to Lisbon, and was deeply impressed with the amount of information that he had acquired about Arabia and Ethiopia.

The King proposed that he should undertake an expedition to discover the great lake, from which according to the experts of the day both the Nile and the Congo issued. In the letters which King Manuel now gave Quadra his ultimate destination was Prester John. He was of course to be sounded about joining in the war against the Turks, and to be pressed for fortresses on the Red Sea and inland. For all these purposes Quadra was furnished with a letter of credit to cover all possible expenditure among the traders of the Sahara fringe.

He was very well received at first by the native king of the Congo, who had shown a great desire to make the most of the culture of the Portuguese. Evidently he was an exceptional character among these barbarous chiefs, for he realised at once, as they did, that the new culture could only be grafted by degrees on the wild olive of Bantu customs. Goes has preserved a saying of his which delighted the Portuguese, because it showed his discrimination and humour. Among other things he had asked to have the laws of Portugal explained to him. This was done by reading and translating the current code, called the *ordinaçoēs*. When the task was completed, he remarked drily that the only thing in Portugual for which there seemed to be no law was to put one's foot on the ground. He feared that his people could not be brought

to that degree of restraint. The Portuguese agreed with him. This chief, as can be imagined, was most anxious to promote Quadra's mission.

But the fatal opposition came from a few of the Portuguese on the spot, who were in the confidence of the Bantu chief. What the real nature of their objections was, is not disclosed by the Portuguese chronicles. But it can be guessed by those experienced in the annals of all the colonising nations of Europe. A small proportion of men brought up in a civilised atmosphere seem susceptible only of a mere veneer of the culture of Europe, which is soon tarnished and finally corroded by the lower interests of trade or of the viler passions. Even the informative Bishop Osorio takes refuge on this occasion in the remark that "all human plans are liable to be overwhelmed in the twinkling of an eye".

These strange counsellors of the Congo potentate told him, that a sinister plot was afoot. King Manuel wanted to cultivate the friendship of the King of Abyssinia at his expense, and bit by bit he would absorb the whole of the Congo, so as to be near his dear friend in the east. No doubt these suspicions would have been effectively dealt with, if King Manuel had lived twelve months longer, but his death removed the main support of the scheme, and it fell through. But a Congo tradition tells us that Quadra penetrated as far as the mysterious and fearful land of Lunda, then populated by fighting tribes, yet alluring by reason of the abundance of ivory, copper, wax and cheap slaves.

Another project of a similar kind had been helped forward by Afonso de Albuquerque after the first conquest of Ormuz.[599] A Moor proposed that he should be allowed to show the Portuguese a new route to Europe from India. The plan was to sail for Cape Guardafui, to walk through Berbera and Zaila to Abyssinia, thence to Timbuktu, down the Senegal River to Arguin, and so to Portugal. Ferdinand Gomes was sent with the Moor to try out this ingenious inspiration, which had been communicated to King Manuel two years before.

At the King's command Tristan da Cunha placed these two men under the protection of the Sheikh of Malindi at the end of the year 1506. The Portuguese Captain of

Malindi was to await a suitable opportunity to speed them through Somaliand, whence they were to carry out their plan. As the captain had not moved in the matter when Francis de Távora called at Malindi in 1508, he took two men with him to report to Albuquerque, who was resting at Guardafui.

He was not the man to allow a daring project to be indefinitely postponed, so he insisted that they should start at once. The Arab was ready, but he asked to have some other Portuguese substituted for Gomes, because he talked too much, and would only endanger their lives among some of the hostile tribes of Muslim along their way. But Albuquerque would not take the responsibility of such a change, and offered to provide the travellers with all they required for the journey. In fact he wished to give them more money than the Arab thought it wise to take. On such an expedition, said the Arab, the worst of all enemies is money. He evidently agreed with Juvenal that when robbers are about "cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator".

Gomes and the Arab were landed in a lonely creek near Port Felix to begin their journey. They pretended to be traders who were the sole survivors of a wrecked ship, and it was to make this pretence plausible that they landed at this forlorn spot on the Somali coast.

With the few indications of their journey mentioned in the *Commentaries* of Albuquerque we can trace the route that they followed. They skirted the northern boundary of Abyssinia, crossed the present Anglo-Egyptian Soudan until they came to Lake Chad. Then they went down the River Niger to Timbuktu, and again up the other tributary of the same river until they came to its head waters, much frequented by the Arab slavers. There they crossed to the Senegal River, which borders the Sahara on the south, dividing it from the land of the Negroes, the Soudan of the west, whence the Arab slave-drivers drew their reserves of hunted slaves. Between this and Arguin was a well-worn path, along which caravans of natives were driven to the markets of north Africa and Europe. From Arguin there were regular fleets to Lisbon. Thus these two bold men established a record which was evidently not considered worth following up, as we hear no more of it.

Before King Manuel's death the whole of this region was to be described, largely from personal experience, by one of the last of the Spanish-Arab scholars, best known as Leo Africanus. In 1517 he was captured in a ship of the Barbary pirates, and sent as a political prisoner to Pope Leo X. Only for this apparent misfortune his famous book would never have been written. In the Castel Sant'Angelo, where he was honourably detained, he was found to be a member of one of the best families of Muslim north Africa. Pope Leo loved new knowledge wherever he could discover it, and in his moments of leisure took pleasure in drawing out this stranger by friendly conversation.

A manuscript diary of the Pope's master of ceremonies,[561] Paris de 'Grassis, records the fact that the captive was the ambassador of the Merinid Sultan of Fez. Grassis thus describes this ruler. "As we call our sovereign the Roman Emperor, so do they call the King of Numidia the Siphax, but this being corrupted becomes the Count of Fez". Conversation with the prisoner showed that he was an accomplished scholar in Arabic and had studied philosophy and medicine. Fez at this time was a centre of some intellectual activity, nourished by those Spanish Muslim who had left Castile after the conquest of Granada. It was much inferior to Portugal and Spain in culture, but one of the best of Muslim schools. Pope Leo prompted Muhammad Al-Wazaz (that was his Arabic name) to beguile his enforced leisure by writing an account of the countries of Africa that he had visited. Thus was born his *History and Description of Africa*, written first in Arabic, but surviving only in an Italian version.

The culture of Rome naturally impressed a man of his intelligence. In 1519 he expressed a desire to become a Christian, but the Pope would not allow him to be baptised until three bishops had discussed with him the motives of this desire, and had instructed him fully in the tenets of the Catholic faith. Then Pope Leo himself administered the sacrament of baptism on the feast of the Epiphany, giving Muhammad his own Christian name of Leo.

His classic work on north Africa elucidates two things

which are important for our present purpose.[562] The Arabs were perfectly familar with the strip of Africa immediately south of the Sahara, from Abyssinia to the west coast, but the journey across, though quite possible, formed an interminable series of zigzags. Even for the Arabs it was not worth while, and rarely done. For Europeans it would be a pointless waste of energy and extremely dangerous. This is what Ferdinand Gomes must have reported when he reached Portugal. Manuel therefore knew all this before the book of Leo Africanus was published.

The knowledge confirmed him in the unwilling conviction that the sea was Portugal's only solid hope. We also come to realise that the strange monsters with which later geographers filled this part of Africa on their maps were not altogether figments of the imagination.

With the Portuguese there could never by any question of using the well-known road to Abyssinia which began in the Muslim kingdom of Tlemcen in Morocco.[563] This was within the trade spheres of the Spaniards since they captured Oran on the nineteenth of May, 1509. The Arab king of Tlemcen was quite satisfied with the arrangement, as he reaped no little benefit from the taxation of goods that took that road. What King Manuel was looking for was a road by land to Prester John, which would enable him to work independently of any control by Spaniards, Arabs or Berbers. This he failed to find.

It was one of his minor disappointments. Educated in the intellectual current and imperial tradition of the Rome of the Caesars, he regarded some kind of Appian Way as an important adjunct of a firmly founded empire. He did not believe such a network of land roads to be absolutely necessary to his empire, because the Portuguese had discovered ocean routes on a scale of which the Romans had no conception. But for special couriers, for traffic to the Middle East and for the use of Christian missionaries, he hoped to find more expeditious outlets than the spice ships could provide with their long itinerary around the Cape of Good Hope.

In the days of the Caesars branch lines of the Appian Way from Rome led to Lusitania (as Portugal was then called), Spain, the Rhone Valley, the basin of the Danube,

Britain, Carthage, Egypt, Palestine, Mesopotamia and even India. Manuel left to his successors the reasonable ambition, that with the superior science and daring of the Portuguese they would add new laurels in Africa to the achievements of their Latin forefathers.

CHAPTER XXV.

The Printer's Quota in African Development.

No account of the Portuguese activity in South Africa would be complete which omitted to chronicle the important contribution of the busy Lisbon printers, and the Lisbon correspondents of the foreign printers. Typography, the art of producing many identical copies of one work with moveable type, was invented by John Gutenberg[564] at Strassburg in 1436, just two years after Prince Henry's sailors had passed Cape Bojador, and before they reached the equator. This invention was a result of the intellectual activity of the age, and in turn it helped to quicken the pace of research by active thinkers like the Portuguese. No other scientific invention has wrought such a far-reaching change in our civilisation as this medieval printing-press.

Men were writing and reading so much in those days, that the copyist could no longer meet their needs fully with his tedious but artistic methods. Printing from engraved blocks of wood or copper was only a little less tedious than manuscript work. At once the new style of printing was used for fly-sheets of many kinds. The first important book printed was the Latin edition of the Bible, evidently the book most in demand at the time, 1456 A.D. It was rubricated and bound by a German secular priest, vicar of a church in Strassburg.

Soon the German printers of the Rhine valley spread all over Europe. By 1480 Venice had become the largest printing and publishing city in the world. This was due to many causes, but first to the wealth of Venice. Its position also helped, being near the towns of north Italy, which produced the cheapest paper. Then Venice was not only a leading centre of Humanism, but also the leading nation in shipping, and thus able to distribute books at the lowest rate.

This accounts for the surprising fact that the first book containing a report of the voyage of Cabral round the

Cape of Good Hope was published in 1507 at Vicenza, a small town near Venice.[565] Despite the severe censorship of the Portuguese government, imposed in its trade interests, the documents published were smuggled out of Portugal by the Venetian ambassadors. In this way a professor of Vicenza, named Fracanzio di Montalboddo, was able to publish an Italian account of the voyages of Vasco da Gama and Cabral, with information supplied by the Venetian ambassador in Spain, Angelo Trevisano di Bernardino. In plain English the Italian title of this work may be rendered *New-found Lands and a New World*. The editor of this collection published it under the assumed name of M. Fracan, and within a year there were translations in German and Latin.

This was one of the books about the discoveries that so fascinated Pope Leo X, that he would sometimes sit up far into the night with some of the cardinals, reading these wonders about the Cape of Good Hope, India and Prester John. Admiral Malipiero of Venice also was preparing his history of navigation, gathering up material wherever he could find it, sometimes with the aid of secret correspondents in Lisbon. These literary pirates, the forerunners of modern journalism, have preserved for us much valuable information, which without them would have been lost for ever.

But in Lisbon itself the work of exploration and trade development was assisted by a German printer, who is best known under the Portuguese version of his name, Valentim Fernandes. He hailed from Moravia and came to Portugal during the reign of John II. His first interest in Portugal and in the discoveries arose from reading the *Nürnberg Chronicle* of Hartmann Schedel, a monument of the beauty of early printing. Schedel had imbibed in Italy a love and knowledge of classical antiquities, and on his return to Germany produced this universal history, right up-to-date. The Latin edition appeared in 1483, and the German version ten years later. Valentine Ferdinand (that was his original name) sensed the glamour of the discoveries in this book, and made for Lisbon in order to have a share in promoting them.

His first commission was from the King and Queen. It was to print a *Life of Christ*, which a monk of Alcobaça

monastery had translated into Portuguese from the German of Ludolf of Saxony.[566] His next venture brought him nearer to the theme of world expansion. He published an edition of the letters and speeches of the Italian humanist known as Cataldus Aquila, tutor of Prince Afonso whose premature death seemed at the time such a disaster to the cause of the explorations. As both tutor and pupil were dead, Fernandes applied to another pupil for manuscripts of the master, Dom Ferdinand de Meneses. Soldier though he was, he did not neglect the things of the mind, whilst governor of Ceuta. His reply from Africa shows this. " Your method of printing pleases me beyond measure, even though it savours of a certain Germanism, which would be more elegant and worthy if you did not leave so much to your pupils". Among the articles which Meneses sent to be printed was a stirring account of the campaigns of King Afonso V against the Moors. This motif was still a constituent of the rhythm of Portuguese expansion.

Though King Manuel did not wish the details of his progress in Africa and India to be spread broadcast by print for the benefit of other nations, he was anxious to stimulate the spirit of adventure in his own people. That is why he gave unusual encouragement to the next work of Fernandes, which was the first printed work to enjoy the royal privilege in Portugal.[567] In one volume he published translations of the works of the three great Italians, who had travelled in the East: Marco Polo, Nicolo de'Conti and Hieronymo di Santo Stefano.

The volume is dedicated to King Manuel, and the printer describes himself as an *escudeiro* of the Queen. He makes an appeal to contemporary travellers in the East Indies to advise him of any errors in the descriptions of these earlier travellers. The translation of Polo's *Milione* in this Portuguese edition was no mere reprint of Prince Peter's, which was made after his visit to Venice in 1428, but an entirely new version. Fernandes makes this clear in his preface, where he addresses the King. " The Venetians offered Dom Pedro a grand gift in this book of Marco Polo, so that the Prince might learn from it, as he wished to see the world and travel, and they say that this volume is in our National Archives (Torre do Tombo). If

this be so, no one knows better than Your Highness". By reviving these glorious memories of the past Fernandes helped to kindle the enthusiasm of youth in 1502, just when Vasco da Gama was setting out on his second voyage to India.

Typical of the pamphleteering activities of the same printer is the publication of the King's letter in answer to the Sultan of Cairo, when he threatened reprisals. Manuel's letter was issued on the twelfth of June 1505. It was a trumpet call to the Christian princes of Europe, to free Christ's sepulchre from the dominion of the Sultan. As it was in Latin, it found a larger circulation among the men who mattered, than an appeal in any vernacular could have done.

For Latin was still the international language of Europe. No language has since been able to take its place, as we witnessed in 1919 at the Paris Conference after the armistice with Germany. The four leading politicians of Great Britain, France, Italy and North America met together in secret conclave, only to find that they had no common tongue, and were compelled to call in an interpreter.[568] Manuel's letter in Latin would be understood by every leader in Europe, the nobility, the clergy and the reading laity of all classes. There was no need of pamphleteering on this subject for home consumption. The people were more exasperated with the Moors than their King, as the memories of Muslim oppression in Portugal were still fresh in tales and songs of the populace.

Among the works that issued from the printing press of Valentim Fernandes not one deals with the data of exploration or trade in Africa or India.[569] These were official secrets which affected the vital interests of the nation. Such secrets are suppressed to-day by all governments of the leading nations with every means of terrorising coercion in their power. Otherwise Manuel was an ardent patron of the new art of printing. In 1508 he granted to all master printers the rank and privileges of gentlemen of his court.

If Fernandes printed no chronicle of Manuel's empire in Africa and the East, it was certainly not because he lacked information. For on the twenty-first of February 1503, the King appointed him a notary in regard to con-

tracts and other documents affecting the German and Dutch merchants.[570] In this way he would be constantly brought into touch with important facts of the business situation.

A happy chance has preserved for three hundred years some of the unpublished manuscripts of Fernandes, which show that he was on amicable terms with many of the explorers, and that he had the habit of making notes of their conversations, mostly in Latin. As far as these notes have survived, they indicate that his interest was almost entirely in the African field. Not only has he preserved interesting reports made by Diogo Gomes, John Rodrigues and Gonsalo Pires, but also the short diary of a German trade agent, named Hans Mayr, who sailed in one of the ships of the first Viceroy's fleet in 1505. Copies of these reports were found among the papers of the famous humanist, Conrad Peutinger. Fernandes was evidently a regular correspondent of his, and not the only one that wrote from Lisbon.

Thus Peutinger of Augsburg seems to have been better informed about what was happening in East Africa, than the professional geographers of France and England three centuries later. To realise this, one need only compare the *Universal Geography* of Malte-Brun,[571] a standard work published in 1823, with the remains of Peutinger's geographical manuscripts now in the State Library of Munich, as well as the selections of his letters recently published. For Conrad Peutinger the coast of Africa between the Cape of Good Hope and Malindi was very much alive. Pate, Mombasa, Sofala, Brava and Malindi were names that spelt business in the counting houses of Augsburg, and these towns had their echo in the councils of the Emperor Maximilian, whose secretary Peutinger was. In the nineteenth century Malte-Brun can only wonder whether these places are still in the same condition " described by Lopo (Lopes de Castanheda seems to be meant), Barros and Conta (no doubt Couto is meant)". We are told that a certain Saetzen had set out to get some sort of fresh information about the Malindi coast, but he was murdered by the Sultan of the Yemen. So that coast was still a blank in this standard work of the early nineteenth century.

Yet Peutinger was no mere money-grabber, absorbed in data about ships, markets and trade returns. Though a successful banker and politician, he was really interested in such problems as that of human freedom, and he believed this problem had been solved in the organisation of the Holy Roman Empire, under its German ruler, Charles. This is his boast. "The pagan emperors of Rome lorded it over slaves, our Christian emperors are the sovereigns of free cities". Though we are still pursuing that ideal of perfect freedom, our politicians are evidently not the first to believe that they have attained the goal.

The references to Peutinger in most of our learned books of geography present him to us as a typical dry-as-dust. A letter of his to Erasmus will show how little he deserves such a reputation. This letter was written in the very week in which King Manuel died. Peutinger begins by reminding Erasmus of the pleasant chats that he had with him and Sir Thomas More, the previous year at Bruges. Then he describes[572] how he spent last Sunday, the second Sunday of Advent. "I was resting from the business cares of the week, reading the Annals of Tacitus. My wife at a table close by was reading your new Latin translation of the New Testament, and comparing it with our old German (Catholic) version. She called my attention to a phrase of yours added to a verse of Saint Matthew's gospel. We took down the volumes of two of the Greek Fathers, to see whether your addition from the Greek manuscript could be justified. It seemed so at first, but she is not quite satisfied yet. I enclose a memorandum in her own handwriting and trust you will meet her objections".

We owe it to the omnivorous hunger for knowledge of this German capitalist, that the interesting documents of the printer, Fernandes, already mentioned were saved.[573] That Peutinger had other correspondents, who wrote from Mozambique and India, is indicated by a letter of Fernandes,[574] describing in Latin many details of the doings of Almeida's fleet not preserved in any other documents extant. "I do not doubt that your own agents will have written to you in detail about these happenings", is the apology of Fernandes for not writing a longer letter.

These illuminating fragments are proof presumptive that Peutinger had much other information that has perished.

Thus Germans, as well as Italians, were making private notes of the great doings in Lisbon at this time. They utilised sea charts, conversations with returned travellers and such histories as were already in manuscript. Amongst these Fernandes made copies of Alvise da Mosto's account of his travels on the Guinea coast and Zurara's *Chronicle of Guinea*. The former of these works was first printed at Venice in 1540, the latter was not printed for three hundred years. But meantime the important facts that they chronicled were being circulated in private correspondence between Conrad Peutinger, Valentim Fernandes, Willibald Pirkheimer, Martin Behaim, Hartmann Schedel and other learned Germans of Nürnberg.

These men combined a love for what was admirable in the ideas of pre-Christian times with a critical gratitude for the great intellectual inheritance of the Middle Ages, but they were enthusiasts for the new discoveries and the new science. They hardly suspected that the loss of much of Nürnberg's wealth and prosperity was one of the sacrifices that the world's progress demanded. Nürnberg was the Venice of Germany.

" I was the first Christian who signed a treaty of peace with the Blacks, and their king was called Nomemains, which means the lord of many ships". So did Diogo Gomes boast in an interview with Martin Behaim of Nürnberg. The latter put it into plain Latin and gave a copy to Valentine Fernandes, who forwarded it on to Peutinger. But none of them heard the knell of Nürnberg that sounded in these words. The merchandise of the Blacks and the Indian ships would no longer enter the Mediterranean, and thus Nürnberg would be left high and dry by a new current of world trade round the Cape of Good Hope.

The financiers of south Germany, however, had sharper eyes than the Humanists, where trade was concerned. They gained their information not from the scholarly works of the printers, but from the solid ledgers of their agents in Antwerp and Bruges. In this way they learned of the arrival, in 1504, of one thousand quintals of pepper

and other spices at the Antwerp market from Lisbon.[575] Three of the leading bankers of Augsburg at that time were the Fugger, the Welser and the Hochstetter firms. Much of their capital had already been withdrawn from Venice, and was invested in the silver mines of the Tyrol.

They now saw that beyond the Cape of Good Hope the chance of a better investment appeared. With considerable difficulty they persuaded King Manuel to permit them to charter Flemish ships, in order to bring spices from India on their own account. Permission was granted for three ships to accompany the fleet of Francis de Almeida. But the King had no intention of placing them in a better position than his old friends the Italian bankers, whom he had allowed to invest 29,400 florins. Thus the Welsers were given permission to invest twenty-thousand florins, the Fuggers four thousand, and the Hochstetter the same amount.

But Manuel was determined that this should form no precedent.[576] Although the Germans derived a fine profit from this voyage, so many difficulties were deliberately placed in their way, that they found it easier to carry on a second-hand business in spices between Lisbon, Antwerp and the south of Germany. The control of the Portuguese over the Cape route was completed by the policy of the Emperor Maximilian in 1509, when he forbade Venetian ships to enter the port of Antwerp, and the last of them was seen there in 1518.

At Mombasa in 1505 the three German ships seem to have received the first impact of the hostility of the Arabs. The Flemish merchants, as an anonymous contemporary calls them, whose ships were named "Hieronymus, Raphael and Saint Leonard", reached Mombasa some days before the rest of the fleet, because they left Lisbon promptly in February, whilst some of the rest straggled out until the end of March. The captains and crews of these ships, had to be Portuguese, though German trade-agents were placed in each ship to protect the interests of the German investors. Balthasar Sprenger[577] and Hans Mayr were thus the first Germans who came to east Africa, with the exception of the anonymous person who was with Vasco da Gama in his

second voyage. Mayr was the factor of the ship *Saint Raphael.* "These ships were in all our actions and fights", writes the unnamed Chronicler of this voyage. They evidently gave a good account of themselves.

But the specific influence of the printing press upon human affairs has always lain less in the production of books, than in that of fly-sheets and pamphlets, which in modern times have broadened out into the daily press. It is as an instrument of controversy in politics, trade, war and religion, that the most effective (not perhaps the best) work of the printing press has been accomplished. In Portugal at this period there was no popular demand for controversy, political or religious, and much less for commercial controversy which is the predominant purpose of to-day's press. The nation was united and fully occupied in a very wide programme of overseas activity, and the Church met all the religious needs of the people. Hence there was little field for the pamphleteer, but unlimited scope for the man of action. The themes that interested the book-reading public were dramas of real life, science, constructive religion, history, ethics and piety, and on such subjects there was a considerable output of original works.

The few printed books about the discoveries that have survived are mainly records of work done, and with only two known exceptions they were printed outside Portugal.

The first of these exceptions is a remarkable work printed by order of King Manuel a few months before his death. Its title is *Newsletter That Came To Our Lord The King: How Prester John Was Discovered.* It is a vivid account of how the Portuguese arrived at Massawa on Easter Sunday of the year 1520, and how the treaty of friendship was made and ratified. The unique value of this document is that it was compiled at once from letters of the two chief actors on the Portuguese side: the Governor of India, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira; and the Chief Justice of India, Pero Gomes de Teixeira.[578] These reports reached Lisbon on the thirtieth of April 1521, and they were in print before the end of the year. Most of the facts have been preserved by the classical historians of Portugal, yet the original contains many striking and characteristic details, being the first printed

description of Abyssinia known. The prose style of the compilers is equal to the best of contemporary writers in Spain, France and England.

The preface of this newsletter makes clear the motive that inspired the King to the unusual course of publishing all this information immediately. "Henceforth the great losses and expenditure of the King's fleets up to the present, as well as the labours and deaths of so many of his subjects, may be reckoned well spent". It was Manuel's apologia, and also a means of carrying all ranks with him in the great enterprise upon which his heart was set.

The other important work connected with the discoveries, which was printed in Portugal during this reign, is a law book of many editions, containing all the royal ordinances about India and South Africa promulgated by King Manuel up to the year before his death.[579]

Manuel took seriously his function of law-giver of the Portuguese empire. In exercising this prerogative he drew constantly upon the experience and technical knowledge of the wisest lawyers in the country,[580] whom he treated as a standing committee for the codification of its laws, and their periodical revision. "Considering how necessary the noble art of printing is for the good government of these kingdoms," he issued many editions of these *Ordenaçoẽs do Reino* between 1505 and the final edition of 1521.

This last has a prologue in which the King's high ideals are set forth. The peace and tranquility of a state, he declares, can only be secured by impartial justice to all,[581] and the King must be as careful of the rights of all his subjects as if they were his sons. "Because justice is a virtue not for one's own profit, but for others; and it consists in giving to others what is theirs, and helping them to live well". Manuel's main ambition was that his memory should be kept alive amongst his subjects by the best laws that he could devise.[582] Whilst South Africa and India were integral parts of his kingdom, he realised that their special conditions called for a supplementary code of laws. Hence the *Ordenaçoẽs da India* of 1520.

To the finer spirits in those early days of the printer's art there seemed to be something sacred about a printed

book, and a certain responsibility in producing one, which could only be discharged if it had a worthy message. This view of his contemporaries has been expressed by Barros in the *Prologo* of the Third Decade of his *Da Asia*, which may be thus epitomised. "Books that have no lesson to teach are a waste of time, corrupt the character, fill the memory with the sweepings of endless facts and sayings, and often unbalance the mind with hatred. Hence such accumulations of paper should, by public edict, be handed over to the grocery shops to clean chimneys, as Persius said of the weak poets of his day".

It is worthy of note that the first book ever printed about the Portuguese discoveries narrates the founding of fortresses in Kilwa and Mombasa by Almeida in 1505. This book was printed in Rome the following year, and takes the form of a long letter from King Manuel to Cardinal da Costa.[583] Within twelve months two editions appeared in Germany, in Nürnberg and Köln.

The rapidity with which this news got into print in Rome shows how greedy the printers already were for important news. If we except the more sober writers like Barros, excessively high hopes were entertained of the rapid progress and spread of knowledge, hopes that have reached their nadir in our half-century of international suicide. But in 1486 a Venetian expressed the popular optism in a Latin pentameter, repeated in so many vernaculars of the day. "Nunc parvo doctus quilibet esse potest."[584]

As a rule the great printers devoted themselves to wonderful editions of the Bible, liturgical works, the greater theologians and the classics of Greece and Rome. But works of history soon began to appear in their catalogues. In Venice at this time there was an intelligent observer taking notes, who was to help the printers to preserve some of the most notable facts of contemporary history, and especially of the Portuguese discoveries.

This quiet sentinel of history was Gianbattista Ramusio, who held the important post of Secretary of the Council of Ten in Venice.[585] He had been ambassador in Switzerland, France and Rome, having thus acquired influential correspondents in many countries which he visited. Moreover he had access to all the secret reports of the Signoria

from abroad. He has preserved for us in Italian a number of Portuguese and Latin documents of which the originals have been lost.

Amongst his friends in Venice, was the renowned Italian printer, Luke Anthony Giunti, who established his press in Venice as far back as the year 1482. After the founder's death this press at Venice printed three volumes of the collection of voyages that Ramusio made. The manuscript of a fourth was destroyed in a fire that burned down the premises of the Giunti firm. The loss of this volume was a disaster for our history, if the other volumes are samples of what this one contained.

Next to the Venetian printers those in Rome were the most interested in South Africa and India. The most active publisher was Jacopo Mazocchi,[586] a personal friend of two popes, Julius II and Leo X. Scholars were delighted with his sumptous series of the antiquities of Rome, Christian and pagan, Egyptian archaelogy and numismatics. But all Rome had its eyes opened to the exploits of the Portuguese by his publications during the visit of Tristan da Cunha. Among these publications was an eloquent sermon by Camillo Porzio,[587] canon of St. Peter's and poet, who afterwards became Bishop of Teramo. He stressed the vital importance of what King Manuel was doing in the Indian Ocean, and warned his hearers that Italy was in danger of being seized by the Turks. The best method of defence was to counterattack as King Manuel was doing. "By the conquest of the kingdom of Ormuz a road is opened by which the Holy House of Jerusalem, where Our Saviour was born, can be recovered from the hands of the unbelievers, who keep it by oppression and injustice". He ends on a note of hope, because Christian Europe had found a rare ally in "the famous Prester John, lord of the whole of Ethiopia who had sought the friendship of the Portuguese King".

A few months later Mazocchi printed the whole letter of King Manuel to Pope Leo X, in which the Portuguese victories were fully described up to date.[588] This letter had been signed at Lisbon by the King on the sixth of June, and it was published in Rome on the ninth of August of the same year. The letter concluded thus. "We have every reason to hope for the development of

increasing worship of God and of Christian teaching". Africa and India seemed to the Romans the most prmising fields of Evangelical work.

None of the Roman printers appeared to be much interested in a movement which was beginning to take hold of some of the German printers like Lother and Luft, namely, the movement headed by Martin Luther. The attention of the Roman printers was fixed on the Cape of Good Hope, India and Prester John, rather than on Wittenberg, Worms or the Wartburg, because to them a new world seemed to be rising out of the Indian Ocean, which would outlive the squabbles of the old world, and give religion a new lease of life.

But nearly all the writers and pamphleteers of Europe were a generation behind the men of action of Portugal, Spain and Italy. The spiritual heirs of one section of the German pamphleteers, even in our own day, sometimes venture to describe Portugal and Spain in this first quarter of the sixteenth century as " shut out from the light of the Renaissance ", and thus a popular writer, like Prescott, quaintly and absurdly expresses it.[589]

In reality King Manuel's reign was one of the most splendid manifestations of the renewal of human energy and intellectual striving, which is what we mean by adopting the French word renaissance. Before this period there had been various renaissances in different countries, ever since the fertilising germ of Christianity had first stirred the human mind. In Manuel's reign literature, art, the practical sciences and theology were all astir with new life and energy. The riches of India, of Sofala and of America, quickened even those poets and dramatists who were unaware of the material sources of their inspiration.

Gil Vicente produced his first drama in 1502, and is reckoned the father of the modern drama in Portuguese. He was also an actor-manager, a musician and a goldsmith of genius. We have seen how he worked the first tribute of gold from Kilwa, brought home by Vasco da Gama, into the magnificent monstrance of Belem. At the same time his prolific muse gave Portugal a large number of plays which castigated, with occasional broad humour, the defects of all classes of society. It was a

tolerant world, that of Manuel's court, where the critical jester was a privileged person. Mr. Aubrey Bell has aptly written that "in Gil Vicente's manysideness he delineated life in its various aspects with the skill of a master, and he is the true forerunner of writers so different as Molière, Lope de Vega, Calderon and Shakespeare".

But the discoveries were inspiring two boy-pages of Manuel's court, who were to become two of the world's most famous historians, John de Barros and Damian de Goes. These youths were firm friends of one another, and of the King's son who was their equal in age. Barros has told us, in the Prologue of his *Da Asia*, that when he presented to King Manuel his novel, the imaginary story of the Emperor Clarimondo, he was just rehearsing the style in which he intended to tell the true story of Portugal's exploits beyond the Cape of Good Hope. Even then he felt that his countrymen were as slow in recording their achievements, as they were quick in deeds of daring.[590] Prince John, Manuel's son, used to help him in reading the proof sheets of his novel, and made many useful suggestions.

But the Christian Humanists of Portugal and Spain, moving with the slow deliberation of thinking men, saw more clearly than the sailors and soldiers the moral and political dangers of the effervescent energy of the practical men. Gil Vicente in his play *Barca do Inferno* praises the four knights of the Order of Christ, who died fighting in the ports of Africa, not for the wealth they acquired, but "because they were fighting for Christ the Lord of Heaven". It was the same Christian restraint that prompted the lone voice of Francis Thompson to qualify his praise of Cecil Rhodes :—

> I too praise, but not the baser things
> Wherewith the market and the tavern rings ;
> Not that high things for gold,
> He held, were bought and sold.

By common consent the Iberian poets warned their countrymen, that neither wealth nor empire could constitute the permanent glory of a nation, but only uprightness, generosity and the contentment of its citizens. Otherwise, sang the Spaniard Luis de Leon,[591] "the ships

of Portugal in vain plough the wide seas. For India brings no rest unto man's heart ".

No noble Christian can set his heart on empire, wrote King Manuel's friend, Bishop Osorio.[592] All empires that we know (Persian, Greek and Roman) rose and fell, and the bigger they are the surer they are to come down by their own weight. Misdeeds precipitate their ruin, and this makes injustice not only a crime, but folly.

Thus the crowning gift of the Middle Ages to the modern world was the printing press. It was both the token of a high stage of evolution reached in human progress, and a possible instrument of more rapid progress, if worthily used. " It is estimated that before the year 1500 from twenty-five thousand to thirty-thousand books and editions of old books had already been printed, one-third in Italy, an equal number in Germany and the remainder in other countries".[593] If Portugal did not rival Italy, Germany and Spain, in the output of ancient editions of the classics of the ancient world, she took the leading part in preparing the new and revised edition of the old globe. The chief direct use to which she put the printing press was to accelerate the pace of these discoveries, and of the commercial development of the discovered lands.

The indirect action of Portugal amounted to a leaven of intellectual fermentation. In other lands the printing press, retailing the experiences of the Portuguese in strange republics and monarchies, was suggesting new social and political theories to old Europe. A famous Englishman in Chelsea,[594] for example, was quoting a Portuguese traveller whom he met in Antwerp, in order to impress upon the reading public that the customs of our own nation and our own age are not necessarily the best. " Both the raven and the ape think their own children the handsomest of all ", he moralised.

But a Portuguese fidalgo, who had been round the Cape of Good Hope, to Madagascar, Mozambique, Persia and Calicut, described to him many systems of government and wise laws which he had seen in Utopia, a commonwealth of startling type somewhere between the Cape of Good Hope and China, if anywhere. To those who replied that Magna Charta and the other institutions of their forefathers were good enough for them the Portuguese

traveller has a prompt retort. "When I consider and weigh in my mind all these commonwealths, which nowadays anywhere do flourish, so help me God, I can perceive nothing but a certain conspiracy of rich men procuring their own commodities under the name and title of the commonwealth". We are not worthy of our forefathers, if we do not strive to be wiser than they were. When we remember that this was written in the year 1516, it is sufficient indication of the stirring of the dry bones that Portuguese daring had caused in Europe and especially in England.

In Portugal itself a great writer was stressing the importance of the printing press in another way. "Time's memory of great events is very weak, unless it is assisted by the written word." So wrote John de Barros, knowing that printing gave wings to the written word. With his classical training no one could realise more vividly than he did, how racially exclusive and lacking in broad humanity the literatures of pagan Greece and Rome were, compared to the Christian literature of his own land, and of Christian Europe generally. To the Portuguese pioneers the whole world was akin. When any of them abused their power over the weaker races, they were conscious of deserving reproach for violating a recognised code.

