

# NOTES

## *Notes for Chapter 1*

<sup>1</sup> It is generally stated, and almost certainly with truth, that Magellan himself gave the name; but there is no hard evidence. On the use of 'South Sea' or 'Pacific', note that C. de Brosses, *Histoire des Navigations aux Terres Australes* (Paris 1756), uses 'Mer du Sud' over twice as often as 'Pacifique', and in his supporting texts the ratio is seven to one. See O. H. K. Spate, "'South Sea" to "Pacific Ocean": a note on nomenclature', *Jnl Pac. Hist.* 12, 1977, 205–11.

<sup>2</sup> As cited in J. T. Medina, *El Descubrimiento del Océano Pacífico: I. Núñez de Balboa* (Santiago 1914), 92–3. Actually at this time, after the death of Isabella of Castile, Ferdinand of Aragon was Administrator of Castile for their mad daughter Juana.

<sup>3</sup> The reference is to the Korean world-map of 1402, reproduced in part as Plate CDXII (Vol. IV Part 3) in J. Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge 1971), and discussed there and in Vol. III (1959), 554–5 [*Science in China*]. Some versions show England and Ireland (Ying-chi-li Kuo and I-erh-lang-ta); all give a recognisable delineation of the Mediterranean lands. Despite some oddities—Columbus really did not need to learn of the sphericity of the earth from hypothetical traditions, through Marco Polo, of Chinese globes!—there is much useful information in K. Chang, *Chinese Great Explorers: Their Effect upon Chinese Geographic Knowledge prior to 1900* (Univ. of Michigan Ph.D. thesis 1955).

<sup>4</sup> See the discussion in F. Morales Padrón, *Historia del Descubrimiento y Conquista de América* (2nd ed., Madrid 1971), 11–14 [*Historia*].

<sup>5</sup> K. B. Cumberland, *Southwest Pacific* (Christchurch 1954), 5.

<sup>6</sup> C. W. Brooks, *Japanese Wrecks . . . in the North Pacific Ocean* (San Francisco 1876), 9–17, and a rather better treatment in H. E. Wildes, 'The Kuroshio's Toll', *Trans. Asiatic Soc. Japan* 2nd Ser. 17, 1938, 210–33. T. G. Nelson, 'Drift Voyages between eastern Asia and the Americas', *Canadian Geogr* 6, 1962, 54–9, adds little.

<sup>7</sup> For metallurgy, R. von Heine-Geldern, 'American Metallurgy and the Old World', in N. Barnard (ed.), *Early Chinese Art and its Possible Influence in the Pacific Basin* (New York 1972), III.787–822; he slides too easily from 'may have' to 'must have', and cites no Chinese documentary evidence for a traffic so active as to have made the Pacific, in his own phrase, 'a Chinese Mediterranean' (817). One can hardly follow him in the suggestion (811) that Argentinian stone tools were influenced by the Indo-Chinese Dong-son culture (1st millennium B.C.). The close contemporaneity of some developments in China and South America (790) would seem to weaken rather than strengthen his case, which is strongest on the very sophisticated technique of decorating gold work by granulation, common to both areas. Cf. in the same volume (823–41) P. Tolstoy, 'Diffusion: as Explanation and as Event', though this is perhaps more significant as a very elegant essay in methodology. For a balanced discussion see Needham, *Science in China*, IV.540–53.

<sup>8</sup> J. Golson, 'The Remarkable History of Indo-Pacific Man', *Search* (Sydney) 3, 1972, 13–21.

<sup>9</sup> 'por mares nunca dantes navegados'—Luis de Camões, *Os Lusíadas* (Lisbon 1572), I.1.

<sup>10</sup> de Menezes, on his way to govern the Portuguese stations in the Moluccas, was blown to the northwest corner of the ‘island of the Papuas’ and waited there for the monsoon—A. Sharp, *The Discovery of the Pacific Islands* (Oxford 1960), 13; G. Souter, *New Guinea: The Last Unknown* (Sydney 1963), 18. For white penetration, Souter, 181–4, and 118–24 for the German officer Hermann Detzner, who allegedly spent the entire 1914–18 war in prolonged wanderings to avoid the Australian forces which had taken Kaiser Wilhelmsland. His survival was a remarkable achievement, but he later admitted that much of his story was fictitious, and he did not anticipate the Australian patrols of the 1930s—P. Biskup, ‘Hermann Detzner: New Guinea’s First Coast Watcher’, *Jnl Papua & New Guinea Soc.* (Port Moresby) 2, 1968, 5–21.

<sup>11</sup> Barron Field, ‘The Kangaroo’ in *First Fruits of Australian Poetry* (Sydney 1819):

‘... this fifth part of the Earth,  
Which would seem an after-birth,  
Not conceived in the Beginning’

<sup>12</sup> R. Jones, ‘Emerging Picture of Pleistocene Australians’, *Nature* 246, 1973, 278–81, and in general D. J. Mulvaney, *The Prehistory of Australia* (London 1969).

<sup>13</sup> Cosmas is entertaining in small distilled doses, and is a witness of some merit for countries he had visited, from Egypt perhaps as far as Ceylon—see the translation by J. W. McCrindle, HS 2nd Ser. 98 (London 1897), and C. R. Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography* (London 1897–1906), I.273–303 [*The Dawn*]. The old error dies hard; in May 1974, while writing this chapter, I came across it twice in statements by contemporaries of wide general culture.

<sup>14</sup> A. Rainaud, *Le Continent Austral* (Paris 1893), 110 [*Austral*]. The views of the Fathers are canvassed in Beazley, *The Dawn*, I.272–83, 327–32.

<sup>15</sup> G. H. T. Kimble, *Geography in the Middle Ages* (London 1938), 37 [*Geography*]; cf. E. G. R. Taylor, *Ideas on the Shape, Size and Movements of the Earth* (London 1943).

<sup>16</sup> Beazley, *The Dawn*, III.501–2.

<sup>17</sup> Rainaud, *Austral*, 124; cf. note 13 above.

<sup>18</sup> The texts quoted are *Psalms* 93.1, *Job* 26.7, *Isaiah* 40.22, *Mark* 16.15.

<sup>19</sup> E. H. Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography* (2nd ed., London 1883; reprint, New York 1959), I.125, II.228 [*History*]; Rainaud, *Austral*, 19–23 for classical and 128–65 for mediaeval times; numerous references in Beazley, *The Dawn*, but especially I.343–73.

<sup>20</sup> Kimble, *Geography*, 84–8; Rainaud, *Austral*, 145–6.

<sup>21</sup> M. Letts, *Mandeville’s Travels: Texts and Translations*, HS 2nd. Ser. 101 (London 1953), 129; cf. 204–17, 333–4, and E. G. R. Taylor’s introduction on ‘The Cosmographical Ideas of Mandeville’s Day’, li–lix. On the book’s popularity, see A. D. Greenwood in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, 1907–16, II.78–9, 82–3. There is a good discussion in A. Cortesão, *History of Portuguese Cartography* (Lisbon 1969–71), I.302–5 [*Cartography*]. The first volume of this masterly work is in effect a history of European cartography from the earliest times to Marco Polo, and is relevant to many topics in this chapter.

<sup>22</sup> S. T. Coleridge, *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*. There is an engaging assortment of monsters and other Perils of the Deep in J. L. Lowes, *The Road to Xanadu* (revised ed., Boston 1927), 116–20.

<sup>23</sup> Beazley, *The Dawn*, I.394, 465 and II.419, 533. The ‘hand of Satan’ tale may be the legend of a legend: Rainaud refers it to P. Denis, *Le Monde Enchanté* (Paris 1843), 121—but while Denis knows his way about the obscure literature of marvels, he gives no specific reference. (There is an undated modern reprint of his book put out by Burt Franklin, New York.) The mysterious Atlantic isle ‘de la man de Saranaxio’ is discussed in Rainaud, *Austral*, 165, and in more detail by A. Cortesão, *The Nautical Chart of 1424* (Coimbra 1954), 74–6. This is now more accessible in the third volume of his *Esparsos* (Coimbra 1974–5)—see 134–6 for the rejection of Armand d’Avezac’s intriguing

conflation of Satan with St Athanasius! Of course, it was probably not such tales which kept the Arabs of the Maghreb from sailing to Guinea, but rather the lack of economic motive—they had the caravan routes across the Sahara; cf. E. G. R. Taylor, *The Haven-Finding Art* (London 1956), 130 [*Haven-Finding*].

<sup>24</sup> E. Prestage, *The Portuguese Pioneers* (London 1933), 54-6 [*Pioneers*]. But the Catalan Atlas of 1375 represents the African coast beyond Cape Bojador—V. M. Godinho, *L'Économie de l'Empire Portugais aux XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècles* (Paris 1969), 29, 52 [*Économie*].

<sup>25</sup> Kimble, *Geography*, 8-10, 48-9; Rainaud, *Austral*, 114.

<sup>26</sup> D. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe* (Chicago 1965), I.67-9 [*Asia*].

<sup>27</sup> The Alexandrian authenticity of the Ptolemaic maps is strongly impugned by L. Bagrow, 'The Origin of Ptolemy's Geographia', *Geografiska Annaler* (Stockholm) 27, 1945, 319-87; and cf. his *History of Cartography*, translated and enlarged by R. A. Skelton (London 1964), 34-6. But their likely Byzantine origin is not greatly to the point—what matters is what the fifteenth century accepted as being on Ptolemy's authority.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. below, Ch. 2; also B. Penrose, *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance 1420-1620* (Cambridge (Mass.) 1952) [*Travel*] and L. Wroth, 'The Early Cartography of the Pacific', *Papers Biblio. Soc. of America*, 38 No. 2 (New York 1944), 87-268, at 91-103 [*'Cartography'*].

<sup>29</sup> Ptolemy's figure was 180,000 stadia against Eratosthenes' 252,000; there is no certainty as to the length of the stadium used by the latter, but on one value he may have been only about 1 per cent out—G. Sarton, *A History of Science* (Cambridge (Mass.) 1959), II.103-6; M. R. Cohen and I. E. Drabkin, *A Source Book in Greek Science* (New York 1948), 149-53.

<sup>30</sup> Bunbury, *History*, I.627; *The Geography of Strabo*, trans. H. L. Jones (Loeb ed., London 1917), 241.

<sup>31</sup> Kimble, *Geography*, 8-9, 86-7, 210; Cortesão, *Cartography*, I.191-8.

<sup>32</sup> Kimble, *Geography*, 208-12; J. H. Parry, *The Age of Reconnaissance* (Mentor ed., New York 1964), 25-9 [*Reconnaissance*]. In the fifteenth century, influential supporters of a seaway to Cathay and the Indies included Pope Pius II (Aeneas Sylvius) and of course Toscanelli, who at Columbus's request sent him a copy of his letter of 1474 addressed to Afonso V of Portugal, which in S. E. Morison's phrase became 'Exhibit A' for Columbus. The latter also studied d'Ailly's works with meticulous care, and whether his still-extant marginalia, picking out every hint which might bolster his case, were made before or after his first voyage seems scarcely to affect the issue—Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea* (Boston 1942), 33-5, 64-9, 92-4, in my opinion a reasonably strong case for the earlier date. For a different view see C. Jane's introduction on 'The objectives of Columbus' in his *Select Documents illustrating the Four Voyages of Columbus*, HS 2nd Ser. 65 and 70 (London 1930), 1933—a beautifully written essay on 'History in the Subjunctive Mood', which in this context may be the right mood.

<sup>33</sup> Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 68; A. von Humboldt, *Cosmos* (London 1864), II.645; cf. R. A. Skelton, *The European Image and the Mapping of America* (Minneapolis 1964), 12-16.

<sup>34</sup> Prestage, *Pioneers*, 16, 32; J. A. Williamson (ed.), *The Cabot Voyages . . .*, HS 2nd Ser. 120 (Cambridge 1962), 5-7. Cortesão, *Cartography*, I.295-7 is full and decisive.

<sup>35</sup> J. H. Parry, *The European Reconnaissance* (New York 1968), 16.

<sup>36</sup> H. Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, HS 2nd Ser. 37 (Vol. III) (London 1914), 151. See also E. Power, 'The Opening of the Land Routes to Cathay', in A. P. Newton (ed.), *Travel and Travellers in the Middle Ages* (London 1926), 124-58 [*Travellers*].

<sup>37</sup> J. H. Kramers, 'Geography and Commerce', in T. Arnold and A. Guillaume (eds.), *The Legacy of Islam* (Oxford 1931), 79-107 at 83.

<sup>38</sup> Beazley, *The Dawn*, III.439; Prestage, *Pioneers*, 32—suggesting that a copy may have been used

by Prince Henry; Cortesão, *Cartography*, I.290; Bagrow, *History of Cartography*, 66 and Plate XXXVI; and especially G. H. T. Kimble, 'The Laurentian world map ...', *Imago Mundi* 1, 1935, 29-33. The Sanuto and Laurentian maps are presented by Beazley, III.439 and 521; cf. also the sketches of world-maps from 1321 to 1457-9 in Cortesão, *Cartography*, II.159.

<sup>39</sup> Cortesão, *Cartography*, I.398-9, II.60-3; Wroth, 'Cartography', 103.

<sup>40</sup> For the romantic tale of the Bristolian Robert Machin's ill-fated honeymoon on Madeira, see F. Machado in A. Baião *et al.* (eds.), *História da Expansão Portuguesa no Mundo* (Lisbon 1937-40), I.280-4 [*Expansão*] and A. Cortesão, 'The Story of Robert Machin's Discovery ... in the XIV Century', *Rev. da Univ. de Coimbra* 23, 1973, 393-409. More generally, Prestage, *Pioneers*, 35-54; Cortesão, *Cartography*, II.52-72; Godinho, *Économie*, 19-26.

