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Volume 2

Gomes Eanes de Zurara

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### The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea

The publications of the Hakluyt Society (founded in 1846) made available edited (and sometimes translated) early accounts of exploration. The first series, which ran from 1847 to 1899, consists of 100 books containing published or previously unpublished works by authors from Christopher Columbus to Sir Francis Drake, and covering voyages to the New World, to China and Japan, to Russia and to Africa and India. Gomes Eannes de Zurara (c.1410–1474) was a Portuguese writer appointed to chronicle the life of Prince Henry the Navigator (1394–1460) and the expeditions he sponsored. Zurara's chronicle of the discovery of Guinea appeared in this two-volume English translation in 1896–99. The editor's introduction includes an account of the voyages of exploration along the African coast sponsored by Prince Henry until 1448, together with biographical information about the author. Volume 2 contains chapters 41–97 of the *Chronicle*.

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# The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea

VOLUME 2

GOMES EANES DE ZURARA



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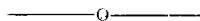
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VOL. II.

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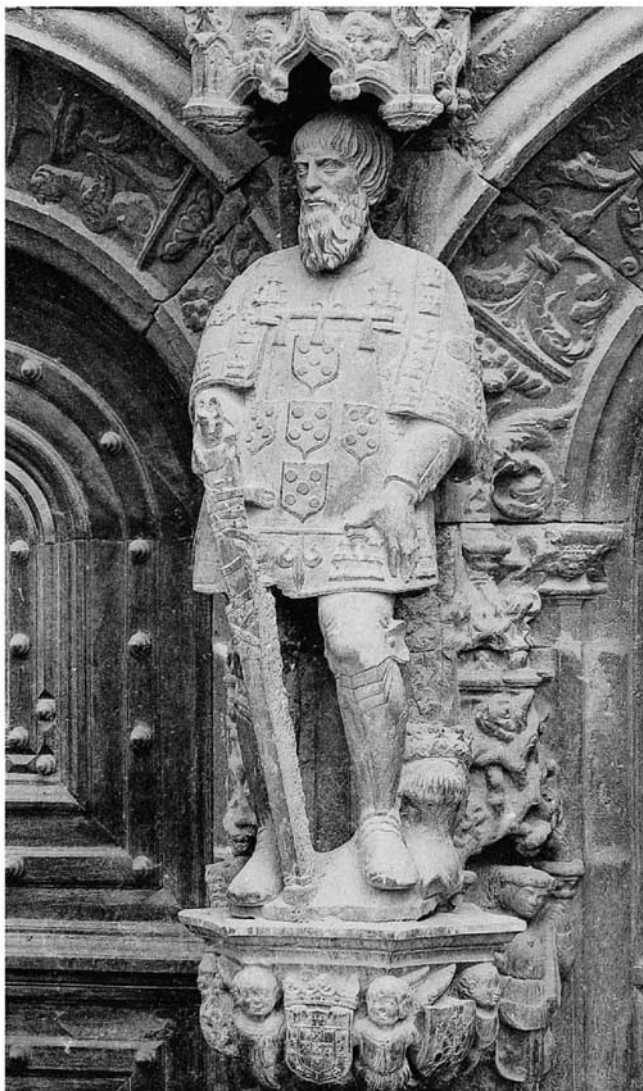
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STATUE OF  
PRINCE HENRY IN ARMOUR  
AT BELEM.

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THE CHRONICLE  
OF THE  
DISCOVERY  
AND  
CONQUEST OF GUINEA.

WRITTEN BY  
GOMES EANNES DE AZURARA ;

NOW FIRST DONE INTO ENGLISH  
BY  
CHARLES RAYMOND BEAZLEY, M.A., F.R.G.S.,  
FELLOW OF MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD ; CORRESPONDING MEMBER  
OF THE LISBON GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY ;

AND  
EDGAR PRESTAGE, B.A. OXON.,  
KNIGHT OF THE MOST NOBLE PORTUGUESE ORDER OF S. THIAGO ; CORRESPONDING  
MEMBER OF THE LISBON ROYAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES,  
THE LISBON GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, ETC.

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With an Introduction on the  
Early History of African Exploration, Cartography, etc.

LONDON :  
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## PREFATORY NOTE.