Their writers show how in a spirit of hopeful brotherhood they exaggerated "the ancient nobility and chivalry" of the Moors, how they put the noblest interpretation on every sign of culture shown by the Abyssinians, how they welcomed the co-operation of tractable Muslim on the Mozambique coast and in Persia, how they approached the Hindus as men of real culture though different from their own, and how to them even the Bantu, Bushmen and Hottentots, were sons of Adam, barbarous enough but susceptible of Christian culture, the best culture that the world has known.

In the *Esmeraldo*, which Pacheco wrote during the reign of Manuel, he twice compares the Portuguese King to Alexander of Macedon,[595] the greatest of the heroes of pagan antiquity, all of whom the Christian imperialists of Portugal regarded as their ancestors in their proud Greek-Roman tradition. Everyone in the Middle Ages admired Alexander's indomitable spirit of enterprise,

his many acts of generosity and his brilliant vision of a universal empire. But no Christian could give him unqualified praise, they held, especially in view of his contempt for the barbarian races.

Did not even Plutarch say that his hero Alexander was arrogant towards these races? Whilst reasonable and mild with his own Greeks, Alexander pretended to the barbarians that he was the son of Jupiter. He reinforced this fraudulent suggestion by quoting the Egyptian philosopher Psammon, who said that " he who commands all things must needs be god". Clearly Alexander commanded all things. The only excuse that Plutarch can offer for these acts is that his hero " did it all as a matter of politics, to keep these men in subjection through fear of him as a god". It was the most pernicious kind of tyranny, the tyranny over the ignorant mind, built upon superstition and deceit. Plutarch's plea the Middle Ages rejected with indignation. Even in the fifth century the historian, Paul Orosio of Braga in Portugal, brands Alexander as a " whirlpool of disaster for the peoples of the East". Dante places him among the tyrants in the seventh circle of the *Inferno*.

Thus whilst Manuel's Indian empire recalled the memory of Alexander's marvellous deeds in India, it prompted Pacheco to express the hope that the Portuguese empire would be greater than the Greek empire in worth and wealth, as it was already incomparably greater in extent. It remains for the courage and wisdom of Manuel, writes Pacheco, to enrich the world with the unrivalled treasures of the Spirit, which the Christian faith enshrines.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Trade, Shipping and Pirates on the Cape Route

THE new direction of the main stream of international trade by way of the Cape of Good Hope caused either hope or consternation in every important nation of Europe during the quarter of a century in which Manuel reigned. There was no possibility of continuing business as usual when the distributing centre of eastern trade was no longer Alexandria but Antwerp. The nations began to recast their trade relationships, like ants whose busy procession of workers has been blocked by an impassable barrier.

Antwerp itself was the first to move, because it was the most sensitive of cities to changes in the trade barometer. To political changes it was almost indifferent. So much so, that when French and English merchants were obliged to leave the city on account of war between their countries and Antwerp's sovereign, there was no change in Antwerp's attitude towards them or their business.

Thus, following the rise of Portugal in the Indian ocean, the Count of Nassau, governor of the Netherlands in 1502, informed Thomas Lopes, the factor of King Manuel in Antwerp, that the City granted to all nations the right of carrying every species of merchandise in Portuguese ships.[596] As this included the right of exporting silver, it constituted a valuable concession to Portugal. It was Antwerp's reaction to the fact that the Venetian ships had found very small cargoes of spices that year in Alexandria and Beyrout, because Cabral and John da Nova had almost monopolised the market in the preceding years; and Vasco da Gama was on his way to deal with the next year's harvest, and to place a naval guard on the Gulf of Aden.

Portugal's influence in Antwerp continued to grow, as year by year an average of twelve spice-ships returned from the Cape of Good Hope. In 1510 Portugal was granted the further privilege of exemption from the excise

on wines and beer, and the following year it received the grant of all favours enjoyed by other nations. Portugal House in the suburb of Kipdorp was the headquarters of the two Portuguese consuls, who were elected annually by the Portuguese merchants of the city. Sometimes the King's factor was elected consul as well. The consuls exercised judicial and police functions over the Portuguese "nation" in Antwerp. Although the Portuguese colony had thus been promoted to the first rank, it consisted of only ten merchants,[597] but its influence arose from the immense benefits its trade conferred upon Antwerp.

The consuls were expressly forbidden to exercise any jurisdiction in spiritual matters, as each foreign colony had its chaplain for that purpose. His office was no sinecure. The new access of wealth from Sofala and India had made more acute a question of morals, which had already caused much discussion among sincere followers of the Gospel. Was it consistent for a Christian to demand interest for the loan of money? All Antwerp was Catholic then, and the question was warmly debated among the theologians.[598] Their main verdict was that essentially the lending of money ought to be gratuitous; but that incidentally it might justly entail some remuneration for loss of profit thereby incurred by the lender, or for some damage thereby suffered by him. The long voyage to India round the Cape of Good Hope multiplied the risks, the loss of profit and the actual damage to investors on a scale never known before; so that the merchants of all nations at Antwerp discovered in practice many moral considerations that justified a profit on money lent.

A Spanish theologian, Cajetan de'Cambis, put the matter in everyday language when he stated,[599] that it was the duty of the Church to determine the general principles at stake. But their practical application in detail was sometimes so complex, that it must be left to the individual conscience of God-fearing men, provided always that the interest demanded was moderate. Claims for interest that had no justification but the need of the borrower were roundly condemned.

Conflicts of trade between Lisbon and Antwerp were rare, because they supplemented one another. This is

seen in the extremely courteous remonstrance, which the governing City Council of Antwerp[000] addressed in Latin to King Manuel in 1517. A leading Spanish merchant of Antwerp, Diego de Haro, and his partners had sent fifteen ships to trade on the Guinea coast, and seven of the ships were captured by a Portuguese captain named Stephen Yusarte. The Council expresses the fullest confidence that Manuel will see that justice is done, but it writes this letter because Haro is a high official of Antwerp; and we know from other sources that he was a large-scale speculator, and a creditor of the court. There is no record of any litigation between these cities about the trade in African or Indian waters, where the Portuguese monopoly was recognised.

In the last years of Manuel's life the Venetians were driven to realise that they had little hope of recovering their former position in the Indian market. They still hoped to succeed in the next best thing, namely, to share in the monopoly of spices that doubled the Cape of Good Hope. The task of striking a fair bargain was entrusted to Alexander di Pesaro, who was placed in charge of the Flanders galleys for that year. After leaving London he was to call at Lisbon, as if to pay his respects to King Manuel. But he was to propose that the Portuguese King should sell to Venice the whole of the Indian cargoes every year at a fixed price. These were the secret instructions of the Signoria, of which Manuel was warned in time by his ambassador in Venice.

He was therefore fully prepared to evade the proposal, as he had no idea of sacrificing his freedom of action in this way for the benefit of the Venetians. But he also wished to leave no personal sting in the mind of Pesaro on account of his inevitable failure. So he prepared a courtly reception for this gentleman, to whom he felt obliged to say "no" in the national interest. The reception took place on a terrace of the Ribeira Palace, overlooking the River Tagus. A fine staircase went down from the terrace to the river bank, which here was broad enough to allow the incoming fleet to manoeuvre gracefully with all its banners in the wind.

When the Venetian Admiral mounted the stairs with the captains of his five galleys, he found the whole court

waiting to do him honour. Manuel's young and handsome wife was there, his daughter Isabel who afterwards became Empress of Germany, his son Cardinal Afonso, his son Henry who afterwards became cardinal and king, Prince John who became his immediate successor and all the fidalgos and ladies of the court.

The Venetian was charmed with his reception. A few days later, when it came to business and Manuel was compelled by his duty to Portugal to refuse the request of the Signoria, the fragrance of that first day remained with Alexander di Pesaro, and softened the blow. Both the King and Queen sent valuable presents to the ships. The historian Damian de Goes, who tells us all this,[601] afterwards became Portuguese ambassador in Venice. He adds that Pesaro became a firm friend of Portugal, and would do anything ever afterwards in his power to favour the welfare of that kingdom. But the Signoria was not quite so well pleased, and continued to make a sturdy fight against its fate.

Many plans were discussed by the Venetians with the Sultan of Turkey, to find an alternative plan to that by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Among these plans was a project for cutting a Suez canal. But the Sultan was quick to see that a canal would suit Venetian trade better than his own security in the Red Sea. The most daring of the attempted counterstrokes was that of the Venetian banker Paul Centurione, who in 1522 journeyed to Moscow, in order to negotiate, but in vain, with the Tsar Basil IV for the opening of a new land-route for spices, which was to cross Persia and the Caspian Sea to the Baltic.[602] Though Venice was in full sympathy with the Turkish and Egyptian challenge to Portugal's command of the seas and spices of the East, the public opinion of Christian Europe was strong enough to make it unwise for Venice to consider open measures of active support for the sultans of Cairo and Constantinople. "The last thing in the world that we would do, is to help the enemies of Christendom", said the Venetian ambassador in London to Peter Corrêa, the ambassador of Manuel there in 1517.

The contemporary Pacheco[603] estimated, that besides pearls and other precious stones, thirty to forty thousand

quintals of spices and drugs passed round the Cape of Good Hope every year from India, Persia and Malacca. Much of this must have been sold in Lisbon itself, on account of private speculators. These were more numerous than is generally supposed. In the fleet of 1510, for example, most of the ten sailing ships were private property, and were operating for the benefit of private investors.[604] Their quota of spices would only be registered in their own counting houses in Lisbon. The lists published by J. B. Freire, showing the spices and drugs sold for the King's account at Antwerp, only reach the amount of Pacheco's average for the whole reign of King Manuel, a period of twenty-six years. Those lists are clearly incomplete, even if we remember that Antwerp served only the markets of Germany, Bohemia and Scandinavia.

The English purchases of spices were considerable; and the English government endeavoured to get a greater number of the Cape liners to come direct to Bristol, Southampton and London. It even nourished the hope of having the distributing centre in London instead of Antwerp.[605] The Bristol merchants were especially keen on such adventures of sea trade. Between 1501 and 1505 they had financed at least four Portuguese expeditions towards Greenland, Newfoundland and Labrador. The superior skill and knowledge of the Portuguese was thus enlisted in the service of English trade; but nothing permanent came of the operations of this Anglo-Portuguese syndicate, except the renewal of the old charter of the Merchant Adventurers of Bristol on a footing of better experience.

Even when Venice had the monopoly of spices, it was an old custom that at least one ship should unload at Hampton on the Thames, whilst the rest went to Flanders in accordance with an ancient treaty with that country. In 1518 the Venetian ambassador in London, replying to a complaint of Cardinal Wolsey, was obliged to confess that no Venetian spice-ship had been able to call there for nine years, because they could not compete with the Portuguese prices. Wolsey was a hard bargainer. No doubt he insisted with the Portuguese, as he had done with the Venetians, that they should not be allowed to ship

from London cargoes of merchandise of greater value than what they sold in England.[606] Neither Henry VIII nor his powerful minister realised that these very restrictions would keep down the number of ships, which they desired to increase. In Antwerp they displayed more economic wisdom.

During the whole of Manuel's reign there was no conflict of serious trade interests between him and Henry VIII. The Cape liners did once dislocate business in England. That was in 1515, when the Portuguese were fully occupied in fighting the Sultan of Fez, and omitted to carry the usual cargoes of pepper to London. The price went up and people grumbled; but Henry was too busy with his real rivals, the Emperor and the King of France, to trouble about popular grievances. The only serious encounter recorded between Portuguese and English ships took place at Gibraltar in 1521. The naval paymaster of the north African ports, Vasco Fernandes Cesar, was setting out on his rounds in a galliot, when he heard that four ships of France were approaching with a captured Portugues caravel in tow.

Four ships soon hove in sight, and Cesar signalled to ask who they were. They replied by ordering him to lower his sails, which he refused to do. Then the fight began, and it was a hard and plucky fight before the English ships surrendered. Thirty men were killed and all the English ships disabled. But when they shook hands and asked themselves what it was all about, both sides were ashamed of themselves: the Portuguese because they had fought friends, who were towing home a Portuguese lame-duck which the Barbary pirates had put out of action; and the English because they had been foolishly punctilious about their prestige.[607] Fortunately no bad blood was made between their nations. Manuel and Henry had married sisters, and Manuel wore the English decoration of the Garter; but most important of all was the fact that the vital interests of the two countries did not clash anywhere.

Manuel would also remember the naval service that Henry VIII had rendered him some years before against a Scotch pirate, whom an old ballad calls Sir Andrew Barton,[608] though he had no right to the prefix. In 1476

letters of marque were granted by James III of Scotland to three brothers of the name of Barton, in order that they might recover by force the amount of damages alleged to have been done by the Portuguese to a ship of their father. In November 1506, as no redress had been obtained, these letters were renewed by James IV, and plunder authorised to the value of twelve thousand ducats of Portugal. It was believed that Andrew Barton improved the opportunity in order to capture English ships as well. At any rate he was shot by an English archer in English waters, and his two ships were captured by the Lord Admiral Sir Edward Howard.

When the King of Scotland complained, Henry VIII refused to discuss reparations, because the renewal of letters of marque after thirty years was considered as piracy very thinly veiled. "The fate of pirates", answered Henry, "was never regarded as a fit subject of contention among Catholic princes". Henry was a politician of our modern type, who always saw clearly what was right when it was also profitable.

Yet Manuel could not fail to be grateful for this help, in a matter so vital for Portugal as the safety of her sea communications with the Cape of Good Hope and India. In 1516 Henry gave a letter of introduction to Manuel in Latin presenting Sir John Walopp, "who was anxious to take part in the Portugeuse adventures".[609] But when we read of the later activities of this gentleman, as the courier and intelligence officer between Henry VIII and Dublin Castle, where Thomas Earl of Surrey was trying to hold down the Irish chieftans, we are inclined to suspect that Walopp was really sent to Portugal to spy out the doings of "our confederates and allies" in Africa and India. Wolsey who was carefully watching the trade operations of both Portuguese and Venetian ships in English ports, would not fail to obtain all the information possible about the staples and methods of trade on this new route.[610] These were burning questions of practical politics at this period.

But French sea-captains were particularly outspoken, and envious of the predominant position that Portugal had achieved upon the ocean. They did not pause to discuss questions of law, national or international.[611]

Jean Parmentier expressed their views in plain French. "These Portuguese are the smallest nation of the earth, yet the whole Globe does not seem big enough to satisfy their cupidity. They must have drunk a concoction from the powder of the heart of Alexander the Great, to display such an unbounded ambition. They think that they can hold in one fist what they could not really embrace with both arms. It would seem to them that God made the land and sea for their exclusive benefit, and that other nations are not fit to go to sea".

Portugal's claims were really much more modest than that. She maintained her right to keep open the sea communications of her empire trade by a naval force sufficient to deter any aggressor upon her acquired rights. Such extravagant growls as those of Parmentier were bound to lead to piracy, and he himself suited the deed to the word.

Mozambique was soon perturbed by another French pirate, the ruthless Mondragon. For fifty years the Norman and Breton pirates had been preying on Portuguese shipping in the waters of the Azores and the Canaries;[612] but now that the Indian fleets were arriving with richer cargoes than ever, the pirates became bolder and went further afield. Mondragon got as far as the Mozambique Channel, and there he waylaid and captured a spice ship from India captained by Job Queimado. Manuel appealed again and again to the King of France to stop this lawlessness of his sailors, but always in vain.

The personal problem of Mondragon was promptly dealt with by Edward Pacheco Pereira, the famous writer who was also a daring and resourceful captain on land and sea. Immediately after Mondragon's exploit outside Mozambique Pacheco went to look for the French pirate, and found him off Cape Finisterre in 1509. After a hard fight Pacheco sank one of the ships, captured the other three, and took Mondragon a prisoner to Lisbon.[613] In 1518 Anthony da Silveira reported to the King from India, that French ships were again prowling about Madagascar and Mozambique, and he could not make out what they were aiming at.

Mozambique must have heaved a sigh of relief when Mondragon's capture was known. For the great fortress,

which was later to defy all comers, was not yet built. That existing in 1509 was quite sufficient protection against the local Arabs with their shipping and the land attacks of the Bantu, but it would be of little use in resisting hostile European ships furnished with artillery, as these sea robbers were. At this time Mozambique was mainly a resting station, and an insurance against unseasonable weather. Placed on the edge of the monsoon area, it enabled the fleets to breathe, and to await favourable weather, whichever way they were going. Barros notes that there were only two seasons but an infinite variety of winds. The unexpected often happened, and this port was able to save many an isolated ship, and sometimes a whole fleet from the dangerous caprices of the winds.

The absorption of Mamluk Egypt by the Ottoman Turks, consequent upon the victory of Solyman the Magnificent in 1517, made no difference to the shipping position of East Africa. Those European powers, like Genoa and Venice, which desired to share the privileges of the diminished trade by land and sea from the East, no longer begged them at Cairo, now the headquarters of a mere Pasha of Egypt. They went to Constantinople, where the Osmanli Sultan wielded the power he had wrested from nearly all the sultans of Asia Minor and Egypt.

Though the Turks had thus obtained military control from the Russian steppes to the Soudan, it was not in their own interest to block the trade routes between East and West. They took over the policy of the Mamluk sultans, and only after twenty years did they make an effort to intensify it down the Red Sea. That policy was to keep in touch with the West by means of treaties with Mediterranean powers, and to combat Portugal from the Red Sea.

An unsolicited opportunity of help for the Turks in their trade antagonism to Portugal arose at Antwerp in 1512, in the establishment of a branch of the Lisbon bank of Francis Mendes, whose younger brother was appointed manager. They were *marranos*, that is, Jews who had adopted the Christian faith for political reasons; and they had already acquired a disproportinate share in the

spice cargoes of the Cape liners, and had business relations with the Porte. The story of the most active period of these relations belongs to the next reign. But already these New Christians were operating not only at Constantinople, but also in London where they were making loans to Henry VIII. Their interest was not chiefly that of Portugal, but of the multi-national finance that they controlled.

King Manuel began to suspect that their considerations of profit and loss did not protect Portugal sufficiently against the dangers that threatened from the side of Turkey. This accounts for some of the restrictions that were placed upon the trade activities of the New Christians, as they were popularly called. They were allowed any profit they could make in Europe out of the skill and bravery of the Portuguese captains. But the officers of the Crown were warned not to allow any of them to sail in person for Mozambique or India. These places were too near the Turkish border by sea. Only by way of special exception was some expert or professional man among the New Christians given a permit to sail in the Cape fleets.

It must be remembered that at this time the prosperity of the countries on the Atlantic seaboard of Europe was increasing, their demand for luxuries such as the products of India was growing greater every year, and consequently the volume of trade was steadily growing.

Is it possible to make an estimate of the amount of shipping that passed along the east coast of Africa during this reign ? Complete information on this subject is not available yet ; but hints from the archives of Lisbon and Antwerp help us to form a general idea of the traffic in ships that enlivened Mozambique, and in a smaller way Sofala, Kilwa, Mombasa and the islands.

The quality of the vessels used in the spice trade was changed by the Portuguese. The Venetians employed the heavy and often finely decorated galleys for their Mediterranean traffic, and the Flanders fleet was one of the stateliest sights in the world. But these ships were expensive because they required a large crew, and they would have been dangerous in the high seas of the Cape of Good Hope. The long caravel of the Portuguese was

found to be safer, capable of holding a larger cargo and quicker in transit.

The gradual increase in size is best illustrated by two facts. Whereas up to 1500 the caravels rarely attained two hundred tons, an imperial edict of the year 1550 forbids any ship of less than two hundred tons to venture from Antwerp into the south seas. The Portuguese agent of the King in Antwerp exported his goods in a ship of 450 tons.[614]

It was Lisbon of course that set this fashion. The larger ships carried after them a tail of smaller ones, which thus secured protection in case of attack or accident. During Manuel's reign about 250 ships sailed for India to do business on the King's account alone.[615] These always left Lisbon in February, March or April. This list does not include the ships that were sent from time to time on special missions, or intelligence work or private business, to India or the Red Sea. Nor does it include the ships built in India or on the east coast of Africa.

In 1515 Albuquerque sent Edward Barbosa to Calicut to superintend the building of two large galleys for the punitive expedition to the Red Sea. That year, as we learn from an official memorandum, there were more than forty ships in India with crews of two thousand men, and a reserve on land of another five thousand. Besides these there was a number of shipwrights, blacksmiths and armourers; and ten caravels had been constructed by them in India. Every ship had to be well armed, in order to stand up to possible assaults from Turks, Egyptians or prowling pirates. These last might emerge in the Atlantic, whilst the former roved in the Indian ocean. There was nothing to fear from the deckless and one-masted vessels of the Arabs, which were made of rough planks and palm-leaf sails sewn with cocoanut fibre. They ferried the trade of Pemba, Mafia and Zanzibar to the mainland. All this traffic however brought a great medley of humanity to Mozambique.

The exaggerated reports of shipping disasters, which sometimes reached Europe, brought hope of recovery to the harassed authorities of Venice. Thus in 1506 the Venetian ambassador in Spain, Vincent Querini[616] writes home that things were going badly with the Portuguese

on the Cape route. Not only were the voyages too expensive to be profitable ; but out of the last 104 ships nineteen had perished for certain, thirteen were missing and would probably never be heard of again. He believes that the voyages would soon be given up as hopeless.

At the end of his despatch he thanks God for being a Venetian, since this imperial race stood for justice and freedom, as no other did. He seems to insinuate what the English Captain Trotter states with less finesse in his *History of India* : " our empire is righteous and therefore it must endure". But most statesmen of Manuel's day were wiser then Querini or Trotter. They held with Seneca that one half of the secret of imperial success lies in justice and political discernment, whilst the other half is at the mercy of that collection of forces which so many men helplessly call fate.

A few far-seeing statesmen and speculating bankers saw already that fate had decided in favour of Portugal. But the Venetian people, the popular writer and the poet still thought of Venice's dominion of the sea. Even fifty years later Shakespeare, who usually has little enthusiasm for the sea frames this rhapsody about Venetian sea-power for Salarino in addressing his friend the merchant of Venice :

> Your mind is tossing on the ocean,
> There where your argosies with portly sail,
> Like signiors and rich burgers on the flood,
> Or as it were pageants of the sea,
> Do overpower the petty traffickers
> That curtsey to them, do them reverence,
> As they fly by them with their woven wings.

The greatest losses of Portugal were in men rather than ships. But numerically these losses were not excessively severe, in view of the general gain in prosperity which they brought to Portugal. A certain demand on the energies of a nation for overseas settlement, or even for war on the modest medieval scale, may be favourable to the increase of the home population, as can be seen from the history of Prince Henry's colonies in Madeira and the Azores.[617] There is of course a breaking point, but this was very far off during Manuel's reign.

The most serious loss was in the quality of the men who succumbed to fever in Mozambique and Sofala, or in the constant warfare on land and sea. At a time when new lands in the Far East and America were still being added to the responsibilities of Portugal, it became increasingly difficult to find new men to fill so many posts left vacant by great characters like Albuquerque, the two Almeidas, Coutinho and Peter de Meneses. Some successful empires have been founded in the beginning by the riff-raff of the imperial nations, but the Portuguese empire was founded by men of culture and standing in their own land.

Barros blames the King for filling the key offices later with men of conspicuous past service or personages of high rank, whereas abroad the qualities required were the gift of dealing with foreign rulers and personal worth.[618] There is not an unlimited supply of such men in any country. Moreover the most successful administrators and fighters of Portugal overseas were usually volunteers. And in the first World War Great Britain too had the sad experience of finding out, how volunteering cuts down the flower of the nation first.

It leaves at home, often in high places, too many talkers and shirkers to mismanage the affairs of the nation. Fortunately for Portugal the hereditary leader of the nation remained at the helm for twenty-five years, steering on settled and sound principles, and honestly endeavouring to select the best men for the tasks of empire. Moreover as long as Manuel lived, his appointments seemed justified in popular opinion by the one argument that justifies at that tribunal the contemporary politician, crowned or uncrowned, in every age: the country was thriving in a degree that had no precedent.[619] Few dreamed of criticising the royal policy in such a golden age. The most serious criticism creates only a pleasant ripple upon the self-satisfaction of prosperous governments, even when they are less competent and less honourable than Manuel's.

No large-scale attempt was made to exploit the gold mines of Rhodesia, because the merchandise of the East enabled Manuel to obtain from the Italian and German bankers all the currency he needed. Little more than

a heap of broken masonry is now left of Sofala, dethroned by Beira on the delta of the Buzi River. But to the Portuguese of Manuel's day it remained Golden Sofala, of which all the oriental writers too speak in glowing terms. Centuries of development by Portuguese, Dutch and English had to pass, before it became physically possible to organise the gold rushes of Matabeleland and Johannesburg.

In the embarrassment of riches that faced Manuel's empire of three continents the gold mines of Ophir were the most remote source of wealth, and the least accessible. He naturally pushed ahead first in those fields that offered the quickest returns : India, Persia, Malacca and America. Nor was his policy warped by the modern notion that gold in the coffers of the Crown, or of a few large banks, spelt prosperity for the people. His often expressed desire was to see the benefits of the empire widely spread amongst all classes of his subjects.

But in East Africa the problem of labour was as tantalising to the leaders on the spot, as it became to their successors in the nineteenth century ; as the Bantu were found to be variable in character in various parts of the land. The best reports came from those furthest away from the coast. Writing of the tribes of the upper Zambesi and of the districts of Bora and Quituny, Barros says that in some quiet pools of the rivers the Kafirs dive, and bring up the mud of the bottom containing gold. They are lazy, or rather so little avaricious, that it takes hunger sometimes to drive them to look for gold. The Arabs, to urge them on, cover them and their wives with cloth, beads and trinkets, which they love ; and then make them promise to pay in gold. " They are so reliable in this region that they keep these promises".

This sense of collective responsibility in some of the Bantu tribes is a trait, which later writers about the Bantu have not failed to note.[620] Both Arabs and Portuguese found it useful in their trade relations. But the Portuguese began at once to understand the value of the hierarchical loyalty which centred in the chiefs. Discerning the reverence that the Kafirs paid to the authority of their tribal heads, the Portuguese wisely

treated them as kings. No labour was spared to get into contact with these chiefs.

Thus in 1520 Manual Pacheco and Balthazar de Castro were sent, on the sixteenth of February, to explore the Angola coast, and to proceed as far as Table Bay.[621] Their instructions were to fill the ships, if they could, with ivory or metals or slaves. The slaves were to be purchased from Kafir chiefs, and the crew was to cultivate friendly relations with them. The ship carried a priest and all the books and church requisites for founding a Christian congregation. If the native king consented, but not otherwise, they were to leave the priest at some suitable place, where his work would be possible.

They were instructed to make searching enquiries in regard to silver and other precious metals for use in the markets of Antwerp.[622] If deposits of silver and copper were discovered in South Africa, it would free King Manuel from excessive dependence on the money-lenders of Antwerp; as it was now forbidden to export silver from Antwerp in order to buy spices in Lisbon, the former concession having been revoked. This prohibition favoured German financiers like the Fuggers, who controlled the silver supplies of Europe. But this expedition did not bring the desired relief to Lisbon from South Africa.

This conflict of capitalists however between Portugal and Germany, which thus had its echo at the Cape of Good Hope, forces upon our attention the different attitude of the people in each country towards its own financiers at this moment. In Germany popular opinion was rising to fever heat against the German controllers of large capital[623] Peasants, noblemen and workers resented the monopoly of money which somehow, they felt, was the cause of their poverty. They were supported by some Catholic theologians and preachers, who inveighed against usurers and money kings; and especially by a popular preacher and pamphleteer named Martin Luther, who had not yet broken with the Church. This popular movement reached its hottest point in Germany at the end of Manuel's reign.

How did it happen that no such movement of revolt took place in Portugal? The reason is not far to seek.

Manuel's generous methods opened up a big field of employment for his people on the ships, in the shipyards, in the army, in his munificent building-schemes, along the African coasts, but above all in India. Here every Portuguese, no matter how humble his origin, became an aristocrat. No adventurous youth need remain unemployed.

The country was seething with life and opportunities for energy, valour and brains. Grumblers there were of course; but there was no class of ablebodied unemployed, anxious for work and unable to obtain it, like the peasants of Swabia, who were soon to lacerate Germany by an armed revolution. Germany had no leader to open up new avenues of employment for her crowded population, as King Manuel did for his people through the ocean gateway of the Cape of Good Hope.

It is important to note the concrete sources of this prosperity. There was no question of creating a class of Indian Nabobs, leaving the large mass of the people as poor as ever. This can be best seen by examining the income of the Portuguese state for the year 1528, the account of which has survived the destruction of so many important documents of Portuguese finance. What remains also shows how carefully the yearly audits of the Indian Treasury accounts were made by the imperial government, as many of these have also survived.

The amounts of revenue can be roundly stated in millions of *reis*. From the sale of spices the Lisbon Treasury received 2·4 millions; from various taxes on Church institutions 10·8; and from customs dues, excise and tolls in Portugal 72·2. Thus from the Church and the provincial collectors of Inland revenue in Portugal the state received 83 millions, whilst the sale of Indian spices brought in only 2·4. At first sight this would seem to upset all our current notions about the value of Vasco da Gama's feat in discovering the Cape of Good Hope. A contribution of about 3% to the income of the country does not seem to indicate a great gain for the national purse. But on closer analysis this false impression vanishes.

Indian wealth indeed provided little direct help to the Treasury of the mother country. But it furnished the

whole revenue needed for the administration of India, which spent the greater part of it in India itself for the benefit of Indians and Portuguese colonists. Indian and Malay spokesmen even acknowledged at times that Portuguese trade made their peoples more prosperous than they had been before. It also enabled a large number of Portuguese traders and officials to retire on the comfortable proceeds of their overseas labours. Even the rank and file of the army and navy enjoyed salaries that former generations had never dreamed of. All this caused an unprecedented rise in the inland revenue of Portugal, through the importation of increased merchandise and the return of men able to spend more than before. The Church was satisfied with the new opportunities offered for preaching the Gospel to the heathen, and for extending the work of the Church at home. The clergy felt that the taxes on ecclesiastical institutions were well spent.

In this way overseas trade created no class of persons extravagantly rich. It spread the fruits of industry all over the country, and all grades of society benefitted by it. The result was a contented people. With all that, the credit of the Crown of Portugal in the great money-market of Europe at Antwerp was higher than that of any other government of Europe.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Science Progress in African Waters.

DURING the sixty years that elapsed between Fra Mauro's map of Africa and the death of King Manuel, more rapid and substantial progress was made in the sciences of navigation and geography, than in all the preceding centuries during which man had inhabited our planet. The African coasts, east and west of the Cape of Good Hope, were the principal fields in which practical research in these sciences was being carried out.

The experiments made required not only intelligence, but dogged bravery in facing the elements. The spirit in which they were made has been preserved in apt words by one who was prime mover in the work, Manuel's cosmographer Edward Pacheco Pereira. "Experiment is the mother who brings forth realities, and by means of experiment we get to the root of truth."[624] No modern scientist has put the substance of the genuine scientific spirit more forcibly and pithily than that. His words represent the mentality of the Portuguese leaders of discovery at the end of the fifteenth century, and the beginning of the sixteenth. He claimed that the discovery of the "African town of Malindi" was the crowning act of their scientific method.

They went to India in high hopes of learning from the Arabs. But they soon found out how little the Arabs knew about the art of navigation. The lumbering dhow was the highest type of ship to which the native Arab ship-builder had reached. For their larger ships the Arabs depended upon the aid of Venetians or Genoese whom they captured in the Mediterranean, or upon renagades of these nations who served Muslim rulers. The few Arab pilots whom Vasco da Gama and Albuquerque used in the beginning were soon dispensed with; and in a few years the Portuguese became more expert in local conditions, than these sailors who knew no other conditions.

In astronomy some old writers in Arabic like Al Farghani, better known and appreciated among the Christians of Europe than among the Muslim nations[625] had done good work. But although the art of navigation is regarded as the offspring of astronomy, Arab inventiveness remained barren in this respect, or was only fertile in the brain of European navigators and scientists. The one exception known to us is Ibn Majid, the first pilot of Vasco da Gama. But he can hardly be compared to the expert type of seaman that Portugal now developed, as can be seen from the literary remains of one of them, Edward Pacheco Pereira.

He was a descendant of one of the national heroes, who helped John I to found the dynasty of Aviz; and thus to assert Portugal's independent nationhood in the Peninsula. His grandfather had become rich as a contractor in North Africa. Edward himself was the close friend of Bartholomew Dias and Cabral, and was trusted with difficult tasks by three Portuguese kings. He was one of the negotiators of the epoch-making Treaty of Tordesilhas. In India later he became a renowned general, and it was he who captured the pirate Mondragon against great odds.

Like most of the prominent captains of that day, he had received the education of a gentleman in the King's court, in the companionship of Manuel himself when the latter was a youth. Hence in addressing this King in the course of his work, the *Esmeraldo*, he takes it for granted that the King is as well acquainted as himself with the Greek geographers, Ptolemy and Mark Strabo, as he designates the greatest of the classical geographers. But he only quotes Strabo's views about the voyage to India to show how vague the Greek's information was.[626] Strabo was a firm believer in the accuracy of Homer's geographical data, and records that some commentators of Homer make Menalaus sail to East Africa and India by way of Cadiz, taking eight years to do it. All this was written 1500 years ago and the tradition of such a voyage was forgotten, writes Pacheco. But in any case there is no profit in these speculations of the ancients " for us Portuguese who are able to test matters for ourselves by our own voyages".

Of all the ancient geographers the only one for whom Pacheco has any respect is Pomponius Mela. Pacheco even refused the guidance of the most popular manual of science in the Middle Ages, which was entitled *De Sphaera*.[627] It had gone through sixty-five editions, and was written by the Englishman John of Holywood, or Johannes a Sacrobosco as they preferred to call him. This Yorkshireman was professor of mathematics and astronomy in the university of Paris, and published his book about the year 1240. It was one of the first books printed when typography was invented. But the Portuguese cosmographer can only express his surprise, that so clever a writer should make such blunders about India and the people who live there. It was all because he did not test the accepted conclusions of science by the aid of practical men, such as sailors and other travellers, "as we Portuguese are doing".

The main reason of Pacheco's sufference of Pomponius Mela is clear. Of all the Greek and Latin writers Mela has left us the best description of Africa, though he makes its circumnavigation look easier than it proved to be. Moreover Pacheco would regard him as a fellow countryman. He was born and educated in a Roman-Carthagenian town near Gibraltar, where he learned to write good provincial Latin. He described Portugal (Lusitania) as one of the three provinces of Roman Spain, the only one that borders on the ocean; and he tells how the River Tagus produced gold and precious stones.

His book *De Situ Orbis* was written in the year 42 A.D., just when the Emperor Claudius introduced Roman culture "to the wild and hitherto unknown tribes of Britain", whom Julius Caesar had invaded but not conquered.[628] In this way Pacheco chose the second part of the title of his own work, *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis*, in memory of a remote ancestor who had forged links with Africa and Portugal.

The first word of this title has puzzled all the readers of the book.[629] It evidently means "emerald", but in this form it is not found in any language, being a mixture of the Portuguese and Italian. Could he have wished to pay a compliment to the nation which had seconded most

actively the lead of Portugal in exploration? It has been suggested that the choice of a precious stone for a title was an echo of an Arabic work of the fourteenth century, which was called the *Pearl of Wonders*.[630] But this is fantastic; as Pacheco takes so little account of Arabic works that he has only one mention of them, evidently regarding them as inferior even to the Greeks and Latins. Several writers have imagined ingenious anagrams to explain the word *Esmeraldo*, but they do not convince. I venture to make a suggestion which has not yet been made. Pacheco went to India in 1503 as captain of the *Esmeralda*, when he was still working at his book. Was it the name of his ship that prompted the name of his work? He just changed the gender. These are certainly the trifles that often guide us in the tantalising business of choosing names.