<sup>41</sup> A. Cortesão, 'Nautical Science and the Renaissance', in *Esparsos*, II.86-111, at 94. The general story has been told, and well told, too often to need detailed reference here; but on the motivation see Prestage, *Pioneers*, 29-32, 164-7; Veiga Simões in Baião, *Expansão*, I.311-56 (especially 'Sua pretenza Crusada', 319-37); and the thoughtful recent treatment in C. R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire* (Harmondsworth 1973), 15-38 [*Empire*].

<sup>42</sup> Casting about for some respectable source for this old story, remembered from undergraduate days (if not earlier), I tried the obvious places such as Kimble and the great Madrid *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, without success. A chance look at the first page of E. O. Winstedt's edition of Cosmas Indicopleustes (Cambridge 1909) gave Glanvill's 1702 translation of Fontenelle's *Plurality of Worlds*. See R. Shackleton (ed.), *Entretiens sur la Pluralité des Mondes* (Oxford 1955), 14, 180-1. Such are the pleasures of serendipity.

<sup>43</sup> João de Barros, *Asia* (1552), Dec. I, Liv. 2, Cap. iv (Lisbon ed. 1945-6, I.93).

<sup>44</sup> K. F. Helleiner, 'The Population of Europe ...', in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, 1942-65, IV.1-95 at 7-9 [*Cambridge EHE*].

<sup>45</sup> H. A. L. Fisher, *A History of Europe* (London 1948), 390-1.

<sup>46</sup> E. Armstrong, 'The Papacy and Naples in the Fifteenth Century', in *The Cambridge Mediaeval History*, 1911-36, VIII.158-201 at 195.

<sup>47</sup> R. Doucet, 'France under Charles VIII and Louis XI', in *The New Cambridge Modern History*, 1957-70, I.292-315 at 309-10 [*New CMH*].

<sup>48</sup> E. E. Rich, 'Expansion as a Concern of All Europe', in *New CMH*, I.445-69 at 447.

<sup>49</sup> F. Braudel, 'European Expansion and Capitalism: 1450-1650', in J. L. Blau (ed.), *Chapters in Western Civilization* (2nd ed., New York 1954), I.245-84 at 250 ['Expansion'].

<sup>50</sup> Cf. the discussion in M. Gilmore, *The Age of Humanism* (New York 1952), 49-56 [*Humanism*].

<sup>51</sup> For a concise account of the Fuggers, see S. P. Clough and C. W. Cole, *Economic History of Europe* (3rd ed., Boston 1952), 154-7.

<sup>52</sup> Braudel, 'Expansion', 260.

<sup>53</sup> '... it was not new lands that the European adventurer discovered or rediscovered; it was rather the unending salt-water routes ...'—Braudel, 'Expansion', 249. Cf. Chaunu, 52.

<sup>54</sup> R. B. Merriman, *The Rise of the Spanish Empire* (New York 1952; original ed. 1918), II.220-1. But cf. M. Mörrner, 'Spanish Migration to the New World prior to 1800', in F. Chiappelli (ed.), *First Images of America* (Berkeley 1976), II.737-82 at 738.

<sup>55</sup> R. Lapa (ed.), *Quadros da Crónica de D. João I* (Lisbon 1943), v-vi; Boxer, *Empire*, 17, 28-33; and the brilliant background sketch in Godinho, *Économie*, 31-40. The internal stability of Portugal as a factor in her rise to world power seems to be generally overlooked; for an exception, see I. Wallerstein, *The Modern World System* (New York 1974), 50-1.

<sup>56</sup> H. V. Livermore, *A History of Portugal* (Cambridge 1947), 185.

<sup>57</sup> Bunbury, *History*, II.443; its date is between A.D. 50 and 100.

<sup>58</sup> R. A. Mortimer Wheeler *et al.*, ‘Arikamedu: an Indo-Roman Trading Station on the East Coast of India’, *Ancient India* (New Delhi) 2, 1946, 17–24. Lach’s *Asia* provides a richly detailed survey of the whole theme; for the pre-Discovery phases see Chapters I and II, 5–88, and also G. B. Sansom, *The Western World and Japan* (Vintage ed., New York 1973), 17–18, 20.

<sup>59</sup> John de Piano Carpini and Ascelin of Lombardy (who got no farther than Tabriz) were sent by Pope Innocent IV in 1245, Andrew of Longjumeau and William of Rubruck (Rubruquis) by Louis IX of France in 1249 and 1253; see Beazley, *The Dawn*, III.175–91; Lach, *Asia*, I.30–4; and especially the first six chapters of I. de Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans* (London 1971). Rubruquis was a remarkably good observer, still very pleasantly readable. Later Franciscans succeeded in setting up an Archbishopric at Cambaluc (Peking), with a Bishop at Canton, but not, apparently, many converts. For Prester John and his translation to Ethiopia, see i.a. E. D. Ross, ‘Prester John and the Empire of Ethiopia’ in Newton, *Travellers*, 174–94; and Cortesão, *Cartography*, I.255–75—this ‘greatest hoax in the history of geography’ was of much but ambivalent significance in Portugal. There is a full and admirable recent treatment of the whole amazing story in R. Silverberg, *The Realm of Prester John* (New York 1972).

<sup>60</sup> Lach, *Asia*, I.49–50; there is an all-too-obvious parallel with oil prices in 1973. . . . It should be noted that the Venetian trade was not immediately and utterly supplanted by Lisbon; and indeed it revived remarkably later in the sixteenth century. For the vicissitudes of the spice trade, especially in pepper, see Lach, I.91–147; F. C. Lane’s papers of 1933 and 1940 in his *Venice and History* (Baltimore 1966), 12–14, 25–34 (the birth of a great historical revision), and 373–82; Godinho, *Économie*, 713–31, 773–80 (‘la Mer Rouge n’a jamais pu être complètement coupée de l’océan Indien . . . la route du Cap n’a jamais pu la remplacer totalement’); F. Braudel, *La Méditerranée . . . à l’époque de Philippe II* (Paris 1949), 421–47—there was a ‘revanche méditerranéenne’ by the Red Sea route in 1550–70, and in 1585 Philip formally offered Venice what was in effect an agency for pepper brought to Lisbon. As his subtitle suggests, N. Steensgard goes further in revisionism in *The Asian Trade Revolution of the Seventeenth Century: The East India Companies and the Decline of the Caravan Trade* (Chicago 1974); see 96–101, 154–6, and especially 163–9—in the later sixteenth century, ‘Only in a few years was as much as half [of pepper and spice imports] brought to Europe by the route around Africa.’ Yet one may still meet the old errors that the fall of Constantinople in 1453 saw a complete blockage, as completely broken by Vasco da Gama.

<sup>61</sup> J. U. Nef, ‘Mining and Metallurgy in Medieval Civilisation’, in *Cambridge EHE*, II.430–93 at 457 and 470.

<sup>62</sup> I have relied heavily in this section on R. M. Nance, ‘The Ship of the Renaissance’, *MM* 41, 1955, 180–92 and 281–98, and on the admirable discussion in Parry, *Reconnaissance*, 67–84; more detail, perforce omitted here, may be found in S. E. Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages A.D. 500–1600* (New York 1971), 112–56. See also the section on ‘Types de Navires et Constructions Navales’ in M. Mollat and P. Adam (eds.), *Les Aspects Internationaux de la Découverte Océanique aux XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris 1966), 137–222, especially F. Mauro on the organisation of shipbuilding, at 184–9 [*Aspects*].

<sup>63</sup> See *MM*, *passim*.

<sup>64</sup> For Chinese developments, comparisons, and possible influences, see Needham, *Science in China*, IV Section 29, especially 492, 509–14, 638–55, 695–9. Cf. J. Poujade, *La Route des Indes et ses Navires* (Paris 1946), 258–9, 268.

<sup>65</sup> For the development of ordnance in general see A. R. Hall, ‘Military Technology’, in C. Singer *et al.* (eds.), *A History of Technology* (Oxford 1954–8), III.347–76, and for naval applications F. C. P. Naish, *ibid.*, 478, 481; Parry, *Reconnaissance*, 133–40; C. Cipolla, *Guns and Sails in the Early Phase of European*

*Expansion 1400–1700* (London 1965), especially 81–3 on the ‘bigger and better’ arms race before 1550.

<sup>66</sup> M. Lewis, *The Spanish Armada* (Pan ed., London 1960), 75–8; cf. G. Mattingly, *The Defeat of the Armada* (London 1959), 345–6. Note, however, the difference between English and Spanish reckonings, and the 1590 change in the latter—above, pp. xxii–xxiv.

<sup>67</sup> Q. da Fonseca, ‘A arquitetura naval no tempo dos Descobrimentos’, in Baião, *Expansão*, II.39–46 (100 tonéis = 125 metric tons); R. M. Nance, ‘Caravels’, *MM* 3, 1913, 265–71; for the Spanish caravel, Morales Padrón, *Historia*, 33–5. For fluyts, R. Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry* (Newton Abbott 1962), 48–50.

<sup>68</sup> R. L. Scheina, ‘Mass Labour: the Key to Spanish Maritime Construction’, *MM* 58, 1972, 195–204, and in general the papers on ‘Brigantines’ in the same journal by E. A. Dingley (6, 1920, 292–4), R. M. Nance (7, 1921, 22–4), and A. Balsen (7, 1921, 79–82). Perhaps the best description is in S. E. Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages A.D. 1492–1616* (New York 1974), 187, 549–50 [*Southern Voyages*].

<sup>69</sup> Chaunu, 667–8—those built at Maracaibo were up to 180 *toneladas* by 1637. For some specific points on Spanish Pacific shipbuilding, see H. A. Morton, *The Winds Command: Sailors and Sailing Ships in the Pacific* (Vancouver 1975), 127–9; he is also good (221–35) on the typology of masting and rigging in general [*Winds Command*].

<sup>70</sup> P. Chaunu, *Conquête et Exploitation des Nouveaux Mondes* (Paris 1969), 279–80.

<sup>71</sup> Taylor, *Haven-Finding*, 174. Drake’s method was simple—kidnap a local pilot (*ibid.*, 208).

<sup>72</sup> Cortesão, *Cartography*, II.96, 103, 227, and cf. E. Axelson, ‘Prince Henry the Navigator and the Discovery of the Sea Route to India’, *Geog Jnl* 127, 1961, 145–58 at 153. The limitations of dead reckoning, and the implication of an earlier introduction of instrumental navigation than is allowed by some writers, are discussed in C. V. Sölver and G. J. Marcus, ‘Dead Reckoning and the Ocean Voyages of the Past’, *MM* 44, 1958, 18–34.

<sup>73</sup> Taylor, *Haven-Finding*, 162–3. For details of the development of instrumental navigation, see Parry, *Reconnaissance*, 103–15; J. B. Hewson, *A History of the Practice of Navigation* (revised ed., Glasgow 1963); C. H. Cotter, *A History of Nautical Astronomy* (London 1968) [*Astronomy*]; but especially D. W. Waters, *The Art of Navigation in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Times* (London 1958)—a superb work crammed with fascinating detail [*Navigation*].

<sup>74</sup> The lunar eclipse method had been suggested by Hipparchus, c. 160 B.C. (Bunbury, *History*, I.633), but as Sir Isaac Newton reputedly remarked that working out future lunar positions was ‘the only problem that ever made my head ache’, it is not surprising that few seamen tried their hands!—Cotter, *Astronomy*, 14, 195–205, and J. G. Crowther, *Founders of British Science* (London 1960), 264; cf. Morison, *Southern Voyages*, 295–6. Much progress in the study of magnetic variation was made by Pedro Nuñez, and in the field by D. João de Castro—Taylor, *Haven-Finding*, 175–84, and L. de Albuquerque in Cortesão, *Cartography*, II.420–3. Since Taylor wrote, Cortesão and Albuquerque have published D. João’s ‘magnificent rutters’ of his Indian voyage in *Obras Completas de D. João de Castro*, I (Coimbra 1968). An anonymous Portuguese chart of c. 1585 even shows rough isogonic lines—A. Cortesão and A. Teixeira de Mota, *Portugalix Monumenta Cartographica* (Lisbon 1960), III.71–2 and Plate 363.

<sup>75</sup> Taylor, *Haven-Finding*, 160, 167, 201–2; the log-and-line appears to be the first English contribution to the art.

<sup>76</sup> C. Jack-Hinton, *The Search for the Islands of Solomon 1567–1838* (Oxford 1969), 182–3, 218–20, 227–31, and Maps XXXIII, XXXIV.

<sup>77</sup> For a clear account of the use of wind-roses and the rhumbs drawn from them, see Taylor, *Haven-Finding*, 109–13.

<sup>78</sup> Cortesão, *Cartography*, II.93–7; Taylor, *Haven-Finding*, 174–81; Parry, *Reconnaissance*, 111–30; and for the relationship of Wright and Mercator, Waters, *Navigaton*, numerous references but especially 121–2, 228–9.

<sup>79</sup> Ma Huan, *Ying-yai Sheng-lan* [*The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores*], trans. J. V. G. Mills, HS Extra Ser. 42 (Cambridge 1970); cf. below, Ch. 6.

<sup>80</sup> The 'ideological' factors are interestingly discussed in Gilmore, *Humanism*, 32–7, and Braudel, 'Expansion', 246–54.

<sup>81</sup> C. Marlowe, *The First Part of Tamburlaine the Great*, V.i.