THIS Volume continues and ends the present Edition of the *Chronicle of Guinea*, the first part of which was published in 1896 (vol. xcv of the Hakluyt Society's publications). Here we have again to acknowledge the kind advice and help of various friends, particularly of Senhor Batalha Reis and Mr. William Foster. As to the Maps which accompany this volume: the sections of Andrea Bianco, 1448, and of Fra Mauro, 1457-9, here given, offer some of the best examples of the cartography of Prince Henry's later years in relation to West Africa. These ancient examples are supplemented by a new sketch-map of the discoveries made by the Portuguese seamen during the Infant's lifetime along the coast of the Dark Continent. The excellent photograph of Prince Henry's statue from the great gateway at Belem is the work of Senhor Camacho. As to the Introduction and Notes, it is hoped that attention has been given to everything really important for the understanding of Azurara's text; but the Editors have avoided such treatment as belongs properly to a detailed history of geographical advance during this period.

C. R. B.

E. P.

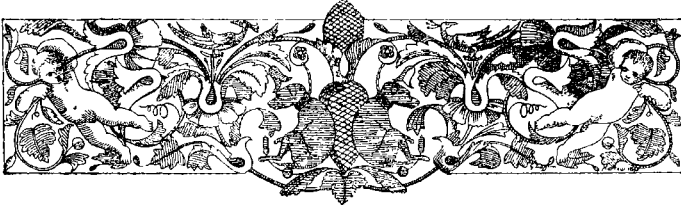
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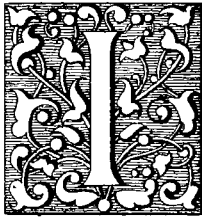
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## INTRODUCTION.

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IN this it may be well to summarise briefly, for the better illustration of the *Chronicle* here translated, not only the life of Prince Henry of Portugal, surnamed the Navigator, but also various questions suggested by Prince Henry's work, *e.g.*—The history of the Voyages along the West African coast and among the Atlantic islands, encouraged by him and recorded by Azurara; The History of the other voyages of Prince Henry's captains, not recorded by Azurara; The attempts of navigators before Prince Henry, especially in the fourteenth century, to find a way along West Africa to the Indies; The parallel enterprises by land from the Barbary States to the Sudan, across the Sahara; The comparative strength of Islam and Christianity in the Africa of Prince Henry's time; The State of Cartographical Knowledge in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and its relation to the new

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Portuguese discoveries; The question of the "School of Sagres," said to have been instituted by the Navigator for the better training of mariners and map-makers.

#### I.—THE LIFE OF PRINCE HENRY.

Henry, Duke of Viseu, third<sup>1</sup> son of King John I of Portugal, surnamed the Great, founder of the House of Aviz, and of Philippa of Lancaster, daughter of John of Gaunt and niece of King Edward III of England, was born on March 4th, 1394.

We are told by Diego Gomez,<sup>2</sup> who in 1458 sailed to the West Coast of Africa in the service of Prince Henry, and made a discovery of the Cape Verde islands, that in 1415 John de Trasto was sent by the Prince on a voyage of exploration, and reached "Telli," the "fruitful" district of Grand Canary. Gomez here gives us the earliest date assigned by any authority of the fifteenth century for an expedition of the Infant's; but in later times other statements were put forward, assigning 1412 or even 1410 as the commencement of his exploring activity. This would take us back to a time when the Prince was but sixteen or eighteen years old; and though it is probable enough that

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<sup>1</sup> Fifth, counting two children who died in infancy.

<sup>2</sup> As repeated by Martin Behaim (see Major, *Henry Navigator*, pp. 64, 65). Gomez was Almojarife, or superintendent, of the Palace of Cintra.

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Portuguese vessels may have sailed out at this time (as in 1341) to the Canaries or along the West African coast, it is not probable that Henry took any great share in such enterprise before the Ceuta expedition of 1415. In any case, it is practically certain that before 1434, no Portuguese ship had passed beyond Cape Bojador. Gil Eannes' achievement of that year is marked by Azurara and all our best authorities as a decided advance on any previous voyage, at least of Portuguese mariners. We shall consider presently how far this advance was anticipated by other nations, and more particularly by the French. Cape Non, now claimed by some as the southernmost point of Marocco, had been certainly passed by Catalan and other ships<sup>1</sup> before Prince Henry's day; but it had not been forgotten how rhyme and legend had long consecrated this point as a fated end of the world. Probably it was still (c. 1415) believed by many in Portugal—

“Quem passar o Cabo de Não  
Ou tornara, ou não.”

and the Venetian explorer, Cadamosto, preserves a mention of its popular derivation in Southern Europe from the Latin “Non,” “as beyond it was believed there was no return possible.” The real form was probably the Arabic Nun or “Fish.”<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Some of which had reached at least as far as Cape Bojador, as depicted on the Catalan Map of 1375.