Pacheco has one complaint against all the geographers of the past: Strabo, Pliny, Holywood, Homer, Mela, Cornelius Nepos and Saint Augustine. They were all hopelessly at variance with one another, and were all in vital points demonstrably wrong. Why argue about their differences, he writes, when we can test the whole subject by our own experiments? The science of the present day has provided the opportunity for the solution of every doubt.[631] "The far distant regions that we Portuguese have discovered were much easier to talk about than to discover".[632]

He therefore emphasises the scientific value of the first voyage of Vasco da Gama, in which so many regions of the East were revealed to the West. "The earlier writers who spoke of these regions wrote so many fables about them, that everyone deemed it impossible to navigate the Indian seas and lands from our West. Ptolemy portrays the Indian sea in the form of a lake, separated by a large space from our western ocean, which passes by South Africa; and he writes that between these two seas there is a strip of land, which would prevent any ship from entering the Indian ocean. Others said that this road was so extensive, that its length could not be navigated; and that it contained so many sirens, other big fish and dangerous animals, that the sea journey could not be accomplished. But all this is false, and

Vasco da Gama found the opposite of most of what the ancient authors had written".

The *Esmeraldo* deals with Africa alone, but was never completed. Its descriptions begin at the Straits of Gibraltar and end abruptly at the Rio do Infante. It was intended to be an epitome of all useful data for practical navigation around the coasts of Africa to India. It may well be called the first edition of our *Africa Pilot*. In the preface Pacheco sketches the plan of the five books of which it was to consist. The fourth of these was to comprise a description of the coast from Ilheo de Cruz to Cape Guardafui, practically the whole east coast of Africa. But only three chapters of it were finished, and a fourth begun. The fifth book was never begun or has perished.

Internal evidence shows clearly that the book was written at different times, as opportunity occurred. Though the *Prologo* mentions the voyage of Vasco da Gama, we may reasonably suppose that the first notes for the work were made at the end of 1488, during the months that Pacheco spent in the company of Bartholomew Dias on the west coast of Africa. Dias had in his possession copious notes and maps; but orally also Pacheco must have learned much from him, and the other captains who had just returned from the Cape of Good Hope. Dr. Jaime Cortesão makes out a good case for holding that the whole manuscript that we possess was completed by the year 1508. By this time Pacheco himself had made several voyages to India, so that he was able to contribute his personal investigations. The result is a work which, even in the mutilated form in which it has survived, must rank as one of the world's epochal books of science. For it records a revolution in the sciences of geography and navigation.

The discovery of the Cape of Good Hope had transformed the whole system of ideas in navigation. Instead of sailing from port to port down from the Guinea coast, as Cão and Dias had done, the sea captains now developed a bolder course of wider sweep, with the Cape of Good Hope as its southermost beacon on the road to India. "If this work of mine", writes Pacheco, "begins at the Western Straits (the Straits of Gibraltar), where Pliny

and Pomponius Mela and other authors began their cosmography, this is merely for the sake of completeness and order. In this matter we Portuguese have outdistanced all former generations".

He then describes the new route. Leaving Lisbon the captains must sail for two hundred leagues south-south-west, when they will find themselves in north latitude 28°, and will easily make Point Andia on the island of Forte Ventura, one of the Canary Group. Then they will sail south-south-west for 45 leagues, reaching the Bay of Ruivos, and thence to Sierra Leone, which is the real beginning of West Africa. This stretch of the coast he describes in great detail, both " because of the long years of my experience on that coast " and because of its dangers to the untried mariner. He indicates the waters about Cape Palmas as a spot where the sea captains must be ever on the alert ; and as late as the nineteenth century it was a saying current among sailors, that " there is precious little that can't happen on the Shoals of Saint Ann". But he proceeds to give careful directions about the whole coast. He marks the shoals, the winds, the currents, the nature of the harbour bottoms, the tides and the seasons.

On the frowning coast of West Africa he is very detailed ; because it was much frequented for the trade in gold, ivory and slaves. Of course the ships that venture here must have stout sails because of the terrific thunderstorms with high winds. When these tornados rise suddenly, Pacheco advises the pilot to lower sails and heave to, rather than to give heels to the wind as some would prefer, to their own undoing. After the storms he promises the mariner a haven of refuge on the evil coast near Cape Ledo. Here " the mountain (Sierra Leone) has a spur jutting out into the sea, where there is a submerged bed of rocks as broad as a long shot of cannon. Between it and the shore there is a safe channel for ships, and one league up the river on the right-hand side there is a creek with a beach of black sand, where fifteen or twenty ships could be overhauled together". This is a description of the original site of the great harbour of Freetown. Pacheco notes that all kinds of foodstuffs are abundant there : rice, fish, grain, poultry

and cattle. " But beware of the Blacks of this region, as they are a wild lot, and use arrows with a subtle poison".

But one great gap in the truncated work of Pacheco can be filled from the log-book of Vasco da Gama's first voyage. The annual fleets for India would have little use for the minute data of the journey round Africa from port to port, which as a scientist Pacheco thought it his duty to complete. Pero de Alenquer piloted Gama's flagship from the Cape Verde Islands to Saint Helena Bay. Pero had been pilot to Bartholomew Dias, and then he learned that below Cape Verde the rounded angle of the hump of Africa led into the immense open waters of the south-east Atlantic, beginning with the Gulf of Guinea. Sailing from the island of Santiago, the pilot shaped his course south-south-east, making for the latitude of the Cape of Good Hope, which he had measured within six minutes of its true position.[633] These facts, so plain to us now by inspection of the simplest map, were then revolutions in human thought and adventure.

Longitudes these pioneers could not depend on, " as there is no fixed point from which they can be measured", is Pacheco's ample jusification, But even if they had fixed upon the meridian of Lisbon as a starting point, their lack of suitable instruments made any calculation of longitude only a rough estimate.[634]

In Martin Behaim's globe of 1492 the first meridian is drawn to pass through Mâdeira. The globe itself is of pasteboard covered with parchment, and the meridian is a band of iron. But this meridian was not generally accepted. Great hopes were entertained that science would soon find a sure method of registering the changes of longitude, and some even boasted at times that they had reached the goal. But at the end of the century Robert Hues[635] wrapped the doleful confession of failure in a Latin hexameter. " Expectata seges vanis deludat avenis". The first expectation of the sown field had indeed ended in wild oats, but the sowing of new tentative formulae still went on.

Another Portuguese scientist of that day, Rui Faleiro worked out a Book of Longitudes by three different

methods. Though the book itself has been lost, Pigafetta assures that it was serviceable to Magellan in 1519, during his voyage of circumnavigation of the globe. The complicated and difficult calculation of the longitude by lunar observations with the sextant was only perfected at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and the modern method dates from the invention of the chronometer in 1735. But Vasco da Gama and his pilot ventured to stake their lives and fortunes on a new and daring calculation of the road to India, which dispensed with any measurement of longitude. If they reached the latitude of the Cape of Good Hope, they inferred that by sailing due east, they must either strike land near this Cape or double the Cape itself.

Their hypothesis was fully justified. Leaving Santiago on the eighteenth of August 1497, they saw no land until the morning of the fourth of November at nine o'clock. When they caught this first glimpse of land, after nearly three months of sea and sky, there was great joy on the three ships. The diarist who composed the log-book of this journey says that the ships drew together; "and having donned our gala suits, we salvoed the Captain Major (Vasco da Gama) with our cannon, and dressed the ships with flags and standards".[636] For the first time in recorded history the south Atlantic had been crossed in one sweep.

They did not land on the nameless beach they sighted; because it did not look promising, and the pilot did not recognise it as one of those he had visited in company with Bartholomew Dias. So they pushed out to sea for three days, and then saw the low beach with a broad opening into Saint Helena Bay, as they named it. Ten days later they doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and thus opened the era of ocean travelling for Europe. It was a revolution in the art of navigation.

The list of African latitudes which Pacheco compiled is a remarkable feat, when we think of the rough appliances that these early pilots were using. The best way to illustrate this is to place specimens of the results recorded with the latest measurements of the British Admiralty charts:

	Pacheco	Admiralty	
Saint Helena Bay..	32° 30′	32° 46′	
Cape Point[637] ..	34° 30′	34° 21′	
Cape Agulhas ..	35° 00′	34° 50′	
Mossel Bay	34° 30′	34° 10′	
Rio do Infante ..	33° 15′	33° 13′ 30″	Chalumna [River

A noteworthy feature of Pacheco's list lies in one of his omissions. He has a blank for the Ilheo da Cruz. It is a significant silence, if we remember that he once believed Ilheo da Cruz and Penedo das Fontes to be different names for the same place. If he was still of the same opinion when he compiled this table of latitudes, it would have been easy and natural for him to insert here the same latitude that he assigns to the other place-name. Why did he hesitate to do so? Probably, I imagine, because later calculations had caused him to doubt about the identity of these two names, and his doubts had not yet been cleared up when this part of the manuscript was written.

The Islet of the Cross always remained (Ilheo da Cruz) in the mists of considerable confusion, as far as the Portuguese were concerned, for the simple reason that it had little importance either for trade or navigation. At first it was confused with the Rock of the Streams (Penedo das Fontes), where Bartholomew Dias's journey ended. This was the case with the earliest map of these places that we possess[638] a beautiful work of art, designed by a German and published at Rome in 1492. There the names are blended, and become the Island of the Stream (Ilha da Fonte). The first who attempted to clear up the neglected mystery of the Island of the Cross was Manuel de Mesquita Perestrello, a famous pilot who was sent from Mozambique in 1575 by King Sebastian to survey the whole coast from Cape Corrientes to the Cape of Good Hope.

He mentions the two groups of islands in Algoa Bay: the two flat islands (Bird Islands) and the four Islands of the Cross; but he goes on to say that the place where Bartholomew Dias erected the stone pillar, with a cross, is four leagues east of the Bird Islands. It must be remembered that it was not merely a cross which Dias

set up, but a stone pillar surmounted by a cross. Pacheco adds that there was also an inscription in Portuguese, Latin and Arabic. In Perestrelo's day, about fifty years after the erection of the pillar, it had already vanished, but the tradition of its site is described by this experienced captain, who also drew a sketch of the locality from the sea.

"It can be identified by two perpendicular ridges of sand running into the sea, with plain brushwood on top. Below there is an island, as drawn here,[639] about the size of a caravel. This must be the place where stood the pillar of Saint Gregory that Bartholomew Dias erected; because it is written that he placed it on an island between the Flat Islands (Bird Islands) and the Rio do Infante, in which area there is no other island. Hence I gave it the name of Ponta do Padrão". This is the name to which later map-makers gave an Italian twist, and transferred to Cape Padrone. The pillar itself had certainly disappeared by the year 1575, whatever its position. The mist of confusion has been lifted in our day by confronting the data of the *Livro da Marinheira*, written by the famous pilot John da Lisboa in 1514, with the log-book of the first voyage of Vasco da Gama. Together these seem to place it beyond reasonable doubt that Kwaai Hoek is the site of the last pillar of Bartholomew Dias, and is the real island of the Cross, appropriately called False Islet.[640]

During Manuel's reign all the important places on the coast of Africa, east and west, were measured for the first time in terms of their distance from the equator. Pacheco's figures for the latitude of Rio do Infante confirm the idea that this is our Chalumna River. Altogether his treatise on latitudes is a great advance on anything that had been written on the subject before.

Though he is often diffuse in exposition, here he is concise and practical.[641] He lays down four rules for the finding of latitudes, according to the various positions of the observer in relation to the sun and the equator. His accuracy in applying these rules to places recently discovered in Africa produced results which are sometimes striking. Sofala, for example, he registers at 20° south altitude, being only ten minutes short of its true

position. He ends by warning the pilot that, when the astrolabe indicates 90° of the sun's altitude, this is not a uniform measure. Its meaning depends upon the place where the sun happens to be between Cancer and Capricorn. The observer must therefore be conversant with the diary (daily motion) of the sun, as between these tropics, if he is to interpret his own observations correctly.[642]

All the maps that were once part of the *Esmeraldo* have been lost In the original manuscript there were eighteen of them, and one was a coloured sketch of the Cape of Good Hope. Thus we possess no specimen of this department of Pacheco's work. His maps of the African coast would have been a treasure. From the *Esmeraldo* we learn that he was in touch with the most famous school of cosmographers of that day, the Portuguese family of Reinel. One of the few contemporaries whom he mentions in this work is Rodrigo Reinel.[643] It is surely the same man who went to India with Albuquerque in 1503, as factor of the ship *Esmeralda*, which was captained by Pacheco.

The rare importance of the Reinel school is shown by the course of political events in 1519 and the years following. Science was just beginning its fateful role as an instrument of national politics, which has culminated in the inhuman rivalry of war-aeronautics in our own day. The department in which this ominous development first took place was map-making. In this branch the Portuguese were now the acknowledged masters of the world.

Charles V of Spain, in his plans of imperial expansion, sought every means of attracting the leaders of Portuguese science to his service. Some distinguished men like Diogo Ribeiro he did lure to Spain. Though he failed to induce the Reinels to leave their workshop at Elvas, where they made sailing-charts, astrolabes, quadrants and compasses; yet Pedro Reinel, during a short trip to Seville.[644] seems to have furnished the Spaniards with a map of the Moluccas which was found useful by Magellan, another Portuguese in the service of Spain. But if Pacheco was in close touch with the Reinel school, who were experts in universal geography and navigation, his own efforts were almost entirely devoted to the African scene.

Even his advanced views on physical geography take the form of reflections of a traveller on the coasts of Africa. Before he sets out on his journey, he discusses the terrestial globe in general, and anticipates Newton's theory of gravitation. "If one could pierce the earth through its centre, and throw a stone from one side expecting it to issue from the other, it would remain quescent in the centre, because that is the lowest point in the middle; and it is impossible and against nature for any heavy thing to rise or move from the centre to the circumference. Thus the antipodes are on one side and we on the other".[645]

Newton of course added the great discovery of the mathematical formula of this attraction. Though the purpose of Pacheco does not require him to make a universal law of this force of terrestial gravitation, that was done by a contemporary professor at Coimbra University, Anthony Luiz. He maintained that "this force of attraction unites the whole world by invisible bonds; so that all its parts, no matter how distant, are kept in their place". These important laws of nature were simmering in many minds, as they examined anew the facts of the physical world.

Pacheco ends his first chapter with what may be considered an apology for the restless energy of the men of that day. "When we are dead eight feet of earth are enough for us, and there the vanity of our ambition ends; but no man living is content with what he has". Like the most modern globe-trotter he sometimes had his misgivings about the value of it all; but he went on gathering experience, and sifting his experiences, with the divine unrest of the pioneer in science.

But in this connection he took for granted a truth which some modern scientist have rediscovered by a different route. "Science cannot at present hope to say anything final on the question of human existence and human destiny", is the frank confession of Sir James Jeanes.[646] Hence Pacheco sought elsewhere what he knew that even "the great variety of majestic Nature" (as he phrases it) could not teach him. The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom, he writes quoting King Solomon. He found the answer to the query about human destiny in his

avowed attitude of "a Catholic according to God's law".

Medieval philosophy was grounded in a solid realism, which accepted both the facts of nature and the facts of Revelation, as fit objects of scientific probing. True, the plain man revelled in the glories of nature without any desire to analyse them. In an analogous way the plain Christian revelled in the inexhaustible riches of Christ, as he found them set forth in the living teaching of the Church and the written word of the Scriptures. Both the natural scientist and the scientific theologian had their legitimate and recognised roles. Whilst Pacheco was a scientist and man of action, as well as a plain and devout Christian, he was content to leave the science of theology to the theologians.[647]

"Whatever has to do with cosmography and navigation I propose to treat extensively", he wrote in his Preface. The full extent of his treatment we do not know, as his book has reached us in a fragmentary condition. Whether this is due to the loss of the full manuscript, or to his other occupations as navigator, governor and captain in the field, cannot now be decided. Enough has survived to indicate he was a genuine scientific thinker.

His most remarkable contribution to the science of physical geography is contained in the two chapters about the tides.[648] Though he knew that Strabo had retailed from Posidonius an account of the tides of the Atlantic and Indian oceans, and had connected them with the action of the moon, he takes no notice of this, evidently regarding Strabo's work as a fossil. The sources of his information are his own experiences, those of other pilots, and of contemporary scientists whom he calls astrologers.

In one point he found the astrologers and the seamen at variance with one another; because the sailors made the lunar day 45 minutes longer than the solar, whilst the astrologers reckoned a difference of 48 minutes. Although he believes the scientists to be right, as they really were within one minute, he follows the practice of the sailors in computing the tides; because the error is negligible in size, and because the tides are more easily calculated by the use of the compass "in accordance with the ancient usage of sailors".

In fact he lays down here the times of reckoning high tide by observation of the moon, which has been followed by almost all pilots up to the last quarter of the nineteenth century, in spite of the more accurate but highly complex calculations, which Newton laid down in his *Principia.*

Pacheco explains in great detail, how the tides of the Iberian peninsula were reckoned by the bearing of the moon upon the points of the compass. He did not realise that the moon does not pass over all the points of the compass at a uniform rate of time, though he knew that the winds and other incalculable factors could upset all computations. But he was confident that the rules which Portuguese and Spanish sailors and astrologers had drawn up after centuries of experience on the coasts of Andalusia, Galicia and Biscay, would justify themselves also in Africa and India. His own career furnished a notable verification of this prophecy. In the heroic siege of Cochin, when he beat off the superior forces of the Rajah of Calicut, one of the factors of victory was the clever use he made of his knowledge of the tides, in order to get the ships of Calicut at a serious disadvantage.[649]

He also settles, for the first time on scientific principles, the then much debated question of the relation between land and sea on the globe. Is this globe of ours composed of continents and islands floating on a ball of water, or do the oceans and seas lie in cavities of the land? Homer and other Greeks held that the water contained the land, Pliny was doubtful. The learned Spanish bishop, James of Valencia[650] in his commentary on the 103rd Psalm maintained that the land was more voluminous than the sea, and surrounded it everywhere. Pacheco makes no allusion to a remarkable treatise of Dante's which deals with this subject, the *Quaestio de Aqua et Terra.* By the Scholastic method alone Dante reaches the same conclusion as Pacheco does by experiment. But none of these worthies can decide the matter for us, writes Pacheco. Only experiment can solve our doubts. He then proceeds to give the results of his own researches.

He states that in 1488 King John II sent him across the ocean to the west, and then he discovered the land of Brazil. On that voyage he made observations which convinced him, that in this direction there was a continent

with at least 648 leagues of coast, assuming that each degree of latitude was equal to eighteen leagues. Hence, he argued, besides the three continents of Europe, Asia and Africa, which we know, there must be in the west a fourth continent largely unexplored, as Vincent of Beauvais had surmised in his *Speculum Historiale*.[651] "I conclude therefore", he ends, "that the ocean is nothing but a huge lake in the concavity of the earth. Land and sea together form one globe, in the midst of which are many arms of the sea, which are called 'mediterraneans'. This I believe to be the truth". It is a commonplace now, but it was first definitely established by this Portuguese scientist.

Of course Pacheco makes incidental mistakes in discovering these new truths of science, as is the way with all pioneers of science. For example, he holds that water occupies only one-seventh of the globe. But there is no ground for saying, as a modern writer asserts[652] that orthodoxy demanded his acceptance of the view, that the land of the globe is surrounded by water; because "it was supported, so its protagonists argued, by Holy Scripture, ex. gr., Psalm 136 verse six". Indeed our scientist often quotes the Bible; because he believed with the best of good reasons that, quite apart from the question of inspiration, the writers of the Biblical books were capable men, who often knew the best that science taught in their day. But in matters of geography and physics Pacheco knew that there was no question of orthodoxy or unorthodoxy. In fact he closes this very discussion with words that make this abundantly clear. "Experiment, which is the mother of knowledge, removes all doubt and misapprehension". That is the touchstone of all his scientific opinions.

That this scientific spirit was the intellectual habit of the leaders of the Iberian peninsula at that time, is seen from an equally explicit statement of a contemporary Spanish writer named Martin Fernandez de Enciso[653] who published his *Suma de Geographia* in 1519. He thus describes the sources of his book. "It comes from the *Bactrian History*, the two Ptolomies, Eratosthenes, Pliny, Strabo, Josephus, Anselm, the Bible, the General History and many other writings, and from our own daily

experience which is the mother of all". Even the Bible, when used in scientific discussions, must be interpreted in the light of ascertained facts and of human experience.

All kinds of fantastic reasons have been assigned for the late entry of England into the new trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope, by writers of the peculiar type of patriotism represented by James Anthony Froude.[654] But the real reason was given without any special pleading by an Englishman named Robert Hues, who wrote a Treatise on the Globes at the end of the sixteenth century. In his preface, dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh, he states the aim of his book: to persuade Englishmen to acquire as complete a knowledge of geometry and astronomy, as the Portuguese and Spanish had long possessed. It was the Englishman's comparative ignorance of these sciences, essential for successful navigation, that had left him so far behind the Portuguese and the Spaniard in reaping the benefits of the expanding energy of Europe.

In map-making especially the Portuguese had opened a new era. Two names stand out in Manuel's reign as leaders of the most important school of map-makers, Peter Reinel and Lopo Homen. Reinel and his pupils continued to use the old plane square, and the rose of the winds, whilst they perfected their technique greatly. Large scrolls across land and sea began to contain important trade details. Some of the finest known samples of miniature illumination fill the spaces where no geographical data were available.[655] These were far more artistic, and no less scientific, than the monsters and imaginary towns which filled Dutch and English maps up to the middle of the nineteenth century. But the most notable advance that this school made was in their complete atlasses of the world.

Now, for the first time in the history of mankind, reliable maps of the world were produced, which could be taken as safe guides for the merchant and the sailor. Most of the work of Peter Reinel, the master of this school, has perished. The famous Miller Atlas in Paris, which was once thought to be a product of the Reinel school, has recently been ascribed with good reason to Lopo Homen.[656] "It surpasses in accuracy and in the

richness of its colours all similar productions of the first half of the sixteenth century."

In 1517 Homen was appointed official cartographer to King Manuel, and was granted a monopoly of the manufacture of mariner's compasses. The map of Africa in this atlas of Homen's reflects, like the rest of his maps, the best opinion of the day, and it is astonishingly modern. Africa is portrayed with greater accuracy than the new world of Brazil, which is joined to Asia by a land-mass south of the Atlantic and Indian oceans. As the map of the world in this atlas is dated 1519 in Homen's own hand-writing, it shows how much better known the whole coast-line of Africa was at this period, than the coast-line of America.[657]

The descriptive geography of South Africa which the *Esmeraldo* gives is pioneer work, and even on the west coast Pacheco's method is more systematic than that of any of his predecessors. He notes the variety of tribes along the coast, providing us with a large number of names and sometimes with characteristic words in their language; he indicates those who are hostile, those who are still pagan, and those who have adopted the meer veneer of Islam current on this coast; he enumerates the staples of trade, and describes the internecine wars among the tribes. When he comes to Guinea, he remarks that the fortress of the Portuguese at Elmina is the first building erected there since the creation of the world.

He notes that the Cape of Good Hope divides Africa into two Ethiopias: one from Senegal River to the Cape of Good Hope, the other from this Cape to Cape Guardafui. Ancient writers call the latter area Ethopia below Egypt. The densest population of Blacks lies between Cape Verde and the mountain of Sierra Leone. "Many think that this mountain is so called because there are lions there, but that is false. Pero da Sintra, who discovered it under Prince Henry's orders, gave it this name because it is rugged and wild country. He told me this himself".

But even in these repellant lands he discovers some beauty, not excepting the Sahara edge near Arguin. "It is marvellous how Great Nature has provided the things that are really needful. In this sandy desert swept by high winds there are islands of rocks with some

good land, at intervals of three or four leagues, which the sands do not overwhelm; so that the Berbers are guided on their way and also find refuge there". When he meets ourang-outangs, he gives them the classical name of satyrs; and decides that if they are human beings, they must be savage specimens of the race. But he never came to close quarters with them, so as to be able to decide for himself.

If we have lost his map of the Cape of Good Hope, we have his word-picture of it; and it is noteworthy as the first description of the Cape known to literature. It therefore deserves a close paraphrase, which shall contain all the essential features.

"This great headland is very cold and stormy during its winter, which lasts from April to the end of September. The Blacks here are pagans and very savage, they dress in skins and wear sandals of crude leather. They are not as black as the Jalofs, Mandingas and other tribes of Guinea. There is no trade here, but much cattle, large goats, sheep and fish. In this country there are monkeys as big as men, which they call *baboys*; and they have such large beards that you would not believe it possible, unless you saw them. Some say that this is the Prasum Promontorium of Ptolemy; but I prefer to think that it may be Ptolemy's Mountains of the Moon, whence the Nile issues, because the latitude given by Ptolemy is also that of this Cape, 34° 30′ S., and because his description of the Mountains of the Moon fits this place perfectly. The sun is in the north here, and casts its shadow towards the south, contrary to what happens to us at home. Africa ends here in the ocean, and its whole circumference is 3,850 leagues."

"Here at the Cape of Good Hope the vegetation is the same as in Portugal; as there is much mint, camomile, cress and many other plants of the same species as in our own country. There are wild olives, heaths that bear berries, and many other trees such as we have. Lisbon is just about as far north of the equator as the Cape of Good Hope is south. Thus the effect of the sun is about the same on vegetation, though the seasons are opposite. All this we have gathered by experience on the spot".

It is somewhat ungenerous to speak of casuistry, as a

recent writer does[658] in connexion with Pacheco's opinion about the sources of the Nile, to which elsewhere he devotes a whole chapter. He hazards an ingenious answer to the riddle of the Nile by suggesting that it rises among the Mountains of the Cape Peninsula, somewhere behind Table Mountain. " He cannot have been ignorant of the absence of data ", says the critic who accuses him of casuistry. Complete data for forming an opinion certainly did not exist, and were only found in 1770, when Bruce discovered the sources of the Nile. Pacheco's guess was a bold one, but no quibble. At that time no subject of debate was more popular than this, and the discovery of the Cape Mountains seemed a new datum, justifying some new hypothesis. Guesses at truth, where the full data of a problem are not available, constitute the only human method of progress in science. Many guesses must rise and fall before the truth emerges. Here Pacheco is the lineal ancestor of the Galvanis, Laplaces, Marconis and Darwins.

He refused to be dazzled even by the authority of Ptolemy, both in regard to the Cape of Good Hope and all other matters that he could test for himself. In this scientific method he was more advanced than many renowned geographers of later centuries, whose worship of the Greeks was a mild obsession.

The once famous Dr. Mannert[659] for example, could write thus in 1825 about the Greek and Latin geographers: " The knowledge of the ancients is far richer and largely more reliable than that of our day ". When faced with the discovery of Lake Chad by Denham and Clapperton, he explained that " Lake Chad must have been formed in modern times, since it was unknown to Ptolemy ".

Ramusio gives us a typical instance of the more soundly critical attitude of the Portuguese and Spanish pilots and geographers, in the early sixteenth century.[660] They were pressed to believe that Prasum on the east coast of Africa must be situated in south latitude 15°; because Ptolemy had deduced this from the fact that the inhabitants were black, and it abounded in elephants and rhinceroses, just as in Ethiopia which was (as he imagined) 15° north latitude. The Portuguese and Spaniards flouted the argument as absurd. It would mean, they replied, that

the Spaniards must be black, because they live at the same degrees north of the equator as the Hottentots do south, since Gibraltar was as far north as the Cape of Good Hope is south. Amongst the Greeks the geographers did not navigate, and the navigators had no scientific knowledge; but the Portuguese explorers were both navigators and scientists.

In the last completed chapter of the *Esmeraldo* the mariner is warned that the great sweep of 1,450 leagues, from Cape Verde to a spot two or three degrees south of the Cape of Good Hope, must always be dependent on favourable winds. In this ocean area hurricanes sometimes rise suddenly that will shatter any ship, and the only chance of escape is to lower sails at the first blast. Then the real seaman is tested. "His brains, his resourcefulness and his experience alone can tell him what to do."[661]

Many Portuguese writers have blamed Manuel because this great servant of the Crown died poor and abandoned in 1533. Camoens leads the impeachment by comparing his fate to that of Belisarius, the hero to whom the Emperor Justinian owed the military glory of his reign, and who died in poverty. "That is what kings do whose will prevails rather than justice and truth", sings Camoens.[662] But though the ancients believed the muses of epic poetry and of history to be sisters, Clio does not always ratify the verdicts of her sister Calliope.

No real proof of ingratitude has ever been established in this matter against King Manuel. Castanheda tells how in 1505 the King showered honours upon him, "such as no king in these kingdoms ever bestowed upon a subject". As a reward for his services Pacheco received the honourable and lucrative appointment of Governor of Elmina. After a few years he was brought back to Lisbon as a prisoner, charged with peculation on the evidence of men of standing in the kingdom. The charges were proved to be false. Pacheco was reinstated, and was governor of Elmina once more when Manuel died. It is difficult to see how this king can be blamed for what may have happened after his death.

Nor can he be blamed for sifting the charges made against Pacheco. It shows Manuel's determination to purge the public administration of venality, and the royal verdict has vindicated Pacheco's character for all time. Many writers like Diogo Barbosa Machado have held up hands of horror at the idea, that a hero of Pacheco's type should have been tried at all. But Lord Bacon was not the only great man who proved to be a rogue. What the historians choose to call greatness does not necessarily include honesty. The biographies and autobiographies of several heroes of the first World War have shown them to be men of little character and no principles.

Of Pacheco we can repeat what he wrote in defending King John II against those who accused him of avaricious motives in promoting the discovery of India. "Mordant grumblers speak evil of deeds which they could never accomplish themselves. What can I say of this King, except that he was a Catholic who lived in accordance with the commands of God? His intelligence and genius had no equal in our day, and so rooted was he in honesty that we took his word for gospel". These were clearly the ideals of the great scientist himself, and the fact that he died poor is the clinching argument that he did not palter with these ideals.

If he had possessed some friend or correspondent of European reputation amongst scholars, Brazil might have been named after him with better reason than America was named after Amerigo Vespucci. The personal friendship of Lorenzo de Medici, the most powerful and rich patron of letters in the world then, gave Vespucci the popular fame that Pacheco missed.[664]

An Italian writer who spent most of his life amid the records of the sailors of the first quarter of the sixteenth century, has shown the scientific accuracy of the new vocabulary of the sea, which the Mediterranean sailors invented. What he says of them is true of their Portuguese contemporaries on the African coast and in the Indian ocean, who also invented a new language of the sea.

Their avocation forced them to decypher the great book of nature, as seen from the ocean; and they were

compelled to deal with facts as a matter of life and death. Instinctively they followed the incomparable method of Aristotle: first the correct observation of facts, then argument, and lastly calculation based on inferences from fact. Thus sound theories are born. "In any other way your reasoning rests upon a vacuum, and you will draw nothing out of your experiences but what you put into them", writes the naval historian Father Guglielmotti.[665] If the Portuguese sailors achieved so much, it was because they were dealing with new facts, and they faced them like men of intelligence.

The crowning work of the Portuguese shipbuilder was the galleon for long-distance traffic. It was a half-way house between the Greek or Roman galley and the modern ocean-liner. It had a large space for cargo, reaching at times two or three thousand tons; but it was also a new and powerful type of man-of-war. The shipwrights tried to combine solidity in the frame of the ship with the power of a high speed under a good wind.

The keel was long, the galleon was narrow in girth, and the two high castles in the prow and the poop gave her the figure of the moon in its first quarter. There were four masts, two with square sails aforeships and two with lateen sails behind. The galleon was crowded with sails, large and small, that enabled her to take advantage of every wind that blew. In the event of an attack she was well equipped to defend herself, even though not in a convoy. Fifty or more pieces of artillery were distributed between the first and second bridge and the castles, besides the small guns on deck and mounted on the tops. These were the formidable vessels that now began to call occasionally at the Cape of Good Hope, Mossel Bay, Lourenço Marques and especially Mozambique. They were the backbone of the defence of the lucrative trade of East Africa, Malacca, India and China.

It was not merely in the building of ships that Portugal was in the van of European progress. Vast improvements were also made in the equipment and catering on ships. We can best visualise this by comparing the new fleets of King Manuel, which rounded the Cape

of Good Hope, with the best efforts that the world had made previously in the tourist traffic of the Mediterranean. The ships that plied regularly to the Holy Land, carrying pilgrims, were the best passenger ships hitherto devised. They were usually chartered for large pilgrimages by rich noblemen, or prosperous merchants, who could afford to pay for the best in comfort that the age provided. As a rule they started the sea journey from Venice, which had developed a regular tourist traffic of this kind. Sailings took place twice a year, and at each season the ship would carry seventy pilgrims. There is a large medieval literature[666] about the laws of passenger traffic generally, about the passage money, the duties and rights of shipowners, captains and passengers.

Even for Englishmen Venice remained the most convenient point of departure by sea for the Holy Land on account of the fame of these ships. Thus in 1498 and 1513 we have two English accounts of the journey, which bring out vividly its nature and drawbacks.[667] The general difficulty was that they had to bargain for their food and accommodation on board with the captain, who sometimes left them in the lurch, trying to make undue profit. Intending passengers were always advised to make themselves snug by laying in a personal supply of bread, biscuits, wine, poultry, bedding and other utensils.

In King Manuel's ships all these things were provided by the royal exchequer, in a style which must have seemed luxurious to the fidalgos who had made the pilgrimage of the Holy Land. In the Mediterranean the pirates too were an ever present danger, as the ships were not always well armed, offering a tempting bait to the robbers of the sea. But the naval artillery of the Portuguese ships was the wonder of the East and of the West. As the Spanish soldier was never beaten in Europe during the whole of the sixteenth century.[668] so the Portuguese sailor was the terror of pirates and hostile Muslim, both in the Indian ocean and the Mediterranean, whilst amongst Europeans he had no peer. The traveller on Portuguese ships enjoyed a security which was a real novelty. The annual

fleet to India once carried the record number of three thousand men. The large cabins, the port holes and the generous store rooms were marvellous advances on the old style. King Manuel could boast that he had opened a new era in sea transport.

But it was not Portugal alone that was proud of the scientific achievements of her sons. Even such a cool observer as the contemporary historian Francis Guicciardini acknowledges his own feeling of pride, as his Florentine patriotism left him a good European. After recounting the difficulties that Portugal had already overcome to establish the new ocean route, he ends like a modern writer boasting of modern progress. "Notwithstanding all these difficulties, the Portuguese have made this new style of navigation so commonplace that, where at first they took ten months to complete the course, they now do it regularly (to India) and at reduced risks in six months". Altogether the reading of contemporary authors gives one the impression that the Portuguese were generally regarded as the first race in Europe to have attained complete nationhood, independent of the vicissitudes of European politics.

But a sentence of Pacheco's who may be taken as the most representative scientist of this generation, shows how clearly he apprehended what Portugal owed to the general culture of the Christian continent, of which she was the standard bearer in the East".[669]

"We cannot doubt that Europe excels Africa and Asia in cities, country towns, walled fortresses and other sumptuous and beautiful buildings, as well as in ships equipped and armed better than anywhere else. Nor can Asiatics and Africans deny that Europe possesses the greatest abundance and skill in arms. But above everything else she possesses the most excellent writers about every science that the world knows of". The writer had visited every known region of Africa and the East, piloting his own ship, leading his own soldiers as a commander on land, and doing his own share of honest trade. Few men of the day were better entitled to a decided opinion.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Results and Omens in 1521.