<sup>82</sup> Rich, in *New CMH*, 446.

<sup>83</sup> Parry, *Reconnaissance*, 67; see his Chapters II and IV on organisation and manning. The changing relative shares of local enterprise and outside finance are discussed in J. Heers, 'Le rôle des capitaux internationales dans les voyages de découvertes aux XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles' in Mollat and Adam, *Aspects*, 273–93. For an analysis of the investments in several important Spanish voyages, see F. de Solano, 'Navios y Mercaderes en la ruta occidental de especies (1519–1563)', in *A Viagem de Fernão de Magalhães* (Lisbon 1975), 579–610 (see full reference in Ch. 2, note 24).

<sup>84</sup> C. Day Lewis, *Transitional Poem* (London 1929), 10.

<sup>85</sup> For the (not so very) 'minor horrors of the sea', see the elaborately facetious letter of 1573 by Eugenio de Salazar in Parry, *The European Reconnaissance*, 348–64. Morton, *Winds Command*, Chs. 17–24 *passim*, gives many picturesque details of life on board in sailing days.

### Notes for Chapter 2

<sup>1</sup> C. E. Nowell, 'The Columbus Question', *Amer. Hist. Rev.* 44, 1938–9, 802–22, canvasses in a moderate spirit some of the theories and heresies surrounding the problem of Columbus's intent; cf. C. Jane's introduction to *Select Documents illustrating the Four Voyages of Columbus*, HS 2nd Ser. 65, 70 (London 1930), stressing the mystical element in his concepts and tending to discount the simple search-for-the-Indies thesis. There is a balanced review in G. F. Hudson, *Europe and China* (London 1961; original ed. 1931), 204–28. The views of the Vignaud school seem in the discard since the appearance of S. E. Morison's *Admiral of the Ocean Sea* (Boston 1942) [*Admiral*]; for a more recent discussion, G. R. Crone, *The Discovery of America* (London 1969) [*Discovery*].

<sup>2</sup> A. P. Newton, 'Christopher Columbus and his First Voyage', in A. P. Newton (ed.), *The Great Age of Discovery* (London 1932), 73–103, at 85–9; see also his 'Asia or Mundus Novus' in the same volume, 104–28 [*Great Age*].

<sup>3</sup> D. Peres, *História dos Descobrimentos Portugueses* (Oporto 1943), 254–6, 263; E. A. Prestage, *The Portuguese Pioneers* (London 1933), 230–1; royal support for Dulmo (actually a Fleming, van Olmen) may have been meant 'as a warning to Ferdinand and Isabella, to prevent them from coming to terms' with Columbus. Cf. V. M. Godinho, *L'Économie de l'Empire Portugais aux XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris 1969), 44–6.

<sup>4</sup> J. de Barros, *Asia* (Lisbon 1552–63), Dec. I, Liv. 2, Cap. xi (Lisbon ed. 1945–6, I.118–22).

<sup>5</sup> See C. R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire 1415–1825* (Harmondsworth 1969), 20–4; J. H. Parry, *The Spanish Seaborne Empire* (Harmondsworth 1973), 22, 123–9.

<sup>6</sup> H. Vander Linden, 'Alexander VI and the Demarcation . . . of the Domains of Spain and Portugal, 1493–94', *Amer. Hist. Rev.* 22, 1916–17, 1–20, at note 40 ['Alexander VI']. See also C. E. Nowell, 'The Treaty of Tordesillas . . .' in A. Ogden and E. Sluiter (eds.), *Greater America* (Berkeley 1945), 1–8; R. B. Merriman, *The Rise of the Spanish Empire* (New York 1962; original ed. 1918), II. 199–205

[*Spanish Empire*]; Crone, *Discovery*, 96-103; L. Weckmann-Muñoz, 'The Alexandrine Bulls of 1493', in F. Chiappelli (ed.), *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old* (Berkeley 1976), 201-20 [*First Images*]. There is an extremely detailed and objective study, with Latin and Spanish texts of the Bulls, in M. Gimenez Fernández, *Nuevas Consideraciones sobre la Historia, Sentido y Valor de las Bulas Alejandrinas referentes a las Indias* (Seville 1944)—see especially 44-51, 113 [*Bulas*]. English translations of the Bulls and other relevant documents, such as the Treaties of Tordesillas and Zaragoza and the proceedings of the Badajoz junta, will be found in Vol. I of Blair & Robertson. I regret not to have seen the obviously important *El Tratado de Tordesillas y su Proyección*, Primer Coloquio Luso-Español de Historia de Ultramar (Valladolid 1973-4).

<sup>7</sup> G. Mattingly, 'No Peace Beyond What Line?' *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 5th series 13, 1963, 145-62, at 152, 161. ['No Peace']. Some of the confusion arose from the seaman's colloquial usage of 'the Line' as shorthand for the Equinoctial Line, 0°.

<sup>8</sup> Blair & Robertson, I.112.

<sup>9</sup> Vander Linden, 'Alexander VI', at note 45.

<sup>10</sup> Either by accident or design, Columbus had reported his discoveries as 34 or 32°N, instead of 20-24—Crone, *Discovery*, 84. See also F. Morales Padrón, *Historia del Descubrimiento y Conquista de América* (2nd ed., Madrid 1971), 98-9 (with map) [*Historia*].

<sup>11</sup> Gimenez Fernandez, *Bulas*, 136, 148; Morales Padrón, *Historia*, 109-11, cf. Mattingly, 'No Peace', 151-3.

<sup>12</sup> The saying goes back to 1518—E. G. Bourne, 'Historical Introduction' to Blair & Robertson, at I.25; cf. Maximilian of Transylvania in C. E. Nowell, *Magellan's Voyage Around the World* (Evanston 1962), 277 [*Voyage*]. For the beginnings of the idea of a global demarcation (as against one in the Atlantic hemisphere only), see R. E. Abadía, 'La idea del antimeridiano', in A. Teixeira da Mota (ed.), *A Viagem de Fernão de Magalhães e a Questão das Molucas*, Actas do II Colóquio Luso-Espanhol de História Ultramarina (Lisbon 1975), 1-26 ['antimeridiano']; L. de Albuquerque and R. Graça Feijó, 'Os pontos de vista de D. João II na Junta de Badajoz', *ibid.* 527-45 at 532 ['Badajoz']. But 'such an antimeridional boundary is a mere supposition or logical inference, which lacks the slightest textual mention in the famous treaty of 1494'—J. P. de Tudela y Bueso, 'La especería de Castilla ...', *ibid.* 627-87 at 632 ['La especería']. References to this most important work, which subsumes a vast amount of Magellanic scholarship, are by author and title of paper 'in Actas II'.

<sup>13</sup> O. H. K. Spate, 'Terra Australis—Cognita?', *Hist. Studies* (Melbourne) 1957, 1-19, at 13-14. Ludovico de Varthema may have reached the Moluccas, but if he did so it was not until 1505, so the area was still 'utterly unknown' to any Europeans at the end of the fifteenth century—B. Penrose, *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance 1420-1620* (Cambridge (Mass.) 1952), 28-32.

<sup>14</sup> C. O. Sauer accepts early Spanish statements, based on accounts made through the Indian chiefs (who would have had good reason not to exaggerate) that the adult aboriginal population of Española in 1496 was over 1,000,000; a density of 13 or 15 per km<sup>2</sup>, excluding children. This would be ecologically feasible, but 'In less than twenty years from the founding of Isabela the impending extinction of the natives was apparent and in another ten it had occurred'—*The Early Spanish Main* (Berkeley 1968), 65-9, 200-4.

<sup>15</sup> Morales Padrón, *Historia*, 149.

<sup>16</sup> Details in already cited works by Crone, Morison, Parry, and Penrose; also the relevant chapters of J. B. Brebner, *The Explorers of North America 1492-1806* (Meridian ed., Cleveland 1964); F. A. Kirkpatrick, *The Spanish Conquistadores* (3rd ed., London 1967); J. H. Parry, *The Age of Reconnaissance* (Mentor ed., New York 1964) [*Reconnaissance*]; and especially S. E. Morison, *The European*



*Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages A.D. 1492–1616* (New York 1974), Chs. IX–XI [*Southern Voyages*]. For the remote possibility that Englishmen of John Cabot's 1498 voyage may have preceded the Spaniards on the Darien coast, see J. A. Williamson (ed.), *The Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery under Henry VII*, HS 2nd Ser. 120 (Cambridge 1962), 107–12 [*Cabot Voyages*].

<sup>17</sup> Crone, *Discovery*, 126–7, and see his whole Ch. IX, a moving story; cf. Morison, *Admiral*, 580–2, 594–621.

<sup>18</sup> The Spanish form of Columbus.

<sup>19</sup> Santa Maria was abandoned in 1523–4, and 'Since that day no white settlement has ever been able to maintain itself permanently in the Darien section of the isthmus'—G. Mack, *The Land Divided: A History of . . . Isthmian Canal Projects* (New York 1944), 31.

<sup>20</sup> The tragical history of these beginnings is vividly and thoughtfully told in J. Mirsky, *The Westwards Crossings: Balboa, Mackenzie, Lewis and Clark* (2nd ed., Chicago 1970) [*Crossings*]; the significance of the 'cycle of gold and depopulation' is brought out in Chaunu, 898–903. There is a full and sympathetic study of Balboa and a mass of documentation in the first two volumes of J. T. Medina, *El Descubrimiento del Océano Pacífico* (Santiago de Chile 1913–14) [*Descubrimiento*]. More accessible is the biography by K. Romoli, *Balboa of Darién* (New York 1953) [*Balboa*].

<sup>21</sup> The detail of this solemn act is given in Medina, *Descubrimiento*. I.92–4; for the precise date Romoli, *Balboa*, 160–1. A day or two earlier one of Balboa's men, Alonso Martin, in command of a patrol to find the best way to the sea, had actually pushed off in a canoe, claiming to be the first Spaniard on the new sea. There is no foundation for Sir Clement Markham's story (*Geogr Jul* 41, 1913, 519) that the sea was called 'Pacific' because the young chief Panciaco told Balboa that 'the great ocean was always smooth'; as a matter of fact some of the first Spaniards to sail in these waters found them 'turbulent' and 'raging' (H. J. Wood, in Newton, *Great Age*, 161), and Balboa's first attempt to reach the Pearl Islands by canoe failed miserably—he had been warned that the season was always stormy—Romoli, 165–8. As for the name, on 3 December 1514 there was a formal proclamation in Santa Maria of the 'Tierra Nueva a la parte del Mar del Sur'—Medina, *Descubrimiento*, I.87 and III (*Fernando de Magellanes*, 1920) cclxviii.

<sup>22</sup> In his paper 'The Discovery of the Pacific: A Suggested Change of Approach', *Pac. Hist. Rev.* 16, 1947, 1–10 ['Pacific'], C. E. Nowell claims that Antonio de Abreu and Francisco Serrão were 'by all accepted standards' the first European discoverers of the Pacific, having reached the Moluccas and the Banda Sea towards the end of 1511. The two encyclopaedia references given as 'accepted standards' are not convincing, and in contrast e.g. the official Australian chart *Australia and Adjacent Waters: Limits of the Oceans and Seas*, RAN Hydrographic Office (Sydney 1972), links the Banda Sea with the Indian not the Pacific Ocean. This has international standing, though the boundaries shown have of course no political significance. In fact, Nowell explodes his own claim by saying that Balboa was probably not even the thousandth European to 'behold the Pacific', being anticipated by Polo and many missionaries (not hundreds, but scores?). But there is a vast difference between thalassic waters and the great Ocean, and commonsense as well as tradition accord in awarding the honour to Balboa. Nevertheless, Nowell's paper is important and valid in stressing the significance of the Portuguese approach via the Indian Ocean.

<sup>23</sup> Cited in Mirsky, *Crossings*, 81, but here quoted from Richard Eden's translation of the Decades, in *A Selection of Curious, Rare, and Early Voyages . . .* (London 1812), 541.

<sup>24</sup> My treatment of Magellan is in the main based on the standard Portuguese biography by the Visconde de Lagôa, *Fernão de Magalhães (A sua Vida e a sua Viagem)* (Lisbon 1938) [*Vida e Viagem*]; J. Denucé, *Magellan: La Question des Moluques et la Première Circumnavigation du Globe* (Brussels 1911) [*Moluques*]; and A. Teixeira da Mota (ed.), *A Viagem de Fernão de Magalhães e a Questão das Molucas*, . . ., cited in note 12. The third volume of Medina, *Descubrimiento*, is also devoted to Magellan,

and there is an immense documentation in P. Pastells SJ, *El Descubrimiento del Estrecho de Magallanes* (Madrid 1920) [*Estrecho*]. For the basic narrative of Pigafetta the translation in Nowell, *Voyage* (which also has Maximilian of Transylvania and Gaspar Córrea), and the splendid facsimile French text in R. A. Skelton, *Magellan's Voyage* (New Haven 1969), have been used. The first printed version of Pigafetta, c. 1525, is given in facsimile and translation in P. S. Paige, *The Voyage of Magellan* (Englewood Cliffs 1969).