<sup>2</sup> So Zul-nun, Lord of the Fish, is a term for the prophet Jonah (see Burton, *Camoëns*, iii, p. 246).

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Prince Henry's active share in the work of exploration is usually dated only from the Conquest of Ceuta. Here we are told in one of our earliest authorities (Diego Gomez) he gained information, from Moorish prisoners, merchants, and other acquaintance "of the passage of traders from the coasts of Tunis to Timbuktu and to Cantor on the Gambia, which led him to seek those lands by the way of the sea;" and, to come to details, he was among other things, "told of certain tall palms growing at the mouth of the Senegal [or Western Nile], by which he was able to guide the caravels he sent out to find that river." It will be important hereafter to examine the evidence which had been accumulated for such belief up to the fifteenth century : now it will be enough to say : 1. That Prince Henry was probably of the same opinion as the ordinary cartographer of his time about the peninsular shape of Africa. 2. That the "shape" in question was usually satisfied with what we should now call the Northern half of the Continent, making the Southern coast of "Guinea" continue directly to the Eastern, Abyssinian, or Indian Ocean. 3. That trade had now (c. 1415) been long maintained between this "Guinea coast" and the Mediterranean seaboard—chiefly by Moorish caravans across the Sahara. 4. That something, though little, was known in Western Christendom about the Christian faith and king of Abyssinia ; for "Prester John's" story in the fifteenth century had really become a blend of rumours from

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Central (Nestorian) Asia and Eastern (Abyssinian) Africa.

In Prince Henry's work we may distinguish three main objects—scientific, patriotic, and religious. First of all he was a discoverer, for the sake of the new knowledge then beginning. He was interested in the exploration of the world in general, and of the sea-route round Africa to India in particular. Dinis Diaz, returning from his discovery of Cape Verde (*Az.*, ch. xxxi.), brought home a “booty not so great as had arrived in the past,” but “the Infant thought it very great indeed, since it came from that land”, and he proportioned his rewards to exploration rather than to trade profits. Nuno Tristam in 1441 (*Az.*, ch. xiii.) reminds Antam Gonçalves that “for 15 years” the Infant has “striven . . . to arrive at . . . certainty as to the people of this land, under what law or lordship they do live.”

Azurara, though always more prone to emphasize the emotional than the scientific, himself assigns as the first reason for the Infant's discoveries, his “wish to know the land that lay beyond the isles of Canary and that cape called Bojador, for that up to his time, neither by writings nor by the memory of man, was known with any certainty the nature of the land” (*Az.*, ch. vii.).

Again, Henry was founding upon his work of exploration an over-sea dominion, a “commercial and colonial” empire for his country. He desired to see her rich and prosperous, and there cannot be any reasonable doubt that his ideas agreed with

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those of Italian land and sea travellers in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. He and they were agreed in thinking it possible and very important to secure a large share of Asiatic, especially of Indian, trade for their respective countries. By exploring and making practicable the maritime route around Africa to the Indies, he would probably raise Portugal into the wealthiest of European nations. Azurara's "second reason" for the "search after Guinea" is that "many kinds of merchandise might be brought to this realm . . . and also the products of this realm might be taken there, which traffic would bring great profit to our countrymen."

Thirdly, Prince Henry had the temperament of a Crusader and a missionary. Of him, fully as much as of Columbus, it may be said that if he aimed at empire, it was for the extension of Christendom. Azurara's three final reasons for Henry's explorations all turn upon this. The Prince desired to find out the full strength of the Moors in Africa, "said to be very much greater than commonly supposed," "because every wise man" desires "a knowledge of the power of his enemy." He also "sought to know if there were in those parts any Christian princes" who would aid him against the enemies of the faith. And, lastly, he desired to "make increase in the faith of Jesus Christ, and to bring to Him all the souls that should be saved."