WHEN King Manuel died in 1521, the area of the present Union of South Africa was largely a geographical expression for the bulk of the Portuguese people. There were many sad hearts in Portugal who still thought of the shores of Table Bay as the last resting place of Almeida, his captains and men. In 1512 Christopher de Brito and his pilot Diogo de Unhos had erected cairns of Table Mountain stone, dominated in the centre by a large wooden cross, to mark the graves of these national heroes. "That land has been hallowed for us by the bones of the men which lie there", writes Barros.[670] The shrine of St. Bras at Mossel Bay also had its votaries in Portugal. Many sailors and soldiers remembered the Cape as the pleasant oasis of the lonely Atlantic, whenever Adamastor happened to be fast asleep. And on the return journey it was the last lap of the road home. But for the trader and the average man it did not have the memories of crowded life that were associated with Guinea, Mozambique and especially north Africa.

Even the coast of South Africa from Algoa Bay northwards to Delagoa Bay had not been carefully surveyed when Manuel died. In the preface of the *Esmeraldo* the author states that, from the cosmographer's standpoint, the coast beyond Ilheo da Cruz (Kwaai Hoek) was little known. The pilots of Vasco da Gama, who had first made this coast, gathered only generic data; and the details had never been filled up on their maps. The main object of the *Esmeraldo* is stated to be the completion of their work. Senhor Silva Dias holds that the reason why that work remained incomplete is that this information, about the coasts of the eastern province of the Cape and Natal was not available up to the end of Manuel's reign, when Pacheco was sent as governor to Elmina, a place hardly suited for such research.

No proper survey could then be taken, because the great flow of wealth from India and the greater importance of the Mozambique coast absorbed all the energies of the Portuguese people. Not only was the Crown enriched by this traffic, but the bulk of the people drew their daily bread from Africa and the East in some shape or form, as Pacheco himself assures us. In those days, as Osorio writes, poverty seemed to be exiled by the King. Pacheco was roundly abused by the practical men for worrying about academic details. But he was both a realist and an idealist, a man of vision. The time was not ripe for such work, if it depended on the average man. But the fact that it was attempted by a man of rare parts has been a boon to history.

It was a sound policy of King Manuel's to pay more attention to Morocco and Fez than to that portion of the continent which bordered on the Indian ocean, Strategically Morocco was one of the key positions in Europe's resistance to Turkish invasion. Bishop Osorio blames Manuel for not having paid more attention to it; and declares that if the King had led an army personally against it, he could have taken it.[671] But what would the price have been? And could Portugal have held so large an area? Manuel knew better, that this could only be part of a general offensive of Europe which was not forthcoming.

The immediate need was to protect the commerce of the Mediterranean against the Barbary raiders, whose nests were on the coasts of Fez, Algiers and Morocco. "They did not dare then, as they do now, to sally forth so impudently with their foists", wrote Damian de Goes[672] at the end of this century. These seas were policed regularly and effectively by Manuel's fleets.

Whilst waiting for the general offensive of Europe against the Saracens, which never came, King Manuel performed a great feat in holding the garrison towns of Ceuta, Azamor, Safin and Arzila in Morocco. Life was monotonous in this torrid land, a monotony only broken by fights with the ever watchful Moors. There was a settled state of war, tempered with many human and chivalrous episodes on both sides. At the end of

Manuel's reign Portugal's power was at its highest in this region A series of renowned fidalgos had filled the captaincies. At Arzila, the nearest outpost on the sea, the Count do Redondo had been captain for seven years when Manuel died; and this captain was highly respected by the Muslim, and sung by the most famous of poets, Gil Vicente.

Leo Africanus tells us that he himself had fought twice against the Portuguese in Morocco, before he was captured at sea in 1519. At this time the Sultan of Fez was Mulay Mohammed the Portuguese, so called because after being captured by them he had learned their language during his two years in Lisbon, and had adopted their customs. He was ransomed by his father; and now he was an adroit adversary, skilled in all the arts of the Portuguese. Militarily it was a position of deadlock, which placed a severe strain upon the resources and man-power of Portugal; but the effort was worthwhile, because it had a favourable and important reflex on the Portuguese position along the Cape route. King Manuel's arms are to be seen to-day blazoned upon a stone gate of the walls of the shrunken town of Arzila, a relic of these men of iron who did such wonders in face of the impossible.

If Portuguese pressure upon Morocco had relaxed, it would have made it easier for the two Turkish sultans, whose reigns were conterminous with Manuel's, to take hostile action against the Portuguese pioneers on the Cape route and to block the developments along that route during the last eighteen years of Manuel's reign. Sultan Bayazid II (1481-1512) with all his easy-going ways enlisted the Barbary pirates against Portugal on the Morocco coast, whenever he could. Sultan Selim I (1512-1520) was busy in Egypt and the Mediterranean with his plans against central Europe; but he was duly impressed in 1513, when Dom Jaime of Braganza with a fleet of four hundred ships and fifteen thousand men took Magazan, and made the neighbouring tribes of Moors tributary. A Moorish *cadi*, whom the Portuguese called Bentafufu, became their firm and useful friend. A regular increase of trade resulted, especially in corn; and as far as

Manuel could see, his power was consolidated there by holding the zone of trade influence which centred in Azamor, Safin and Santa Cruz. It was a minor, but important, insurance of the road to India by way of the Cape of Good Hope.

By comparison with this agitated area, south-east Africa and the Congo formed an asylum of rest. The King looked upon South Africa as an important part of his dominions, though he realised that its development was not a matter of urgency for Portugal at that time. We gather this from some tapestries that he ordered, the designs of which he sketched with his own hand. Here South Africa dawns in the realm of art.[673]

For Manuel was an artist in temperament. Music was his favourite relaxation. There was always music at the dinners to which he had the habit of inviting the most intelligent of his own people, as well as intelligent foreigners; all of whom he would draw out in conversation for the sake of their knowledge. When he went hunting or boating on the Tagus, his musicians were instructed to meet him wherever he rested for meals. One of his biographers records the fact that, although the King was a merry dancer and a jolly host, he never drank wine, a notable thing in a land where wine was a staple food of all classes. He was also notoriously abstemious in the matter of eating.

The chief architectural glories of Portugal are those of this reign. Manuel must have spent a large fortune in erecting the palaces, public offices, hospitals, churches, schools and charitable institutions that arose in Portugal, the islands, India and east Africa. On the east coast of Africa he was able to build only small fortresses, one hospital and a few chapels.[674]

"For Portugal itself these were twenty-six good years during which he reigned, as I myself saw", writes the observant chronicler Acenheiro. "King Manuel was a very Hercules of a builder, and renewed the whole kingdom with works both spiritual and temporal". Of course there were gossips at court, as Osorio notes, who complained that they would prefer less extravagance in dignified buildings, horses and plate, and a little more dignity in the King's deportment; because they

imagined that he was too accessible to all sorts of people. Anyone could talk to him.

One of the unfinished artistic projects of the King was the series of tapestries, already mentioned, which he designed to commemorate the expansion of Portugal up to date. Out of the twenty-six panels sketched in the King's own handwriting the most elaborate is that of the Cape of Good Hope. These are Manuel's directions to the artist.

"In a third panel you shall depict the Cape of Good Hope, having its name written as Prasum Promontorium, with some wild animals and elephants and negroes and cattle. There shall be houses after the fashion of that country, shepherds with their flocks, the three ships of the Admiral (Vasco da Gama) just as they left Lisbon, but with their prows in the direction of the Cape of Good Hope. And upon the Cape itself there shall be placed a pillar with my coat-of-arms and the Cross of Christ above all, and the date when these things were erected, and some suitable inscription. The arms and the pelican might be placed on the lower part, and the cross of the Crusade up above". Prasum Promontorium is the name given by Ptolemy in the second century to the lowest point of east Africa reached by the Greeks.[675]

The pelican was the emblem that King Manuel chose for his heraldic shield. This swan-like figure was represented wounding her own breast, in order to feed her young with her own blood. It was chosen to typify his ideal of kingship, and signified the King's duty of subordinating all his personal gifts and feelings to the welfare of his subjects. Manuel would have been the last to boast that he had fulfilled such a high ideal. But the three biographers who knew him agree that he strove manfully to attain it.

When he selected Dom John de Meneses for his Grand Chamberlain, he gave him this reason for his choice. "You are the man who has always told me the truth, not merely what I should like to hear".[676] On another occasion he was openly thwarted by the Mayor of Evora, when Manuel imposed a heavy tax on capital in all the towns of the kingdom. "You

cannot reasonably impose such a tax on your people", said this Jane Mendes Cicioso, "and those who say you can are not your friends, or anxious about your honour". The King was angry at first, and ordered Cicioso to remain a prisoner in his own house, intending to deprive him of his office. But after a few days of reflection he sent for him, and told him that he had performed his duty well, and hoped that he would continue to be equally frank in matters of public importance.[677] This liberty-loving spirit was in marked contrast to the system which Manuel's brother-in-law, who then governed England, was soon to introduce there. For King Henry VIII was about to silence all opposition both in men and women, by the axe of the executioner. The Portuguese King appointed a special official of the court to deal with all letters of complaint, and Manuel himself held audiences of all comers for this purpose at stated intervals.

This paper sketch of Manuel's also helps to dispose of the story, that the King's jealousy kept Vasco da Gama under a cloud during the last fifteen years of his life. The very first panel of the proposed tapestry was to represent Vasco da Gama, Paul da Gama and Nicolas Coelho, taking their leave of the King and receiving from his hands the famous instructions, which were to guide them on their way in the first expedition to India. Bartholomew Dias was already quite forgotten.

At this time much importance was still attached to Sofala on account of its comparatively large output of gold. The King orders it to be depicted just as it is, with ships all beflagged in the harbour and some boats leaving the ships to set up the pillar. Arabs and Kafirs are to be introduced in their proper dress, and shown engaged in bartering the gold. The King of Sofala must be seen approaching the Captain, in order to make peace and to receive the banner of Portugal, as a symbol of protection. There shall also be trees, elephants, lions and rhinoceroses. Kilwa, Mozambique, Mombasa and the island of Brava, which was then a busy centre, were to have separate panels.

One debt of gratitude which South Africa, the world indeed, owes to Manuel has hardly been acknowledged

with due praise; and that is his liberal minded care of the materials of our history, and his role of Maecenas. He began by ordering the State Archives to be re-copied on parchment and illuminated. This task was never completed, though his successor continued it.

But enough was done by Manuel to fire the enthusiasm of a young scholar at the court, John de Barros, who has left an imperishable monument of Portuguese genius in his *Decadas*.[678] Barros entered the court, "when he was still playing his top;" and he became page to Prince John who succeeded his father as king. Before diving into the Archives he composed the novel already mentioned, the romantic story of an imaginary and paragon emperor, Clarimundo. This remained the most popular of his works, showing that the taste of the general reader has varied little from that day to this, preferring fiction to history.

Barros was appointed by the friend of his youth, King John III, to a lucrative office as treasurer of India House. Such offices, he notes, usually "capture and drown all culture and art." But rummaging amongst the papers of the Archives one day for certain deeds of transfer that concerned his business of the Treasury, he discovered that King Manuel had a standing arrangement with his first viceroys, Almeida and Albuquerque, that they should send him detailed memoranda of all they did. It was these careful and interesting records that kindled the imagination of the young Treasurer, and prompted him to write his classical chronicle of the golden age of Portuguese history. He adds a witty bit of banter.[679] "As the Portuguese nation attaches little importance to talk, but much to the doing of great deeds, in order that these deeds may not perish, I resolved to put them in writing, and to become a foreigner to this extent".

In the government of East Africa the Portuguese transferred to our continent the feudal system, which worked so well in their own country. Of course there was no parliament in the Portuguese colonies of Africa, for the sufficient reason that there were no possible members of parliament, or of the Cortes as they preferred to call it.[680] But Mozambique, Sofala, Malindi and

Kilwa were governed by a captain who was the deputy of the viceroy of India. In trade matters he was obliged to follow the advice of the factor. In all other matters of importance he was obliged to call together for advice a council of the leading Portuguese of the place, a a miniature parliament.

The Arabs and Bantu of each locality were presumed to govern themselves; and the Portuguese captains dealt with these communties through their acknowledged leaders, whom the documents of the period nearly always designate as kings. Of course the Portuguese captain had the last word in the long run, in so far as he had the power to carry it out. The system is substantially that of modern colonial establishments, and quite as liberal as that of the Mandatory System imposed by the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. But the lack of rapid communications in the sixteenth century gave the captain on the spot more time to carry out a policy, good or bad, than is possible in more recent times. In principle the Arab and Bantu vassals of Portugal had the right of appeal from the act of the Captain to the Viceroy or the King. A number of such appeals have survived and have been published, and there is reason to believe that many more remain unpublished in the Lisbon Archives.

Thus in 1516 the Sheikh Wajeraj of Malindi applies direct to King Manuel for permission to run one trading ship a year to India, and one to Mozambique, "without molestation from Christians or Mohammedans". As witnesses to his loyalty, he refers the King to his own officers, Simon de Andrade, Francis Pereira, Ferdinand de Freitas, Gaspar de Paiva, Anthony da Costa "and many other Christians and Mohammedans", all of whom at different times had dealings with the petitioner. Another letter of the following year from Sharef Mohammed Elalu.[681] of Mozambique asks for a passport to India. "Thus I shall be exalted among the Muslim and shall be grateful to you all the days of my life." The letters were always prefaced with all those arabesques of loyal prostration, which these orientals in mentality were accustomed to use in communicating with their former Muslim rulers.

This Portuguese regime was well suited to East

Africa, as it interfered as little as possible with the existing government, whilst giving the Portuguese an effective control over trade. "Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos", is an imperial policy as ancient as it is modern and medieval; though it was thus formulated by Virgil two thousand years ago (*Aeneid*, VI, 850-853). Hence not all the letters contained complaints or appeals. In 1520, for example another sheikh of Malindi writes to Manuel. "I, Sire am your friend Ali, King of Malindi; and I wish you to know that Manuel Fernandes, commandant of Malindi, has given a good reception to all the people of Adiba; and he handed me your letter granting me what I asked, and more than I asked for. For this I thank God, and am grateful to you. All Malindi wishes you to live for ever".

Some later economists in Portugal have blamed Manuel for not developing home industries at this time, as some other nations were doing. Flanders, Florence, Germany and England were meeting Europe's era of expanding wealth by increasing their output of manufactures and articles of luxury, and thus increasing their home workers and their native population. Having to choose between the humdrum methods of these nations and the brilliant opportunities which her own sons were creating for her, Portugal naturally, chose the latter course; and 150 years of progress and prosperity fully justified her choice.

The fever of making new discoveries, which continued unabated during these early years of colonisation, absorbed the most vigorous and enterprising of the Portuguese nation. The aim of the most capable merchants and nobles was to acquire wealth from overseas. Manuel himself was rich enough in the last years of his reign to make large loans to the Emperor Charles V, to aid him in his fight against the *Communeros*, a strong popular party which arose in rebellion against the Emperor's foreign favourites from the Netherlands, whose habits the Spanish people found unpleasant and their arrogance detestable.[682] King Manuel accompanied the loan with some sound advice to the Emperor, that he should take more care to respect the natural feelings of his Spanish subjects.

The best men of that day believed that the real welfare of a nation consisted in good government, just laws, cultured life and sincere religion. Hence the leaders would have been rightly unmoved by the following criticism from the pen of a modern economist of the classical school, which calmly takes it for granted that state opulence should be the supreme consideration in planning national development. "The balance of trade was bound in time to be unfavourable, hence money was drained out of the country. Later an effort was made to cover the deficit with the spices that came from India, but industry continued in a parlous condition. Workmen were thrown out of occupation, the industrial tradition was lost, and with it the hope that Portugal could compete in industry with other countries".[683] Full employment for the people of any nation does not depend upon the economic victory of that nation over any other, and fortunately Portugal had no industrial tradition of this species of perpetual war with other nations. No economic theories could change the fundamental fact, that Portugal could never become great in industrial production. Her geographical position and her soil were against it.

Without any theories on the subject Manuel divined the abiding conditions of every attempt to make his country the pivot of a far-flung empire. Industries might make it a contented and small nation; only the fever of adventure could make it also a foremost empire of the world. He laid the solid foundation of such an empire. Two hundred years later other rulers of Portugal allowed themselves the penny-wise fashion of European entanglements, forgetting that the country's real prosperity must always lie in developing its resources in the Atlantic and Indian oceans.

There is nothing to show that an industrialization of the country would have made any appreciable difference for the better in the course of the Portuguese empire. But at this stage Manuel's care for the financial credit of the Crown was one of his best contributions to the stability of the great empire that he founded. Monetary policy is fundamental for the existence of nation or empire, and until 1929[684] took

precedence of commercial or industrial policy with the modern rulers of the leading nations. The credit of the crown of Portugal was the highest in Europe for more than a century. It was Manuel's achievement to have inaugurated this indispensable reserve of material power.

Theorists there were in abundance in Portugal, as economic philosophy began early there. One of the earliest of these thinkers, Edward Gomez Solis,[685] who lived under the next two kings, came to the conclusion that Spain would have done well to imitate Portugal in bringing all her cargoes round by the Cape of Good Hope. In this way the Spaniards would have escaped the drain of silver, which took place through Mexico and the Phillipines. He mentions that in the last three years of Manuel's reign 26 ships sailed to India for cargoes; and of these 24 returned home laden and up to time, one was delayed, and only one wrecked.

Moreover he applauded Manuel's policy of leaning on the whole towards Almeida's theory of expansion, rather than Albuquerque's. Only such fortresses should be built as were essential for the security of the fleets; because whoever controlled the sea had the land at his disposal, and its resources of wealth. Before the advent of air power this was a sound working-principle.

Manuel's conception of the function of wealth was that of the Christian Middle Ages. He held that national wealth was only justified when it lead to national welfare. The nation was an organism, which flourished healthily when its component organs were working harmoniously, and were severally satisfied. Here Saint Paul confirmed the wisdom of Aristotle, and added the strand of Christian charity to the chords of Adam that bind men together in the state. But the revelation of Christ did not change the old fact in human government, that for a ruler some money is "the instrument of life". A king needs it for the welfare of his people even more urgently than the carpenter needs his tools.

The author of an esteemed manual of statecraft for the use of Christian kings and princes, then in vogue, employs a homely metaphor borrowed from Policratus. "As the organs of digestion receive food and diffuse

nourishment to the other members of the body, so is the royal treasury filled with money to be spent for the needs of the king's subjects or his kingdom". This is a basic dictum of the medieval manual entitled *De Regimine Principum*.[686] The king therefore had two duties: to fill his treasury and to administer the nation's purse with his eyes upon every class of his people.

In the latter respect Manuel compares favourably with the other three young soverigns of his day, who were then overburdening their subjects with money demands, in order to gratify their personal ambitions: Charles V of Spain, Henry VIII of England and Francis I of France. Manuel spent lavishly; but he never needed to crush any rebellion of his own people, angered by exorbitant taxation or oppression, as these contemporaries of his had had often to do. Even the pageantry in which he revelled was enjoyed with his people, like a family festival.

It was not the unpardonable extravagance of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, where a year of English and French taxes evaporated in a contest of one week's vanity. Nor was it the ruinous type of expenditure that Charles V indulged in, when he was bribing the German electors to make him Emperor. Manuel's revenue circulated for the benefit of his own people. So keenly did some of the Spanish cities feel this taxation by Charles V through German taxgatherers, as they called them, that they offered to place themselves under the Portuguese crown, an offer which Manuel rejected.[687] He remained faithful to the medieval idea, that a king should live on the income of his estates, not on the proceeds of taxation. India and Mashonaland filled his coffers, and only a small portion of his income came from taxation. Eloquent testimony of the origin of the nation's wealth is borne not only by contemporary historians, but by a Portuguese economist who wrote at the end of this century. He noted how people of all nations coming to Lisbon in Manuel's time found the special produce of their lands there: " the scents of Malacca and Ceylon, the precious stones of India, the amber of all the seas, the ivory of Angola, the ebony of Mozambique, the linens of

Holland, the cloths of England, the glass of Venice, the gold cloth of Milan, the silks of Naples and Sicily, the serges of Florence. Ships from Africa, Asia and the new world were always in port". Thus writes Luis Mendes de Vasconcelles in his treatise *Do Sitio de Lisboa,*[688] at a time when the tide of wealth was beginning to subside. But he wrote under the glamour of the golden days of Manuel.

No one can read the reports and letters to the King dated from Mozambique, Sofala and Cochin, without realising how much his personality counted during these years, when the Portuguese empire was being founded beyond the Cape of Good Hope. Manuel understood his people thoroughly, especially the fidalgos who were his most useful agents in his great task. John II once said that a Portuguese would accept without wincing any punishment which he deserved, but he would not sit down under mean treatment from anybody, not even from the King.[689]

With a few rare exceptions Manuel bore this in mind, and he reaped the reward of a loyal service which is most striking, when we consider the immense distance from headquarters at which his officials worked. Barros, with the sensitiveness to criticism intelligible in a literary man, exaggerates these exceptions. He even suggests that sniping at the viceroys was in Manuel's reign a special weakness of the Portuguese colonial system. If he had survived to read the biographies and autobiographies of the politicians and soldiers in the first World War, he would have grasped as we at least can, that this is a characteristic of these classes in every nation and age. But there was remarkably little of it in Portugal then, if we judge by our modern standards.

The only Muslim historian who has written about the Portuguese exploits of those days, ascribes their victories over the Muslim not only to their bravery, but also to their loyalty to their leaders. "Although the Portuguese in Malabar are so far distant from their captains, they never disobey their captains. They have their quarrels amongst themselves, but it is an unheard of thing that any captain is assassinated

for love of power". Thus writes Zinadin of Malabar,[690] conscious of the brutal assassinations of sultans, imams and viziers, that were a regular feature of Muslim life.

Manuel never even shortened the term of office of any of his leading viceroys or admirals, and those who succeeded were rewarded generously, some prodigally. The scale of his rewards was a little too high for the revenue of the country, and for the value of the landed property in the kingdom.

The fifth Governor-general of India, Don Edward de Meneses, left Lisbon in April of the year 1521. Before he was installed in office the King had died. The news reached India at the end of 1522. By a singular coincidence it fell to his lot to do in Cochin what had been done in Lisbon by his father, as Standard Bearer of the kingdom: to arrange for the solemn obsequies of Manuel, and to proclaim his son king as John III. The Governor-General was in church when the first ships arrived in Goa with the news of Manuel's death, and the Franciscan Bishop Andrew de Torquemada[691] was preaching. A royal courier put a letter, evidently urgent, into the hands of Meneses. People noticed that, having read it, he covered his face with a handkerchief and sobbed. That spontaneous act of an old soldier represented the genuine feeling of the Portuguese people in India, East Africa, America and especially Portugal itself.

A real king had passed away, and with him a line of policy; since every king who really reigns, as these sovereigns did, must have his own views and advisers in matters of public policy. For east Africa especially the following reign was to inaugurate far-reaching changes. The young prince, who now ascended the throne in his twentieth year, had been thinking a great deal about public policy. His independence of mind had been sharpened by dissatisfaction with his father's third marriage, the year before. Thus a kind of official, if respectful, opposition had gathered round him for some months.

The year in which Manuel died was momentous for Europe. The Medici Pope. Leo X, died twelve days before Manuel, and was succeeded by the Dutch Pope,

Adrian VI. The Sultan of Turkey captured Belgrade and was acting as master of Hungary, even extorting tribute from Venice for the islands of Cyprus and Zante. In Germany Martin Luther had been assured of the strong support of the Elector of Saxony against the German Emperor; and Luther being distrusted for his disruptive political influence by the Emperor, went for safety to the Wartburg. Henry VIII presented to the Pope his book against Luther; and was rewarded with the title of Defender of the Faith, still proudly borne by the English kings whilst defending a creed like Luther's. Spain was in revolt against the Dutch and Flemish courtiers whom the Emperor, Charles V, took with him to Spain to govern the country.

Only Portugal seemed to be at peace with itself and the rest of Christian Europe. The advance of the Turks into the heart of Europe was the one political anxiety of King Manuel. The troubles in Germany seemed remote from the concerns of Portugal, as can be seen from the contents of letters which Manuel received from his agents in Flanders.

Writing from Berg-op-Zoom, Rui Fernandes[692] tells how Martin Luther behaved at the Diet of Worms; but he passes on from this gossip to the more important question of the attitude of the German princes towards the Portuguese monopoly of spices. A detailed list is given of the prices of Indian goods at the last German fairs, and he discusses the financial standing of the various German princes who might become customers of Portugal. He encloses a list of the Portuguese students at the universities of Paris (twenty) and Oxford (one), whose bursaries are being paid out of the King's revenues in Antwerp, and thus indirectly by the cargoes from the Cape of Good Hope. In another letter Fernandes expresses the hope that Manuel may soon corner the intrigues of the Fugger bankers. These were the urgent questions for Portugal in Germany.

Against the Crescent a new ally appeared in the last months of this reign, among the Malays, as a letter from the Sultan of Ternate in the Moluccas shows. This letter is the first written document known to exist in the Malay language.[693] The Sultan, who from his

volcanic stronghold on Ternate controlled many of the spice islands, promised friendship and loyal co-operation on behalf of this far distant people.

More durable than this ephemeral alliance with the Malays was that with Krishna Raya in 1509, who was sovereign of the mighty empire of Vijayanagar in India. This empire had sprung into existence in the fourteenth century, as the Hindu answer to the challenging attempt of Muslims from Arabia, Egypt and Persia, to dominate this land of a civilisation older far than Islam.

We have two contemporary accounts in the fifteenth century of the wealth and culture of this south Indian block of Hindu nations.[694] One is by the Italian Nicolo de' Conti; the other by Abdur-Razzak, ambassador of the Sultan of Herat. Both travellers are enthusiastic about the wonders of the land. This Hindu culture and the ancient Christian civilization of the Malabar coast were saved by the alliance of Hindu and Portuguese against the Muslim invader.

In Europe the Portuguese had experienced what was meant by conquest on the part of the Muslim, the aggressive Arabs who twice overran the Iberian peninsula. Ameer Ali Syed, in his *Short History of the Saracens*, shows how the Arabs failed in spite of some great qualities and achievements; because they neglected the lessons of history, wrapping themselves in a dead past, which was as yesterday compared to the ancient traditions of Portuguese and Hindu. The racial pride of the Arabs made them despise conquered nations, even those more cultured than themselves; and it led them to forget that sympathy, and not mere justice, was the way to the affection of men. Mamun, the son of Aaron the Wise, and Nasir were the glorious exceptions;[695] but they neither sought nor found any guidance in the Islamic code for their personal wisdom. By contrast they throw a strong light on the intrigue, brutality, sycophancy and lack of moral qualities, which rendered futile or worse the rule of nearly all the caliphs and viziers.

The conquests of the Portuguese in Manuel's day were based on a broad sense of the brotherhood of all races, inspired by a sincere Christianity. There is nothing

in Arabic literature to compare with the severe judgments of John de Barros, Bishop Osorio and King Manuel, when their own captains failed to carry out their Christian ideals. Some of these men sinned, as nearly all men do grievously who wield the power of the sword; but they sinned against an accepted code which smote their consciences, when they stalked through any city or village in overweening pride or injustice. More often that code checked the sword, especially in the hands of the fidalgos, by breathing counsels of mercy. For injustice they knew that they would answer to the King.

No phrase is more frequent in the Portuguese chronicles than "fair warfare,"[696] Even war had to be just and based on law. Feeling that all men were sons of Adam and redeemed by Christ, they knew of no race to which all things were permitted.

Some Portuguese writers indeed have expressed themselves so baldly, that they appear to desire the extermination of the Muslim; just as too many English and North American writers during the World War appeared to advocate the extermination of "the Hun." This is unfortunately the spirit which actual warfare too often breeds, in the coarser or more sheepish minds. But during the centuries before Manuel there was a wide current of truly Christian opinion which he inherited, and which displayed a real sense of our common humanity in speaking of the Muslim.

The Emperor of Germany, Ramon Lull, the elder Marino Sanuto in 1321, Emmanuele Piloti in 1421, and King Manuel in 1521 may be taken to represent the best kind of political leadership in Christian Europe. Their crusade was directed against the chief Muslim governments that they knew, because they believed them to be disastrous to the welfare of Christian and Muslim peoples. Saint Francis of Assisi went further; and refused to countenance the use of the sword, or violence of any kind, even as a protection for preachers of the Gospel. In 1219 he presented himself alone and unarmed before the Sultan at Damietta.

King Manuel maintained with truth, that such splendour as Alexandria and Cairo enjoyed was the

splendid facade of a corrupt and selfish court. These towns were being depopulated by the massacres of their own rulers: and the Muslim amirs themselves were butchered without mercy, on the mere suspicion of disloyalty by the dominant tyrants at Cairo. He honestly believed that his victory over the sultans of Cairo and Constantinople would bring freedom of the best kind to the Muslim peoples. His belief was justified by his achievements.

A recent Oriental scholar, Aziz Suryal Atiya,[697] has expressed pithily the views which King Manuel shared with his Italian namesake Emmanuele Piloti. His crusade was "not a war of revenge, but a means towards the assimilation of Saracen men and women into the following of Christ, by honour and courtesy. Under such treatment their spirit would soften, and they would perceive the love and charity which are the characteristics of Christianity". Some Christian statesmen like Marino Sanuto thought that the sultans could be disposed of by economic blockade. Only against the aggressive and uncompromising Muslim did Manuel put his trust in soldiers and sailors.

The most merciless critics of some later phases of Portuguese activity in India look back upon these soldiers of Manuel's as heroes of the age of chivalry. Diogo do Couto in his biting *Soldado Pratico* writes that when the Portuguese soldiers wore long beards, they had self-respect, and in the days when they wielded the broad sword, it had a double edge of honour and valour. There are certainly the best of reasons for holding that the leaders were usually men of high ideals.

At the end of the year 1521 the quietest front of the Portuguese empire was that which extended from the Red Sea to the Cape of Good Hope. The last fleet had brought news of the friendly reception of the Portuguese embassy in Abyssinia. At Malindi the Arab ruler was as staunch an ally as ever. Mozambique was yearly growing in importance and comfort. Extremists in Kilwa and Mombasa were still hostile in feeling, but they had learned by experience that they could only lose by hostile acts against the Portuguese. At Sofala Sancho de Tovar, who had originally sailed with Cabral, was

just installed for his second term of office as captain with Anthony Rico as trade agent, Madagascar was the scene of a new departure. For the third time the King prepared an expedition to develop it. The new Governor of India, Edward de Meneses, was ordered to land Sebastian de Sousa on the outward journey at the port of Matatana, where he was to build a fortress and remain with the title of commandant. The trade in ginger there was believed to be so promising, that John de Faria and Henry Pereira were added to the staff, the former as magistrate and the latter as trade agent of the King. But this experiment was only to confirm the reputation of Madagascar in those days as the island of frustrated hopes.

Along the whole coast of east Africa the Portuguese, Arabs, Indian traders and the Bantu of the ocean border had come to a working agreement. The little shrine of Saint Braz at Mossel Bay, and the unguarded pillar of Saint Philip under the shadow of Table Mountain, were among the simple tokens of the peace that reigned for many years in this medly of humanity, held together by the authority of a few captains of the King of Portugal. "May the Most High strengthen your kingdom in perfect stability, and preserve it from the envy and intrigues of your enemies". This sentence of a letter in Arabic of the Sheikh of Malindi to King Manuel represents the hopes of those Arabs who had most to lose, if the authority of Portugal should weaken.

This simple prayer of the African sheikh is a higher tribute to the methods of King Manuel, than the long and turgid panegyric of the humanist Giovanni Francesco Poggio.[698] That eloquent gentleman of the court of Leo X compares Manuel to all the military heroes of Rome, Greece and the Old Testament. He unfolds his praise in musical periods that would have delighted Cicero, but he tells us very little about the facts. One of his sparkling gems however deserves to live, because it is genuine. Addressing Manuel he says: "urged by a spirit of true glory and not by vainglory, you have achieved for the faith of Christ with a few soldiers what no mortal man ever yet attempted to do with the largest of armies".

Seeing that even fortunate kings must die, Manuel's last stroke of good fortune may be said to have consisted in the actual year of his death. All the burning questions of Europe were about to be greviously exasperated during the next fifty years: problems of nationality, international politics, trade and religion.

Within Pentecost week of the last year of Manuel's life some obscure signals of the stormy future were given, which passed unobserved by most people then. In a losing skirmish against the rebels of Spanish Navarre, who were supported by the French, a junior officer of the Emperor's victorious army named Inigo Lopez de Recalde fell into a moat, and was maimed for life. Within twenty years that young nobleman, better known as Ignatius Loyola, was to found the Jesuit Society; but he himself did not know it that Whitmonday, when he was carried a prisoner to the French hospital. On the following Sunday the imperial edict was issued against Martin Luther. A clever French boy named John Calvin, twelve years old, was making his first term at the high school of Noyon with a bursary from the Bishop of that diocese.

Manuel never heard the names of the two youths in France and Spain; and he took little interest in the Biblical controversies of Luther, which seemed to him neither new nor exciting, but just fresh bouts of the old theologians. On several occasions Manuel had assured the Pope of his support in any spiritual measures which he thought needful, to maintain the unity of the Christian Church and the integrity of the old Bible. In England there was still settled peace in these matters. On the preceding Pentecost of 1520 Canterbury Cathedral saw the most gorgeous day of its history.[699] After the emperor Charles V had been welcomed in the town with dazzling display, King Henry's favourite Cardinal Wolsey sang high Mass. Whilst the two sovereigns knelt side by side, Charles had near him on one side the later great general of Spain the Duke of Alva, and on the other side there knelt the Emperor's Benjamin among the princes, William of Orange afterwards called the Silent, now only eighteen years old.

What gave King Manuel greater anxiety than any events in Europe was the renewed activity of the French pirates in the Atlantic waters of the Cape route, and occasionally even in the Mozambique channel. This seemed to forebode the peril of an undesirable conflict with the French crown; and in the next reign it was to develop into frequent attacks on the Indian fleets, even down the African coasts below the equator.

Against this threat however Manuel could balance his confidence in the sailors, naval architects and inventors of the Iberian peninsula. The historian of the Spanish navy, Fernandez Duro,[700] describes these inventions; and how these ingenious experts also put forward rudimentary schemes for a paddle ship, armour plate, camouflage at sea, diving bells and floating batteries.

The unique experience of the Portuguese in ocean traffic spurred them to new devices in ships, sails and methods of attack and defence at sea. The high stakes in Africa, Asia and America, made it profitable for the scientists of Portugal and Spain, to meet the growing competition of their rivals with fresh advances in the arts of navigation and naval warfare. The gorgeous flagships of the Portuguese admirals, as they sailed out of Lisbon at the head of their fleets, would put courage into the faintest hearts.

Portugal had secure command of the seas. Mozambique and Sofala were vital links in the chain of fortresses which made the Indian ocean a Portuguese lake. Ormuz, Chaul, Goa, Cananor and Cochin completed the chain on the other shores and inlets of the ocean. Only Portugal and those who respected the sanctity of existing international treaties in her favour, could do business in this area. Its doorway was the Cape of Good Hope, towards which the roving eyes of other nations now began to turn. But Manuel had established strong focal points for his navy to defend Portugal's trade, and his fleet could hurry an expeditionary force of soldiers to any threatened market on land.