There are recent biographies in English by C. McK. Parr, *So Noble a Captain* (London 1953) and E. Roditi, *Magellan of the Pacific* (London 1972). Both are based on solid research, but Parr seems to extrapolate from the sources too readily: thus he is able 'to sketch with confidence' a 'probable' voyage of Magellan to the Philippines in 1512 (96–8); later (250) 'since he reached the Philippines for the second time *from the opposite direction* [Parr's italics] *it is evident* [my italics] that he was the first man ever to complete the circumnavigation of the globe.' This does not seem accepted by any other authority known to me; cf. M. Torodach, 'Magellan Historiography', *HAHR* 51, 1971, 313–35. Morison (*Southern Voyages*, 217) makes a somewhat similar claim, stating as a fact that Magellan was with de Abreu in 1511 (not generally accepted) and that the longitudes he reached in 1511 and 1521 overlap; elsewhere (421, 435) he inclines to award the honour to Magellan's slave Enrique, a point made in a more guarded way by Stefan Zweig: much as one might like to believe this, the evidence is highly inferential.

Finally, S. Zweig, *Magellan: Pioneer of the Pacific* (London 1938) [*Magellan*] has some romanticism and a good deal of psychological interpretation (of a licit type) but is a work of beauty and power.

<sup>25</sup> It is interesting to note that the Egyptian riposte was strongly supported by Venice—D. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe* (Chicago 1965), I.106, 112 [*Asia*]; H. V. Livermore, *A History of Portugal* (Cambridge 1947), 233.

<sup>26</sup> E.g. F. H. H. Guillemard, *The Life of Ferdinand Magellan* (London 1890), 81–2 [*Life*]; Merriman, *Spanish Empire*, II.420; Medina, *Descubrimiento*, III.xxxv.

<sup>27</sup> Visconde de Lagôa, 'Fernão de Magalhães . . .', in A. Baião *et al.* (eds.), *História da Expansão Portuguesa no Mundo* (Lisbon 1937–40), II.305–28 at 313 [*Expansão*].

<sup>28</sup> *Asia*, Dec. III, Liv. 5, Caps. vi, vii (Lisbon ed. 1945–6, III.272, 282).

<sup>29</sup> Lagôa, in Baião, *Expansão*, II.307. Italian navigators, without their own bases to work from, were in effect professionals out for hire. Some of these mercenaries of the sea were rather disreputable adventurers, such as Solis; but this cannot be said, for example, of Vespucci, Verrazano, the Cabots, Hudson. At the Junta of Badajoz both Portuguese and Castilians refused, nominally at least, to accept as participants their respective defectors, who were plenty—Blair & Robertson, I.176, 216; Albuquerque and Feijo, 'Badajoz', in *Actas* II at 540.

<sup>30</sup> Zweig, *Magellan*, 82–84, takes a sterner view, pointing out that Magellan not only left but 'deliberately harmed his country', but excuses this as the prerogative of creative genius. Lagôa rather grandly compares Magellan to Alcibiades and Coriolanus, and remarks that Brutus is praised for cutting short 'the greatest flight of human glory'; more to the point than this out-dated romantic classicism is his further observation that there was no translation of Pigafetta into Portuguese (until his own of 1938)—*Vida e Viagem*, I.xiii, xvi. For a very full and fair discussion, see A. A. Banha da Andrade, 'Sentimentos de honra e direitos de justiça, na viagem de Fernão de Magalhaes', in *Actas* II, 451–65.

<sup>31</sup> Albuquerque and Feijó, 'Badajoz', in *Actas* II, at 534–5; Portuguese claims were based rather on their ten years of trading presence in the Moluccas. According to Enciso in his *Suma de Geographia* (1519) the antimeridian of the Tordesillas line was in the Ganges delta; Magellan, in a memorial to the King (also 1519) put it at Malacca, whose position on his reckoning lay in the middle of Borneo; the Moluccas were thus safely in the Spanish hemisphere—R. A. Laguarda Trias, 'Las

longitudes geograficas de la membranza de Magallanes', in Actas II, 135–78. Enciso took a value of  $16\frac{2}{3}$  leagues to the degree instead of the  $17\frac{1}{2}$  of the Portuguese, thus shrinking the Portuguese hemisphere when degrees were turned into leagues; he appears to have falsified diagrams taken from Portuguese sources—E. G. R. Taylor (ed.), [Roger Barlow's] *A Brief Summe of Geographie*, HS 2nd Ser. 69 (London 1932), xiv–xvii.

<sup>32</sup> Lach, *Asia*, I.113–15; Parry, *Reconnaissance*, 173. For the entertaining history of the elephant Hanno, see Lach, *Asia*, II.135–9 (physically the third volume, 1970).

<sup>33</sup> Denucé, *Moluques*, 72–7; Lagôa, *Vida e Viagem*, I.35–7; Nowell, *Voyage*, 24–5; Skelton, *Magellan's Voyage*, I.155.

<sup>34</sup> Nowell, 'Pacific', 8.

<sup>35</sup> Morison, *Southern Voyages*, 321, 351–2.

<sup>36</sup> Parry, *Reconnaissance*, 173; cf. Morison, *Southern Voyages*, 288–97. The name 'America' was not generally accepted by Spaniards until the eighteenth century; they kept to their own term 'Indias'—Morales Padrón, *Historia*, 154–5. There is a brilliant philological analysis of the naming of America in H. Jantz, 'Images of America in the German Renaissance', in Chiappelli, *First Images*, I.91–106 at 97–100: '... America was just right, Columbia might have done, but Vespuccia or Christophoria would have been sad absurdities.' One reason why 'America' won out is given by D. B. Quinn, 'New Geographical Horizons: Literature', *ibid.* 635–58 at 638–47: Vespucci's literary output was larger, better, and more accessible than Columbus's. We need not go into the vexed question of the authenticity of Vespucci's 1497 voyage, denied by Morison and many others; for an amusing review of the matter, see *Southern Voyages*, 306–12.

<sup>37</sup> See L. Wroth, 'The Early Cartography of the Pacific', *Papers Biblio. Soc. of America* 38 No. 2 (New York 1944), 85–268 at 119–40 ['Cartography'].

<sup>38</sup> See i.a. A. P. Newton in *Great Age*, 122–27. R. Levillier in *America la Bien Llamada* (Buenos Aires 1948), takes him down to Golfo San Jorge in 46°S (not seen, but see Levillier's map in Morales Padrón, *Historia*, 141).

<sup>39</sup> For the significance of these voyages see D. Ramos Perez, 'Magallanes en Valladolid: la capitulación', in Actas II, 179–241, at 189–95 ['capitulación']. A. von Humboldt, *Examen Critique de l'Histoire de la Géographie du Nouveau Continent* (Paris 1836), I.348–53, is still of interest.

<sup>40</sup> For the complexities in the interpretation of 'these meagre indications', see J. da Gama Pimental Barata, 'A armada de Fernão de Magalhães', in Actas II, 109–34. At least 50 per cent must be added for modern reckonings. As usual, Morison is excellent on the detail of ships, crews, and equipment—*Southern Voyages*, 342–7, 352–5.

<sup>41</sup> He added that their sides were soft as butter. As Morison remarks (*Southern Voyages*, 357) this was doubtless sour grapes; after her return the battered *Victoria* was repaired and crossed the Atlantic each way before being wrecked in the Caribbean.

<sup>42</sup> Other investors were less lucky: Aranda lost his whole investment, and the Fuggers put in 10,000 ducats and lost the lot, being tartly told by the courts twenty years later that 'the said Antonio Fucar y Ca. shall for ever hold their peace'—Lagôa, *Vida e Viagem*, I.233–6; Guillemard, *Life*, 125–6.

<sup>43</sup> 'Maestre Andrés, lombardero condestable de la dicha nao natural de Bristol que es en elreino de Inglaterra, marido de Ana de Estrada viuda, de Sevilla'—Pastells, *Estrecho*, I.213, 235. The careful computation of L. Diaz-Trechuelo, 'La organización del viaje Magallánico', in Actas II, 265–314, gives a total of 136 Spaniards and 79 assorted Europeans, plus 16 higher officers and 6 Africans or Asians.

<sup>44</sup> On this tangled question of Faleiro and Juan de Cartagena, Lagôa gives a full and balanced discussion—*Vida e Viagem*, I.158, 223–31; but for differing emphases, see Denucé, *Moluques*, 220–1,

and Nowell, *Voyage*, 65–7; cf. Tudela y Bueso, ‘La especería’, in Actas II at 548 note 48. On Faleiro’s isogonal method, see A. Teixeira da Mota, ‘A contribuição dos irmãos Rui e Francisco Faleiro . . .’, in Actas II, 315–41 at 321, 337–9; he attaches much more general importance to the lesser-known Francisco.

<sup>45</sup> *Vida e Viagem*, I.229. For a similar case of Fonseca’s sharp practice in relation to Solis, see Tudela y Bueso, ‘La especería’, in Actas II at 638.

<sup>46</sup> Nowell, *Voyage*, 54–5; Perez, ‘capitulación’, in Actas II, 220–7 (which might tend to support Nunn’s view of Magellan’s ideas).

<sup>47</sup> ‘The authorities’ are divertingly divergent on the precise date of these events. Denucé puts them on Easter Sunday and Monday, 1–2 April; Merriman on Easter Sunday and Monday, 8–9 April; Nowell on Palm Sunday and the next day, with the trial verdict on 7 April. By the Julian calendar, in use until 1582, the dates would be 1–2 April; by the Gregorian, ten days later. Pigafetta and Maximilian, who slur over the whole affair, give no dates at all. It is not of vast moment.

<sup>48</sup> J. A. Williamson (ed.), *The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins* (London 1933), 87, 89 (quotations transposed). Williamson draws attention to the appositeness of this observation in his ‘The First Circumnavigation’, in Newton, *Great Age*, 181–98 at 187–8.

<sup>49</sup> K. R. Andrews, *Drake’s Voyages* (London 1967), 63–8. According to Drake’s chaplain Francis Fletcher, who was more than a little of a Malvolio (below, Ch. 9), the cooper made tankards of the timber ‘for such of the company who would drink of them, whereof for my own part, I had no great liking’—J. Hampden (ed.), *Francis Drake Privateer* (London 1972), 150.

<sup>50</sup> Zweig, *Magellan*, 203–4.

<sup>51</sup> G. E. Nunn’s views are set out in *The Columbus and Magellan Concepts of South American Geography* (Glenside 1932), and ‘Magellan’s Route in the Pacific’, *Geogr. Rev.* 24, 1934, 625–33; Nowell’s in *Voyage*, 28–9—see the Behaim-style map at 29, from which my quotation about the Strait is drawn. It seems unlikely that Magellan was so much behind the times, and as regards Behaim and the Pacific track the Nunn–Nowell thesis has received little acceptance, and perhaps less careful consideration than it warrants; Morales Padrón, however, accepts both Nunn’s track and Behaim’s influence—*Historia*, 193, 200. Lagôa (*Vida e Viagem*, I.48–53) argues, to my mind convincingly, against Behaim’s significance, in general and in this case; cf. also Wroth, ‘Cartography’, 143–5, and E. A. Heawood, ‘The World Map before and after Magellan’, *Geogr. Jnl* 57, 1921, 431–46 [‘World Map’]. On Behaim’s doubtful standing as a cosmographer, see G. R. Crone, ‘Martin Behaim . . .’, and H. Winter, ‘New Light on the Behaim Problem’, in Actas do Congresso Internacional de História dos Descobrimentos (Lisbon 1961), II.117–33 and 399–411; both devalue him. On Schöner, G. Schilder, *Australia Unveiled: the share of the Dutch navigators in the discovery of Australia* (Canberra 1976), 10.

<sup>52</sup> Gomes may have called at Puerto San Julian to look for Juan de Cartagena; in the normal manner of deserters, on his return to Spain he spread the most prejudicial stories about Magellan. He may also have sighted the Falklands long before Richard Hawkins or Sebald de Weerdt (1594, 1598): various Argentinian references are summarised in E. J. Goodman, *The Explorers of South America* (New York 1972), 160–4. The loyal Alvaro de Mesquita, arrested first by the mutineers at San Julian and then by Gomes, was imprisoned until after the return of the *Victoria*.

<sup>53</sup> Translations from the French text in Skelton, *Magellan’s Voyage*. Cabo Deseado is the only place where Pigafetta tells us that Magellan *himself* bestowed a name.

<sup>54</sup> Tudela y Bueso argues plausibly that Albo’s rutter is really del Cano’s—Actas II at 656. For criticism of Nunn see D. D. Brand, ‘Geographical Exploration by the Spaniards’, in Friis, *Pacific Basin*, 109–44 at 115, and especially Appendix I in H. Wallis, *The Exploration of the South Sea*, 1519 to 1644 (Oxford D.Phil thesis 1953–4); she points out that Nunn overlooks the evidence of Magellan’s

own memorial. H. E. Maude also criticises Nunn, and in a closely reasoned analysis identifies San Pablo as Pukapuka and Tiburones very firmly as Flint—*Of Islands and Men* (Melbourne 1968), 38–48.

<sup>55</sup> Details of events from the sighting of Samar onwards are from Pigafetta's moving and vivid narrative; Morison, *Southern Voyages*, 417–32, is detailed and perhaps a little too colourful.

<sup>56</sup> He is variously alleged to have been poisoned by the Rajah of Tidore, in revenge for his successful leadership of Ternatean forces, or by a Malay woman at Portuguese behest, or to have died on a Portuguese ship en route to Goa.

<sup>57</sup> I. A. Wright, *Early Spanish Voyages to the Far East, 1527–1565* (Univ. of California P.D. thesis 1940), 99.

<sup>58</sup> There is a good biography by M. Mitchell, *Elcano: The First Circumnavigator* (London 1968).

<sup>59</sup> A. Sharp gives good reasons for equating these islands with the Maug group and Agrigan (Asuncion) in the Marianas and Sonsorol in the Carolines; this last would have been the first European sighting in the group—*The Discovery of the Pacific Islands* (Oxford 1960), 8–11.