It has often been pointed out how the Infant was aided in his work by the tendencies of his time and country; how in him the spirit of mediæval

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faith and the spirit of material, even of commercial, ambition, were united; how he was the central representative of a general expansive and exploring movement; and how he took up and carried on the labours of various predecessors. At the same time it must be recognised that his work forms an epoch in the history of geographical, commercial, and colonial advance; that he gave a permanence and a vitality to the cause of maritime discovery which it had never possessed before; that even his rediscoveries of islands and mainland frequently had all the meaning and importance of fresh achievements; that he made his nation the pioneer of Europe in its conquest of the outer world; and that without him the results of the great forty years (1480-1520) of Diaz, Columbus, Da Gama, and Magellan must have been long, might have been indefinitely, postponed.

Barros (*Decade I*, i, 2) tells us a story, probable enough, about the inception of the Infant's plans of discovery. He relates how one night, after much meditation, he lay sleepless upon his bed, thinking over his schemes, till at last, as if seized with a sudden access of fury, he leapt up, called his servants, and ordered some of his *barcas* to be immediately made ready for a voyage to the south along the coast of Marocco. His court was astonished, and attributed this outburst to a divine revelation. It was natural enough—the resolution of a man, weary with profound and anxious thought, to take some sort of decisive action, to embark without



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further delay on the realisation of long-cherished schemes.

To summarise the course of the Prince's life, from 1415, before entering on any discussion of special points: After the Conquest of Ceuta he returned to Portugal; was created Duke of Viseu and Lord of Covilham (1415), having already received his knighthood at "Septa"; and began to send out regular exploring ventures down the West Coast of Africa—"two or three ships" every year beyond Cape Non, Nun, or Nam. In 1418 he successfully went to the help of the Governor of Ceuta against the Moors of Marocco and Granada.<sup>1</sup> On this second return from Africa, when in 1419 he was created Governor of the Algarve or southmost province of Portugal, he is supposed by some to have taken up his residence at Sagres,<sup>2</sup> near Cape St. Vincent, and to have begun the establishment of a school of cartography and navigation there. All this, however, is disputed by others, as is the

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<sup>1</sup> On this occasion he planned, but did not attempt, the seizure of Gibraltar.

<sup>2</sup> Sagres, from "Sacrum Promontorium," the ordinary name of Cape St. Vincent in the later classical Geography; "à 91 Kilom. Ouest de Faro, . . . sur un cap, à 4,500 metres E.S.E. du Cap St. Vincent" (Viv. St. Martin). The harbour is sandy, protected from the N.-W. winds. A Druid temple stood there, and the Iberians of the Roman time assembled there at night. It was a barren cape, its only natural vegetation a few junipers. O. Martins (*Filhos de D. João I*, p. 77), suggests that the name of *Sagres* did not come into ordinary use till after the Prince's death, 1460.

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tradition of his having established Chairs of Mathematics and Theology at Lisbon.<sup>1</sup>

In 1418-20, however, his captains, João Gonçalves Zarco and Tristram Vaz Teixeira, certainly re-discovered Porto Santo and Madeira.<sup>2</sup> In 1427, King John and Prince Henry seem to have sent the royal pilot, Diego de Sevil, to make new discoveries in the Azores; and, in 1431-2, Gonçalo Velho Cabral made further explorations among the same; but the completer opening up and settlement of the Archipelago was the work of later years, especially of 1439-66. We shall return to this matter in a special discussion of Prince Henry's work among the Atlantic islands. To the same

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<sup>1</sup> In 1431 he is said to have purchased house-room for the University of Lisbon; on March 25th, 1448, to have established there a professorship of theology; and on September 22, 1460, to have confirmed this by a charter dated from his Town at Sagres. The Professor was to have twelve marks in silver every Christmas from the tithes of the Island of Madeira (see Azurara, *Guinea*, c. v). As to the Chair of Mathematics, we only know that it existed in 1435; that the Infant was interested in this study; and that tradition connected him with a somewhat similar foundation at Sagres. The houses purchased in Lisbon for the University were bought of João Annes, the King's Armourer, for 400 crowns. Hence, according to some, came the Prince's title of "Protector of Portuguese Studies."

<sup>2</sup> O. Martins thinks these island discoveries were a surprise to Henry, who at first only contemplated discovery along the mainland coast South and East towards India. We do not believe in this limitation of view (see Barros, *Dec. I*, Lib. 1, c. 2, 3).

The previous voyage of the Englishman Macham to the "Isle of Wood" ("Legname" on the fourteenth-century Portolani) is another controversial matter which must be taken separately.