The visitor who sails up the Tagus to Lisbon to-day can see the symbolic clasp of the chain of this linked empire, as it was completed a few months before King Manuel died. The tower of Belem[701] lifts its head proudly, as if conscious of its combined strength and

beauty. In the long period of time since then no finer gem of its kind in architecture has been seen, though several larger port-towers have been built by richer nations. Every ship saluted it, going abroad or returning home. This castellated watch-tower is still a striking witness of the power and spirit that irradiated from the mother country to all parts of the Portuguese empire. Its four storeys surmount a rocky mound of the Tagus in front of the church of Belem, and no ship could pass up the river unless it gave the countersign of peace.

The jurist John Selden (1584-1654) assures us that from time immemorial all the civilised nations of Europe, except perhaps those which had no seaboard, have always recognised that according to the law of nature dominion could be justly acquired over the sea, or even the ocean, by a given nation or group of nations.[702] Though Selden, being the barrister of Portugal's rival England, would not admit that Portugal had acquired such a right, the Portuguese had claimed and established it by the only argument which could then, or can now, settle questions of international law in the last resort.[703]

When great nations hold that a disputed question touches their vital interests, it is settled in the last instance by the law of power. Some modern nations have sought to disguise this ugly law of power by covering their ultimatums with Liberal maxims or even Biblical texts, but only the credulous patriot is deceived. Sometimes indeed the credulous patriot is also an international lawyer.

The Portuguese fleet ruled the waves of the Indian ocean effectively for over a hundred years. Hence the *Ordenaçoẽs* of King Manuel[704] in the sixteenth century decreed the law of the sea with the same right that the Declaration of London decreed it in 1911. The commanders of King Manuel's navy were commissioned to inflict the penalty of death, or confiscation of their estates, upon any persons, Portuguese or foreigners, who should trespass on "the lands, seas and other places under our dominion, for commerce or traffic or war without our licence or authority".

The Cape of Good Hope was now the principal door that opened into the *mare clausum* of the Indian ocean. Thus

for the first time it became a strategic point of importance in the naval policies of Europe. Its importance for sea power has increased immensely since the full awakening of the East, whose long slumber was first broken by King Manuel's sailors.

Anyone who examines seriously the ample records of the Portuguese exploits in South Africa and India during this reign will endorse the verdict of the English editor of *Varthema's Travels*.[705] "Portuguese merchandise was to be found from the Cape of Good Hope to the River of Canton, while along this immense line of coast they had established a chain of forts and factories. The commercial empire of the Portuguese in the East, whether considered in the dimensions which it attained, the brief space in which it was consolidated, its opulence, the splendour with which its government was conducted, or the very slender powers with which it was formed, is unique in the history of the nations". The magnificent buildings and public works of this period indicate the existence of a state in which there was an enormous surplus of production above the needs of a contented people. But there is one important aspect of Manuel's reign which makes it noteworthy for us to-day. Unlike some later empires, his was not organised mainly for wealth or even new markets, but for the welfare of the people as a whole. That this aim was substantially attained, is attested by the fact already mentioned that no attempt at rebellion was ever made by discontented classes, a singular contrast to the riots and rebellions in France, England and Germany.

Trade was not regarded as the worthy object of a nation's purposes, if it were the main object. That was the meaning of the emphatic statement of the historian Manuel de Faria e Sousa in his *Asia Portugueza*, when he omitted the record of certain expeditions; "because what they did was in relation to trade, a subject unbecoming a grave history". A similar attitude, though not so blunt, was adopted by Andrada who narrates how the Governor-General of India "in the midst of great cares of government" did not forget the business of the annual fleets.[706]

What really mattered was good government on sound

and Christian principles. The contrivances for carrying out these principles were the many representative bodies of local and national government, and the long list of friendly treaties with African, Asiatic and American rulers. Many philosophers of the nineteenth century boasted of similar contrivances, as if the Liberal sect had first invented them. The modern editions of these contrivances have not led to contentment of the masses, friendly intercourse of nations or fruitful commerce; but to half a century of the most savage wars of human history, and to such widespread and cruel ruin as the world has never known before.

Manuel's praises were not in the mouths of his own subjects alone. A Dutch poet chanted them eloquently in 1663. It was the year when Governor Zacharias[707] Wagenaer at the Cape of Good Hope was lamenting in his diary the failure of the fleet that had been sent from Holland to capture Mozambique. In Rotterdam Heiman Dullaart[708] was painting Manuel as the model of Christian kings. He sings how this King's very soul was re-evoked by the pen of Bishop Osorio. This poem was in fact the preface of a Dutch translation of Osorio's Chronicle. In the purple robes of Osorio's prose, the poet writes, Manuel was born again after death; and he is thus assured of the only kind of immortality among men that is worth having in this world below. Better and more lasting than marble statues or jewelled tombs, he ends, is this record of a wise and popular king.

NOTES.

To present a full bibliography of all the works and manuscripts that I have consulted, would mean doubling the volume of these notes. I therefore only mention those that I feel require special mention. This is especially the case with those authorities and contemporary records, which help one to catch the general atmosphere of the early sixteenth century, an essential condition of any real writing on the subject of this book. I also note where maps are to be found.

1

Historia Geneologica de Casa Real Portugueza, by A. C. de Sousa, Lisbon, 1739-1749, 16 vols., there are six supplementary vols. containing the documents mentioned in this work, entitled *Provas da Historia*, etc.

2

Damian de Goes saw the receipts: "como eu achei". *Chronica do Serenissimo Senhor Rei D. Emanuel*, Coimbra, 1790, vol. I, p. 12.

3

Empresas Militares de Luitanos, by L. C. de Barbuda, Lisbon, 1624, p. 108. The only part of this important work to be found in English relates to the siege of Mozambique by the Dutch. It was translated by G. M. Theal in his *Records*, vol. 2, pp. 325-334. A tribute is here due to the magnificent work of Theal in these nine volumes, and his own original works. No South African government has had the breadth of view or historical enthusiasm to continue subsidising such work, as the government of the old Cape Colony and Cecil Rhodes did fifty years ago.

4

A village founded by the Suevi and the Vandals, about 9 miles from Lisbon, rebuilt by Manuel's father. Manuel gave it a charter in 1515, but it was destroyed in the earthquake of 1755. For its connexion with Pero da Naia and Diogo Dias cfr, *Historia de Administração Publica em Portugal*, by H. de Gama Barros, vol. 3, p. 720.

5

Noticias Chronológicas de Coimbra, by F. L. Ferreira, pp. 419-427 (which is vol. 9 no 20 of the *Collecam dos Documentos e Memorias da Academia Real da Historia Portugueza*), where he shows that Goes, Faria e Sousa and others are wrong in saying that it was the 31st May, as Corpus Christi that year fell on the first of June.

6

Calendar of State Papers, Spanish, vol. 1, 76-7, London. The cypher is most curious, being in the form of a commercial letter. The directors of the company are the sovereigns of Spain, the managers (factors) are the ambassadors. The despatch is dated the 28th Dec., 1496.

7

D. de Goes (*Chronica etc.* I. 42) gives the date of the meeting.

8

Historia da Am. Publica em Portugal, I. 609, by H. da Gama Barros, Lisbon, 1885. The same chapter, pp. 606-611, gives a good account of the King's Council and of its evolution from the "consistorium principis" of the Roman Empire. Since the momentous Crown Council of 1415, when it was decided to attach Ceuta, it became the custom for the junior members of the Council to speak first. Cfr. Zurara, *Chronica de D. João* I, pt. 3, c. 26.

9

Damian de Goes, *Chronica etc.*, II. 643.

10

In Manuel's will he urges his son and successor to consult the men who had served him best, and to devote all his time to affairs of state. Cfr. *Provas de Historia Genealogica*, II. 350-351.

11

Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis, p. 151, by D. Pacheco Pereira. In these notes the edition of A. E. da Silva Dias (Lisbon, 1905) will always be quoted, unless otherwise specified.

12

D de Goes, *Chronica etc.*, I. 43; J. de Barros, *Da Asia*, dec. I, bk. 4. C.1.

13

Esmeraldo etc., p. 152. "Cada um d'este em seu luguar diseram que as partes da equinocial eram inhabitaueis polla muita grande quentura do sol."

14

Calendar of State Papers, Spanish, vol. 1, despatch of 28th March, 1496, letter of Ferdinand and Isabella from Tortosa. The letters of Henry VII, dated 5th March of the same year are printed in full by J. A. Williamson in *Voyages of the Cabots*, London, 1929, pp. 25-27.

15

Damian de Goes, *Chronica etc.*, II. 636.

16

Esmeraldo, p. 153. "Nesta viagem se fezeram tantas e tam grossas despesas com tam poucas naaos, que por nam pareceram graves d'ouiir e creer, ho leixo de dizer pello meludo." The chroniclers supply the details which he omits for fear of not being believed: J. de Barros, *Da Asia*, dec. 1, bk. 4, c. 1; F. L. de Castanheda, *Historia do Descobrimento e Conquista da India*, ch. 1; Gaspar Corrêa, *Lendas da India*, I. 16-23.

17

Roteiro da Viagem de Vasco da Gama, p. 129, edition of A. Herculano and Baron de Castelo de Paiva, Lisbon, 1861.

18

D de Goes, *Chronica*, I. 70. F. Lourenço was manager of India House in Lisbon from 1497 to April 1502, and again from August 1503 to 1504. Cfr. A. B. Freire in *Archivo Historico Portuguez*, vol. 2, p. 240.

19

He was one of the prelates of the King's Council, chosen by the King out of a list drawn up by the Cortes at Coimbra in 1385. Cfr. *Chronica de El-Rei D. Joao*, I. by Fernão Lopes, pt. 1, c. 27.

20

With John Lourenço and Rodrigo Rebêlo, both pages of the court of John II, he sent interpreters and promised great rewards, if they brought him information about the tribes of the interior, "por lhe não ficar cousa alguma por tentar." (Barros, *Da Asia*, dec. I, bk. 3, c. 12.).

21

Archivo Historico Portuguez, VI. p. 374. The value of English pounds is calculated on a basis of 4,500 reis per pound.

22

Chronica etc. Goes was educated at the court, so that he describes the things he saw himself. Later he was Keeper of the Archives; and diplomatic agent in Poland, Sweden and Denmark.

23

In fairness to Machiavelli it must be remembered that *Il Principe* was the programme of a desperate situation and may be compared to *Mein Kampf* of Adolf Hitler. During the period when Machiavelli was Secretary of the Ten (1499-1512) he saw Italy trodden down by the French, Spaniards, Swiss and Germans; whilst Italians were divided into weak states with conflicting policies. His effective remedy was a united people with a powerful army. Nothing else matters but winning the war, is a commonplace of our modern press. If admitted, it justifies all the worst that Machiavelli has written. A lucid account of Machiavelli is given in Gaetano Mosca's *Storia delle Dottrine Politiche*, pp. 118-137, Bari, Italy, 1937.

24.

This reply to Machiavelli was Osorio's first work; but the *Life* of Manuel is his masterpiece, to which we shall have occasion to refer often. Whether he is dealing with politics or scientific instruments, the habits of Indians or Chinese or Kafirs or Brazilians, he writes a cultured Latin, the style of which is only equalled by the best vernacular writers of our day in their own medium. Of Machiavelli he has no personal dislike. "I would have spared the dead, if his teaching had been less harmful." When Queen Elizabeth's soldiers looted the town of Faro in 1596, the Earl of Essex stole 200 books once the property of Osorio from the Cathedral House, and they are now in the Bodleian Library. The *Bodleian Quarterly, Record* (1922 p. 239) gave a full account of them.

25.

These tiles in many developed styles form a feature that, to-day more than ever, distinguishes Lisbon from other great cities. Cfr. José Queiroz, *Ceramica Portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1917; Vergilio Correia, *Azulejos Datados* in the *Archeologo Português*, vol. 20, pp. 259 sqq.

26.

Each city and country town sent two delegates, "to represent us in matters concerning our honour and well-being." Their role is fully discussed in *Historia da Adm. Publica em Portugal*, I 568-577.

27.

"Non enim servis imperat, sed liberis; liberi autem non tam minis atque metu cogendi quam explicatione communis utilitatis incitandi sunt." (*De Regis Institutione*, I. 362).

28.

Da Asia, dec. 1, bk. 4, ch. 3.

29.

Rise of the Spanish Empire, II. 119, by R. G. Merriman, New York, 1925-36, 4 vols.

30.

Damian de Goes, *Chronica etc.*, I. 26.

31.

Goes, *Chronica*, I. 18-20; Osorio, *De Rebus Emanuelis*, vol. I, ch. 1, Coimbra, edition of 1581 which is used in these notes, though first printed in 1571 at Lisbon. Writing about the merchants and shippers who fleeced the Jews, when they were compelled to leave, Osorio says drily: "These men forgot that they were Christians."

32.

A full account of the instructions given to the Spanish envoy to Portugal, dated 21st June 1497, was published by L. Cordeiro in the *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia* of Lisbon, vol. 16, pp. 677 sqq.

33.

The fine opinion of Coutinho, who afterwards became Bishop of Silves, is found in vol. 31 (folios 70 sqq.) of the immense collection of unpublished manuscripts in the Ajuda Library of Lisbon, entitled *Symmicta Lusitana*. This striking sentence shows its quality. "Omnes litterati, et ego insipientior omnibus, monstravi plurimas auctoritates et jura, quod non poterant cogi ad suscipiendam christianitatem, quae vult et petit libertatem et non violentiam."

34.

De Rebus Emanuelis, I. 52. Osorio pillories the lack of wisdom in the whole mob, both Gentiles and Jews. "Quamvis multi de miraculi veritate dubitarent, non tamen tempus neque persona neque concio apta erat, ut quisquam ex illo genere in errore illo, intimo hominum sensibus insito, depellando operam frustra consumaret."

35.

"Dicendo quod pro sua devotione hoc faciebat, et non curabat de juribus." This is recorded in Coutinho's MS. above.

36.

So satisfied were the Jews with Manuel's measures, that in some Jewish families there was a tradition that he was a Jewish king, (*Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, p. 154, by M. Kayserling, 1867). But J. L. d'Azevedo (*Historia dos Christãos Novos Portugueses*, pp. 59-62, Lisbon, 1922) thinks that in this case the severity of Manuel had the effect of exasperating the people, and giving them a sense of grievance.

37.

A. B. Freire wrote in *Archivo Historico Portugues*, II. 211-4. Cfr. also *Os Judeus em Portugal*, J. Mendes dos Remedios, I. 288 and 337.

38.

John Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*, part 1, vv. 43-50.

39.

Historia da Ingreja em Portugal, II. 505-9, by F. de Almeida, Lisbon, 1910.

40.

Osorio (*De Rebus Emanuelis*, bk. 1, c. 1.) held the first view. Goes (*Chronica*, I. 30-1) and Pacheco (*Esmeraldo*, p. 150) the second. "Sed haec quae curare non possumus, lamentari desinamus," is the Bishop's wise and practical conclusion.

41.

Diarii di Marino Sanuto, vol. 3, pp. 1595-7, edited by Rinaldo Fulin, Venice, 1880. "Et cussii parlando, quasi li veniva da lacrimar."

42.

In fact he was then 31 years old, but evidently looked younger.

43.

Diarii di Marino Sanuto, III. 1593. His letter to the Doge on the 22 Febr. 1501 promised a contingent "nobilium et curialium maxima ex parte nostrorum."

44.

He was created cardinal the following year (L. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, VI. 285, London, 1901). As his own king, Ferdinand, pleaded poverty for not financing the plan, Ximenes financed it out of his own pocket.

45.

Memoirs of Dr. Burney, by Fanny Burney, II. 231-4 for Burke's views.

46.

Summa Theologica, Secunda Secundae, q. 19, art. 3, ad 1. Even L. Pastor (*History of the Popes*, VI. 62-5, London, 1901) is uncritical in accepting the eloquent and extravagant tales of the Pope's enemies. Osorio too (I. 98) joins in the hue and cry: "ecclesiam Romanam insigni infamia flagrare." But the Protestant Bishop of London

Dr. Mandell Creighton, who was a great historian, wrote (*Life of Bishop Creighton*, by his wife, I. 264-5) that "Alexander VI was an unscrupulous politician, but not a villain; and Caesar Borgia was neither better nor worse than most other folk. All this is very dull to have to record. I would gladly denounce the abominations, if I found them there." The Vansittartism of to-day has also opened our eyes to the power of hatred in politics, and warns us to discount the Borgia tradition of our novelists and religious bigots.

47.

Da Asia, VI. 53-5. This long digression occurs where Barros upbraids the Hindu priests for their bad advice to the Rajah of Cochin, exhorting him to betray his allies the Portuguese, in their fight against the Rajah of Calicut.

48.

Alguns Documentos do Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo Acera das Navigaçoẽs e Conquistas Portuguezas, p. 90, Lisbon, 1892. This is an invaluable collection of important documents, carefully edited by four Portuguese scholars. This papal bull of June 1497 was a confirmation of the bulls of the 4 May 1493 (pp. 66-8) and of 7 June 1494 (pp. 69-80). Cfr. *Katholische Kirche und Christliche Staat*, pp. 337-344, by J. Hergenröther (Freiburg, 1872); and *Die Urkunde Alexander VI zur Westindischen Investitur der Krone Spanien von* 1493, by E. Stadler, in the *Archiv für Urkundenforschung und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters*, 1937, pp. 145-158.

49.

Cenni Intorne alla Colonia Italiana in Portogallo nei Secoli XIV, XV e XVI, pp. 101-3, by P. Peragallo, Genoa, 1907.

50.

D. de Goes, *Chronica*, I. 43. A full account of his family and descent is given by A. C. Teixeira de Aragão in *Vasco da Gama e a Vidigueira*, Lisbon, 1898. A short account full of information is in *Opusculos e Esparsos*, I. 361, by Viscount de Santarem.

51.

Empresas Militares de Lusitanos, p. 108a; Barros, VI. 370.

52.

Chronica de El-Rei João II, c. 146, by Garcia de Resende; D. de Goes, *Chronica etc.*, I. 44.

53.

Roteiro da Viagem de Vasco da Gama, pp. 129-132, in a note of the editors of the second edition, A Herculano and Baron de Paiva, Lisbon, 1861; *Esmeraldo*, p. 153.

54.

History of Magic and Experimental Science, I. 115, 542-3, 710, II. 21, by Lynn Thorndike. The little work of Synesius about the astrolabe was dedicated to a certain Poconius of Constantinople, and accompanied by the gift of a fine astrolabe. (*Patrologia Latina*, vol. 66, ed. by Migne).

55.

His previous record in science is given in my *Europe's Discovery of South Africa*, pp. 151, 185 and 234. He was appointed Bishop of Tangiers in 1491, and afterwards promoted to the sees of Ceuta and Viseu successively. These changes have caused some confusion in the titles given him in some works. Full documents about him are in *Historia da Igreja em Portugal*, vol. 2, pp. 606-7, by F. de Almeida, Coimbra, 1910.

56.

The Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama, pp. 17-25, by H. E. Stanley, (London, 1869), who translates the long relevant passages of Gaspar Corrêa's *Lendas da India*. Details about the pilot Pero de Alenquer are in Sousa Viterbo's *Trabalhos Nauticos dos Portuguezes*, I. 32-5, 332-3.

57.

I Monoscritti Arabi della Biblioteca Ambrosiana, I. 88-106, ed. by E. Griffini, Rome, 1910-9 ; *Zacuto's Astronomical Activity*, by R. Levy in the "Jewish Quarterly Review," April 1936. But for centuries before this the Portuguese and Spaniards were familiar with the use and manufacture of the astrolabe, as can be seen from the magnificent work *Os Libros del Saber de Astronomia del Rey D. Afonso X de Castella*, ed. by Rico y Sinobas, Madrid, 1863. This was the favourite manual of King Edward, brother of Henry the Navigator.

58.

"Se isto são diabos eu ca adoro a Deos verdadeiro," at which Vasco da Gama smiled. (*Historia do Descobrimento e Conquista da India*, I. ch. 16, by F. L. de Castanheda.

59.

Lendas da India, I. 20 sqq. Though Corrêa is careless about geography and chronology, he is most informative about the views of the explorers and their general instructions.

60.

Lendas da India, I. 150, which tells of two chaplains in each ship.

61.

Roteiro da Viagem de Vasco da Gama, pp. 8, 12, 18, 45, 69.

62.

E. G. Ravenstein (*A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama*, p. 173, London, 1898) gives a roll of 173, but many names are doubtful. Barros (dec. 1, bk. 4, c. 2) counts 170, though elsewhere (dec. 1, bk. 5, c. 1) he descends to "about 160." But when writers so independent and careful as Castanheda and Goes (followed by Osorio) give us the definite figure of 148, we may well accept that as the most likely number.

63.

Historia da Igreja em Portugal, tome 2, pp. 225-8, by F. de Almeida, Coimbra, 1912, where the relevant papal decrees are given, and the author concludes that "o pensamento religioso entrava como factor importante no plano dos descobrimentos." The old church erected by Prince Henry the Navigator was handed over to the care of the new Order of Jeronymites in 1498. The foundation of the present magnificent pile was laid on the sixth of Jan. 1501, and it was completed by Manuel's son John III. Cfr. the anonymous *Noticia Historica e Descriptiva do Mosteiro de Belem*, Lisbon, 1842.

64.

Da Asia of Barros, I. 277-8. The Anglican Dean W. Vincent of Westminister paid a generous tribute to these men in 1800, when he published his *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, I. 209. "Gama seems to have devoted himself to death, if he should not succeed, from a sense of loyalty and religion. His success is owing to this sentiment."

65.

Lusiadas, IV. 88-104. In this long lament the Old Man of Belem gives voice to all the popular grievences. Comparing Osorio's prose account of them with this poetic speech, it is difficult to resist the inference that Camoens had just read *De Rebus Emanuelis*.

66.

Except Corrêa all the leading authorities, including the *Roteiro*, agree that they left Lisbon on the eighth of July 1497. But a generally well informed document in the British Museum (Add. MS. 20902), entitled *Relacao das Naos e Armadas da India*, gives the date as 2nd June, which however a marginal note in another handwriting changes to 8 July.

67.

The *Roteiro* counts four days, 4th to the 8th November, from when they first sighted land to their anchoring in Saint Helena Bay.

68.

In *Martin Behaim: His Life and His Globe*, London, 1908, E. G. Ravenstein marshalls all the available evidence against the German scientist's claim. But S. Günther is more judicial in his *Martin Behaim*, Bamberg, 1890. There seems no getting away from the evidence of Barros, that Behaim was one of the modern scientists who helped in the new methods of navigation, "em que serviam estes grandes astrolabios de pao." (dec. 1, bk. 4, c. 2).

69.

This pathetic story was told for the first time from original documents by M. A. H. Fitzler, *Eine Ehrenrettung Martin Behaims*, an article in the *Frankische Kurier* of the 11th of July 1935. The authoress claims that Behaim sent a report to King John II about Cão's expedition, when he returned home with it in 1485; but that like the Portuguese he was pledged to secrecy. Many useful references to ancient works about Behaim are contained in *Terrestial and Celestial Globes* by E. L. Stevenson, Oxford, 1921.

70.

Roteiro, p. 28, ed. by A. Herculano and Baron de Paiva.

71.

"Em tres paos a maneira de cabrea por milhor segurar a linha solar." (Barros, *Da Asia*, dec. 1, bk. 5, c. 3).

72.

The London *Geographical Journal*, vol. 48, p. 336, by A. E. Reeves.

73.

Lendas da India, I. c. 8. Osorio has preserved the impressionist view of the Hottentot clicks: "Cum loquuntur, singultire videntur." (*De Rebus Emanuelis*, I. 87).

74.

The author of the *Roteiro* (pp. 3-7 of Herculano's edition) describes these Hottentots, as he saw them. "They are low-sized men, who eat only seals, whales and the flesh of the springbok (gazella) as well as the roots of plants. They wear skins, 'e trazem humas bainhas em suas naturas.' Their arms are toasted horns inserted into rods of wild olive. They have many dogs like those of Portugal, and they bark just as ours do."

75.

This singularly appropriate name must have been given by Bartholomew Dias, because it is found on the map of Henricus Metellus Germanus, compiled in 1489 evidently from information supplied

by Dias. This splendid map is reproduced worthily by C. de la Roncière in Plate 32 of the second volume of his *La Découverte de l'Afrique au Moyen Age*, Cairo, 1917.

76.

Europe's Discovery of South Africa, pp. 208-9, by S. R. Welch, Cape Town, 1935.

77.

"Os capitaes se escusavão dicendo que nom fariam se não o que fizesse Vasco da Gama com os seus. Ora bra vo ora manso, tinha com elles mui grandes trabalhos." (*Lendas da I ndia*, I. 16-7.)

78.

G. M. Theal (*The Portuguese in South Africa*, p. 90, Cape Town, 1896) suggested that it was the Limpopo River. But the *Roteiro* (pp.16-18) mentions that it was a small river and "exposed to the swell of the sea," as the Inharrime is. An indication of this nature is more valuable than any comparison of imperfect latitudes.

79.

Ethiopia Oriental, by João dos Santos, II. 166, Evora, 1609.

80.

Roteiro, pp. 8-22; Castanheda, I. c. 3; *Lendas da India*, I. 20 sq., where Corrêa gives a lifelike account of the crews' state of mind which Stanley translates in *The Three Voyages of V. da Gama*, c. 9. In the year 1571 Father de Monclaros met here an Arab, one hundred years old, who remembered the landing of Gama. (G. M. Theal, *Records of S. E. Africa*, III. 168.

81.

Tobias, XII, 7. This book of the Catholic Bible, used by the Portuguese, has been either eliminated in Protestant Bibles, or printed under the heading of Apochrypha and entitled *Tobit*. The difference of titles is due to the difference of translations made respectively from the Greek and the Hebrew. Barros's statement about the pillar is found in *Da Asia*, dec. 1, bk. 4, c. 3.

82.

They were ordered to leave Portugal by the last day of October 1497 (*Ordenaçoẽs Manuelinas*, bk. 2, title 41, ed. by F. X. de Oliveira Matos, Coimbra, 1797). Goes (*Chronica*, I. c. 18) writes that the decree was first promulgated in December of the year before.

83.

Roteiro, p. 23. "Os homens desta terra sam *rruyvos* e de boons corpos e da seita de Mofamede e falam como Mouros." The Portuguese editors of this work note that those foreign writers who translate the word underlined as *red-headed* are wrong. It is best illustrated by King Manuel's description of the colour of the Indians of Malabar, "de huma pretidam sobre roxo." (*Historia da Colonização do Brazil*, vol. 2, p. 336, Oporto, 1923). They were darker than the pure Arabs, but *reddish* compared to the blacks.

84.

The History of Kilwa, p. 396 (edited with the Arabic text by S. A. Strong, London, 1895) states that King Fudayl of Kilwa was warned from Mozambique "of the appearance of three ships of the Franks under the command of an admiral named Almarati. In reality they had come for nothing but espionage and spoilation." They mistook the Portuguese word Almirante (admiral) for the name of Vasco da Gama.

85.

Corrêa (translated in *The Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama*, p. 64, by H. E. J. Stanley) claims to have spoken to men who took part in these scenes which he describes, and he was in India from 1512 to 1561.

86.

See p. 65, and *History of Kilwa*, p. 396.

87.

This term really means a descendant of the Prophet (R. Levy, *Sociology of Islam*, p. 96, London, 1931). All these families, innumerable, who claim the title, claim also descent from Fatima, the only child of Mohammed who grew up (H. Lammens, *L'Islam*, p. 30, Beyrout, 1926).

88.

Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama, p. 34 about the St. Raphael; and Barros, I. 308, about Mombasa.

89.

Da Asia, III. 184 sqq. Barros believed that the Arabs of this coast were just plain and honest traders, before Mohammed and the Caliphs infected them with a spirit of aggression and mutual hatred. Cfr. also Goes, *Chronica*, I. 382-7.

90.

I thus translate the word which figures as *felecidade* in Silva Dias's edition of the *Esmeraldo*, p. 65. Whatever the surviving manuscripts may show, this cannot have been Pacheco's word, as it contradicts the whole sense of the passage. The original must have had some word derived from the verb *fallecer*. If there were an archaic word *fallecididade*, it would meet the case.

91.

Some English writers have called the Portuguese intolerant on account of these opinions. But a selection of passages from the Northcliffe press about the morals and culture of Germans, culled during the period 1914-24, and from the New York press between 1917 and 1927, would make Pacheco seem a gentle knight, the happy warrior of Wordsworth's poem.

92.

Diarii di Marino Sanuto, IV. 206-7, edited by Nicolò Barozzi, Venice, 1880. This report to the Signoria is dated from Valencia, 20 Dec. 1501.

93.

Castanheda writes, I. ch. 15 : " he said that his name was Monzaide, and this name was corrupted by the Portuguese and changed to Bontaibo." Monzaide however was another person whom they met at Calicut. Cfr. Stanley's *Three Voyages etc.*, pp 78-85.

94.

Documentos Arabicos para a Historia Portugueza, ed. by João de Sousa, pp. 67-73 and 123-5, Lisbon, 1790.

95.

Le Pilote des Mers de l'Inde, de la Chine et de l'Indonesie, ed, by G. Ferrand at Paris in 1921, gives a full account of him. Cfr. also Goes, I. c. 38 ; Barros, dec. 1, bk. 4, c. 6. The author of the *Roteiro* writes : " e folgamos muito com o pilloto christão que nos el-rey mandou."

96.

Alguns Documentos da Torre do Tombo, 8th Jan. 1454. This bull entitled *Romanus Pontifex* states that Prince Henry " credens se maximum in hoc Deo praestare obsequim, si ejus opera et industria mare ipsum usque ad Indos qui Christi nomen colere dicuntur navigabile fieret."

97.

This story is briefly told by L. E. Browne, *The Eclipse of Christianity in Asia*, pp. 147-178, Cambridge, 1933. The complete story of the efforts of the popes to negotiate with the Mongols, in order to save the Nestorians and establish the Friars in western Asia, is found in *Il Papato, l'Europa Cristiana e i Tartari*, by G. Soranzo, Milan, 1930.

98.

It is a report from three Nestorian bishops in India, dated 1504, to their Patriarch in Mesopotamia. They tell of the arrival of six ships (Cabral's fleet) and four hundred men of the Franks from a kingdom called Portugal, and how the Ishmaelites (Arabs) stirred up the people to attack them. They praise the friendly attitude of the Portuguese and the Portuguese priests towards them, and rejoice that they have struck terror into the hearts of the Ishmaelites. "Their king is called Emanuel: we pray that God may guard Emanuel." Thus the letter ends. It is full of interesting details that confirm the Portuguese accounts, and was first published by J. S. Assemani in his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, III. 590, Rome, 1719-1728. It was reproduced with a Latin translation in the *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae*, II. 292-8, ed. by Viscount de Paiva Manso at Lisbon in 1880.

99

The Book of Duarte Barbosa, vol. 2, p. 292, ed. by M. L. Dames, London, 2 vols., 1918–1921.

100

Castanheda, L. 57. For a reliable account of the Christian Church of Malabar up to the coming of the Portuguese see *The Lesser Eastern Churches*, pp. 353–363, by A. Fortescue, London, 1913.

101

Roteiro, p. 58; Goes, 1.87.

102

This hint is recorded by the author of the *Roteiro*, p. 51.

103

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, LL. 66, ed. by B. Thorpe, London, 1861. We learn also that the Bishop returned home with spices and precious stones. Cfr. *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, I. 130, ed. by W. Stubbs, London, 1887.

104

Translated and edited from an Arabic manuscript of the sixteenth century under the title *Historia dos Portugueses no Malabar por Zinadim*, p. 9, by David Lopes, Lisbon, 1898.

105

Lendas da India, I. c. 18. Some Hindus whom they met at Malindi, had already warned them not to trust the Muslim of Calicut. "Nam fiase dos seus tanjeres, porque nom diziam com os coraçoees nem com as vontades." *Roteiro*, pp. 46–8.

106

Da Asia, I.364–8, where Barros says that Gaspar was born in Alexandria. Goes, I.c.34 makes him hail from Posen in Poland. Corrêa I.128, is evidently less accurate in saying that he was driven out of Granada by the Spaniards. It is more likely that his parents were among the Askkenayim Jews driven out of Poland in 1450 (*Camoens, His Life and Lusiads*, vol. 2, p. 445, by R. F. Burton, London, 1881) and that they fled to Alexandria. The Venetian Leonard da Chà Masser calls him a German, as his family came from Posen, where there was a strong Prussian settlement. Cfr. *Memorias da Academia Real das Sciencias*, p. 68, A.D. 1900.

107

Da Asia, II. 189–191. "Por ver no apparato de seus edificios ser tão grande cousa, que não quiz fazer mais experiencia da verdade dos Mouros daquella costa."

108

Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia, VI. 621, article by T. de Aragão, Lisbon, 1886.

109

Alguns Documentos da Torre do Tombo, ad annum. The exact day is given in a contemporary letter by G. Sernigi (Codex 1910 of the Ricciardi Library of Florence). Cfr. R. G. Ravenstein, *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama*, pp. 147–152; 228–237.

110

O Almirantado da India, by A. B. Freire, in *Archivo Historico Portuguez*, L.25, sqq., Lisbon, 1903; *De Como e Quando Foi Feito Conde Vasco da Gama*, by L. Cordeiro, Lisbon, 1892. The last appendix of E. G. Ravenstein's *Journal of the First Voyage of V. da Gama*, gives an abstract of nineteen documents relating to the honours conferred upon Gama, in English.

111

Paraphrased and shortened from the text in *Alguns Documentos, etc.*, ad annum 1499.

112

This is the title of the sovereign of Calicut, whom the Portuguese called Samorin or Çamorin. It is a Tamil word, meaning king of the sea. *Glossario Luso-Asiatico*, by S. R. Delgado, Coimbra, 1921.

113

Cenni Intorno alla Colonia Italiana, etc., pp. 12, 42, 72, 102, 154 and 163. Ravenstein translates Sernigi's letters in his *Journal of the First Voyage, etc.*, pp. 119-144.

114

Goes, *Chronica*, I.101. A golden serafim was worth ten of silver. They were sometimes called *pardau* or *pardao*. A silver serafim was worth 300 reis, or sixteen pence. *Glossario Luso-Asiatico*. II.175.

115

Historia de Portugal, III.360, by F. de Almeida, Coimbra, 1925.

116

Barros, II.3. Again, I.8, he writes that " a substancia da guerra he o dinheiro."

117

An account of the many kinds of Portuguese sport then in vogue is found in a much earlier work, the *Livro da Montaria*, written by King John I. It was published at Coimbra under this title in 1918 by F. M. Esteves Pereira with an historical introduction.

118

The Portuguese form *xabandar* is derived from a Persian word meaning "king of the port," i.e. chief of the customs (*Glossario Luso-Asiatico, II*, 419). Barros in *Da Asia*, IV, 44, explains: " Xabandar officio como entre nós os consules na Nação."

119

A Expedição de Pedro Alvares Cabral, pp. 110-6, by J. Cortesão, Lisbon, 1922, who also gives Vespucci's letter in full, pp. 298-306. The Venetian agent (*Centenario do Descobrimento da America*, p. 69, Lisbon, 1892) says that he married a Portuguese woman of good family. In the *Lendas da India*, I.656, Corrêa states that " em Cochym tinha huma judia que fora sua mulher, que elle nom pode fazer que se tornasse Christã. Esta judia ere grande letrada na ley." Corrêa's other statement that Gaspar helped Cabral to discover Brazil is contradicted by the fact that Brazil was discovered before Cabral went there.