<sup>60</sup> The almost intolerable complexities of both the Portuguese and the Castilian stances at Badajoz are analysed by Tudela y Bueso, 'La especería', in *Actas II* at 664–73. See also Albuquerque and Feijó, 'Badajoz', *ibid.*; Blair & Robertson, I.195–221; Denucé, *Moluques*, 393, 399–401; C. W. Nowell, 'The Loiasa Expedition and the Ownership of the Moluccas', *Pac. Hist. Rev.* 5, 1936, 325–36. It passes understanding that Morison, apparently quite seriously, can call the negotiations 'a sincere attempt' at a settlement—*Southern Voyages*, 476.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Heawood, 'World Map' at 437, 440; reckoning from Santo Antão, the most westerly of the Cape Verdes and hence the most favourable to Spanish claims. Cf. note 31 above. Other reckonings put the antimeridian between 131°18' and 133°21'E—Abadía, 'antimeridiano', in *Actas II* at 22–5.

<sup>62</sup> Denucé, *Moluques*, 401. As late as 1575 Lopez de Velasco's MS. maps still show the demarcation line through the tip of Malaya—Wroth, 'Cartography', 159.

<sup>63</sup> In 1519 Davila and Niño were sent from Spain 'to take over Balboa's ships, or build new ones, and explore the South Seas for a thousand leagues, in the hope of finding the Spice Islands. They did not get very far. Some years were to elapse before the little bush harbors of the Pacific could build ships reliable enough for long ocean passages.'—J. H. Parry, *The European Reconnaissance* (New York 1968), 236. Cf. Tudela y Bueso, 'La especería', in *Actas II*, 649 note 50.

<sup>64</sup> Parry, *The European Reconnaissance*, 238.

### Notes for Chapter 3

<sup>1</sup> Bernal Diaz del Castillo, *The Conquest of New Spain*, trans. J. M. Cohen (Harmondsworth 1963), 214.

<sup>2</sup> The Third Letter of Cortes, trans. F. A. McNutt, in P. de Fuentes, *The Conquistadores* (New York 1963), 49–133, at 123.

<sup>3</sup> F. Morales Padrón, *Historia del Descubrimiento y Conquista de América* (2nd ed., Madrid 1971), 229 [*Historia*]. He says what can be said for Pedrarias—387, 395.

<sup>4</sup> For this tangle of geography and intrigue, see J. Mirsky, *The Westwards Crossings* (Chicago 1970), 70–81; K. Romoli, *Balboa of Darién* (New York 1953), Chs. XX–XXI; C. O. Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main* (Berkeley 1966), Chs. XIII–XV [*Spanish Main*].

<sup>5</sup> Sauer, *Spanish Main*, 220–9.

<sup>6</sup> On the locational factors involved in the decline of Darien and the rise of Panama, see Sauer, *Spanish Main*, 278–81, and Chaunu, 898–9, 906–8, 915–16, 941–5. By this time the old division of jurisdiction between Veragua and Darien had been overtaken by events and Pedrarias had a free hand, the claims of Columbus's heirs being bought off, twenty years later, by the grant of a somewhat titular Dukedom of Veragua, amongst whose holders was the son of the Duke of Berwick, bastard of our James II and VII—P. Pastells SJ, *El Descubrimiento del Estrecho* (Madrid 1920), table of Columbus's descendants; cf. Sauer, 264–5. For Old Panama city itself, cf. C. H. Haring, *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies* (Cambridge (Mass.)), 185–8 [*Trade and Navigation*].

<sup>7</sup> W. Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World* (1697; Dover ed., New York 1968), 124–6.

<sup>8</sup> For an elaboration of this argument, see O. H. K. Spate, 'How Determined is Possibilism?', *Geogr. Studies* (Leicester) 4, 1957, 3–12.

<sup>9</sup> G. Mack, *The Land Divided* (New York 1944), 31–3. For the Desaguadero, M. J. MacLeod, *Spanish Central America: A Socioeconomic History, 1520–1720* (Berkeley 1973), 155 [*Central America*].

<sup>10</sup> For these marches between Panama and Guatemala, see Morales Padrón, *Historia*, 389–98 and map at 399. MacLeod, *Central America*, 38–45, gives a good analysis of the Conquista in this fragmented region, a much messier process than the conquest of Mexico.

<sup>11</sup> See the elaborate calculations in W. Borah and S. F. Cooke, *The Aboriginal Population of Central Mexico on the Eve of the Spanish Conquest* (Berkeley 1963), especially Ch. VI, and their article 'La Despoblación del México Central en el siglo XVI', *Hist. Mexicana* 12, 1962–3, 1–12. The matter is discussed in more detail in Ch. 7 below.

<sup>12</sup> This is the Spanish and generally received story. For the Indian version that Montezuma was in fact killed by the Spaniards themselves, see Hernán Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, trans. A. R. Pagden (London 1972), note 89 at 477 [Cortés, *Letters*].

<sup>13</sup> Apart from the old standard and very detailed narratives of W. H. Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Mexico* (New York 1843, numerous eds.) and H. H. Bancroft, *History of Mexico* (San Francisco 1883–6), accounts by participants are readily available in Bernal Diaz, *The Conquest of New Spain*, and de Fuentes, *The Conquistadores* (contains six reports as well as Cortés's Third Letter). Most of F. L. de Gomara's *Istoria de la Conquista de Mexico* (Zaragoza 1552) is translated by L. B. Simpson in *Cortés: The Life of the Conqueror by His Secretary* (Berkeley 1965) [Gomara, *Cortés*]. All of these have been used, for background if not for direct reference.

<sup>14</sup> Gomara, *Cortés*, 277–8. It is pleasant to record that the Tlaxcalans long retained the privileges, in some respects amounting to autonomy, awarded them for their indispensable support; some rights persisted to the end of Spanish rule—S. de Madariaga, *The Rise of the Spanish American Empire* (London 1947), 25 [*The Rise*].

<sup>15</sup> See G. C. Vaillant, *The Aztecs of Mexico* (Harmondsworth 1950), 199–200, 205–15, 229–54, for a sympathetic account of 'the death-throes of the Aztec nation', including remarks on the nature of Aztec warfare, the portents, and Montezuma's position; and the very thoughtful analysis in Chaunu, 150–5—though it is a little odd to find asserted a general European superiority, including the moral and spiritual (151), and on the next page a realistic comment on the 'incomparable bestiality' of Pizarro's men in their 'sinister enterprise'. But the Conquista, and Spanish rule in the Indies, are riddled with such human contradictions. For the portents again, see the very interesting study by N. Wachtel, *La Vision des Vaincus: Les Indiens du Pérou devant la Conquête espagnole* (Paris 1971), 36–8 [*Vaincus*].

<sup>16</sup> Cortés, *Letters*, 266–8, 270, 275–7, 318.

<sup>17</sup> Cortés, *Letters*, 326–8.

<sup>18</sup> D. D. Brand, 'The Development of Pacific Coast Ports during the Spanish Colonial Period in Mexico', in *Estudios Antropológicos . . . en homenaje al doctor Manuel Gamio* (Mexico 1956), 577–91, at

579 ['Coast Ports']; this is a main source for my Figure 6.

<sup>19</sup> C. R. Markham (ed.), *Early Spanish Voyages to the Straits of Magellan*, HS 2nd Ser. 28 (London 1911), 102–8.

<sup>20</sup> The first four chapters of W. Borah, *Early Trade and Navigation between Mexico and Peru* (Berkeley 1954) [*Early Trade*], are crammed with fascinating material on the shipping and commerce of the coast; a main source for this section. Cf. the analysis of ports and trade in Chaunu, 788–98, 826–32, 858–89. See also M. L. Moorhead, 'Hernán Cortés and the Tehuantepec Passage', *HAHR* 29, 1949, 370–9, and for Guatulco, Hakluyt, VIII.231–2.

<sup>21</sup> Brand, 'Coast Ports', lists fifty-three; to the obscurity of chronology must be added that of toponymy—he gives sixteen variants for Manzanillo, and for Sentispac he just gives up—'a wonderful variety of spellings'. There are maps of Acapulco and Guatulco in P. Gerhard, *Pirates on the West Coast of New Spain 1575–1742* (Glendale 1960) [*Pirates*], and further details in his *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain* (Berkeley 1972), 39–42, 123–6, 264–7, 393–7.

<sup>22</sup> For early and later Acapulco, T. Oteiza Iriarte, *Acapulco: La Ciudad de las Naos de Oriente y de las Sirenas Modernas* ([n.p.] 1963)—somewhat popular and rhetorical, but not so much as the title suggests.

<sup>23</sup> Borah, *Early Trade*, 5, 65–8; cf. Haring, *Trade and Navigation*, 267, and a mass of detail in P. S. Taylor, 'Spanish Seamen in the New World during the Colonial Period', *HAHR* 5, 631–61. For Realejo itself, D. R. Radell and J. J. Parsons, 'Realejo: A Forgotten Colonial Port . . .', *ibid.* 31, 1971, 295–312 (with map), and for slaving, MacLeod, *Central America*, 51–6.

<sup>24</sup> Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, II.31–2; Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*, Book VII Ch. II.

<sup>25</sup> J. Juan and A. de Ulloa, *Noticias Secretas de América* (London 1826), 114–28 (for the authenticity of this work, see below, Ch. 7 note 35). There is a handsome tribute to the Manila yards in D. R. Perez, *Historia de la Colonización Española en América* (Madrid 1947), 244 [*Colonización*].

<sup>26</sup> See the vivid description of worm damage from Oviedo's *Historia general y natural de las Indias* (1535–7) cited in Chaunu, 940; for the lead on Pedrarias's ships, Haring, *Trade and Navigation*, 277, and in general D. W. Waters, *The Art of Navigation in England in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Times* (London 1958), 92.

<sup>27</sup> Gomara, *Cortés*, 391 and Simpson's note; cf. F. Chevalier, *Land and Society in Colonial Mexico* (Berkeley 1963), 127–30 [*Land and Society*].

<sup>28</sup> They were used i.a. by Cavendish, Swan, Grognet's deserters in 1686, Dampier, and Shelvocke—see Gerhard, *Pirates, passim*; R. Bonnycastle, *Spanish America* (London 1819), 153; and especially Woodes Rogers, *A Cruising Voyage Round the World* (1712; reprinted Amsterdam, 1969), 275–8.

<sup>29</sup> The standard modern treatments in English are by H. R. Wagner, *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century* (Amsterdam 1966; original ed. 1929) [*Voyages to NW*] and *Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800* (Berkeley 1937); see also M. G. Holmes, *From New Spain by Sea to the Californias 1519–1668* (Glendale 1963); briefer accounts in C. E. Chapman, *A History of California: The Spanish Period* (New York 1921), 43–54 [*California*]; S. E. Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages A.D. 1492–1616* (New York 1974), 617–33; Gomara, *Cortés*, 396–402—vivid if confused. A. del Portillo y Diez de Sollano, *Descubrimientos y Exploraciones en las Costas de California* (Madrid 1947), gives little detail for the sixteenth century and astonishingly does not cite Wagner; he writes down Cabrillo in favour of Vizcaino, which may be just tenable, but writes up Pedro Porter y Casanate, which surprises.

For the 'insularity' of California, see R. V. Tooley, *California as an Island* (London 1964), and J. L. Leighley, *California as an Island* (San Francisco 1972), both richly mapped. On the name 'California', Chapman, *California*, 55–9 (with many references) and Portillo, 109–37; the latter thinks that the name was given in derision, which understandably causes some local heat. There are still some

discrepancies and dubieties—e.g. the fate of Ulloa—but these are not material.

<sup>30</sup> See Wagner, *Voyages to NW*, 72–93 (with translation of the major contemporary account). I have not seen H. E. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542–1706* (New York 1916).

<sup>31</sup> C. Pisano y Saucedo, ‘El Puerto de Navidad y la Expedición de Legaspi’, *Hist. Mexicana* 14, 1964–5, 227–49—with a photograph of the tiny modern village.

<sup>32</sup> R. F. Heizer, *California’s Oldest Historical Relic?* (Berkeley 1972).

<sup>33</sup> Borah, *Early Trade*, 8–21; Chevalier, *Land and Society*, 27–9; cf. P. Chaunu, *Conquête et Exploitation des Nouveaux Mondes* (Paris 1969), 158–64 [*Conquête*].

<sup>34</sup> J. Hemming, *The Conquest of the Incas* (Abacus ed., London 1972), 25 [*Incas*]; V. W. von Hagen, *The Desert Kingdoms of Peru* (Mentor ed., New York 1968), 131–6 [*Kingdoms*]. Hemming’s richly detailed account is strongly sympathetic to the Indians; W. H. Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Peru* (New York 1847; numerous eds.), remains a standard narrative of the in-fighting. For the ‘feel’ of time and place, as distinct from strict fact, there is nothing to match the 1500 or so pages of Garcilaso de la Vega, *El Inca, Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Peru* (1609, 1616), trans. H. V. Livermore (Austin 1966) [*Commentaries*]—a wonderful book.

<sup>35</sup> Borah, *Early Trade*, 3; F. A. Kirkpatrick, *The Spanish Conquistadores* (London 1934), 146–7 [*Conquistadores*]—perhaps the most handy *short* account; for meticulous detail, see R. C. Murphy, ‘The Earliest Spanish Advances Southwards from Panama . . .’, *HAHR* 21, 1941, 2–28, with an excellent map. It is probable that before Pizarro arrived in Inca territory it had already been reached by a European, overland from Brazil—C. E. Nowell, ‘Aleixo Garcia and the White King’, *ibid.* 26, 1946, 450–66.