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we must refer the traditional purchase of the Canaries in 1424-5 and the settlement of Madeira in the same year,<sup>1</sup> confirmed by charters of 1430 and 1433. King John, on his death-bed, is said to have exhorted Henry to persevere in his schemes, which he was at this very time pursuing by means of a fresh expedition to round Cape Bojador, under Gil Eannes (1433). Azurara from this point becomes our chief authority down to the year 1448, and this and the subsequent voyages are fully described in his pages. Gil Eannes, unsuccessful in 1433,<sup>2</sup> under the stimulus of the Infant's reproaches and appeals passed Cape Bojador in 1434;<sup>3</sup> and next summer (1435) the Portuguese reached the Angra dos Ruyvos (Gurnet Bay), 150 miles beyond Bojador, and the Rio do Ouro, 240 miles to the south. Early in 1436 the "Port of Gallee," a little North of C. Branco (Blanco), was discovered by Baldaya, but as yet no natives were found; no captives, gold dust, or other products brought home. Exploration along the African mainland languished from this year till 1441;<sup>4</sup> but in 1437 the Prince took part in

<sup>1</sup> Zarco and Vaz became Captains Donatory or Feudal Underlords of Madeira, as Bartholemew Perestrello (whose daughter Columbus married) of Porto Santo.

<sup>2</sup> It has been shewn, *e.g.*, by the British Admiralty Surveys, that the old stories of dangerous reefs and currents at Bojador, "such as might well have frightened the boldest mariner of that time," are unfounded, like the old belief in strong Satanic influence at this point.

<sup>3</sup> 1432, according to Galvano (see Barros, *I*, i, 4).

<sup>4</sup> Till 1440, according to the opposition chronology of O. Martins.

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the fatal attack on Tangier, and in 1438 the death of King Edward caused a dispute over the question of the Regency during the minority of his young son Affonso. Throughout these internal troubles Henry played an important part, successfully supporting the claims of his brother Pedro against the Queen-mother, Leonor of Aragon. All this caused a break of three or four years in the progress of his discoveries; but the colonisation of the Azores went forward, as is shown by the license of July 2, 1439, from Affonso V, to people "the seven islands" of the group, then known.

In 1441<sup>1</sup> exploration began again in earnest with the voyage of Antam Gonçalves, who brought to Portugal the first native "specimens"—captives and gold dust—from the coasts beyond Bojador; while Nuno Tristam in the same year pushed on to Cape Blanco. These decisive successes greatly strengthened the cause of discovery in Portugal, especially by offering fresh hopes of mercantile profit. In 1442 Nuno Tristam reached the Bight or Bay of Arguim,<sup>2</sup> where the Infant erected a fort in 1448, and where for some years the Portuguese made their most vigorous and successful slave-raids.

<sup>1</sup> O. Martins dates *Porto do Cavalleiro*, 1440; *C. Branco*, 1442.

<sup>2</sup> *Aliter*, 1443 (Barros, *I*, i, 7) or 1444 (Galvano, who apparently dates the discovery of the Rio do Ouro 1443). See, in this connection, Affonso V's Charters of October 22, 1433, and February 3, 1446, granted to Prince Henry. In 1442 the Infant was created a Knight of the Garter of England. He was the 153rd Knight of the Order; and his collar descended, through many holders, to the late Earl of Clarendon.

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Private venturers now began to come forward, supplementing Prince Henry's efforts by volunteer aid, for which his permission<sup>1</sup> was readily granted. Especially the merchants and seamen of Lisbon and of Lagos, close to Sagres, showed interest in this direction. Whatever doubts exist as to the earlier alleged settlement of the Infant at Cape St. Vincent, it is certain that after his return from Tangier (1437) he erected various buildings<sup>2</sup> at Sagres, and resided there during a considerable part of his later life. This fact is to be connected with the new African developments at Lagos.<sup>3</sup>

In 1444 and 1445 a number of ships sailed with Henry's license to "Guinea," and several of their commanders achieved notable successes. Thus Dinis Diaz, Nuno Tristam, and others reached the Senegal. Diaz rounded Cape Verde in 1445,<sup>4</sup> and in 1446 Alvaro Fernandez sailed on as far as the River Gambia (?) and the Cape of Masts (Cabo dos Mastos). In 1445, also, João Fernandez spent seven months among the natives of the Arguim coast, and brought back the first trustworthy account of a part of the interior. Gonçalo de Sintra and Gonçalo Pacheco, in 1445, and Nuno Tristam in 1446,<sup>5</sup> fell victims to the hostility of the Moors

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<sup>1</sup> Necessary by decree of the Regent Pedro, for any "Guinea" or African voyage (Azurara, *Guinea*, ch. xv).