120

This letter, dated 28 Aug., 1499, is reproduced in full in *Historia da Colonização Portuguesa do Brazil*, vol. 2, pp, 336-7, Oporto, 1923, The Portuguese cardinal George da Costa enjoyed great prestige in Rome, and lived to the ripe age of 102 years. Cfr. *Noticias de Portugal*, p. 259, by M. S. de Faria, Lisbon, 1740.

121.

Not a single contemporary writer supports the tradition, inaugurated by some republican writers of the nineties of the last century, that the King was jealous of Vasco da Gama, and ungrateful to him.

122.

Anales de la Corona de Aragon, V. folio 88, by Jeronimo Zurita, Saragossa, 1610. About Columbus, cp. D. do Couto, *Da Asia*, XXIII, 114.

123.

Goes, *Chronica* etc,. I. 110.

124.

Memorias para a Historia e Theoria das Cortes Geraes, p. 279, by the Viscount de Santarem, Lisbon, 1914.

125.

Goes, I. 130 : *Historia da Igreja em Portugal*, III. pt. 1, p. 422.

126.

Colleccao de Leis da Divida Publica Portugueza, pp. 38 sqq. and 119 sqq., gives many examples of these bonds. In the case of that mentioned in the text, Manuel paid a moderate interest, as this couple could not have been young.

127.

The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money, by J. M. Keynes, London, 1937.

128.

This was Castanheda's estimate, Barros's 1,200, Corrêa's 1,000. As the first is habitually the most moderate in figures, we may well accept his estimate. For the banking operations cfr. *Europe's Discovery of South Africa*, pp. 152-6, by S. R. Welch, Cape Town, 1935.

129.

How old this custom of insuring ships and cargo was, can be seen from the letter of F. Datini in 1398, in which that Italian merchant rebukes his agent for allowing a ship to sail without being insured, even though she had arrived safe. E. Bensa, *Francesco di Marco, da Prato*, p. 184, publ. at Milan, 1928.

130.

La Crisi delle Compagnie Mercantili dei Bardi e dei Peruzzi, p. 95-100, by A. Sapori, Florence, 1926.

131.

Capital and Finance in the Age of the Renaissance, p. 235, by R. Ehrenberg, London, 1928.

132.

Economia Politica, p. 616, by Bento Carqueja, Oporto, 1926.

133.

De Civitate Dei, bk. 14, c. 28. "Illi in principibus ejus vel in eis quas subjuget nationibus dominandi libido dominatur, in hac serviunt invicem in charitate et praepositi consulendo et subditi obtemperando."

134.

Civitas Dei, p. 86, by Lionel Curtis, London, 1943.

135.

"Pecuniae obediunt omnia," runs the Latin Vulgate, the translation of the Bible which the Portuguese used at that time.

136.

Alguns Documentos da Torre do Tombo, pp. 97-98. The mongoose complex is acquired when a nation regards its enemies as vermin, and sets out to exterminate them.

137.

Manuel standardised the coins, weights and measures, to the great benefit of trade (F. A. Corrêa, *Historia Económica de Portugal*, I. 125, Lisbon, 1928). In his day the *cruzado* was a coin of high international value, and was worth 40 *xerafins* according to Corrêa (*Lendas* etc. IV. 132). How payments were made for goods in South Africa and India is set forth in the detailed instructions of King Manuel to Fernão Soares in 1507, at pp. 173-6 of *Alguns Documentos etc.*

138.

Barros, *Da Asia*, I. 385-6.

139.

Les Colonies Marchandes Méridionales, pp. 12, 13, 18 and 220, by J. A. Goris, Louvain, 1925. The basis of all the commercial rights of these foreign "nations" was a privilege, or charter granted by the sovereign, which could be withdrawn. But there was the same stability in these arrangements then, as in those granted by the "most favoured nation" clause of our day. The fact that they were reciprocal was the best check on arbitrary action.

140.

De Justo Imperio Lusitanorum Asiatico, p. 36, by S. de Freitas, Valladolid, 1925, Centenary Edition. Whilst holding that the King cannot justly impose a universal veto upon trade, he admits that he can veto it partially for some good reason. "Cujus causae rationem summus princeps cui reddere tenetur?" It is the same question that a modern parliament, or rather cabinet, would ask foreigners, expecting the same reply. Cfr. also *De Indis et de Jure Belli*, p. 153, Oxford, 1917. For Christians and Muslim see *A Short History of India*, p. 199, by A. C. Chatterjee, London, 1944, 2nd. ed.

141.

The chief authorities for this journey are: D. de Goes, *Chronica*, I. cc. 57-63; J. de Barros, *Da Asia*, dec. 1, bk. 5, cc. 2-9; F. L. de Castanheda, *Historia do Descobrimento etc.*, I. cc. 30-42; M. de Faria e Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa*, vol. 1, pt. 1, c. 5; Osorio, *De Rebus Emanuelis*, I. bk. 2; G. Corrêa, *Lendas da India*, I. 152-232; *Cartas de Afonso de Alberquerque*. III. pp. 85 sqq., Lisbon, 1908; but the most complete collection of documents, magnificently produced, is found in the *Historia da Colonisação Portuguesa do Brazil*, II. 1-168.

142.

Castanheda's story of how Cabral tied hand and foot the people captured at Calicut, burning them alive with the ship, is an error rare in this careful historian. It is refuted not only by the character of Cabral, but by the express statement of King Manuel in a letter to the Spanish sovereigns. He says that the prisoners were taken aboard the Portuguese ships. (*A Expedição de Pedro Alvares Cabral*, p. 72, by J. Cortesão, Lisbon, 1922.

143.

This ingenious suggestion is made by J. R. McClymont in *Pedalvares Cabral*, p. 17, London, 1914. But the Venetian ambassador who was in Lisbon at the time, Dominic Pisani, is sure that they were thirteen. (*Diarii di Marino Sanuto*, III. 1597).

144.

Girolamo Priuli e i Suoi Diari, p. 20, Venice, 1881, in *Archivio Veneto*, vol. 22; *Diarii di Marino Sanuto*, IV. col. 66. Writing to his master Prince Hercules d'Este, Albert Cantino not only states that he bought this map in Portugal, but mentions the price he paid for it: "vero e che dicta charta in Portogallo a me de pacto facto mi costò ducati dodici d'oro in oro." (*Memorias da Commissão Portugueza, Centenario do Descobrimento da America*, p. 15, Lisbon, 1892.

145.

An unpublished letter in the Lisbon Archives (Cortesão, *A Expedição de Pedro Alvares Cabral*, pp. 120-1, records the King's gratitude, "asy nas cousas que neste meo tempo vieram que ha nosa pesoa e estado tocasem."

146.

Europe's Discovery of South Africa, pp. 123 and 190; also Francis Alvares, *Verdadeira Informacam das Terras do Preste Joam*, fol. 91, Lisbon, 1540.

147.

A Bibl'a dos Jeronymos, by J. C. Gonçalves, Estremoz, 1932; *La Bibbia dos Jerǫnymos e la Bibbia di Clemente Sernigi*, by P. Peragallo, Genoa, 1901.

148.

These two families were among the first to migrate from Bruges to Antwerp, in order to speculate in the new Portuguese traffic in spices and drugs. (*Descrittione di M. L. Lodovico Guicciardini Patritio Fiorentino di Tutti i Paesi Bassi*, pp. 84-91, Antwerp, 1567.)

149.

This information was communicated to King Manuel "da Venezia da un Benetto Tondo fiorentino, nevode de Bartolomio fiorentino." (*Relazione di Lunardo de Chà Messer*, Lisbon, 1892.

150.

Alguns Documentos da Torre do Tombo, pp. 97-107.

151.

Manuel evidently wrote this out of pure courtesy; in the way that we take it for granted that a man is a gentleman, in the hope of getting him to act like one. Because the year before this, the King had written confidentially to Cardinal da Costa in Rome. "The King of Calicut calls himself a Christian, and so does the greater part of his people. But judging from what I have heard of their style of Christianity, they would really seem to be heretics, as I have already told the Pope." Cfr. *Historia da Colonisação do Brazil*, II. 336.

152.

In this work, published at Lisbon in 1908, he fills many gaps in the information of those who had written previously about Columbus, and concludes. "Thus undoubtedly these great phases in the discovery of America are to the credit of Portugal: the journey to Newfoundland from the Azores, and from Cape Verde to Brazil." (p. 335) He shows how Columbus could have obtained information about the lands of the West from the accounts and maps of Portuguese who had been there.

153.

Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis, pp. 21-4, Lisbon, 1905, ed., Silva Dias.

154.

Americ Vespucci, pp. 143-5, by H. Vignaud, Paris, 1917.

155.

Barros, *Da Asia*, 1386; Osorio, *De Rebus Emanuelis*, I. 177: Castanheda, *Historia do Descobrimento*, bk. 1, c. 30.

156.

Caminha's letter is in *Alguns Documentos*, pp. 108-121. The Anonymous Pilot's report was published in 1553 in Italian by J. B. Ramusio in the first volume of his *Delle Navigationi et Viaggi etc.* The original must have been in Portuguese.

157.

A most tantalizing person is this Pero Vaz da Cunha, nicknamed Bisagudo. He is connected with three important events in Africa, Europe and America; yet this is all we know about him. He enraged King John II in 1488 by killing the African chief Bemoin (*Europe's Discovery of South Africa*, p. 188). He possessed a map of America before Columbus got there (*Alguns Documentos etc.*, p. 122). And he harboured in Portugal for a whole year the famous pretender to the throne of England, Perkin Warbeck, whom Henry VII caught and executed a few years later (*History of the Life and Reign of Richard III*, p. 267, by Jas. Gairdner, Cambridge, 1898).

158.

Prologo of the *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis*.

159.

The Anonymous Pilot, c. 3: see Note 156.

160.

Barros, I. 461-2; Castanheda, I. 31; *Lendas da India*, I. 153-8.

161.

The Spanish text of this letter in Navarrete's *Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimentos* (III. 94-101) is not the original, as he thought. The original Portuguese version, from the Archives of Venice, is reproduced in the *Historia da Colonisação Portuguesa do Brazil*, II. 155.

162.

Barros, I. 460; The Anonymous Pilot (See note 156), c. 20; Goes, I. 159.

163.

Lendas da India, I. 198; Barros, I. 466; Anonymous Pilot, c. 20.

164.

Osorio (Bk. 2) states that in spite of all the warnings received (from the Sheikh of Malindi as well) Nova fell into an ambush at Calicut, through trusting a Portuguese spy of the Rajah. But by clever leadership Nova extricated his fleet from the trap prepared for it.

165.

"Provedor dos almazens do reino," was his title. *Lendas*, I. 148.

166.

Barros, I. 419. There are more important variations of minor detail in the chronicles of this voyage than of any other.

167.

Anonymous Pilot, c. 17 (see note 156); Barros, I. 437-8.

168.

There is an English edition of this work, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, ed. by M. L. Dames, London, 2 vols. in 1918 and 1921. Duarte began as assistant to his uncle, and acquired a mastery of the Tamil language, which according to Gaspar Corrêa (*Lendas da India*, I. 379) he got to know better than the Malabarese themselves.

169.

Diarii di Marino Sanuto, IV. col. 66-9, ed. by N. Barozzi, Venice, 1880. Also col. 545-6.

170.

Goes, I. 159; Barros, I. 457-460.

171.

This is from the magnificent Preface of the 1521 edition of the *Ordinaçoẽs do Reino*. An English version is found in the first volume of a work by King Manuel II, *Livros Antigos Portuguezes*, London, in 2 vols. in 1929 and 1932. A fine edition of the *Consolato del Mare* (Italian text and a Dutch translation published at Amsterdam in 1723) is in the Dessinian Collection of Cape Town, housed in the S.A. Public Library.

172.

Humboldt made the wide guess of calling this Palm Sunday. The Portuguese have three names for Whitsunday: Pasqua Florida, Pasqua das Rosas and Pasqua de Maio. Whitsunday nearly always falls in May, and May in Europe is the month of flowers. But the historical origin of these names is very ancient, forming one of the Roman traditions of Portugal. Cardinal J. Shuster (*Liber Sacramentorum*, I. 25, 4 vols., Rome, 1929-39) describes the ancient Roman ritual, when the Pope himself preached on Whitsunday every year in the Pantheon, once a pagan temple. During the sermon flowers were showered down from an aperture in the dome, as a symbol of the descent of the Holy Ghost on the first Christian Pentecost.

173.

Diarii di Marino Sanuto, IV. 99-102.

174.

Lendas da India, I. 153-8. I have paraphrased the views of Faras, as his letter is not a literary masterpiece. Although a leading scientist, and apparently a good artist, he lacks the literary style of so many captains and fidalgos of that day. There is a beautiful facsimile of this letter in *Hist. da Colon. Portuguesa do Brasil*, II. 102-3. For Alvise da Mosto see *Le Navigazioni Atlantiche di Alvise da Cà da Mosto*, pp. 258-9, Milan, 1929. For John de Lisboa see *Livro da Marinharia*, p. 22, ed. by Brito Rebelo, Lisbon, 1903.

175.

Da Asia, I. 465. Cfr. also M. de Faria e Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa*, tome 1, pt. 1, c. 1; *Alguns Documentos etc.*, p. 108; Castanheda, bk. 1, cc. 30-1.

176.

Diarii di Marino Sanuto, IV. 200-1. He writes in the Venetian dialect. "Li par in breve tempo potersi far d'oro et praesertim se vegnerano le galeaze Vinitiane a levar dita specie."

177.

He was evidently the chief official of this primitive community. Barros calls him "escrivão da fazenda."

178.

For the Jews cfr. D. Lopes, *Historia dos Portugueses por Zinadim*, p. 85 of Introduction, Lisbon, 1898. *Lendas da India*, I. 656-7, 900; III. 762; IV. 708; J. de Lucena, *Historia da Vida da Padre Francesco de Xavier*, Lisbon, 1788.

179.

Diarii di Marino Sanuto, IV. 544-5; *Lendas da India*, I. 234; Goes, I. c. 63.

180.

Letter of Pisani to the Signoria, 27th July, 1501. *Diarii di Marino Sanuto*, IV. 99-101.

181.

His discovery of Ascension Island is chronicled by Barros, Goes and Corrêa, and this island finds a place on the map of Cantino, drawn a few months after Nova's return. The absence of Saint Helena Island from this map makes it more likely that it was discovered by Cabral, despite the assertion of these chroniclers. Thomas Lopes, who was the factor of one of the ships of Vasco da Gama's second fleet, saw Saint Helena and described it on the return journey in 1503. But he did not know that it had a name, though he mentions the name of Ascension Island, (J. B. Ramusio, last chapter of the Italian version of Lopes, of which the original Portuguese has been lost).

182.

Aus Antwerpener Notariatsarchiven, p. 20 of Introduction, by Jakob Strieder, Berlin, 1930; *Les Colonies Marchandes Méridionales*, pp. 195 and 230, by J. A. Goris, Louvain, 1925.

183.

Die Erste Deutsche Handelsfahrt nach Indien, 1505 *bis* 1506, by F. Hümmerich, Munich, 1922; *Les Colonies Marchandes*, pp. 274-7.

184.

Descrittione di M. L. Guicciardini Patritio Fiorentino di Tutti i Paesi Bassi, p. 84, Antwerp, 1567.

185.

Goes, I. 169; Osorio, I. 233.

186.

Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venedig und die Deutsch-Venetianischen Handelsbeziehungen, II. 117-130, by H. Simonsfeld, Stuttgart, 1887.

187.

Document Inédit Concernant Vasco da Gama, p. 26, by H. Herrisse, Paris, 1889.

188.

An Enquiry Into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, II. 21 and 208, by Adam Smith, ed. of 1880, Oxford. When this book was written, the English colonies in North America had not yet broken away from the Mother Country.

189.

Barros, *Da Asia*, II. 2-8.

190.

This title was used as far back as 28th. Aug., 1499, in a less complete form (T. de Aragão, *Vasco da Gama e a Videgueira*, doc. 5). But Barros (II. 13-5) refers to the full and solemn form claimed after Cabral's voyage.

191.

De Justo Imperio Lusitanorum Asiatico, p. 155, ed. by F. Prida and J. Zurita, p. 155, Valladolid, 1925. "Pontificum Romanorum Lusitanis jus illud dominandi et navigandi ac negotiandi privative ad alios concedere noluisse nec potuisse, cum utrumque mere sit temporale." On the same occasion (p. 154) Freitas deals with another point of the law, useful to remember in reading the history of these times. The Pope has the right to inflict spiritual penalties upon princes, in order to compel peace and concord; but he does not use this right, when it would defeat its own purpose of peace," ne id occasio esse possit gravissimorum malorum." For Cajetan's view cfr. C. Roncaglia, *Historia Eclesiastica Natalis Alexandri*, XVII, 610-611, Paris, 1744.

192.

Roberti Cardinalis Bellarmini Opera Omnia, I. 540, ed. of J. Juliano, Naples, 1856.

193.

Die Urkunde Alexander VI Zur Westindischen Investitur der Krone Spanien von 1493, pp. 145-158, by E. Staedler, in the 1937 number of the "Archiv fur Unkundenforschung und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters." He shows that the popular error arose from the unfortunate phrase *donatio Alexandri*, which Grotius coined in 1608, when he published his *De Mari Libero*.

194.

Alguns Documentos Etc., contains these bulls of the 9th Jan., 1454, and 4th May, 1493, under their respective dates.

195.

Though *Il Principe* was not published until 1532, the ideas that it formulated were already widely held. They have been practised from time immemorial, and Machiavelli sets out to give the laws of success, as exemplified in those who attained their purposes.

196.

De Justitia Coelesti, by J. Osorio, I. 56. For the text of Henry's letter cfr. *Portugal and the Congo*, p. 74, by L. Cordeiro, London, 1883.

197.

Chronica do Ser. Rei D. Emanuel, I. 73, Coimbra, 1790.

198.

Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama, p. 278, by H. E. J. Stanley.

199.

In the end it was given to John Serrao, but Barros does not say why (II. 29). For Venice cfr. II. 24-7.

200.

Goes says that there were eleven, II. 174.

201.

Letter of Matteo da Bergamo, in a manuscript of the Marciana Library of Venice, published by F. Hümmerich, *V. da Gama und die Entdeckung etc.*, pp. 192-203, Munich, 1898.

202.

Calcoen, a Dutch Narrative of the Second Voyage of Vasco da Gama to Calicut, ed. and translated by J. P. Barjean, London, 1874. Gama is never mentioned, but the dates and places of call are conclusive. It is a jejune log of an eventful journey. *Calcoen* was published in facsimile by Jan Denucé at Antwerp in 1931, with notes and an introduction in Dutch.

203.

History of Kilwa, Arabic text and notes, pp. 397 and 402, by J. A. Strong, London, 1895. But Barros is much more informative, I. 398, II. 214 and 230.

204.

W. H. Flinders Petrie, *Dictionary of the Bible*, II. 225, Edinburgh, 1905. Paris edition of Strabo's *Geography*, bk. 16, pp. 22-4, 1858. He was in Egypt with Aelius Gallus. Horace speaks of the *Arabum gazae* in a poem addressed to one of the officers of the expedition (*Carmina*, I. 29). Cfr. also *Il Yemen*, pp. 45-50, by C. Ansaldi, Rome, 1933; *The Eclipse of Christianity in Asia*, pp. 1-14, by L. E. Browne, Cambridge, 1933; *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, I. p. 216, by W. Vincent, 2 vols., London, 1800-5, who shows that Abyssinia was in touch with the south through Mogadishu, and that it had a currency of gold dust though it had no native gold.

205.

Goes (I. 174) says that there were 2,000, but the keen trader Matteo da Bergamo mentions only 1500.

206.

These *Quinas Reaes* are the five shields in the shape of a cross, each containing five dots also in the shape of a cross, which form the arms of Portugal and its kings. These are inscribed on all the pillars set up on the coasts of South Africa by the Portuguese. They represent the five wounds which King Afonso I received in the Battle of Ourique, when he gained the famous victory over the Saracens in the year 1139. That is the oldest known explanation of this blazon. It was made by the Bishop of Lisbon in 1380, when on a visit to Charles V of France. The Bishop's speech was first published in 1891 from a manuscript in the Vatican (*Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartres*, pp. 499-516). Cfr. *Historia da Adm. Publ. em Portugal*, III. 873, by H. de G. Barros.

207.

L. Cordeiro published V. da Gama's brief account of what passed between him and the Sheikh in the *Boletim da Soc. de Geogr.* for 1892: *Descobertos e Descobridores*, III. doc. no. 2.

208.

Barros, *Da Asia*, III. 509.

209.

The Book of Duarte Barbosa, c. 88, ed. by M. L. Dames; Barros, II. 33. The merchant Matteo da Bergamo says that there was no real fight; but that the cash taken was 6,000 ducats of gold, 5,000 of silver, rich velvets, copper, quicksilver and opium (F. Hümmerich, *Vasco da Gama etc.*, p. 96; Goes, I. 175).

210.

Barros, II. 85; and I. 244.

211.

De Rebus Emanuelis, I. 244: "literas nimis aspere et ferociter scriptas."

212.

In 1909 Mr. Shamasastri published the Sanscrit text of this work for the first time; and in 1926 an English translation was published by Dr. J. J. Mayer, New York. Even Osorio writes: "Intellexit Gama omnem Regis animam in fraudibus versari" (I. 243).

213.

Goes. (I. 178-9) gives the most consistent account of these events. Barros (II. 51, 57-8, 65 and 174) is somewhat confused. Matteo da Bergamo retails the opinion of some, that the Brahmin was the innocent tool of the Rajah (F. Hümmerich, p. 198). But Osorio writes (I. 242) that the decoy duck was an Arab.

214.

Da Asia, II. 75, where Barros's date seems more likely than that of Goes (I. 181), the 28th Dec., on which day he says that they left Cananor.

214a.

Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, *Monks of the Kublai Khan*, p. 15; and *Book of the Cave of Treasures*, pp. 251-4, London, 1927.

215

G. Corrêa in *The Three Voyages of V. da Gama*, p. 376.

216

Zinadin, the only Arabic chronicler of these events, puts all the ships at between 18 and 22, but these figures clearly include the five warships of Vincent Sodré (D. Lopes, *Hist. dos Portugueses no Malabar*, p. 37.

217

These two letters of Matteo da Bergamo were first published with notes in 1902, by P. Peragallo in the *Bolletino della Società di Geografia* in Rome.

218

Goes, Castanheda, Faria e Sousa and Osorio give this date. Barros alone mentions the 11th Nov. In *Vasco da Gama etc.* (p. 181) F. Hümmerich discusses the matter, suggesting the 11th Oct., but he gives no reason why this suggestion should be adopted.

219

Diarii di Marino Sanuto, IV. 545, 547, 662, 665; V. 133 and 842.

220

Shakespeare's *Othello*, act 1, scene 2.

221

The statement occurs in one of his minor works, *Della Semplicità della Vita Cristiana*.

222

Da Asia, II. 75. The story of Gama's second journey is told by G. Corrêa, I. 266-339; Goes, I. cc. 48-9; Barros, dec., bk. 6, cc. 2-7; Castanheda, bk. i. cc. 44-8; Osorio, I. 222-253; M. de Faria e Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa*, tome 1, c. 5; and L. Coelho, *Vasco da Gama*, II. 261 sqq.

223

It was completed in 1506. A fine picture of this work of art is found in A. Kammerer's *La Mer Rouge*, vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 98, Cairo, 1931. It is fully described by F. de Almeida in his *Historia da Igreja em Portugal*, tome 3, pt. 2, pp. 405-6, Coimbra, 1917.

224

Relazione, published in 1846 in the *Archivio Storico Italiano*.

225

Lendas da India, I. 525-9. Sir R. F. Burton speaks of him being "shelved for a score of years", in his *Camoens, His Life and Lusiads*, I. 277-8, London, 1881, and adduces no better proof than the feeling of a great poet (*Lusiadas*, X. 53).

226

Goes (I. 245-7) gives a full translation of the letter, in which the Sultan addresses the Pope as "Reader of the Gospels, Master of the Faith of the Gospels and of the knowledge of right and wrong." The letter was probably inspired by Venice, which in 1503 sent one of its ablest diplomatists to Cairo, to take counsel with the Sultan about preserving their common interests in the spice trade. Cfr. *Historia Económica de Portugal*, by F. A. Corrêa, I. 165, Lisbon, 1929.

227

How this confusing designation came about, is fully explained by A. J. Butler, *Babylon of Egypt, a Study in the History of Old Cairo*, Oxford, 1914.

228

A renegade named Tangribadry, who became chief tax-gatherer of Cairo.

229

La Guerra dei Pirati, I. 200, by A. Guglielmotti, Rome, 1880.

230

Annali d'Italia, ad annum, by J. Muratori, Milan, 1818-21.

231

It was the Franciscan headquarters in Jerusalem, whose Warden was treated by the Sultan as a kind of Protector of Christians of all nations, since 1240 A.D. (*Serie Cronologica dei Superiori di Terra Santa*, by G. Golubovich, doc. 128-180.

232

There is no ground for the Conde de Ficalho's statement in his *Pedro da Covilhã*, p. 78 (Lisbon, 1898), that the Pope pressed Manuel to desist; and less still for Theophilo Braga's in his *Camoés, Epocae Vida*, p. 45 (Oporto, 1907), that the Pope was in a panic. The Pope's own dignified words refute both statements, in his covering letter to King Manuel. "Nos etsi minis hujusmodi non terrimur, quia tamen non contempnenda res est, eundem (i.e. Maurum) ad Serenitatem Tuam mittimus, ut Serenitas Tua nobis significet quid videatur dictis literis rescribendum." (*Alguns Doc da Torre etc.* pp. 133-4). The Pope's letter is dated the 26th Aug., 1504.

233

The History of Egypt, VI. 349-351, by S. Lane-Poole, London, 1901.

234

The Book of Duarte Barbosa, I. 76-8.

235

The manuscript *Livro do Estado da India* (British Museum MSS. Sloane 197, folio 4 verso) states that these rulers were roused by the conquests of the first five Portuguese fleets, to write for help to the "Soldan do Cayro."

236

History of Persia, II. 158-164, by P. Sykes, London, 1930, 3rd. ed.

237

Apontamento Sobre as Antigas Relaçoés Politicas e Comerciaes de Portugal com a Republica de Veneza, p. 6, by Viscount de Santarem, Lisbon, 1893.

238

It was called the "Giunta delle Spezierie" (*Il Canale di Suez e la Republica de Venezia*, by R. Fulin, in the "Archivio Veneto" of the 14th June 1871). This Giunta was a sub-committee of the Council of Ten. In 1506 a special board was also constituted to supervise the economic policy of the Republic, consisting of five magistrates and called the *Savii alla Mercanzia*.

239

Barros, *Da Asia*, II. 149.

240

Goes. *Chronica*, I. 247-250; Barros, *Da Asia*, II. 191.

241

History of the Popes, VI. 99, by L. Pastor, London, 1901.

242

Alguns Documentos etc., p. 145; Goes, *Chronica*, I. 244, who errs however in making it the year 1505.

243

"Pellas informaçoes que lhe o Almirante dom Vasquo da Gama deu, quando de là tornou a segunda vez." Goes, *Chronica*, I. 207 and 253.

244

The Pilgrimage of Sir Richard Guylforde (Camden Society Publications), pp. 18-40, ed. by Sir Henry Ellis. Guilford died in Jerusalem, and this account was written by his Chaplain.

245

Barros (dec. 1, bk. 2, c. 6) calls this port Escandalor.

246

Hist. dos Port. no Malabar por Zinadim, p. 40, by D. Lopes.

247

Calcoen, (ed. of P. Barjean, London, 1874). He calls these two ports Maskebyl and Oeran.

248

Da Asia, III. 308-9.

249

Oran was not taken until the 17th May 1509. A good account of the whole campaign in English, is in *Cardinal Ximenes and the Making of Spain*, pp. 144-162, by R. Merton, London, 1934.

250

Capitolium, (review publ. in Rome, Sept. 1930), article by Filippo Clementi.

251

Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka, IV. 298, by F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1890; Barros, dec. II, bk. 2, c. 9; *Book of Duarte Barbosa*, I. 130-4.

252

Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque, II. 269, ed. by Bulhão Pato, Lisbon, 4 vols., 1884-1910.

253

Goes, II. 267-270; Barros, dec. 1, bk. 7, cc. 1-8; *Lendas da India*, L. 424-499; Castanheda, bk. 1, cc. 62-88.

254

Pero de Ataide and the other survivors looked upon Sodré's fate as a judgment of God, because he neglected his duty to Cochin in seeking prizes near the Red Sea (Goes, I. 193).

255

D. de Goes, *Chronica*, I. 243.

256

Goes, I. 270. For the Indian Council cfr. Barros, dec. 1, bk. 8, c. 3.

256*a*

Leven en Deurluchtig Bedrijf van Emanuel den I, being a translation of Osorio's Latin Chronicle, by Francois van Hoogstraten, Rotterdam, 1661. The quotation is from a prefatory poem by S. van Hoogstraten, and the book is dedicated to an old Burgomaster who had seen service in India.

257

Stefan Stasiak, a Polish historian, has a valuable dissertation on the various meanings of India in European works up to the time of the Portuguese discoveries inclusively, in his *Les Indes Portuguaises à la Fin du XVIe Siècle*, pp. 57-71, Lodz in Poland, 1928.

258

Goes, II. cc. 1-8; Osorio, II. 168-199; *Alguns Documentos*, pp. 139-142; Barros, dec. 1, bk. 8, cc. 3-10; Faria e Sousa, I. pt. 1, cc. 8-9; *Lendas da India*, I. 524-658; *Europe's Discovery of South Africa*, p. 234.

259

D. de Goes, *Chronica*, I. 484.

260

"Estauão ja as couzas da India Oreintal De forma que pediam Mayor poder & diferente guouerno & querendo El Rey Dom Manoel prouer nisso como Conuinha." (*Livro do Estado da India*, British Museum MSS. Sloane 197, folio 5 verso, by Pedro Barreto de Resende).

261

None of the existing ruins of Kilwa belong to this period. Cfr. J. Strandes, *Die Portuguesenzeit von Deutsch- und Englisch Ostafrika*, p. 63. The relevant chapters of Barros have been translated by G. M. Theal, *Records of S.E. Africa*, pp. 225-238, vol. 6.

262

This is the form of the name in the Arabic *History of Kilwa*, ed., by J. A. Strong. For the foundation of Kilwa, *Europe's Discovery of South Africa*, p. 67.

263

Goes, who was keeper of the Lisbon Archives in 1546, says that these documents had disappeared in his day (*Chronica*, I. 298).

264

Amerigo Vespucci, or whoever was the author of the *Voyages from Lisbon to India*, 1505-6, (p. 6, edited by C. H. Coote, London, 1894), agrees with Osorio that everybody praised Anconi "quod regnum vellet a suis filiis ad regis filium transferre." (*De Rebus Emanuelis*, II. 174).

265

"Por importar muito a navigação da India e seguranca daquella costa." (Barros, I. 233-5). Osorio (bk. 2) tells of the lost cannons.

266

"Por ver no apparato de seus edificios ser tão grande cousa, que não quiz fazer mais experiencia da verdade dos Mouros daquella costa." (Barros, II. 212).

267

Goes, I. 305; Barros, III. 288.

268

The Portuguese name of this kingdom was taken from its actual ruler, Narsinga Ráya. Later Portuguese called it Bisnaga or Bisnagar, This name was also given to the capital. Osorio (II. 191-6) describes it at some length. King Manuel's enthusiastic account of it, writing to the Pope in 1513, is in *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae*, I. 322, Lisbon, 1868. The other Hindu states were Calicut, Cochim and Cananor. The Muslim states were Gujarat, Delhi, Berar, Bijapur and Ahmadnagar.

269

Goes, I. 313-9. This young Rajah was a nephew of Vasco da Gama's friend Trimumpara, who had abdicated. (Osorio, II. 202-4). Sir E. Denison Ross (Cambridge *History of India*, V. 3) states that "the Portuguese never tried to conciliate" Vijayanagar. But it takes two to bring about a full agreement, and the Portuguese did their share of concession in the complicated politics of Hindustan and western India.

270

Barros, III, 30-5. This generous praise of their adversaries in war was common with Portuguese writers.

271

Geldres was personally known to Goes (I. 35-6); as the former retired, a wealthy man, to live in Antwerp next door to the Portuguese Consulate, which was the home of Goes for some years.

272

D. de Goes, *Chronica*, I. 351.

273

Osorio praises the wise strategy of the young Admiral.

274

Itinerary of L. de Varthema, p. 105, by R. C. Temple, London, 1928.

275

D. de Goes, I, 397-405.

276

With the freedom of a vivid novelist M. J. Pinheiro Chagas describes this battle in his *A Joia de Visorey*.

277

"Quo enim altior et constantior illius animus apparebat, eo minus dignus ea calamitate videbatur," writes Osorio, II. 309.

278

O. Raynaldus (*Annales Ecclesiastici*, vol. 11, p. 517, Lucca, 1754) quotes from the manuscript of the Pope's master of ceremonies, Paris de 'Grassis, a full account of this important event.

279

Temple's edition, p. 111 ; cfr. note 274.

280

Goes, I. 451 ; Barros, III. 25.

281

Ras Mala, or Hindu Annals of the Province of Goozerat, I. 371, by A. Kinloch, London, 1856 ; Goes, I. 453-7.

282

The *parao*, as the Portuguese wrote it, was a rowing boat of about twenty benches and six rowers to each bench (*Glossario Luso-Asiatico*, II. 178, by S. R. Dalgado. The foist, or *fusta*, was a smaller boat of the same class, which could manoeuvre more rapidly. Cfr. *Esutdo Sobre Navios Portugueses nos Seculos XV e XVI*, p. 19, by H. L. Mendonça, Lisbon, 892.

283

Barros, III. 399.

284

The Book of Duatre Barbosa, pp. 42-5.

285

Goes, II. cc. 20-26 ; Osorio, II. 422-430 ; Barros, dec. 2, bk. 1, cc. 3-6 ; bk. 2, cc 1-9 ; bk. 3, cc. 1-9 ; *Lendas da India*, L. 659 & 982. For the differences of the Almeidas with the King, cfr. *Comentarios do Granda Afonso de Albuquerque*, II. cc. 1-11 ; Castanheda, I. 482-7.

286

Goes, I. 467, regards this as a judgment of God upon the severity of Almeida in executing the prisoners taken in the great victory of Diu. These Portuguese historians applied the same moral law to allies and enemies. Historical method has not improved in the 400 years since. We take such typical exampes as Capt. Mahan's *Influence of Sea Power Upon History*, where he has one law for the " fierce avarice " of Portuguese and Spaniards, but another law for similar deeds of the Anglo-Saxons. This is the Theopompus style of history, pilloried by the Greek satirist Lucian in his *Trips to the Moon*.

287

"Funus non exequiis sed lacrymis curatum fuit," II. 431.

288

Barros, dec. 1, bk. 5, c. 3. For King's instructions cfr. *Anneas Maritimas e Coloniaes*, p. 279, Lisbon, 1848.

289

Castanheda, I.; Barros, translated by Theal in *Records*, VI. 205-8; *Lendas*, I. 233-8; Goes, I. 140-1.

290

Goes, pt. 2, c. 1; Barros in Theal's *Records*, III. 107; VI. 213.

291

"E lembramos vos no caso que dano lhes ajaes de fazer; que aguy temos imformacam que ha grande riquezas douro." (*Alguns Documentos da Torre do Tombo*, pp. 139-140; *Records of S.E. Africa*, VI. 240-4.