<sup>36</sup> T. Heyerdahl, *American Indians in the Pacific* (London 1952), 517–19; von Hagen provides cogent arguments to demolish Heyerdahl’s structure of inference—*Kingdoms*, 135–7, 176. The raft’s cargo is described in Hemming, *Incas*, 25.

<sup>37</sup> Kirkpatrick, *Conquistadores*, 149; J. Lockhart, *Spanish Peru 1532–1560* (Madison 1968), 234 [*Peru*].

<sup>38</sup> For a clear and brief but authoritative account of the Inca polity, A. Métraux, *The Incas* (London 1965). Métraux provides a balanced but incisive criticism of the anachronistic view of the Empire as a socialist welfare state; see especially ‘The Organisation of the Empire’, 87–115, and cf. J. A. Mason, *The Ancient Civilizations of Peru* (Harmondsworth 1957), 176–9. See also Part I, ‘Le Traumatisme de la Conquête’ of Wachtel, *Vaincus*.

<sup>39</sup> Métraux, *The Incas*, 111–14.

<sup>40</sup> Examples in Hemming, *Incas*, 139–40, 156. Pizarro may also have been favoured by an unusually wet ‘El Niño’ year (see below, Ch. 5) with a consequent unusual flourishing of pasture—personal information from Prof. C. N. Caviedes, University of Regina.

<sup>41</sup> Chaunu, 150–5. He credits the Incas with ‘perhaps a better sense of economic statistics’ than any other régime of their time, Europe included, thanks to the quipus, which are rather bizarrely described as the ‘electronic calculators of a civilisation which practised trepanning with obsidian scalpels’; but he points out (*Conquête*, 163) that the key to their cipher is lost. What would historians make of our civilisation if the surviving documents were computer printouts?

<sup>42</sup> Morales Padrón, *Historia*, 418–22, 434–6, gives Atahualpa’s threats and defends Pizarro from the blackest charges; his brothers were worse than he. He also points out (267), on the testimony of Pizarro’s brother Pedro, that while waiting for Atahualpa’s masses ‘many Spaniards . . . urinated from sheer fright’, and thinks that the tension of terror must account for much of the slaughter.

<sup>43</sup> Wachtel, *Vaincus*, 60–1.

<sup>44</sup> Acceptance, from geography books, of the great temperature anomaly caused by the Humboldt Current had hardly prepared me for wood fires, not exactly necessary but very gratifying, at lunchtime



in October—only 12° from the Equator and not much above sea-level.

<sup>45</sup> Métraux, *The Incas*, 173–5. Apart from the very full and vivid treatment in Hemming, *Incas* (see 459–73 for the tangled history of Manco's kin), a few pages (166–76) in Chaunu, *Conquête*, give a penetrating analysis of the Inca resistance, the civil wars, and the Chilean venture. For a legalistic defence of the Viceroy's action, see R. Levillier, *Don Francisco de Toledo: Supremo Organizador del Perú* (Madrid 1935), I.279–356: his line is that Tupac Amaru was responsible for the slaying of envoys (this is highly doubtful) but that even so all would have been well had he tamely surrendered; as it was, he was justly executed as taken in flagrant armed resistance to the Crown—to which, on Levillier's own showing (347, 355) he had never pledged obedience. Toledo's mistake was only the 'excessive theatricality' of the actual execution, which gave both occasion and opportunity for the expression of nativist resentment.

<sup>46</sup> S. Zavala, *El Mundo Americano en la Epoca Colonial* (Mexico 1967), I.15; J. Basadre, *Chile Perú y Bolivia Independientes* (Barcelona 1948), 477. Naval operations from Garcilaso, *Commentaries*, II.980–1129 *passim*, especially 1043–9, 1057, 1093.

<sup>47</sup> Lockhart, *Peru*, 16, 54; the succeeding figures are from this admirable study at 136–7, 150, 152.

<sup>48</sup> R. P. Barrenechea, 'Lima: el río, el puente y la alameda', *Estudios Americanos* 22, 1961, 1–37 at 15, and 'El Callao en la historia peruana', *Rev. Histórica* (Lima) 22, 1958–9, 255–65 at 257; J. Bromley, 'El Callao. Puerto de Lima', *ibid.* 26, 1962–3, 7–76 at 8.

<sup>49</sup> Chaunu, 1100; who adds 'La sanction . . . est bénigne'.

<sup>50</sup> L. Galdames, *A History of Chile*, trans. I. J. Cox (Chapel Hill 1941), 26–39, and for the later conquista 37–60. There is a useful map in F. A. Encina, *Resumen de la Historia de Chile* (4th ed., Santiago 1961), I.47.

<sup>51</sup> Lockhart, *Peru*, 43, 143–5; Chaunu, 135–42.

<sup>52</sup> Morales Padrón, *Historia*, 486.

<sup>53</sup> Chaunu, 141–2. Once he breaks away from his statistics, Chaunu is always brilliant and stimulating, but sometimes carried away by epigram or lyricism, and on this matter Wachtel, *Vaincus*, 289–95, is perhaps more to the point. For Osorno, G. Guarda, *La ciudad chilena del siglo XVIII* (Buenos Aires 1968), 52–4.

<sup>54</sup> Madariaga, *The Rise*, 39, where it is made the occasion for an unflattering comparison with uncultured Anglo-America. However, those who begin comparisons should finish them: if we take date of settlement, not just Anno Domini, the picture is very different. On Madariaga's own figures, the lag between settlement and printing ranges from 20 years (New Spain) to 271 (Chile) in Spanish America, 5 (Pennsylvania) to 122 (Virginia) in Anglo-America. Actually the first press in Chile was probably in 1776, not 1812, but this still leaves a lag of 235 years—C. H. Haring, *The Spanish Empire in America* (New York 1963, original ed. 1947), 230 [*Spanish Empire*].

<sup>55</sup> F. C. Lane, 'Force and Enterprise in Oceanic Commerce', in *Venice and History* (Baltimore 1966), 399–411, at 401.

<sup>56</sup> Chaunu, 130–4, 138, 144–55, and *Conquête*, 135–9; cf. A. Jara's Introduction ('Ocupación, poblamiento y frontera') to *Tierras Nuevas* (Mexico 1969), 1–10, at 3–6.

<sup>57</sup> J. H. Parry, *The Spanish Seaborne Empire* (Harmondsworth 1973), 82 [*Seaborne Empire*]; Haring, *Spanish Empire*, 19, 25, 33–7. A fuller account of the organisation and armament of the entrada is given in Morales Padrón's splendid section 'Las huestes indianas', *Historia*, 216–25; and cf. M. Góngora, *Studies in the Colonial History of Spanish America* (Cambridge 1975), 7–8 [*Studies*].

<sup>58</sup> Morales Padrón, *Historia*, 476–82 ('Los amazonautos'); *The Expedition of Pedro de Ursua and Lope de Aguirre . . .*, HS 1st Ser. 28 (London 1861).

<sup>59</sup> Haring, *Spanish Empire*, 40, and cf. his whole Ch. III; Parry, *Seaborne Empire*, 82–6 and Ch. 9; and L. B. Simpson, *The Encomienda in New Spain* (2nd ed., Berkeley 1950), especially xi–xii, 132–8,

154–8. The literature of the *encomienda* is large and technical, but the principles will be found in almost any substantial general work on colonial Spanish America.

I am conscious that my whole discussion of the Conquista, as of much else, is of necessity too brief to avoid over-simplification. For a modern Spanish ‘revisionist’ view, which is long on jurisprudence and administration but seems short on the facts of life, see Perez, *Colonización*.

<sup>60</sup> C. Churchill, *Gotham* (London 1764), I.11–12; the opening pages of this poem are a fine sardonic comment on the theme of this section.

<sup>61</sup> L. Hanke, *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America* (Philadelphia 1949), 32–6 [*Justice*].

<sup>62</sup> M. Gonzáles Prada, cited in J. H. Rowe, ‘The Incas under Spanish Colonial Institutions’, *HAHR* 37, 1957, 155–91, at 191—a dispassionate but devastating analysis of the working of the system. For a superb example, see Solorzano Pereira’s conscientious and meticulous analysis (1630) on the employment of *mitayos*, the forced labourers of Huancavelica: experience ‘made him rein in [*frenar*] his impulses of humanitarian dialectic’—G. Lohmann Villena, *Las Minas de Huancavelica* (Seville 1949), 270–83. See also Góngora, *Studies*, 145–7.

<sup>63</sup> ‘Succeeding Times did equal Folly call/Believing nothing, or believing all’—J. Dryden, *Absalom and Achitophel* (London 1681), lines 118–19.

<sup>64</sup> R. Menéndez Pidal, *El Padre Las Casas. Su doble personalidad* (Madrid 1963), cited in L. Hanke, ‘More Heat and Some Light . . .’, *HAHR* 44, 1964, 293–340; admittedly Pidal was 90 when he wrote this. One may also find rather odd Kirkpatrick’s reason (*Conquistadores*, x) for not citing Las Casas (whom it was not really necessary to cite)—simply that his testimony ‘is suspect to some Spaniards!’ On this principle, very few actors in history could ever be cited: Trotsky on the Russian Revolution, for example or Clarendon on the English ‘would be suspect to some . . .’. The legend certainly needs some toning down, but not so much as it is given in, for example, B. W. Diffie, *Latin American Civilization: Colonial Period* (Harrisburg 1945), *passim*, where it becomes positively gilded [*Colonial Period*]. There is an admirable selection of source extracts, from Las Casas to Menéndez Pidal, in C. Gibson (ed.), *The Black Legend* (New York 1971).

<sup>65</sup> For example, Pedro de Alvarado on himself and Garcia del Pilar on Nuño de Guzman in de Fuentes, *The Conquistadores*, 187, 199–208.

<sup>66</sup> It is impossible here to go into the detail of this fascinating episode in the history of ideas; see i.a. Hanke, *Justice, passim*; Parry, *Seaborne Empire*, 126–39; Morales Padrón, *Historia*, 212–16; and especially J. H. Parry, ‘A Secular Sense of Responsibility’, and E. Grisel, ‘The Beginnings of International Law . . . Vitoria’s *De Indiis prior*’, 287–304 and 305–26 in F. Chiappelli (ed.), *First Images of America* (Berkeley 1976) [*First Images*]. It is ironic that Las Casas and his chief intellectual opponent Sepulveda debated the issue face to face, but that the latter was not permitted to publish his reply *Democritus Alter*. Many facets of this human problem are brought out in the controversy, amusing were not its theme so deeply tragic, between Hanke and Benjamin Keen in *HAHR* 49, 1969, 703–19, and 51, 1971, 112–28 and 336–55.

<sup>67</sup> Chaunu, *Conquête*, 136; cf. A. W. Crosby, ‘Conquistador y Pestilencia: The First New World Pandemic and the Fall of the Great Indian Kingdoms’, *HAHR* 47, 1967, 321–37.

<sup>68</sup> J. H. Parry, *The Age of Reconnaissance* (Mentor ed., New York 1964), 192–3.

<sup>69</sup> Lockhart, *Peru*, 61–2, 68–9; Góngora, *Studies*, 27–9.

<sup>70</sup> Haring, *Spanish Empire*, 101–5. Once again, the outlines will be found in any substantial history of Latin America. For the earliest phases of territorial organisation, see C. W. Hackett, ‘The Delimitation of Political Jurisdiction in Spanish North America to 1535’, *HAHR* 1, 1918, 40–69, and for the development and working of the machinery, B. Moses, *The Establishment of Spanish Rule in America* (New York 1965, original ed. 1898).

- <sup>71</sup> B. Moses, *Spain's Declining Power in South America 1730–1806* (Berkeley 1919), 46–9.
- <sup>72</sup> Moses, *Spain's Declining Power*, xviii–xix.
- <sup>73</sup> D. M. Dozer, *Latin America: An Interpretative History* (New York 1962), 102 [*Latin America*].
- <sup>74</sup> These changes can be followed in outline in *The New Cambridge Modern History: XIV. Atlas* (1970), plates at 229, 230, 235, 236.
- <sup>75</sup> A. S. Aiton, 'Conquest and Settlement ...', and R. D. Hussey, 'Colonial Economic Life', in A. C. Wilgus (ed.), *Colonial Hispanic America* (Washington 1936), 148–65 and 305–32.
- <sup>76</sup> For town planning, Z. Nuttall, 'Royal Ordinances concerning the Laying Out of New Towns', *HAHR* 4, 1921, 743–53—including such sensible provisions as broad streets in cold climates but narrow ones in hot, with the rider that for 'defense, where horses are to be had, they are better wide.' Cf. D. Stanislawski, 'Early Spanish Town Planning in the New World', *Geogr. Rev.* 37, 1947, 94–105, and Dozer, *Latin America*, 148–51.
- <sup>77</sup> Haring, *Spanish Empire*, 189–90.
- <sup>78</sup> See the astonishing figures for book imports, and Bolívar's early reading, in Haring, *Spanish Empire*, 225–8. There is a full treatment in I. A. Leonard's delightful and instructive *Books of the Brave* (2nd ed., New York 1964), where we find (301–12) that within three years of his first appearance in print Don Quixote was the central figure of a hilarious skit presented in the Peruvian Sierra at the remote mining camp at Pausa, which had twelve Spanish families. Madariaga (*The Rise, passim*) perhaps takes a euphoric view of the *general* level of culture, but many of his details are striking; cf. Diffie, *Colonial Period*, 502–7, 545–6. Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz, the first notable Mexican poet (1648–95), had a library of 4000 volumes—A. Flores (ed.), *An Anthology of Spanish Poetry* (Garden City (New York) 1961), 145.
- <sup>79</sup> D. Ramos, *Minería y Comercio Interprovincial en Hispanoamerica* (Valladolid, n.d.), 117–18 [*Mineria*].
- <sup>80</sup> Borah, *Early Trade*, 126–7, and below, Ch. 8.
- <sup>81</sup> Perez, *Colonización*, 207–8.
- <sup>82</sup> Haring, *Spanish Empire*, 297–300. For the Casa's geographical work, its successes and limitations, see the excellent essay by Ursula Lamb, 'Cosmographers of Seville: Nautical Science and Social Experience', in Chiappelli, *First Images*, II.675–86.
- <sup>83</sup> Ramos, *Mineria*, 115.
- <sup>84</sup> A. von Humboldt, *Cosmos* (Bohn ed., London 1864), II.649.