<sup>2</sup> Especially a palace, a church or chapel, and an observatory.

<sup>3</sup> Which seems to have shown the way, in this respect, to its greater sister, Lisbon. <sup>4</sup> 1454 in O. Martins.

<sup>5</sup> 1447, according to Barros (*I*, i, 14) and Galvano.

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and Negroes, who, perhaps, felt some natural resentment against their new visitors. For, in Azurara's estimate, the Portuguese up to the year 1446 had carried off 927 captives from these parts; and the disposition and conversion of these prisoners occupied a good portion of the Infant's time. He probably relied on finding efficient material among these slaves for the further exploration and Christianization of the Coast, and even of the Upland. We know that he used some of them as guides and interpreters.<sup>1</sup>

One of the latest voyages recorded by Azurara is that of "Vallarte the Dane" (1448), which ended in utter destruction near the Gambia, after passing Cape Verde. The chronicler, though writing in 1453, does not continue his record beyond this year, 1448; his promise to give us the remainder of the Infant's achievements in a second chronicle seems never to have been fulfilled; and his descriptions of Madeira and the Canaries, in the latter part of the *Chronicle of Guinea*, are unfortunately of only slight value for the history of discovery. Yet, before the Prince's death in 1460<sup>2</sup> and in the last six years of his life, several voyages of some importance prove that Azurara's silence is merely accidental. Cadamosto's two journeys of

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Azurara, *Guinea*, chs. xiii, xvi.

<sup>2</sup> *Aliter* 1462 or 1463 (Galvano and Barros, who also date the discovery of C. Verde and the Senegal by "Dinis Fernandez," 1446: Barros, *I*, i, 9, 13); but this date is certainly incorrect.

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1455-6, and Diego Gomez' ventures of 1458-60, advanced West African discovery almost to Sierra Leone. The former, a Venetian seaman in the service of Prince Henry, also explored part of the courses of the Senegal and the Gambia and gained much information about the native tribes. One of his chief exploits, an alleged discovery of the Cape Verde islands, has been disputed in the name of Diego Gomez, who in 1458-60 twice sailed to Guinea, and on the second voyage "sighted islands in the Ocean, to which no man had come before." We postpone this point for further examination, only adding that we believe Cadamosto's prior claim to be sound, although the islands in question do not appear in any document before 1460.

Meanwhile the Prince, when his explorations (from 1441) first began to promise important results, obtained from Pope Eugenius IV a plenary indulgence to those who shared in the war against the Moors consequent on the new discoveries,<sup>1</sup> and from the Regent D. Pedro he also gained a donation of the Royal Fifth on the profits accruing from the new lands, as well as the sole right of permitting voyages to these parts. The Infant's work, was moreover, recognised in bulls of Nicholas V (1455) and of Calixtus III (March 13th, 1456). In earlier life—apparently soon after the capture

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<sup>1</sup> Barros and Galvano make Prince Henry obtain Indulgences from Pope Martin [V, who reigned 1417-31] in 1441-2, by the embassy of Fernam Lopez d'Azevedo (see p. xv).

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of Ceuta and the embassy of Manuel Palæologus asking for help against the Turks—he had been invited, Azurara tells us, by a predecessor<sup>1</sup> of the Pontiffs above-named to take command of the “Apostolic armies,” and similar invitations reached him from the Emperor of Germany,<sup>2</sup> the King of England (Henry V or VI)<sup>3</sup> and the King of Castille.<sup>4</sup> We may also briefly notice in this place, referring to a later page for a more detailed treatment of the subject, that the Infant, in 1445 and 1446, repeated his earlier attempts (in 1424 and 1425) to secure the Canaries for Portugal, both by means of purchase and of armed force; and that, from 1444-5 especially, he colonised, as well as discovered, and traded with increased energy in the Madeira Group, the Azores, and (if his experiment at Arguim in 1448 may stand as an example) even on the mainland coast of Africa.

The Infant's share in home politics was considerable, but this is not the place to discuss it at any length. It is probably a correct surmise that his ultimate ambition on this side was to detach Portugal as far as possible from Spain and Peninsular interests, and by making her a world-power at and over sea, to give her that importance she could never of herself acquire in strictly European politics. We have already noticed that after the victory of Ceuta he seems to have been made Governor for

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<sup>1</sup> Martin V?