292

Barros mentions that he saw some of these (dec. 1, bk. 8, end of c. 6). See Castanheda in *Records*, V. 382. One of Almeida's bitter enemies hints that Anconi bribed the incorruptible Viceroy to get this position! (*Cartas dos Vice Reis etc.*, vol. 1, no. 72, Torre do Tombo.

293

Castanheda, I. 213; Barros, II. 313-4; *Lendas da India*, I. 542; Goes, II. 6.

294

Alguns Documentos da Torre do Tombo, under date 10 Dec., 1505.

295

Dated 30 Aug., 1506, to the King, *Torre do Tombo*, gavetas 20-4-15; *Lendas da India*, I. 669.

296

Alguns Documentos, letter of Fogaça, 22 Dec., 1506. Bastião de Sousa narrated details to Almeida on the authority of Fogaça (Barros, dec. 1, bk. 8, c. 8).

297

"Elegeu seu filho (i.e. Anconi's) juiz da terra por Sua Alteza e não rei, por o julgar melhor." Fogaça's letter to the King, 22nd Dec., 1506, in *Alguns Documentos*, under that date.

298

Castanheda, II. 120.

299

Barros, translated in Theal's *Records*, VI. 286.

300

This is evidently what Barros means by the phrase, "leixando alli por official," without further qualification. It was the legitimate use of a device which Woodrow Wilson abused in Mexico, to impose his personal policy on that country, behind the back of the American ambassador, Congress and the American people. Cfr. *A Diplomatist's Wife in Mexico*, p. 250, by E. O'Shaughnessy, New York, 1916. The verse of the Koran quoted is Surah, II. 178.

301

Documentos Arabicos, pp. 44-7; but the editor, J. de Sousa, has translated Calicut, where Kilwa is evidently demanded. In the same letter the Arabic text, perhaps carelessly transcribed, sometimes has Kilwa and sometimes Calicut for the same place.

302

Torre do Tombo, *Corpo Chronologico*, gav. 15, maço 19, no. 22. The whole of this document was translated into German in 1909 by Justus Strandes, and published in *Die Portugiesenzeit etc*, pp. 333-5.

303

Lendas da India, I. 97; J. Strandes, *Portugiesenzeit*, p. 108.

304

Alguns Documentos da Torre do Tombo has the King's views under the date 13 Febr., 1508, and Albuquerque's at p. 264. Also *Cartas de Albuquerque*, I. 73.

305

Archivo Historico Portuguez, vol. 2., "Cartas de Quitação del Rei D. Manuel," no. 258.

306

Documentos Arabicos, p. 28, by J. de Sousa, where the Arabic word for Kilwa is again wrongly translated Calicut.

307

Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque, I. p. 168 ed. by Bulhão Pato; Theal's *Records*, III. 143; VI. 298. Goes in *Records*, III. 93.

308

Les Sultans de Kilwa, p. 240, by G. Ferrand, Paris, 1928; Barros, *Da Asia*, III. 60 and II. 437-8.

309

Of course the quotation was made in the Latin of the Vulgate; "an oculus tuus nequam est quia ego bonus sum?" (Barros, IV. 446-7). This was the popular edition of the Bible in those days, as Latin was still a living language in education.

310

This is the date of the *Prologo* assigned by A. E. da Silva Dias in his edition of the *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis*, p. 4, Lisbon, 1905.

311

M. Renaud, *Relation des Voyages*, Introduction, p. 30, Paris, 1845; *Baghdad During the Abbasid Caliphate*, pp. 2, 75, 89, 355, by G. le Strange, Oxford, 1924.

312

Roteiro, 25 Jan. to 22 March, 1498; Barros, dec. 1, bk. 9, c. 6.; *Relation des Voyages*, Introd. p. 52. For the details about Dias, *Europe's Discovery of South Africa*, p. 218.

313

The Anonymous Pilot, c. 21, who sailed with Cabral.

314

War Addresses of W. Wilson, p. 83, ed. by A. R. Leonard, N. York, 1917.

315

Archivo Historico Portuguez, Quitaçoes, IV. 441. The mutilated and fragmentary report of the enquiry held by Nuno Vaz Pereira (published in *South-East Africa*, pp. 246-7, by E. Axelson) is no suitable ground for any judgment. The accusations made against Manuel Fernandes were evidently dismissed by Pereira, as his subsequent dealings with Fernandes and the King's rewards show. Castanheda, I. 275; Goes, II. 29.

316

The full text of this letter is in *Alguns Documentos da Torre do Tombo*, pp. 153-157.

317

Two sons of a Kafir chief Makomba were being educated in Lisbon in 1891 (Paiva de Andrade, *Manica*, p. 22). From Alcaçova's day to ours the Portuguese have maintained their traffic in gold with the Mashonas and other tribes south of the Zambesi. In 1868-9 T. Baines (*European Pioneers in the Gold Fields of Mashonaland*, p. 2) saw Bantu miners and Bantu goldsmiths there. The hostility to the Portuguese which Livingstone describes was one of the temporary fits of these volatile people (J. W. Stuart, *Ancient Gold-Fields of Africa*, p. 143.

318

Alguns Documentos etc., pp. 184-197. "E virees por Malynde e Mombasa ate Mocambique pera saberdes como estam as coussas d aquella costa e aproveitardes em todo o que for nosso serviço."

319

Tells how he met Sequeira on the way at Cape Corrientes, and then outdistanced him. *Alguns Documentos etc.*, pp. 197-206.

320

Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque, III. 31-37, ed. by B. Pato.

321

This letter is translated in full by Theal (*Records*, I. 75-79), and from it we learn of the existence of the two preceding reports that have disappeared.

322

The Portuguese scholar C. Montez suggests that this word is a Mashona adaptation of the Arabo-Persian *bazar*. (Hugh T. Tracey, ℞ 39, *Antonio Fernandes*, Lourenço Marques, 19).

323

Archivo Historico Portuguez, V. 238-9, "Cartas de Quitaçoes." For Marecos, cfr. Barros, dec. 2, bk. 3, c. 9; G. Corrêa in *Records* (Theal) VI. 296.

324

This passage of Albuquerque's letter is transcribed and translated in Theal's *Records*, III. 144-8.

325

This document, of which I made a summary in 1937, has since been published in outline in E. Axelson's *South East Africa*, pp. 138-140; but the most valuable version and comments on it are those of C. Montez in *Antonio Fernandes*, ed. by H. T. Tracey, Lourenço Marques, 1940.

326

Veloso's nesessarily cramped manuscript reads like the memorandum of a capable official of to-day in the clear transcription of it made by C. Montez (*Antonio Fernandes*, pp. 20-30). This effect is produced with hardly a change in a word of the original, because of the sound knowledge of the forms of contraction then in vogue, which the Portuguese Archivist possesses.

327

The Gold Regions of S.E. Africa, by T. Baines, Port Elizabeth, 1877; *Manica*, by L. Paiva de Andrade, London, 1891; *Land und Leute zwischen Zambesi und Limpopo*, by H. N. P. Müller, Giessen; A. R. Sawyer, *The Portuguese Manica Gold-Fields*, London, 1901.

328

This is splendidly illustrated by the map of a French engineer, who went carefully through all this country in 1881. "*Notes sur la Géographie de Quelques Régions Voisines du Zambese*," by M. H. Kuss, Paris, 1882.

329

As a token of the good faith of Anthony Fernandes, Almada posts to the King some samples of wrought copper, which Fernandes brought from a place named Ambar on the borders of Momomotapa. "Mando a Vossa Alteza das cousas que vyo este Antoneo Fernandez." (*South-East Africa*, p. 259, by E. Axelson. C. Montez in *Antonio Fernandes* holds that the Ambar of Almada's letter and the Mombara of Veloso's are different forms of the name of the same copper country visited by Fernandes.

330

This is not only the natural interpretation of Almada's letter, but it is confirmed by the fact that Omhaquouro is not mentioned in Veloso's report. Veloso's Inhócua is clearly not Onhaquoro.

331

Kuss has described (see note 328) in detail the natural facilities of a journey that he made from Chemba, 20 miles above Sena, to Macequece and then back to Sena itself by a different route.

332

N. Rouillard, *Matabele Thompson*, London, 1935.

333

Cartas dos Vice Reis da India e Outras pessoas Para El Rey, e Alguns Alvaras, no. 13 of the first volume in the Torre do Tombo Lisbon, letter dated 15th July, 1518. Barros, VI. 433; VII. 11.

334

This letter from the Torre do Tombo was first published by G. M. Theal in his *Records of South Eastern Africa*, I. 99-107.

335

Matabele Thompson, pp. 107-126.

336

Calendar of State Papers, *Venetian* 1509-1519, no. 1504, ed. by R. Brown, London, 1867; *Venetian* 1520-26, no. 587, London, 1869.

337

Goes, pt. 2, c. 10, translated by Theal, *Records*, III. 128-9.

338

Volume 2, issues of March to June, 1904.

339

Archivo Historico Portuguez, "Cartas de Quitação," nos. 17 and 455.

340

Records, II. 451-2. In *Medieval Rhodesia*, Maciver writes of "the second-hand information" of Alcaçova. But Alcaçova's data came from the fountain head: the leaders of the trade on the spot. For Naia's view cfr. *Records*, II. 35-6.

341

Barros, *Da Asia*, dec. 1, bk. 8, c. 4; bk. 10, c. 1.

342

A Cortesão, *Cartografia e Cartógrafos Portugueses dos Séculos XV e XVI*, vol. 2, pp. 88-90.

343

This remarkable episode is the subject of a scholarly work by A. Fontoura da Costa, *Ás Portas da India* (Lisbon, 1936), where all the documents are given and analysed. They were first made known at the History Congress of Warsaw in 1933, by Prof. Eugene Déprez. Before knowing of these documents (*Europe's Discovery of South Africa*, p. 180), I had discussed in 1935 some such possibility, to fill the four or six months unaccounted for, after the expedition reached Cape Cross.

344

A Occupação Económica das Colonias Portuguesas, pp. 8-9, Lisbon, 1938, by Col. Lopes Galvão, a well informed account of policy. For Lourenço's letter cfr. *Alguns Documentos*, and Castanheda, bk. 1, c. 44, For the gold output cfr. *The History of the Economic Institutions of Europe*, p. 92, New York, 1933.

345

Roteiro, which says it was Friday the second of March. Cfr. Castanheda, I. 96; *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque*, II. 265.

346

Goes, I. 304-5; 345-8; Barros, III. 87.

347

Castanheda, I. 305-7; 374-376; Barros, III. 14-5; 89-90.

348

Temple's *Itinerary of Ludovico di Varthema*, pp. 109-110.

349

Castanheda, III. c. 45; *Alguns Documentos*, p. 252.

350

Book of Duarte Barbosa, I. 57; Barros, IV. 226; I. 297.

351

This part of the *Lendas* is in Theal's *Records*, II. 26.

352

c *History of Kilwa*, p. 394, ed. by J. A. Strong.

353

Annaes de El Rei D. João, III, p. 41, by L. de Sousa, Lisbon, 1844 Like most people at the time, the Venetian ambassador in London was mistaken in thinking that war was inevitable (*Calendar of State Papers*, Venetian, 1500-6, vol. 3, no. 556).

354

Alguns Documentos etc., pp. 160-83, an interesting paper which throws much light on life aboard these ships.

355

Barros, III. 6-15; Goes, pt. 1, c. 102; *Lendas*, I. 659-678; Faria e Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa*, tome 1, pt. 2, c. 2; Castanheda, 257-9.

356

Sino-Portuguese Trade, 1514-1644, pp. 32-3, by T'Iien-Tse Chang, Leyden, 1934; Barros, III. 397-423.

357

Barros records his impression that at first the King feared to give too much power to one man at sea. "Nao fazia tamanho estado a hum so homem." (III. 224).

358

The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque, II. 2, ed. by W. de G. Birch, London, 4 vols., 1875-1884.

359

"Que não vinha a disfazer contratos de paz senão a remover causas de guerra." (Barros, III. 378 and 521).

360

Ordenaçoes Manuelinas, tome 2, title 46; *Historia da Adm. Publica em Portugal*, II 67-91, where H. da Gama Barros gives the story of this servitude. For Islam see R. Levy, *Sociology of Islam*, I. 141, London.

361

The figures in the text are deduced from the *Archivo Historico Portuguez*, Cartas de Quitação, III. nos. 370 and 380; II. nos. 297 and 298; VIII no. 622.

362

Alguns Documentos etc., p. 280, Regimento to S. da Silveira.

363

J. A. De Figueiredo, *Synopsis Chronologica etc.*, I. 216, 245, 301-2, 371 and 396; *Archivo Historico Protuguez*, I. 301-5.

364

D. Lopes, *Anais de Arzila*, I. 326, Lisbon, 1924; *Ethiopia Oriental*, bk. 3, c. 12, by J. dos Santos; H. H. Johnston, *The Negro in the New World*, pp. 83-4, London, 1910.

365

R. S. Whiteway, *The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India*, London, 1899; T. Lever, *Life of Sir Robert Peel*, p. 84, London, 1842.

366

Alguns Documentos etc., p. 179.

367

F. M. Sousa Viterbo, *Trabalhos Nauticos dos Portugueses*, II, 56, Lisbon, 1900; *Alguns Documentos*, letter of Albuquerque, 26th Feb., 1515.

368

Letter of Albuquerque, 4th Dec., 1513, in *Alguns Documentos*.

369

S. M. Molema, *The Bantu, Past and Present*, pp. 19–21, Edinburgh, 1920.

370.

The whole subject is concisely reviewed in *Die Deutsche Afrikanistik*, by F. Hestermann, Hamburg, 1929.

371

Othello, I.3. The reference is to the colocynth, a bitter fruit of the cucumber class.

372

Barros, II. 363–4; Castanhede, I. 230, who adds that they also went inland.

373

Barros, II. 368; III. 389; II. 396–7; Castanheda, bk. 2, c. 29, who calls the sheikh Çufe.

374

The Portuguese chroniclers call him Yacote or Acote; but Castanheda writes of Jangoe (cfr. *Records*, V. 394) where the sheikh lived.

375

Records, I. 57–8; *Alguns Documentos*, pp. 153–157.

376

J. Torrend (*Comparative Grammar of the Bantu Languages*, London, 1891) prefers the first meaning; Theal (*The Portuguese in South Africa*, p. 122, Cape Town, 1896) hesitates between the other two meanings.

377

The South-Eastern Bantu, p. 30 (Johannesburg, 1930) by J. H. Soga, a Bantu professor whose book was first written in a Bantu language, the Xosa. This is an English translation made by the author.

378

Soga, pp. 4–5. *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, VI. 481, Cape Town, 1900, by G. M. Theal; *Handbook of the Ethnological Collection in the British Museum*, pp. 189–259, London, 2nd ed., 1925.

379

Europe's Discovery of South Africa, pp. 69 and 294.

380

Soga, p. 40. This Bantu writer agrees in substance with Alcacaçova's report to Lisbon in 1506 (*Alguns Doc.*, pp. 153–157); so that this intelligent official is justified in claiming, "o soube muito certo."

381

Later Portuguese writers have the form Changamira (*Records* V. 72 and 185). But C. Bullock, in *The Mashona* (p. 20, Cape Town, 1927), with a long experience as Native Commissioner in Southern Rhodesia, holds "that Shangamira is not a name, but a laudatory form of address, a title."

382

The whole report is in *Records*, I. 75–85.

383

Soga, p. 22; *The Sacred Fire of the Bapedi of the Transvaal*, by W. Eiselen, Johannesburg, 1927; L. Frobenius, *Erythräa, Lander und Zeiten des Heiligen Königsmordes*, pp. 114–8, Berlin, 1931.

384

The Life of a South African Tribe, II. 326–8, by H. Junod, Neuchatel, 1912–3. The same author also in the *South African Journal of Science*, year 1913, pp. 137, sqq., Cape Town.

385

"Pedra em sossa" is the phrase he uses (*Antonio Fernandes*, p. 24), having evidently seen one of the stone ruins of Mashonaland.

386

Soga, p. 19, also states that in the Si-Kalanga language the word Zimbabwe means "the court where the paramount chief lives." A noteworthy summary of the evidence about the Zimbabwe builders was made, as the result of a visit, by S. J. du Toit, *Sambesia, of Solomo's Goudmijnen Bezocht in* 1894, Paarl, 1895, pp. 141–217. Cfr. also G. M. Theal, *The Yellow and Dark-Skinned People of South Africa*, pp. 353–362, London, 1910; and *Europe's Discovery of South Africa*, pp. 58 and 284–7, where recent works are examined.

387

"O qual nome de Cafres he ja acerca de nos mui recibido pelos muitos escravos que temos desta gente." (Barros, II. 216.)

388

This occurs in the midst of a long dissertation about their laws and customs (II. 204–216).

389

Chronica de El-Rei D. João II, c. 32, by Rui de Pina, Oporto, 1914.

390

Historia do Congo, pp. 5–49, by Visconde de Paiva Manso, a work consisting almost entirely of documents, Lisbon, 1877; Goes, I. c. 76.

391

When they first clubbed together, living under agreed regulations in order to do their work better, the people called them the good men of Villar. That was in 1425 (F. de Almeida, *Historia da Igreja em Portugal*, II. 153–6; III. pt. I, pp. 695–7, Coimbra, 1910.)

392

Alguns Documentos, pp. 285 sqq.; and *Catholic Magazine for South Africa*, year 1913, pp. 385–8.

393

Goes (III. c. 39) gives the text of their credentials.

394

Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae, I. 120, by L. M. Jordão, Lisbon, 1868; *Historia do Congo*, pp. 70–1, cfr. note 390; M. A. da Cunha, *Os Primeiros Bispos Negros*, p. 10, published at Luanda in the Congo, 1939.

395

His political activities as Inquisitor General for Spain have been much misinterpreted, but his maxims of justice in regard to the Indians are liberal in the best sense of that much-abused word.

396

De Indis et de Jure Belli, p. 240, by Franciscus de Victoria, Oxford, 1917, where he quotes Torquemada to show that the Pope is not the temporal master of the world.

397

Epitome de las Historias Portugesas, p. 279, Brussels, 1677.

398

Historia Serafica Cronológica da Ordem de S. Francisco na Provincia de Portugal, III. 497, by F. da Solidade, Lisbon, 1735.

399

Annales Minorum Seu Trium Ordinum a S. Francisco Institutorum, XVI. 354, ed. by L. Wadding, Florence, 1933. Also XV. 492–4, where the chronicler adds: "constantia promissorum et fide nihil esse in humanis rebus praestantius."

400

Mary H. Kingsley, *West African Studies*, p. 240, 2nd ed. 1901, London.

401

Junod's remark is in the *Journal of Science*, Cape Town, p. 20 of the year 1913. Colenso's zeal and philanthropy did not save him from the tragic consequences of a mistaken method. Cfr. Goes, pt. 2, c. 10.

402.

Barros, I. 256-261; Osorio, II. 54, edition of 1781, Coimbra; Goes, 173-6, where there is an evident misprint of Peteira for Pereira; Castanheda, I. 135-5; and *Lendas*, I. 663, of Corrêa who was mislead into thinking that Table Valley was visited on the way home.

403.

Zambuco (or sambuco) is a flat boat of less than fifty tons, with sails of dried palm-leaves, its timbers held together with fibre of cocoanut. It was an open boat propelled with oars (*Glossario Luso-Asiatico*, II. 438-9, by S. R. Delgado, Lisbon, 1921).

404.

War Addresses of Woodrow Wilson, ed. by A. R. Leonard, pp. 47-50, New York, 1918.

405.

Barros (dec. 1, bk. 7, c. 4) puts it as neatly as any patriot of to-day: "homem (the local king) não experimentado em nossas cousas." As usual Bishop Osorio (II. 56) is on the side of the Angels: "attulit hoc hominis (i.e. Ravasco) flagitium gravissimam terris illis offensionem." Goes, I. c. 81, concurs with Osorio.

406.

This passage of Barros is translated by Theal (*Records*, VI, 231), but I hope that the version in the text is nearer the writer's meaning.

407.

Barros, III. 35-51. Strictly speaking Almeida was the only viceroy during Manuel's reign, his successors being governor-generals. The difference between the two titles was in the pageantry of office, rather than in the powers of government; crf. J. B. F. Martins, *Os Vice-Reis da India*, p. 29, Lisbon, 1935.

408.

Relação das Naos e Armadas da India, in a marginal note: (British Musuem, Addit. MSS. 20902).

409.

Barros, III. 6-25. The Royal Library of Ajuda in Lisbon contains an original letter of King Manuel (MS. 51-VIII-39), directed to the Archbishop and Primate, giving him the news of Cunha's voyage to India. About Madagascar also Barros, III. 391-3.

410.

J. Strandes, *Portugiesenzeit*, p. 75. Goes, *I. 383*, calls it Hoja.

411.

"Nao queria apertar tal amor"; Barros, III. 28-9.

412.

Barros, III. 22-3; Goes, II. c. 14.

413.

D. Lopes, *Historia dos Portugueses no Malabar por Zinadim*, pp. 24 and 56; Barros, III. 224-8; III. 377-380.

414.

Osorio, II. 357; Barros, III. 384.

415.

Commentarios de Afonso Dalboquerque, Pt. 3, c. 2; pt. 2, c. 50; Barros, III. 518; *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque*, I. 442; Castanheda, bk. 3, c. 37.

416.

British Museum, Add. MSS. 2846, fol. 210.

417.

This is strikingly illustrated by two works of M. de Faria e Sousa. His *Africa Portuguesa* deals only with north Africa; his whole contribution to the history of South Africa is contained in his *Asia Portuguesa*.

418.

Livro do Estado da India, fol. 75 recto, Br. Museum, MS. Sloane, 197.

419.

Barros, III. 223; Osorio, II. 375-6. The latter writes that on this occasion Albuquerque captured at sea a Saracen, who had lived long in Abyssinia, and sent him to Lisbon for the King's information, For Malindi, *History and Description of Africa*, I. 55, by Leo Africanus.

420.

Barros, III. 329-372; Osorio, II. 409-422.

421.

Osorio, II. 410, thought it was merely a question of silencing the mischief makers, "cum uterque eorum esset probitate non mediocri praeditus." Barros, III. 323-8.

422.

Corrêa, II. 594-5, whose hero is Albuquerque; whom he thought a perfect viceroy, I. 994. But Castanheda preferred Almeida.

423.

Theal, *Records*, I. 73, 83, 97; VII. 332.

424.

Barros, IV. 166-7, 176; P. V. Soares to the King, *Records*, I. 78.

425.

Osorio, *De Nobilitate Christiana*, p. 274, a treatise which was translated into English by W. Blandie, and published in London in 1576. Letters of Albuquerque to the King, 30 Sept. 1512 and 30 Nov. 1513 under these dates in *Alguns Documentos*.

426.

Barros, V. 4-6; II. 218; V. 223.

427.

Glossario Luso-Asiatico, II. 510, by S. R. Delgado.

428.

Per la Biografia di G. da Empoli, by E. Marini, in the "Atti del 8° Congresso Geografico Italiano," Rome, 1923. Barros, V. 3, gives is name the curious twist of Joannes Impole.

429.

Corpo Diplomatico Portuguez, I. 310-11; Barros, V. 84; V. 10.

430.

Historia de Arzila, p. 180, by D. Lopes, Coimbra, 1925; Barros, V. 231-242.

431.

Goes, I. c. 14; for Brito, Theal's *Records*, I. 99-103.

432.

Da Asia, V. 324-335.

433.

Goes, I. c. 56; *Historia da Colonisação do Brazil*,

434.

A few of these have been published in Stanley's *Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama*, p. 428; but the full tale remains to be told.

435.

E. Bensa, *Francesco di Marco dà Prato*, p. 157, Milan, 1928. This work contains many specimens of bills of exchange, cheques, insurance policies, articles of partnership etc., all before the year 1396.

436.

Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, Introduction to vol. 1, ed. by R. Brown, London, 1864.

437.

J. Ruskin, *St. Mark's Rest*, p. 87, New York, 1891.

438.

Diarii di Marino Sanuto, III. 1480, ed. by R. Fulin, Venice, 1880.

439.

I Diarii di Girolamo Priuli, Preface of vol. 1, ed. by A. Segre, Città di Castello, 1912.

440.

N. Barozzi, *Diarii di Marino Sanuto*, IV. 200-1, Venice, 1880.

441.

H. Sieveking, *Die Casa di S. Giorgio*, p. 111, Freiburg, 1899.

442.

Storia d'Italia, VII. 754 (Florence, 1775), by F. Guicciardini, who tells how the victorious French King in 1507 thought it better policy to come to terms with the bank, than to attempt to bully it.

443.

Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venedig, I. 345 & II. 117-140, by H. Simonsfeld, Stuttgart, 1887.

444

Diarii di Marino Sanuto, VII. 608.

445

Diarii di Marino Sanuto, XI. 720.

446

Archivo Historico Portuguez, II. 269–271.

447

Corpo Diplomatico Portuguez, IX. 108. Letter of L. P. de Tavora.

448

Diarii di Marino Sanuto, XI. 57.

449

Leo Africanus, II. 665, ed. by R. Brown, London, 1896.

450

Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, I. 440, 605 and 877.

451

Le Colonie Commerciali degli Italiani nel Medio Evo, II. 271, by W. Heyd, Turin, 1868.

452

Diarii di Marino Sanuto, XXVIII. 266, ed. by F. Stefani, G. Berchet and N. Barozzi, Venice, 1920.

453

R. Barlow, *A Brief Summe of Geographie*, p. 46, London, 1932.

454

Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, III. 607.

455

St. Mark's Rest, p. 27, by J. Ruskin, New York, 1890.

456

J. A. Williamson, *Maritime Enterprise*, 1485–1588, p. 17, Oxford, 1913.

457

Barros, IV. 219; Corrêa, *Lendas*, II. cc. 7–22; *Commentarios de Afonso de Albuquerque*, III. c. 14; II. c. 8; III. c. 3; D. Lopes, *Historia dos Portugueses no Malabar*, pp. 43–4.

458

Count de Ficalho, *Pedro da Covilhan*, p. 199, Lisbon, 1898.

459

G. E. d'Azurara, *The Chronicle and Discovery of India*, c. 6, London, 2 vols., 1896–1899; Barros, I. 183.

460

Roterio, ed. of Herculano and Paiva, pp. 24–6, Lisbon, 1861; Barros, I. 406; IV. 135–7; *Lendas*, I. 42, where Corrêa contradicts all the other authorities by saying that Gama left him at Mozambique. Barros and Goes (*Records*, III. 96; VI. 204) state that he was put ashore at Malindi by *Cabral*. The Anonymous Pilot (J. Cortesão, *A Expedição de Pedro Alvares Cabral*, p. 271, Lisbon, 1922) mentions two nameless *degredados* sent ashore at Malindi.

461

Europe's Discovery of South Africa, pp. 189–197 and 220, where all Covilhã's preparatory work is described.

462

Narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Abyssinia, c. 73, London, 1881.

463

La Découverte de l'Afrique au Moyen Âge, vol. 3, penultimate chapter by C. de la Ronciére, Cairo, 1927.

464

Cide Mofamede the Portuguese called him. Cfr. *Lendas*, III. 29 Barros, dec. 2, bk. 7, c. 6; Goes, II. 23; Castanheda, III. c. 97.

465

Verdadeira Informacam das Terras do Preste Joam, p. 68, by F. Alvares, Lisbon, 1540.

466

Storia di Lebna Dengel, translated by Carlo Benini, in the "Rendiconti della R. Accademia die Lincei," Rome, 1894.

467

Lendas, II. 326, by G. Corrêa, who was in India at the time; *Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque*, III. 252, London, 1880.

468

L. Waddington, *Annales Minorum etc.* ad annum 1444, where the facts are related by the then Warden of Jerusalem, Father Gandulfo. (Quarracchi, new ed. of 1933.)

469

C. Conti-Rossini, *L'Abissinia*, p. 159, Rome, 1929. Naod is also called Ambasá Batsar, and by the Portuguese, Nahu or Naut. He reigned from Nov., 1494, to July, 1508.

470

Annales Ecclesiastici, XII. 54–5, by O. Raynaldus, who quotes the diary of the Pope's master of ceremonies, to show that the Pope received this information in the middle of July, 1513.

471

Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque, L. 381. This letter is the most reliable account of the facts; as Albuquerque always had from four to seven secretaries about him, who took down the details of important events at once. *Lendas*, II. 46 and 327.

472

Osorio regards Pereira as the villain of the piece, who "perpetuo illius (i.e. of Albuquerque) laudibus obtrectabat" (III. 117). See also *Commentarios de Afonso de Albuquerque*, III. c. 64.

473

The oldest is the Italian of J. B. Ramusio (*Delli Navigattioni et Viaggi*, I. 176). The Spanish version was made by M. L. del Carvajal (*Description General de Africa*, 1573). Goes has two translations; Latin in his letter to the last Catholic Archbishop of Upsala; and Portuguese in his *Chronica* (II. c. 59), which is the one here abbreviated.

474

C. Conti-Rossini in vol. 8 of "Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei," pp. 197 sqq. article *Note per la Storia Literaria Abissina*.

475

D. de Goes, *Opuscula Quae in Hispania Illustrata Continentur*, p. 175, Coimbra, 1791.

476

Thus Surah 105 is one of the strangest in the Koran. It rejoices in the defeat of a Christian general for doing what was the life work of Mohammed, destroying idols. (*L'Arabie Orientale avant l'Hégire*, p. 10, by J. Lammens, Beyrut, 1928.)

477

A. Fortescue, *The Lesser Eastern Churches*, p. 299, London, 1913; the Letter of Pope Alexander III to Prester John is printed by C. Baronius in his *Annales Ecclesiastici*, XII, 589, Ticino, 1641.

478

Pietro Bembo, *Lettere*, IX. 41, Venice, 1808.

479

Memorie della Società Geografica Italiana, vol. 5 of 1895, art. by G. Uzzielli; Guido Po, in *Congresso do Mundo Portugues*, I. 605, Lisbon, 1940.

480

Lendas da India, II. 346, where Corrêa gives us a picture of Albuquerque's morning. "The Governor rose at dawn, and with his guard went on foot to hear Mass. Then he rode alone for a while with a cane in his hand, and a broad-brimmed hat of straw. He examined the shores and walls accompanied by his spearmen, and looked into all the work being done with his own eyes, and gave orders accordingly. He was followed home by four secretaries with ink and paper, dictating orders and dispatches, which he signed as he rode along. He was very eloquent, and in writing to the King he explained the smallest details. To the dukes, counts and members of the King's Council, he also wrote in great detail." Elsewhere Corrêa II. 46, mentions that sometimes Albuquerque employed seven secretaries.

481

Africanae signify the wild beasts of the gladiatorial shows for Pliny the Younger (*Epistolae*, bk. 6, no. 34, ed. of Leipzig, 1870).

482

From a printed but unpublished document (no. 86 of the *Documenta ab Exordio Negotiorum etc.*) seen by Count de Fichalho, and quoted by him in *Pedro da Covilhan*, pp. 198 and 206.

483

Verdadeira Informacam das Terras do Preste Joam, cc. 36–37, by F. Alvarez, Lisbon, 1540.

484

Patrologia Latina, XXI, 478–480, ed. by J. P. Migne, Paris, 1847.

485

Legatio Magni Imperatoris Presbyteri Joannis ad Emmanuelem etc. by D. de Goes, Antwerp, 1532 ; Calendar of State Papers, *Foreign and Domestic*, 1517–18, No. 3815, ed. by J. S. Brewer, London, 1864.

486

The Lesser Eastern Churches, p. 319, by A. Fortescue, London, 1913.

487

Itinerarium Fratris Pauli Waltheri, Tübingen, 1892; and *Trattato di Terra Santa e dell'Oriente di Frate Francesco Suriano*, p. 79, by G. Golubuvich, Milan, 1900.

488

Mauro da Leonessa, *Santo Stefano Maggiore degli Abissini*, pp. 175–6, Vatican City, 1929.

489

Bullarium Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum, vol. 4, pp. 190 and 315–6, Rome, 1729.

490

Un Monastère Éthiopien à Rome, p. 6, by J. Chaine ; Sousa Viterbo, *A Livraria Real*, p. 17, No. 46, Lisbon, 1901.

491

Delle Navigattioni et Viaggi, I. 2, by J. B. Ramusio, Venice, 1550.

492

Corpo Diplomatico Portuguez, I. 209, Lisbon, 1862.

493

Alguns Documentos do Archivo Nacional, p. 354 sqq.

494

Corpo Diplomatico Portuguez, I. 243, Lisbon, 1862.

495

Une Ambassade Portugaise a Rome, pp. 30–32, by S. de Cuiis.

496

Goes, III. c. 55 ; Osorio, III. 160–1.

497

Titi Livii Patavini Historiarum Libri, XXXI. c. 36.

498

A. Pellizzari, *Portogallo e Italia nel Secolo XVI*, pp. 153–55, Naples, 1914.

499

The first golden rose was given him in 1506 by Julius the Second (*Corpo Diplomatico Portuguez*, I. 98–9).

500

In this he differed from his predecessor, Julius II, who detested public speaking, as the Diary of their Master of Ceremonies, Paris de 'Grassis shows (Fourth German ed. of the *Diarium*, III. 933).

501

Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae, I. 97.

502

The message went overland through Egypt by the hands of a friendly Mohammedan (*Commentaries*, Hakluyt, ed. IV. 47–8).

503

Alguns Documentos etc., pp. 356–368.

504

J. B. Ramusio, *Delle Navigattioni et Viaggi*, I. 259, Venice, 1550.

505

Narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Abyssinia during the Years 1520–27, pp. 253 and 304–310, Hakluyt Society.

506

Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales Inediti, III. 26, by C. Beccari, Rome, 1906.

507

Anais de Arzila, I. c. 6, by B. Rodrigues, ed. by D. Lopes, Lisbon, 1924.

508

Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae, I. 85–93, 112, 117–8. Goes, III. 56; Gil Vicente in his *Exortaçam da Guerra*, p. 34, of the Cambridge edition of 1908.

509

The battle about indulgences was brought to a head by this incident (L. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, VII. 322–33, London, 1908).

510

Goes, II. 346, calls him d'Alvarenga. The Rajah of Cochin once said: "Afonso de Albuquerque treated me as I wished to be treated, and he was able to do what he wanted in my kingdom." (Barros, V.8.)

511

Lendas, II. cc. 47–54; Goes, III. cc. 43–44, 65–68, 80; Barros, dec. 2, bk. 4, c. 8; Castanheda, III. 103; *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque*, X. 132, 345, 369. Osorio, III. 240–260, adds to the fatal burdens of Albuquerque the "pestis multorum invidorum."

512

J. de Sousa, *Documentos Arabicos para a Historia Portugueza*, pp. 89–97, Lisbon, 1790. For Galvão, Barros, dec. 2, bk. 1, c. 4.

513

Lendas, II. 464–465. But the official list in the handwriting of the King's treasurer is found in the printed, but not published second part of the *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae*. Cfr. note 445.

514

Count de Ficalho, *Pedro de Covilhan*, p. 212; *Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque*, by B. de Albuquerque, IV. 201, London, 1884.

515

J. S. Brewer, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, 1509–1514, I. no. 3838, London, 1862. In later years Pope Leo X was glad to have Prégeant's help to defend Rome against the Barbary pirates (*La Guerra di Piratî*, I. 84–226, by A. Guglielmotti, Rome.