### Notes for Chapter 4

- <sup>1</sup> Setting aside the doubtful tales of Fernão Mendes Pinto, the deepest inland penetrations before 1555 were probably Tomé Pires's embassy to Peking (1517) and Galeote Pereira's journey, as a captive, from Foochow to Kueilin in Kuangsi (1549–50)—C. R. Boxer (ed.), *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, HS 2nd Ser. 106 (London 1953), li–liv.
- <sup>2</sup> For the importance of Malacca, see M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofs, *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630* (The Hague 1962), *passim*—a richly detailed and documented study [*Asian Trade*]; and P. Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese* (Kuala Lumpur 1961), 306–25, particularly good on site-values; and especially L. F. F. R. Thomaz, 'Maluco e Malaca', in A. Teixeira de Mota (ed.), *A Viagem de Fernão de Magalhães e a Questão das Molucas*, Actas do II Coloquio Luso-Espanhol da História Ultramarina (Lisbon 1975), 29–48. References to papers in this volume are given as 'in Actas, II'.

- <sup>3</sup> D. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe* (Chicago 1965), I.732 [*Asia*]; for Cheng Ho, see below, Ch. 6.
- <sup>4</sup> Meilink-Roelofs, *Asian Trade*, 87-8; for the 'Gores', A. Kobatu and M. Matsuda, *Ryukyuan Relations with Korea and South Sea Countries* (Kyoto 1969), 126-9, and A. Cortesão's note in *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires*, HS 2nd Ser. 89-90 (London 1944), I.128 [*Suma*]. Boxer thought that the Gores were Japanese, Denucé that they were Koreans. No doubt the seafaring men of the region, especially the quasi-piratical (no small contingent), were as cosmopolitan as the Caribbean buccaneers.
- <sup>5</sup> Pires, *Suma*, II.269-70; Meilink-Roelofs, *Asian Trade*, 76.
- <sup>6</sup> Pires, *Suma*, II.287; Meilink-Roelofs, *Asian Trade*, 132-5; Lach, *Asia*, I.128-30.
- <sup>7</sup> Pires, *Suma*, I.219-20.
- <sup>8</sup> Lach, *Asia*, I.608; see his whole section, 592-623, on the 'Spiceries'; and Thomaz, 'Maluco e Malaca'; in *Actas II* at 30-4.
- <sup>9</sup> R. B. Merriman, *The Rise of the Spanish Empire* (New York 1962, original ed. 1918), III.445-7 [*Spanish Empire*].
- <sup>10</sup> For the Casa at Corunna, F. de Solano, 'Navios y mercaderes en la ruta occidental de las especias (1519-1563)', in *Actas II*, 579-610 at 583-9.
- <sup>11</sup> I. A. Wright, *Early American Voyages to the Far East*, 1527 (Univ. of California Ph.D. thesis 1940), 199 [*American Voyages*]; Meilink-Roelofs, *Asian Trade*, 158. For the voyage itself: Urdaneta's account in C. R. Markham (ed. and trans.), *Early Spanish Voyages to the Straits of Magellan*, HS 2nd Ser. 28 (London 1911), 41-89 [*Early Voyages*]; C. E. Nowell, 'The Loiasa Expedition and the Ownership of the Moluccas', *Pac. Hist. Rev.* 5, 1936, 325-36 ['Loiasa']; and H. M. Wallis, *The Exploration of the South Sea, 1519 to 1644* (Oxford D.Phil thesis 1953-4), 92-117 [*Exploration*]. The first two are markedly pro-Spanish, and Markham not always accurate in detail; Helen Wallis's thesis, unfortunately unpublished, is probably the best analysis of early European voyaging in the Pacific, especially in relation to winds and currents. S. E. Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages A.D. 1492-1616* (New York 1974), 477-92, gives details of the ships [*Southern Voyages*].
- <sup>12</sup> R. A. Langdon, *The Lost Caravel* (Sydney 1974), 12-23, 43-6 [*Caravel*].
- <sup>13</sup> Markham, *Early Voyages*, 31, 33, 34.
- <sup>14</sup> This little Moluccan war can be unravelled, with patience and from opposite points of view, in Urdaneta's account (Markham, *Early Voyages*, 55-76) and J. de Barros, *Asia*, Dec. IV Liv. 1 Caps xiv-xvii and Liv. 2 Cap. xviii (Lisbon ed. 1945-6, IV.50-65 and 116-19). For the economic background of this literally cut-throat competition, Meilink-Roelofs, *Asian Trade*, 154-9, and the excellent analysis in V. M. Godinho, *L'Économie de l'Empire Portugais aux XV<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris 1969), 787-94, 812-20 [*Économie*]. There is a clear and concise narrative in N. P. Cushner SJ, *Spain in the Philippines* (Quezon City 1971), 21-9 [*Spain*].
- <sup>15</sup> On Portuguese evidence, Meneses was a sadist: see Castanheda's appalling account of his atrocities in Barros, *Asia*, IV.3.xx (Lisbon ed. 1945-6: IV.120-3). It is fair to add that the next Governor sent him to India in disgrace, and he died an exile in Brazil (ibid. IV.6.xx (IV.352-3)).
- <sup>16</sup> Wright, *American Voyages*, 155-6, and her paper 'Early Spanish Voyages from America to the Far East, 1527-1565', in A. Ogden and E. Sluiter (eds.), *Greater America* (Berkeley 1945), 59-78, at 63. ['Spanish Voyages']. Wright has also a detailed account in 'The First American Voyage across the Pacific, 1527-28', *Geogr. Rev.* 29, 1939, 472-87 ['First Voyage']; see also Wallis, *Exploration*, 117-33. The narrative of Vicente de Napoles is in Markham, *Early Voyages*, 109-34. Sebastian Cabot's expedition to La Plata in 1526-30 was originally intended for the Moluccas, 'Tarshish and

Ophir', and Cortes expected Saavedra to link up with him—Morison, *Southern Voyages*, 537–8, 559.

<sup>17</sup> Identified as Utrik, Taka, Rongelap, and Ailinganae; the latter pair were named Los Reyes for the Three Kings of the Epiphany, being found on that day (6 January); the people declined or soon broke off contact. It is just possible that the lost ships reached Japanese waters—A. Sharp, *The Discovery of the Pacific Islands* (Oxford 1960), 17–18, 22–3 [*Discovery*]. Wright's identification of Los Reyes with the Palaus ('First Voyage', 477) is improbable.

<sup>18</sup> For contemporary views on the atmospheric circulation, see Wallis, *Exploration*, 14–26.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 122, 126, 163–7.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 168; cf. 169–75 for an analysis of the two return attempts, and Sharp, *Discovery*, 19–23 for the islands seen. The route of the second voyage in Wright's map ('First Voyage') seems erroneous.

<sup>21</sup> Markham, *Early Voyages*, 131.

<sup>22</sup> Merriman, *Spanish Empire*, III.452–3; Wright, *American Voyages*, 197–8; J. P. de Tudela y Bueso, 'La especería de Castilla . . .', in *Actas II*, 627–87 at 676, 683–7. For the possible bearing of the new line on the question of Portuguese priority in Australia, see O. H. K. Spate, 'Terra Australis—Cognita?', *Hist. Studies* (Melbourne) 8, 1957, 1–19 at 14 ['Terra Australis'].

<sup>23</sup> Nowell, 'Loiasa' at 335.

<sup>24</sup> Godinho, who stresses the difficulty of the Goa-Moluccas voyage and the feebleness of Malacca as an intermediate base, yet implicitly concedes that the Spanish logistic position was worse; he gives an appalling picture of Portuguese internal feuds and corruption—*Économie*, 792–4.

<sup>25</sup> W. L. Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (Dutton ed. New York 1959, original ed. 1939), 19–20 [*Galleon*].

<sup>26</sup> Markham, *Early Voyages*, 135–56, 161–8; C. F. Duro, *La Armada Española desde la Union de los Reinos de Castilla y de León* (Madrid 1895–1903), I.292 [*Armada*]; B. Subercaseaux, *Tierra de Océano* (5th ed., Santiago 1965), 88–92; Morison, *Southern Voyages*, 596–600. For the possible first discovery of Juan Fernandez, D. D. Brand, 'Geographical Exploration by the Spaniards', in H. Friis (ed.), *The Pacific Basin: A History of Its Geographical Discovery* (New York 1967), 109–44 at 126 [*Pacific Basin*].

<sup>27</sup> A. Denucé, *Magellan: La Question des Moluques . . .* (Brussels 1911), 397–8. The idea seems to have stemmed from Ojea's failure in 1557–8 to find the western entrance to the Straits; see below, Ch. 5.

<sup>28</sup> Richard Hakluyt's translation in A. Galvano [Galvão], *The Discoveries of the World*, HS 1st Ser. 30 (London 1852), 202–5. The view that the mutineers demanded a course for the Moluccas stems from do Couto—Wright, *American Voyages*, 194–215 at 211; Wallis, *Exploration*, 133–8. The more detailed account of what is probably the first draft of Galvão's lost *Historia das Molucas* says nothing of Grijalva's murder (simply 'The chief captain having died . . .'), but then it is the mutineers' story; see H. T. T. M. Jacobs SJ (ed.) *A Treatise on the Moluccas* (Rome 1971; written c. 1544), 312. Galvão, a vast contrast to Meneses, restored decent order among his compatriots, conciliating the local people and spreading the Gospel into nearby groups; it is especially pleasing that so stout a Protestant as Hakluyt, in the Epistle Dedicatorie to *The Discoveries*, puts 'pietie towards God, equitie towards men' first in his list of Galvão's virtues; but like Camões himself, he was one of those who were 'bulwarks to the King and Faith, But died in hospitals, in wretched beds'—*Os Lusíadas*, X.23.

<sup>29</sup> For island identifications, see Sharp, *Discovery*, 24–6, and H. E. Maude, *Of Islands and Men* (Melbourne 1968), 48–50 [*Islands*]—the first, 'o Acea', has been identified with Christmas I. in the Line group, but may have been in the northern Gilberts, as the second, 'los Pescadores', certainly was.

<sup>30</sup> For the Villalobos expedition in general, see Wallis, *Exploration*, 138-52; Wright, 'Spanish Voyages', 218-38, and *American Voyages*, 69-72; C. Perez-Bustamanta, 'La expedición de Ruy Lopez de Villalobos . . .', in *Actas II*, 611-26; and H. R. Wagner, *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century* (Amsterdam 1966, original ed. 1929), 98-101 [*Voyages to NW*]. Details of the bargaining with Mendoza in Blair & Robertson, II.48-56, and A. Gschaedler, *Mexico and the Philippines: The Voyages of Villalobos and Legaspi* (Columbia Ph.D. thesis 1954), 30-4 [Mexico].

<sup>31</sup> Sharp, *Discovery*, 13-16, 26-32. In 1525 Gomes de Sequeira had been windblown for some 300 leagues east of Celebes (Sulawesi), reaching an island identified by Sharp as Yap, by Cortesão as Palau, and Gago Coutinho as Cape York in Queensland—Spate, 'Terra Australis', at 15-16. Other ships might have come from the west as far as the Palaus, which have been perhaps most widely accepted as the Ilhas de Sequeira; but W. A. Lessa makes out a convincing case, based in part on the nakedness of the Palauese, for Ulithi, 6° further east—The Portuguese Discovery of the Isles of Sequeira, unpublished (1974), citing much ethnographic as well as documentary evidence. K. G. McIntyre, *The Secret Discovery of Australia* (Medindie (S.A.) 1977), 296-310, follows Gago Coutinho in bringing Sequeira to Australia, but to Arnhem Land or the islands off it; he admits the obscurities in the evidence.

<sup>32</sup> Fray Geronimo de Santiesteban in Blair & Robertson, II.65, 67-8.

<sup>33</sup> D. D. Brand, in Friis, *Pacific Basin*, at 123.

<sup>34</sup> Merriman, *Spanish Empire*, III.454-5; Sarangani was named 'Antonio' for the Viceroy Mendoza.

<sup>35</sup> Wallis, 'Exploration', 186; see also Wright's acute remarks on the false goal of the Moluccas, as against the Philippines, in 'Spanish Voyages', 74-5.

<sup>36</sup> M. Cuevas SJ, *Monje y Marino: La Vida y los Tiempos de Fray Andrés de Urdaneta* (Mexico 1943), 184 [*Monje y Marino*].

<sup>37</sup> H. R. Wagner, *Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800* (Berkeley 1937), 66-7 [*Cartography of NW*]; L. Wroth, 'The Early Cartography of the Pacific', *Papers Biblio. Soc. of America* 38 No. 2 (New York 1944), 85-268 at 161-2 ['Cartography'].

<sup>38</sup> Wallis, 'Exploration', 144-5, 163.