<sup>2</sup> Sigismund?

<sup>3</sup> Henry VI made the Infant a Knight of the Garter, and is more likely than the conquering Henry V to have asked a foreign Prince to aid him against the French.

<sup>4</sup> John II.



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life of the Algarve province<sup>1</sup> of Portugal, by his father King John (1419); that he was a leading promoter of the scheme for the Tangier campaign of 1437;<sup>2</sup> and that after the death of his brother King Edward (Duarte), the successor of King John (September, 1438), he supported the claims of his eldest surviving brother, Pedro, as regent and guardian of the young Affonso V, and by his wise counsels effected a reconciliation with Affonso's mother Leonor, acting for a time as partner in a Council of Regency with Pedro and the Queen. Further, it must be said that, in 1447, when a long succession of differences between D. Pedro and his royal ward ended in an armed rising of the former against "evil Counsellors," Henry stood by the Sovereign, and took, if not an active, at least a passive part in overthrowing the insurrection, which was ended by the battle of Alfarrobiera (May 21st, 1449). Finally, it is recorded that "the Navigator" somewhat recovered the military honour he had compromised at Tangier, by his successes in the

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<sup>1</sup> Technically "kingdom."

<sup>2</sup> The "Marocco Campaigns" of 1418, 1437, 1458, etc., were apparently considered by Prince Henry as only another side of his coasting explorations and projected conquests. Having then no idea of the enormous southerly projection of Africa, he probably aspired to a Portuguese North African dominion, which should control the Continent. For Guinea, in the ideas of the time, was commonly supposed to be quite close to Marocco on the south-west and west. Apparently, soon after 1437, Henry was just starting on another Moorish expedition, when the King and Council "hindered the voyage" (see Az., ch. v, p. 20 of our version).

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African expeditions of Affonso V, especially at the capture of Alcacer the Little in 1458; in this last year he received his Sovereign in due form at or near Sagres, before sailing for “Barbary.” His traditional but on the whole credible work as Protector of the Studies of Portugal has been alluded to already, in connection with his alleged foundation of professorships of mathematics and theology in the University of Lisbon, and of a school of nautical instruction and of cosmography at Sagres. This point, however, will be reconsidered in a following section.<sup>1</sup>

It is perhaps in his connection with the fall of D. Pedro that the severest criticism has been passed upon Henry the Navigator. “Genius is pitiless” it has been said; and the action of the younger brother has been blamed as a piece of ruthlessness and ingratitude, though extolled by Azurara as a proof of loyalty under temptation. It may have seemed to him impossible to support any rebellion, however justified, against royal authority, or even to take the position of a neutral, when the central government of his country was on its trial. Our sympathies are usually with Pedro, as the most wise, liberal, and learned of his people—with one exception—and as the victim of the intrigues of courtiers, especially of King John’s bastard son, the Count of Barcellos and Duke of Braganza; but the Governor of Algarve parted for ever from his favourite brother

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<sup>1</sup> “School of Sagres,” etc.

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when he took up arms to right himself; and perhaps he was not more wrong than the people of England in refusing to allow the nobles of the Tudor time to dictate to even the most despotic of our more modern English sovereigns.<sup>1</sup>

The Infant was, among his other dignities, Master of the Order of Christ, which, as the direct successor of the Templars in Portugal, held a very high rank, and was, by its “artificial ancestry,” as Hobbes would have said, one of the most ancient Orders in Christendom. Henry’s father, King John, had been also at one time Head of an Order of Chivalry, the Knights of Aviz; but on coming to the throne he had obtained a dispensation from his vow of celibacy as Master, a dispensation which his son never required. The banner of this Order seems to have floated over most if not all of Prince Henry’s African expeditions; in its name he required the aid of Pope Eugenius IV; its special duty—military order as it was in origin—should have been to spread the Christian faith in Moslem and heathen Africa: perhaps its work was considered to extend only to the slaying of Moslems, or Moormen, and the bringing back

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<sup>1</sup> It has been suggested, *e.g.*, by Sir C. Markham, that the portrait of the Infant in mourning dress prefixed to the Paris MS. of Azurara represents him immediately after the death of D. Pedro. It is perhaps more likely a mark of sorrow for D. Fernand, the Constant Prince, who died in his Moorish captivity, June 5th, 1443, and whose heart was conveyed to Portugal, June 1st, 1451, and buried at Batalha, Prince Henry joining the funeral procession at Thomar.