516

One of the pretexts for James's war on England arose out of the Portuguese explorations. A Scot, named Andrew Barton, beginning with reprisals against Portugal, ended as a general pirate, and attacked English ships.

517

Calendar of State Papers, *Letters and Despatches, Spanish*, I. no. 438, pp. 367–368, ed. by G. A. Bergenroth, London, 1862.

518

L. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, VI. 271–273, London, 1901; A. Pichler, *Geschichte der Kirchlichen Trennung Zwischen dem Orient und Occident*, I. 503, Munich, 1864.

519.

Alguns Documentos do Archivo Nacional, pp. 149 and 357.

520.

J. Hergenröther, *Konziliengeschichte*, VIII. 563, Freiburg, 1887.

521.

Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque, III. Appendix.

522.

Diarii di Marino Sanuto, VIII. 145.

523.

J. S. Brewer, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, vol. 2, nos. i 281-3 and 2017, London, 1868; *Einleitung zum Ersten Bande der Actenstücke und Briefe zur Geschichte Kaiser Karls V*, p. 203, by K. Lang, Vienna.

524.

Alguns Documentos do Archivo Nacional, pp. 392, 396-7; *Diarii di Marino Sanuto*, XXIV. 712-4.

525.

O. Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclestiaci*, XII, 32-54, where all the relevant documents are given.

526.

E. Chamére, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, I. 63, Paris, 1848; see also pp. 41-6, 49-61.

527.

Reign of Henry VIII, I. 282-4, by J. S. Brewer, London, 1884; *Diarii di Marino Sanuto*, XXVI. 237; *Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, p. 251, by G. Cavendish, his gentleman-in-waiting, ed. of 1885, London.

528.

As examples we may take two historians who are otherwise poles apart: J. S. Brewer (*Hist. of Henry VIII*, p. 297 of first vol.) and L. Pastor (*Hist. of the Popes*, VII. 230).

529.

Diarii di Marino Sanuto XXV. 332; K. Lanz, p. 204, cfr. note 491.

530.

L. Enders, *Dr Martin Luthers Briefwechsel*, I. 333, Frankfurt, 1884. Only after King Manuel's death did Luther realise that the Turks were a menance to Germany (Hartmann Grisar, *Luther*, III. 80, London, 1914).

531.

C. of S.P., *Letters Foreign and Domestic*, II. no. 3815.

532.

In Persia itself Ismail was called the Shah. The designation *Sufi* was added because he revived the tenets of his Sufi ancestors, as a war-cry handy for use against the form of Islam professed by the rulers whom he wished to supplant (*Glossario Luso-Asiatico*, II. 310, by S. R. Dalgado). Cfr. *History of Peria*, II. 158, P. Sykes, 3rd. ed. London, 1930; *Book of Duarte Barbosa*, pp. 68-84, by M. L. Dames.

533.

The Sufis were a subdivision of the Shiah sect, and professed a theosophic mysticism (*Sociology of Islam*, II. 14-20, by R. Levy, London, 1933). The split between Sunni of the Turks and Shiah of the Persians has been compared to that between Catholic and Protestant. In their political consequences there is some similarity. But there are two vital differences in the religious aspect; the split in Islam began in the beginning, but at this time Protestantism had not yet arisen; and in Islam there is no touchstone whatever by which the validity of these developments can be appraised.

534.

A full account of the first and last of these is given by Barros (III, 222), and of the first three in the *Commentaries* of Albuquerque, I. 145; II. 109-114.

535.

The Journal of Pedro Teixeira, pp. 191-3, Hakluyt Soc. 1901.

536.

Ten of these letters out of the Lisbon Archives have been published by J. de Sousa in *Documentos Arabicos Para a Historia Portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1790.

537.

Osorio, III. 268-9: "a bellis quae Christiani principes inter se gerebant, vehementer abhorrere."

538.

Letter of Alvares in *Alguns Documentos*, under the date 9th. Jan., 1518; Goes, II. 348-9.

539.

The printed but unpublished *Documenta* edited by Graça Barretto contain this report, a letter of Villalobos, a letter of Galvão to the King and a letter of Matthew. Cfr. *Pedro de Covilhan*, by Count de Filcaho, pp. 211-3.

540.

Barros, V. 13; letter of D. Fernandes to the King in *Alguns Documentos*, pp. 408-9.

541.

Osorio, III. 309-310; Goes, II. 411-2; Barros, V. 10-2 and 64.

542.

Letter of Alvares in *Alguns Doc.*, 9 Jan., 1518; Barros, V. 48.

543.

Corrêa, II. 496, ascribes the hesitation of Soares to epilepsy. Castanheda, IV. c. 12, is severe. Barros (V. 43-8) and Goes, (II. 414) favour him, but not enthusiastically.

544.

Letter of Dinis Fernandes in *Alguns Doc.*, p. 411. This is the only detailed first-hand account of shipping matters of this expedition, as he was in charge of the eqiupment.

545.

Barros, V. 49-54. All Galvão's works were incunabula, as not one is found in the *Bibliografia das Obras Impressas em Portugal no Seculo XVI*, by J. A. Anselmo, Lisbon, 1926.

546.

Alguns Documentos, p. 418; Barros, V. 238-9.

547.

Goes, *Chronica*, II. 519.

548.

Barros, V. 336 and 343, says 24, and counts only the big ships. Osorio, III. 413, omits the two brigantines, but includes two of the small boats. Goes, II. 518, includes all craft, 28.

549.

The main sources of our information about these events are, first, the initial six chapters of the *Verdadeira Narraçam* written by F. Alvares, who took a leading part in them; and, secondly, Barros in *Da Asia* (V. 336-413) who had this work before him and could check its statements by conversation with other eyewitnesses, and by means of the official documents of which he was the official custodian.

550.

Bahr Nagâsc means ruler of the seas, title of the governor of the province of Erythrea (C. Conti-Rossini, *l'Abissinia*, p. 164).

551.

This fourth book of Esdras was not found in all Catholic Bibles at that time. Some years later the Council of Trent made clear that it was not part of the true Bible of Catholic tradition (*Acta Genuina Concilii Tridentini*, I. 66, edited by A Theiner, Zagabria, 1874). But in 1592 Pope Sixtus V allowed it to be printed as an appendix to the inspired books, "lest it should be lost," as it was highly valued by ancient writers in the Church. The passage to which Teixeira alludes is found in the thirteenth chapter, verses 40-45. The account of Teixeira's interview with Samara Christus is in *The Discovery of Abyssinia by the Portuguese* in 1520, pp. 46-48, published by the Trustees of the British Museum in 1938. Diogo Couto (*Da Asia*, IV. 278, ed. of 1788, Lisbon) met a Jew in Goa who maintained that both the Abyssinians and the Nubians were the descendants of the lost tribes.

552

Alguns Documentos, pp. 441–445. It is dated, Massawa, 25th April, 1520.

553

Pietro Bembo, *Epistolarum Leonis X Nomine Scriptarum*, XVI. 25, Basle, 1547.

554

F. Alvares, *Ho Preste Joam das Indias*, bk. 2, c. 7; Corrêa, III. 53; G. Schurhammer, *Die Zeitgenössischen Quellen zur Geschichte des Portugiesisch-Asiens*, no. 81, Leipzig, 1932; *Bullarium Patronatus*, I. 128–129. In this Bull the Pope calls David "Aethiopae et Abbitiae ac Nili Rex."

555

The apt phrase was coined by Barros (V. 359–397) who refused to accept the valuation of Goes, or the full Abyssinian record of their own history.

556

De Republica, II. bk. 4. "Ita barbarorum agris quasi attexta quaedam videtur ora esse Graeciae . . . Quae causa perspicua est malorum commutationumque Graeciae."

537

Alguns Documentos, p. 335 ; letter dated 4th Dec., 1513.

558

F. de Sousa Viterbo, *Viagem da India a Portugal por Terra e Vice Versa*, p. 14, Lisbon, 1906.

559

Goes, II. 546–549 ; Barros, III. 376 ; Osorio, III. 447–452, calls him George. For the Congo tradition see *Africa Bantù*, p. 340 by Luiz Figueirs, Lisbon, 1938.

560

Commentarios de Afonso Dalboquerque, I. c. 54. This Fernão Gomes is not the John Gomes sent to Prester John (Barros, IV. 217), as some have supposed.

561

O. Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiatici*, pp. 311–312, of the year 1520, prints the relevant extracts from the manuscript Diary in the Vatican Archives. Leo Africanus told the bishops that the contradictions and confusion of the Koran repelled him, but it took much discussion with the bishops to clear up his ideas of the Christian faith, which he fully accepted when he learned its tenets in detail.

562

An English translation of this work in three volumes was edited by Dr. R. Brown, but a better edition is badly needed. There is no ground for the Editor's suggestion, that Leo returned to Islam, nor does Dr. Brown produce any. Both the Arabic and first Italian editions have disappeared ; but Ramusio published an Italian version, when the author was still alive.

563

History and Description of Africa, II. 671, Hakluyt Society.

564

This date was first established in 1941 by D. C. McMurtie (*The Gutenberg Documents*, New York, pp. 24 and 48) when for the first time all the relevant documents were printed and translated. A lawsuit of 1439 shows that Gutenberg had done some printing three years before. But A. Ruppel (*Die Heimatstadt der Drukkunst*, Mainz, 1926) holds that Gutenberg's first known work with the new type was produced in 1445.

565

Paesi Novamente Ritrovati, et Novo Mondo da Alberico Vesputio Florentino, printed in 1507 at Vicenza by Henrico Vicentino and his brother, Zamarca. The *Historia da Colonizácão Portuguesa do Brazil*, II. 107 (*Oporto*, 1923) contains a fine facsimile of this work, reproduced from a copy in the National Library of Rio de Janeiro.

566

Uber Valentim Fernandez Alemã (Munich, 1845) by Dr. Schmeller. Also *Abhandlungen der Hist. Classe der K. Bayerische Akademie*, two articles by Dr. F. Kunstmann (Munich, 1856, vol. 8, pp. 221–285 and 1860, pp. 781–825). A later edition of the *Nürnberg Chronicle*, dated 1493, is in the Grey Collection of Cape Town.

567

A. J. Anselmo, *Bibliografia das Obras Impressas em Portugal no Seculo XVI*, p. 156; *Europe's Discovery of South Africa*, p. 101; J. Esteves Pereira, *Livro de Marco Polo*, Lisbon, 1922: a reproduction with notes of Fernandes's edition.

568

J. M. Keynes, *Economic Consequences of the Peace*, p. 27, London, 1920.

569

A. J. Anselmo describes twelve of these (*Bibliografia*, p. 145).

570

J. A. de Figueiredo, *Synopsis Chronologica de Subsidios*, I. 164–167, Lisbon, 1790.

571

The Universal Geography, IV. 19 and IV. 406, London, 1823; Léon Cahun in *Le Congo* (Brussels, 1885) shows how a typical map of 1853 displays less knowledge of the interior of Africa than the Portuguese maps of the sixteenth century.

572

Konrad Peutingers Briefwechsel, pp. 56–58, 88–97, 358–360, edited by Erich König, Munich, 1923. The text has a free rendering of the Latin of this cultured couple.

573

They were found in a manuscript of the State Library of Munich, entitled *Liber Chuonradi Peutinger Augustani* (MS. VII. no. 583).

574

"Non dubito quin tui satis evidenter tibi scripserunt." Cfr. *Abhandlungen* (see Note 566), p. 787.

575

J. A. Goris, *Les Colonies Marchandes Méridionales*, Louvain, 1925; A. B. Freire, *Archivo Historico Portuguez*, no. 77, p. 184; R. Ehrenberg, *Capital and Finance in the Age of the Renaissance*, pp. 138–151, London, 1928. Five of these ships called at Falmouth (C. of S. P., *Venetian*, 1202–1509, no. 838, London, 1862.)

576

M. le Glay, *Correspondence de l'Empereur Maximilien* I, p. 151, Paris, 1839.

577

Voyage from Lisbon to India, 1505–1506, p. 30, London, 1894, edited by C. H. Coote, who thinks the author to be Amerigo Vespucci. But H. Vignaud in *Americ Vespuce*, 1451–1512 (Paris, 1917) and J. Harrisse in *Americus Vespucius* (London, 1895) maintain that the witer is Balthazar Sprenger. Cfr. also *Beitrage zur Historischen Geographie*, pp. 77–82, by Hans von M'zik, Leipzig, 1929.

578

Cartas das Novas Que Vieram a El Rey Nosso Senhor do Descobrimento do Preste Joham, Lisbon, 1521, published in 1938 by the Trustees of the British Museum under the title, *The Discovery of Abyssinia by the Portuguese in* 1521. This edition contains a facsimile of the original folio of fourteen leaves, a transcription into modern Portuguese by A. Cortesão, and an English translation with notes by H. Thomas.

579

A. J. Anselmo, *Bibliografia das Obras Impressas*, p. 316.

580

J. A. de Figueiredo, *Synopsis Chronologica*, I. 92–134, where the King's letter of 1506 is given in full.

581

Letter to the printer, Jacob Cronberger, prefaced to the 1508 edition of the *Ordenaçoẽs do Reino*.

582

King Manuel II of Portugal, *Livros Antigos Portugueses*, vol. 1, no. 21, Cambridge, 1929 and 1932. Also Goes, I. c. 94.

583

Gesta Proxime per Portugalenses in India, Ethiopia et Aliis Orientalibus Terris, published by J. Besicken at Rome in 1506.

584

Garcia de Resende, secretary of John II, boasts that in his day "libraries are increasing and knowledge is diffused." (*Miscellanea*, folio 13, Lisbon, 1554.)

585

A. del Piero, *Della Vita e degli Studii di Giovanni Battista Ramusio*, Venice, 1902.

586

R. Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi di Roma*, I. 183 and 201, Rome, 1902-3.

587

P. Giordani, *Opere di Camillo Porzio*, p. 13, Turin, 1852.

588

Epistola Emanuelis Regis . . . de Victoriis Habitis in India et Malachia . . . ad Leonem X.

589

Luis de Leon (Oxford, 1925) by A. F. G. Bell, who deals faithfully with this widespread error. Prescott has been partially atoned for by R. G. Merriman, *The Rise of the Spanish Empire*, 4 vols., New York, 1936.

590

Da Asia, dedication to King John III in the first volume.

591

A. F. G. Bell, *Luis de Leon*, pp. 297–298.

592

These views occur in his first published work, *De Nobilitate Christiana*, pp. 231-234, printed in 1542.

593

J. B. Scott, *The Era of Discoveries*, p. 9, Washington, 1933.

594

The Utopia and the History of Edward V, pp. 85, 91 and 113, edited by M. Adams, London, 1900.

595

Esmeraldo, pp. 17 and 155; G. Wyndam's ed. of *Plutarch's Lives*, IV. 331, London, 1893; Osorio calls him "gurges miseriarum" in *Historia Adversus Paganos*, III. 7; Inferno, XII. 107.

596

A Feitoria de Flandres, Lisbon, 1908, by A. B. Freire, is a careful study based on unpublished documents. The data about Antwerp are given at pp. 371-406 of vol. I of the *Archivo Historico Portuguez*.

597

J. A. Goris, *Les Colonies Marchandes Méridionales*, p. 53.

598

E. van Roey, *De Justo Auctuario ex Contractu Crediti*, Louvain, 1903, is an historical account of the whole controversy by a Belgian theologian, now Cardinal Primate of Belgium.

599

"Quoniam singularia quae hic sunt non subsunt determinationi scientiae, sed prudentiae relinquuntur et . . . mercatoribus timentibus Deum." (*Les Colonies Marchandes Méridionales*, p. 544.)

600

Alguns Documentos, pp. 397-398. The letter ends with this warm greeting: "te felicem ac rebus omnibus florentem quamdiutissime tueatur semperque melius provehat Christus optimus maximus."

601

Chronica, II. 631-632.

602

Paul Giovo, *De Legatione Basilii Magni Principis Moscoviae ad Clementem VII*, Basle, 1578. The statement of the Venetian Sebastian Giustiniani, is in *C. of S. P., Venetian*, vol. 2, letter of 12th May, 1517, ed. by J. S. Brewer, London, 1864.

603

Esmeraldo, p. 155.

604

Barros, III. 518 ; *A Feitoria de Flandres*, pp. 119-127. (Note 581.)

605

J. A. Williamson, *Maritime Enterprise*, 1485-1558, pp. 34, 104-110, Oxford, 1913.

606

Cal. of S. P., Venetian, II. no. 1042 and 661, ed. by R. Brown. This was called by the Portuguese the system of *alcaldamentos*, or balance of bargains.

607

Goes, II. 622-624, gives a stirring account of the fight, and of the giant German gunner who was a factor in the Portuguese victory.

608

Cal. of S. P., *Henry VIII*, ed. by J. S. Brewer, I. nos. 117, 3138-3139, 3631, 3718. For the Scotch view see *The Historie of Scotland*, II. 130, by John Leslie, the last Catholic bishop in Scotland during this century, published at Edinburgh in 1895.

609

Alguns Doc., under the date 14th Sept., 1516 ; *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts*, 1515-1574, pp. 11, 13, 14, 17 and 21.

610

Cal. of S. P., *Venetian*, 1509-1519, II. no. 1042 ; IV (1527-1533), no. 867, ed. by R. Brown.

611

J. B. Ramusio, *Delli Navigationi et Viaggi*, III. 352 ; *De Orbe Novo*, p. 200, by P. M. Anghiera, French Translation, Paris.

612

Rui de Pina (*Chronica de Elrey D. Afonso V*, c. 138, Lisbon, 1790) writes that Afonso prepared a fleet of 20 ships to chastise them in 1458, but they were hurried to meet a surprise attack from there.

613

Goes, II. c. 42 ; Osorio (II. 412) says that King Manuel set him free, when he made restitution for the damage done to Portuguese shipping, and took an oath to respect the rights of Portugal.

614

H. L. de Mendonça, *Estudos Sobre Navios Portuguezes nos Seculos XV e XVI*, p. 19, Lisbon, 1892; J. B. Freire, *A Feitoria de Flandres*, p. 94, (cfr. N.596); *Niederlandische Akten und Urkunden zur Geschichte der Hanse und sur Deutche Seegeschichte*, p. 535, by R. Hoepke, Munich, 1915. The Portuguese ships were long, light, quick sailing and stately; whilst the Flemish (meerschapen and hulques) were heavy, ungainly, but less liable to accidents.

615

British Museum, Add. MSS. 20902, *Relaçã das Naos e Armadas da India com os Successos Delles; Commentaries*, IV. 130; *Alguns Documentos*, pp. 386-387. These figures do not include the three fighting squadrons in home waters; one to defend the west coast of Portugal, another the Straits of Gibraltar, and a third the islands of the Atlantic (M.S. de Faria, *Noticias de Portugal*, disc. 2, sec. 15).

616

Cal. of S. P., *Venetian*, 1202-1509, letter dated 10th Oct., 1506, ed. by R. Brown, London, 1864; Trotter, *Short History of India*, London.

617

H. da Gama Barros, *Historia da Administração Publica em Portugal*, II. 296-300, Lisbon, 1885.

618

Barros, V. 99.

619

De Rebus Emmanuelis, III. 545. "Illius (i.e. Manuel's) aetate inopia pulsa videbatur, moestitiae locus non erat, quareimoniae silebant omnia choreis et cantibus personabant."

620

The Life of a South African Tribe, I. 402, 412, 355-358, by H. Junod.

621

Alguns Documentos, under the date 16th Feb., 1520.

622

Konrad Peutingers Briefswechsel, pp. 45-48, ed. by Erich König, Munich, 1923.

623

Tegebuch d. Lucas Rem, p. 30, ed. by J. von Grieff, Munich, 1860. We learn that Rem, who was a shareholder in the Welser firm, made an average profit of 9 per cent. per annum out of Portuguese trade, but this is small compared to the 54 per cent. made by the Fuggers in general business for the period 1511-1527 (*Zeitalter der Fugger*, I. 193-194). For the revenue of Portugal in 1528 see *Archivo Historico Portuguez*, Lisbon, 1904, vol. 2, pp. 203-206.

624

Esmeraldo, p. 152 : " ha Etiopica villa de Melinde."

625

At this time the Arabs were completely out of date ; and the best-known astronomer, in Portugal was John Müller, of Königsberg, whom Barros calls Regiomontano.

626

Esmeraldo, p. 13 ; *Strabonis Geographia*, I. 31, by C. Müller and T. Dubner.

627

The Dessinian Collection in Cape Town has an edition of this work, published at Leyden in 1626. Cfr. P. Féret, *La Faculté de Théologie de Paris*, II. 177, Paris, 1895.

628

C. Frick in his *Pomponii Melae Chorographiae* thinks that this sentence refers to the victory of Caligula in 40-1. But cfr. E. H. Bunbury in *A History of Ancient Geography*, II, 360, London, 1879.

629

An attempt to explain it as an anagram of Pacheco's first name and the King's is made by L. P. da Silva, *Historia da Colonização Portuguesa em Brazil*, I. 252-253.

630

This suggestion comes from A. E. da Silva Dias, editor of the *Esmeraldo*, p. 4-5.

631

" Ho presente tempo contem em sy esta materia," *Esmeraldo*, p. 13. Yet John Tyndall in his Belfast address (1874) could follow the dogmas of his Liberal School so blindly, as to write thus about those ages. " The seekers after natural knowledge had forsaken the fountain of living waters, the direct appeal to nature by experiment and observation " (*Lectures and Essays*, p. 18, ed. of 1903, London).

632

" Os muito halongados Reynos da India, das quaes Regioees e terras as cousas são mais doces d'ouvir que de naviguar." (P. 151.)

633

We may suppose that Pacheco's estimate is that of Pero de Alenquer in Vasco da Gama's first voyage (*Esmeraldo*, pp. 37 and 39.)

634

J. Bensuade, *Histoire de la Science Nautique Portugaise*, pp. 25 and 58, Geneva, 1917.

635

Tractatus de Globis, p. 137, ed. by C. R. Markham, London, 1889; but originally published in 1572.

636

Roteiro, ed. of Herculano and Paiva, Lisbon, 1861, pp. 3-4.

637

This is what Pacheco seems to mean by Cabo de Boa Esperança (*Esmeraldo*, p. 37).

638

The African part of this map is finely reproduced in *La Découverte de l'Afrique au Moyen Age*, vol. 2, plate 32, by C. de la Ronciére, Cairo, 1927.

639

These coloured drawings were published for the first time in 1939 by A. F. da Costa, *Roteiro da Africa do Sul*, Lisbon.

640

I suggested this in 1935 (*Europe's Discovery of South Africa*, p. 208), relying upon the descriptions of the site made by Portuguese chroniclers. But in 1936 Co. A. Fantoura da Costa marshalled the decisive evidence in *As Portas da India em* 1484, pp. 33-35, Lisbon, He also published a remarkable sketch of the site, as seen from the sea, by John de Lisboa. In 1938 Dr. Axelson unearthed the fragments of a cross. But no inscription has unfortunately emerged to clinch the argument, and no certain cross of the type used by Dias.

641

Esmeraldo, pp. 42-47.

642

In the middle of the eighteenth century, D. B. Machado (*Bibliotheca Lusitana*, sub voce D. P. Pereira, Lisbon, 1741) saw a manuscript in the library of the Marquis of Abrantes, which contained sixteen of these maps.

643

Esmeraldo, p. 77; A. Cortesão, *Cartografia e Cartógrafos Portugueses dos Seculos XV e XVI*, I. 250; Barros, dec. 1, bk. 3, c. 12.

644

F. de Sousa Viterbo, *Trabalhos Nauticos dos Portugueses*, I. 264-266.

645

Esmeraldo, p. 27; *De Occultis Proprietatibus*, by A. Luiz in 1540, cfr. J. Bensaude, *Historie de la Science Portugaise*, p. 92.

646

The Universe Around Us, p. 7, Cambridge, 1930; *Esmeraldo*, p. 127-130.

647

Two centuries before Pacheco Dante wrote, in the vernacular, what so many scholastics had said in Latin. "Nessuna scienza dimostra il proprio suggetto, ma presuppone quello" (*Il Convito*, II. 14). St. Thomas Aquinas had said with his lucid brevity. "Nihil prohibet de iisdem rebus de quibus philosophicae disciplinae tractant, secundum quod cognoscibiles sunt lumine naturalis rationis, etiam aliam scientiam tractare, secundum quod cognoscuntur lumine divinae revelationis." (*Summa Theologica*, I. q. I, art. 1 and 2).

648

Esmeraldo, pp. 42-47; *Complete Epitome of Practical Navigation*, p. 165, by J. W. Norie, London, 1864.

649

L. P. da Silva, *A Arte de Navigar dos Portugueses*, p. 97; Castanheda, I. c. 73.

650

He died in 1490. Pacheco quotes from his commentary *In Centum et Quinquaginta Psalmos Expositiones*. Tiraboschi pronounces the *quaestio* to be a forgery, but Stoppani maintains its authenticity. For the authorities on both sides cfr. O. Turri, *Dizionario Stories Manuele della Letteratura Italiana*, fr. 303, Turin, 1905.

651

This is one of the encyclopedias of the thirteenth century. Cfr. P. Féret, *La Faculte de Théologie de Paris au Moyen Âge*, II. 406-420. *Esmeraldo*, pp. 114, 79-94, where he coins the word *medios-terranos*.

652

The latest to repeat this unreal statement is G. H. T. Kimble, in a serviceable English translation published under the Portuguese title *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis*, pp. 12-13, London, 1936.

653

An account of this scientist is found in Roger Barlowe's *Brief Summe of Geographie*, Introduction, ed. by E. G. R. Taylor, Hakluyt Society, London.

654

For Froude and his school the Portuguese and Spaniards were inferior breeds of our race, a conceited theory which Englishmen of the early sixteenth century would find it impossible to understand. For the facts see *Tractatus de Globis et Eorum Usu*, pp. 3-4, ed. by C. R. Markham, Hakluyt Society, 1899.

655

A. Cortesão, *Cartógrafia e Cartógrafos*, II. 108 ; *Recollections of a Geographer*, pp. 128, by E. A. Reaves, London, 1937.

656

Geographical Journal of London, Nov., 1937, pp. 460-4, art. by Marcel Destombes.

657

A. Kammerer, *La Mer Rouge*, vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 428-430, Cairo, 1933.

658

The word is used by G. H. T. Kimble in *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis*, p. 21.

659

O. Peschel, *Geschichte der Erdkunde*, p. 26, Munich, 1865.

660

W. Vincent, *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, II. 163-164, I. 181, London, 1800 and 1805.

661

Esmeraldo, pp. 157-158. " Quando (o vento) for contrario, ha razam, ho siso, ha pratica lhe emsignara ho que se deue fazer."

662

Lusiadas, X. 23; Castanheda, bk. 1, c. 97.

663

Esmeraldo, p. 130.

664

This friendship is seen in the terms of the letter which Vespucci wrote from Cape Verde to the son of Lorenzo, when he described his meeting with the returning ships of Cabral's fleet. In regard to the authenticity of this letter, C. Malheiro Dias (*Historia da Colonização Portuguesa do Brasil*, II. 191-195) deals effectively with the objections of H. Vignaud (*Americ Vespuce*, pp. 61-65, Paris, 1918) and of others.

665

La Guerra dei Pirati, I. 182-183, Rome, 1885.

666

Beitrage zum Recht der Persönfordering Uber See im Mittelalter, pp. 339-357, by Eugen Wohlhaupter, in the "Historischer Jahrbuch, 1937.

667

Imformacion for Pylgrymes unto the Holy Lande, by Wynken de Worde in 1598, ed. by the Roxburghe Club.

668

R. Trevor Davies, *The Golden Century of Spain*, 1501-1621, p. 22, London, 1937. For Guicciardini see his *Storia d'Italia*, bk. 6, c. 3. The sixteen books of this history were published in 1534.

669

Esmeraldo, p. 30, ed. of Silva Dias. Pacheco died in 1533. In the edition of the *Esmeraldo* by R. E. de Azavedo Basto, pp. 23-24 of the Introduction (Lisbon, 1892) the King's decree is published transferring Pacheco's pension to his son.

670

Da Asia, III. 347-348.

671

The historian admits that he was also deterred "partim quorumdam hominum timidorum consiliis" (*De Rebus Emanuelis*, III. 542).

672

Goes, II. 651; D. Lopes, *Historia de Arzila Durante o Dominio Portugues*, pp. 15-18, 94, 114, 165, 464.

673

Alguns Documentos, pp. 516-518; Faria e Sousa, *Africa Portuguesa*, c. 7; Goes, pt. 3, c. 46.

674

Osorio, III. 544; C. R. Acenheiro, *Chronica dos Senhores Reis de Portugal*, p. 343, Lisbon, 1824, but first published in 1535.

675

Chapter 17 of Κλαυδίου Πτολεμαίου γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις, ed. by C. Muller, Paris, 1883. Ptolemy tells us that his information about the east coast of Africa, which he calls Azania, was obtained partly from Marinus of Tyre, and partly from "the merchants sailing from Arabia Felix." Most educated men in Manuel's day believed Prasum Promontorium to be the Cape of Good Hope.

676

Barros, VI. 183; Goes, II. 652.

677

Sir F. C. Burton is grotesque when he writes of the suspicion and avarice of Manuel (*Camoens, His Life and Lusiads*, I. 304, London, 1881). Cfr. Goes, II. 641.

678

M. S. de Faria, *Vida de João de Barros*, prefaced to the ninth volume of the 1778 edition of *Da Asia*.

679

Prologo to the first volume of *Da Asia*, 1778.

680

Historia da Administração Publica em Portugal (Lisbon, 1885), I. 537-577, by H. de Gama Barros, who traces the evolution of the Cortes for the two centuries before Manuel, and its roots in the customs of the country.

681

J. de Sousa, *Documentos Arabicos Para a Historia Portuguesa*, pp. 69-73, 85-86, 123-125, Lisbon, 1790.

682

P. de Sandoval, *Vida y Hechos del Emperador Carlos Quinto* I. 263, Pamplona, 1634.

683

F. A. Corrêa, *História Económica de Portugal*, I. 90, Lisbon, 1929. But the "balance of trade" idea is a dogma which is being contested by some economists, since our experiences of the aftermath of the first World War. In *Early British Economics* (London, 1938), M. Beer suggests that "the ethical sentiment, bequeathed by medievalism, of mutual assistance and equal exchanges between the various regions of the earth" is a safer guide to the nations in their commercial intercourse than "the balance of trade" principle; which Lord Bacon first formulated and which was "the war-cry of the merchants in their struggle for the control of trade." Cfr. pp. 59, 142-143, 196, 203-208, 210.

684

This was the year when the monetary vendetta embodied in the Treaty of Versailles caused its instigators to collapse. Within ten years were fulfilled the warning prophecies of J. M. Keynes in *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*.

685

M. B. Amzalak, *Do Estudo e da Evolução das Doutrinas Económicas em Portugal*, Lisbon, 1928.

686

Chapters 7 and 23. This work is printed among the *Opuscula Philosophica et Theologica* of Aquinas, II. 1-172, Città di Castello, 1886.

687

Osorio, III. 452-459. Manuel's advice to the deputation that came to offer him the Spanish crown was perfect. He told them to be loyal to their own King, but to control his expenditure; which they could easily do, for the benefit of the people, if they championed the people's cause a little less furiously. Osorio holds that the root of the troubles of Charles V lay in the fact, that he was a Dutchman in character and education, and no true Spaniard. "A king worthy of the name should be prepared to run the gravest personal risk, rather than to overtax his people." Cfr. also W. Stubbs, *Lectures on European History*.

688

A. Sergio, *Economistas Portugueses, Século XVII*, pp. 119-120, Lisbon, 1924.

689

Da Asia, VI. 100. "Ao Portuguez não o enxovalhar, mas castigar quando o merecer."

690

D. Lopes, *Os Portugueses no Malabar*, p. 48, Lisbon, 1898.

691

F. de Almeida, *Historia da Igreja em Portugal*, tome 3, pt. I, pp. 75-76; some writers call him in error D. Fernando. He was Bishop of Dume and acting Bishop of Goa. The surname shows that he was a Spaniard.

692

J. B. Freire, *A Feitoria de Flandres*, pp. 116, 196; cfr. N.575.

693

The facsimile of a page of this important document is given by G. Schurhammer, *Die Zeitgenössischen Quellen zur Geschichte des Portugiesisch-Asiens*, Tokyo and Leipzig, plate no. 28 of the Appendix. *Da Asia*, VI. 107; *Documentos Arabicos*, p. 69.

694

India in the Fifteenth Century, ed. by R. H. Major, London, 1800.

695

It is difficult to imagine these amirs acting as Albuquerque did after beating the Persian army at Ormuz. He took the beaten boy-king in his arms "with the affection of a father rather than the severity of a victorious captain" (Barros, III. 144). Terms of peace were sworn by Albuquerque, on the Bible, and by the Persian King on the Koran.

696

Boa guerra is the Portuguese phrase.

697

Aziz Suryal Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, p. 209, London, 1893.

698

Emanuelis Portugalliae Regis Elogium, ed. with an Introduction by T. Coelho and G. Battelli.

699

H. Grisar, *Luther*, vol. 6, p. 472, London, 1917. For the brave doings at Canterbury, cfr. Cal. of S. P., *Venetian*, 1520-1526, pp. 14-20, ed. by R. Brown, London, 1869.

700

F. Duro, *Armada Espanola*, I. 396.

701

R. dos Santos, *A Torre de Belem*, Coimbra, 1922; R. Machado, *Lisboa de Quinhentos*, p. 39, Lisbon, 1937.

702

Mare Clausum, London, 1625. The 26 chapters of the first book are occupied with this general question.

703

The so-called League of Nations at Geneva is no exception to this rule, though its promotors endeavoured to create this impression by their Covenant. It was simply an alliance of the nations assembled at Versailles in 1918-1919, and tried to enforce the decisions of the three principal nations. This it did only in the few years when it had power and a certain amount of unity.

704

Ordenaçoẽs do Reino, bk. 5, tit. 112. Cfr. N.171.

705

G. P. Badger, *The Travels of Ludovico Varthema*, p. 101, Hakluyt Society, London, 1863.

706

The Portuguese Asia, I. 253, translation by J. Stevens, London, 1694-1695; Andrada, III. 447.

707

Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope, III. 34-35, ed. by H. C. V. Leibbrandt, Cape Town, 1900.

708

Preface to the second part of *Leven en Deurluchtigh Bedrijf van Don Manuel*, by F. van Hoogstraten, Rotterdam, 1663. This second volume is dedicated to the former Burgomaster Andries Soury, like the first which was published two years earlier. Two of the last verses deserve a place here, despite their length.

Emanuel, wiens loflijk leven
Hier, door een Pen die haar laurier
Verheft op't Koninklijk rapier,
Noch loffelijker word beschreven :
Een Pen die ziel was van den Staat ;
Die in beschrijving, oordeel, raad,
Berisping, losspraak en cieraden
De kroon, spant, en waar door gewis
De Prins op meer als purp're bladen,
Onsterffelijk herboren is.

Vergeefs is Marmorsteen en Jaspis
Der Vorsten daden tot een'stut,
Vergeefs is grond'loos uitgeput
Den dubb'len oever van Hidaspis :
De tijd vermaakt zich in't bescheyd
Van zulk een'prachtige ydelheyd
Hun grootheyd tot een graf te geven :
Het gras dat klimt op zulk een'troon ;
Maar die in wijs geschrift magh leven
Is van d'Onsterflijkheyd een Zoon.

Dullaart (1636-1684) or Dullaert, was both poet and painter, a pupil of Rembrandt. His collected poems did not appear until 1714.

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