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to Europe of heathen Africans who could be reared as Christians in Portugal. No mission to preach the faith seems to have been undertaken by the Fraternity. Upon this Order the Prince bestowed the tithes of the Island of St. Michael in the Azores, and one half of its sugar revenues; also the tithes (afterwards reduced to the twentieth) of all merchandise from Guinea, as well as the ecclesiastical dues of Porto Santo, Madeira, and the Desertas. The Prince's nephew, D. Fernando, succeeded him (in 1460) in the Mastership of the Order of Christ.<sup>1</sup>

It has sometimes been said that the Infant Henry was also titular King of Cyprus. This assertion is derived from Fr. Luiz de Souza (*Historia de S. Domingos*, Bk. VI., fol. 331) and José Suares de Silva (*Memoirs of King João I.*), who tell us that the Prince was elected King of Cyprus. But this "Kingdom" remained in the posterity of Guy de Lusignan till 1487; and the mistake has probably arisen from a confusion of Henry, Prince of Galilee, son of James I., King of Cyprus, with Prince Henry of Portugal.<sup>2</sup>

In prosecuting his explorations, Prince Henry incurred heavy expenses. His own revenues were not sufficient, and he was obliged to borrow largely. Thus, in 1448, he owed his bastard half-brother,

<sup>1</sup> Already, in 1451, Henry had designated him as his heir.

<sup>2</sup> Santarem corrects this; see note in Major's *Henry Navigator*, p. 306. So Azurara's allusion, "No other *uncrowned* prince in Europe had so noble a household."—*Guinea*, ch. iv.

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the Duke of Braganza, 19394 $\frac{1}{2}$  crowns of gold, to pay which he had pledged his lands and goods; and this debt was afterwards increased by 16084 crowns, as stated in the declaration of the Duke of Braganza, November 8, 1449, and in the will of the same nobleman. These debts were partly paid by his nephew and adopted son, D. Fernando, and partly by Fernando's son, D. Manuel.

VOYAGES OF PRINCE HENRY'S SEAMEN ALONG  
THE WEST AFRICAN COAST.

*(Not recorded by Azurara.)*

Prince Henry's work was, above all, justified by its permanence. Unlike earlier ancient and mediæval attempts at West African exploration, his movement issued in complete success. Azurara gives us, no doubt, a fairly complete account of the earlier stages of that movement, but it is probable that even his record omits some of the ventures undertaken from Portugal along the West African mainland; while it is certain that we must look elsewhere for a completer picture of the Infant's activity among the Atlantic Islands and in the Great Ocean. These additional sources of information must be examined in turn. First of all, it will be advisable to finish the chronicle of West African coasting down to the Navigator's death. After that, the triumphant prosecution of this line of advance to the Cape of Good Hope will call for a brief notice. And, thirdly, something must be said about the progress of

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discovery and colonisation in the archipelagos of Madeira, the Canaries, the Azores, and the Cape Verdes, especially considered in relation to that Westward route to India which Columbus advocated and commenced.

It has already been stated that although Azurara's Chronicle officially ends in 1453, and appears to record nothing later than the events of 1448, yet very important expeditions were sent forth in the last years of the Prince's life, especially those of Cadamosto<sup>1</sup> and Diego Gomez. An attempt has been made to prove that the second voyage of Cadamosto, on which he claimed to have discovered the Cape Verde Islands, is untruly reported and may be dismissed as fabulous. But there seems no sufficient ground for this. "In an account of travels, printed long after its author's death, some contradictory statements, possibly arising through copyists' errors, do not justify such a conclusion." And the mistakes contained in the assailed narrative are not serious or unexplainable enough for rejecting it as a whole.<sup>2</sup> Luigi, Alvise, or Aloysius, da Ca da

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<sup>1</sup> 1507 (Vicenza) Edition, is the earliest text of Cadomosto's Voyages, printed in "Paesi novamente ritrovati et novo mondo da Alberico Vesputio Florentino intitulado." This was republished at Milan in 1508; and in this year two versions appeared: 1. In Latin, by Madrignano, "Itinerarium Portugallensium . . .," Milan. 2. In German, by Jobst Ruchamer, "Neue unbekante landte," Nürnberg. In 1516 appeared in Paris a French version by Mathurin du Redouer: "Sensuyt le nouveau monde. . . ." A good many discrepancies occur in these various editions and translations.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. xcii-xcvi of this Introduction.