<sup>39</sup> As may be seen from the sixth (and penultimate) summons for Legaspi to depart made by the Portuguese commander Gonçalo Pereira—Blair & Robertson, II.303. The whole correspondence (244-329) is high-flown, meticulously notarised, insincere on either part (though the Portuguese had the law, as Urdaneta at least well knew), and extremely diverting.

<sup>40</sup> Cushner, *Spain*, 39-40; Blair & Robertson, II.78—most of this volume is devoted to documents on the voyage and the founding of Spanish rule, of which Cushner (30-73) gives a good general account. G. F. Zaide, *Philippine Political and Cultural History* (revised ed., Manila 1957), is more detailed but less well organised. For the preparations and problems surrounding the voyage: Gschaedler, *Mexico, passim*; Wagner, *Voyages to NW*, 94-120; Wallis, *Exploration*, 152-67; Wright, *American Voyages*, 240-4, and 'Spanish Voyages', 73-7.

<sup>41</sup> Blair & Robertson, II.80-1; Wagner, *Voyages to NW*, 104, and 105-6 for Urdaneta's memorandum.

<sup>42</sup> Confusingly for a later age, the overall commander of a Spanish fleet was the General and his flagship was styled the *capitana*; the second in command was the *almirante* and his ship the *almiranta*. On the Carrion-Urdaneta question, see M. Mitchell, *Friar Andrés de Urdaneta, O.S.A.* (London 1964), 140-6—a better biography than Cuevas's rather *arrière* work.

<sup>43</sup> Blair & Robertson, II.84; Wallis, *Exploration*, 193-4.

<sup>44</sup> Wagner, *Voyages to NW*, 107; instructions summarised in Blair & Robertson, II.89-100.

<sup>45</sup> The other ships were the *San Pedro*, 500 tons, *capitana*; *San Pablo*, 300 or 400, *almiranta*; *San Juan*,

80. There was also a smaller craft, either a fregata towed by the *San Pedro* or a bergantin carried on her deck. The patache *San Lucas* was 40 tons.

<sup>46</sup> Blair & Robertson, II.108; for the islands, Sharp, *Discovery*, 36–9.

<sup>47</sup> Cushner, *Spain*, 53–5; Blair & Robertson, II.120–1; for photograph of ‘El Niño’, Plate 1 in K. Lightfoot, *The Philippines* (London 1973).

<sup>48</sup> The title of J. L. Phelan’s study, subtitled *Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses, 1565–1700* (Madison 1959).

<sup>49</sup> See the extremely interesting lists in Blair & Robertson, II.182–95.

<sup>50</sup> Cushner, *Spain*, 65–70, for the move to Manila; for its advantages, Lightfoot, *Philippines*, 73.

<sup>51</sup> P. Chaunu, *Les Philippines et le Pacifique des Ibériques* (Paris 1960), 20–1.

<sup>52</sup> Blair & Robertson, II.214.

<sup>53</sup> Wallis, *Exploration*, 191. Sources for this section in general those in note 30 above, with Sharp, *Discovery*, 33–6 for Arellano. Cf. also E. W. Dahlgren, *Were the Hawaiian Islands Visited by the Spaniards before their Discovery by Captain Cook in 1778?* (plus an even longer subtitle!) (Stockholm 1916, 34–9) [*Hawaii?*].

<sup>54</sup> Wallis, *Exploration*, 192; though the latitudes given by de la Torre and Urdaneta differ by 4°. *Parece Vela* = ‘looks like a sail’; *Abrejos* = ‘keep your eyes open’—in its Portuguese form ‘*Abrolhos*’ it became almost a generic term for a low dangerous reef, as in the Dutch + Portuguese name *Houtmans Abrolhos* off Western Australia. Cf. *Miro como vas* = ‘watch how you’re going’.

<sup>55</sup> The question of desertion is resolved in Arellano’s favour, but against Lope Martin, in A. Sharp, *Adventurous Armada* (Christchurch 1961), 23–7, 110–12; he also gives a vivid account of the San Geronimo affair, 113–45; this is a ‘juvenile’ book, but thoroughly based on the original documents. Cuevas, *Monje y Marino*, 235–7, also acquits Arellano.

<sup>56</sup> P. Chaunu, ‘Le galion de Manille’, *Annales Économies Sociétés Civilisations* 6, 1961, 447–62 at 452.

<sup>57</sup> Blair & Robertson, II.101–2; Wallis, *Exploration*, 201; Cuevas, *Monje y Marino*, 271–8 (criticism of Wagner); H. R. Wagner, ‘A Discussion of Urdaneta and the Return Route from the Philippine Islands’, *Pac. Hist. Rev.* 13, 1944, 313–16.

<sup>58</sup> A. F. González, ‘La dispersión de la escuadra magallánica. El problema del regreso a las costas americanas’, in *Actas* II, 435–9 at 448.

<sup>59</sup> Schurz, *Galleon*, 216–83 *passim*, but especially 216–17, 251, 279–81; Wallis, *Exploration*, 207–8; Dahlgren, *Hawaii?*, 41–58, gives an annotated list of sailings to 1609.

<sup>60</sup> S. Zavala, *El Mundo Americano en la Epoca Colonial* (Mexico 1967), II.173; Cuevas, *Monje y Marino*, 203, and text at 377–81; text and translation also in Blair & Robertson, II.220–31.

<sup>61</sup> E. Chassigneux, ‘Rica de Oro et Rica de Plata’, *T’oung Pao* 30, 1933, 37–84, at 38 [‘Oro et Plata’]. *The Times Survey Atlas* of 1922 still has ‘Roca de Plata or Crespo’, along with the ‘Anson Archipelago’ in the empty waters between Marcus Island and Hawaii, and separates Lot’s Wife and Coluna Island (Plate 103); the longest-lived of these mythical islands, Ganges, survived in some maps until 1952. Some of these ‘islands’ may be due to breakers on a submarine sea-mount or volcano, but other anachronistic survivals seem to stem from the real existence of an isolated stack, Arellano’s ‘una Coluna’, which was sighted and named ‘Lot’s Wife’ by John Meares (of Nootka ill-fame) in 1788, and is really Sofu Gan north of the Bonins. Meares placed it 16° too far east, near enough to the reputed but vague position of Rica de Oro for a conflation which misled cartographers—Chassigneux, 160. This is probably the fullest discussion, but see also Dahlgren, *Hawaii?*, 66–9; Schurz, *Galleon*, 230–8; Wagner, *Voyages to NW*, 125–43; Wroth, ‘Cartography’, 207–15.

- <sup>62</sup> J. C. Findlay, *A Directory for the Navigation of the North Pacific Ocean* (2nd ed., London 1870), 875–6.
- <sup>63</sup> Chassigneux, ‘Oro et Plata’, 64–71; Dahlgren, *Hawaii?*, 67–8.
- <sup>64</sup> Schurz, *Galleon*, 236–7.
- <sup>65</sup> Wagner, *Cartography of NW*, 125–41; and for the Anian element, 177–8.
- <sup>66</sup> Schurz, *Galleon*, 232–5; Blair & Robertson, XIV.275–7. Vizcaino spent six weeks on this search (Dahlgren, *Hawaii?*, gives dates—25 September to 7 November), not Schurz’s three months or E. C. Chapman’s three weeks.
- <sup>67</sup> Blair & Robertson, XVIII.326; Duro, *Armada*, III.378–80; and cf. below, Ch. 5. Rios Coronel thought Rica de Plata was 100 leagues in circumference.
- <sup>68</sup> Dahlgren, *Hawaii?*, 49–51.
- <sup>69</sup> J. K. Heeres, in *Abel Janszoon Tasman’s Journal* (Amsterdam 1898, reprinted Los Angeles 1965), 15–37; Chassigneux, ‘Oro et Plata’, 46–8; Dahlgren, *Hawaii?*, 74–7; Wagner, *Cartography of NW*, 138; J. O. M. Broek, ‘Geographical Exploration by the Dutch’, in Friis, *Pacific Basin*, 151–69 at 166–7; J. J. Stephan, *The Kuril Islands* (Oxford 1974), 32–6. Much of the extreme confusion of cartography in these parts is sorted out in Wroth, ‘Cartography’, 201–6, and J. A. Harrison, *Japan’s Northern Frontier* (Gainesville (Florida) 1953), 145–55.
- <sup>70</sup> G. F. G. Careri, *A Voyage to the Philippines* (Manila 1963), 150; this is Awnsham Churchill’s 1704 translation from first edition (Naples 1699–1700). The pilots supposed these islands to be those ‘of Salomon’—the old Ophirian conjecture which played so large a part in Pacific imaginings—but Careri opines that they were imaginary, which does not stop him from a wildly garbled linkage with Mendoza’s [*sic*: Mendaña’s] 1596 voyage. Wagner (*Cartography of NW*, 139) doubts Careri’s authenticity, but this scarcely detracts from the narrative: whoever wrote it had experienced it, and one feels ‘Yes, that is what the passage *must* have been like’.
- <sup>71</sup> Quoted Schurz, *Galleon*, 237–8.
- <sup>72</sup> Sharp, *Discovery*, 66–8, sets out the elements of the cartographical problem; the currently accepted negative view is based on Dahlgren, *Hawaii?*, and J. F. G. Stokes, ‘Hawaii’s Discovery by Spaniards: Theories Traced and Refuted’, *Papers Hawaiian Hist. Soc.* 20, 1939, 38–113. R. Yzendoorn, ‘A Study in Hawaiian Cartography prior to Cook’s Rediscovery’, *21st Annual Report Hawaiian Hist. Soc.*, 1913, 23–32, raises the telling point that several Mercator–Ortelius maps of the sixteenth century show a group of islands named ‘Los Bolcanes’ in the appropriate latitudes, and claims that, apart from Hawaii, the only other volcanoes of the North Pacific are in the Aleutians; but Stokes identifies these with the Bonin or Volcano Islands discovered by Bernardo de la Torre in 1543. For counter-arguments to Dahlgren and Stokes, plausible but not entirely convincing, see B. Anderson, *The Life and Voyages of Captain George Vancouver* (Toronto 1960), 128–34.
- <sup>73</sup> Quoted Chassigneux, ‘Oro et Plata’, 37.
- <sup>74</sup> Work on these is being undertaken by a Hawaiian student, Mr Paki Neves, in the Department of Pacific and SE Asian History, Australian National University. Neves stresses persistent traditions about ‘Lono’ and ‘Pao’, respectively Captain and Priest ‘of the ship’, and the banner- or sail-like Lono image. Together with the importance of Kealakekua Bay in the procession of the image, these traditions might account, at least in part, for the reception of Captain Cook as a God.
- <sup>75</sup> Cf. Maude, *Islands*, 60, and T. A. Rickard, ‘Drift Iron: A Fortuitous Factor in Primitive Culture’, *Geogr. Rev.* 24, 1934, 525–43. On junks, W. E. Braden, ‘On the Probability of pre-1778 Japanese Drifts to Hawaii’, *Hawaiian Jnl of History* 10, 1976, 75–89.
- <sup>76</sup> See Langdon, *Caravel*, 272–80, for a general restatement of the case for Spanish contact.
- <sup>77</sup> Broek, in Friis, *Pacific Basin* at 167.



### Notes for Chapter 5

- <sup>1</sup> H. R. Wagner, *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century* (Amsterdam 1966, original ed. 1929), 128–33, 152–3 [*Voyages to NW*]. Chapters IX–XII form a major source for this section and include Ascension's narrative (180–272). C. E. Chapman, *A History of California: The Spanish Period* (New York 1921), 112–42, gives more weight to the impact of Drake and Cavendish on Spanish thinking than does Wagner [*California*].
- <sup>2</sup> Wagner, *Voyages to NW*, 155 and 362 note 44, and his *Sir Francis Drake's Voyage Around the World* (Amsterdam 1969, original ed. 1926), note 23 on 490–2—102 lines in minion or 7-point type! I no longer feel the need to apologise for the length of my own notes.
- <sup>3</sup> Wagner, *Voyages to NW*, 163 and 373 note 78; the port of arrival is usually given as Navidad.
- <sup>4</sup> Wagner, *Voyages to NW*, 280; the letter is in Hakluyt, VIII.133–5. Vizcaino's eye for the main chance was shared by many Spanish pioneers, but few were quite so earthy about it. Cf. A. del Portillo y Diez Sollano, *Descubrimientos y Exploraciones en las Costas de California* (Madrid 1947), 174–204 [*Descubrimientos*], and M. del Carmen Velasquez, 'La navegacion transpacifica', *Hist. Mexicana* 17, 1968–9, 159–75, which despite its title is mostly on Vizcaino in California. For Vizcaino and pearling, H. R. Wagner, 'Pearl Fishing Enterprises in the Gulf of California', *HAHR* 10, 1930, 188–220.
- <sup>5</sup> Wagner, *Voyages to NW*, 363 note 49.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 174–6 and 376 note 27.
- <sup>7</sup> Fray Antonio's bad calculations grossly inflated his 'island', making what is really the peninsula of Baja California correspond roughly to the entire modern state of California—J. B. Leighly, *California as an Island* (San Francisco 1972), 30–3, 39 [*California*].
- <sup>8</sup> Wagner, *Voyages to NW*, 180–1, 165–8, and comment at 388–91; for scurvy and Monterey, 245–7, and the pelican in her piety at 187 and 212. There is another Ascension account in H. Aschmann, 'A Late Recounting of the Vizcaino Expedition', *Jnl Calif. Anthropology* 1, 1974, 174–85.
- <sup>9</sup> Leighly, *California*, 23.
- <sup>10</sup> Chapman, *California*, 137–8; Wagner, *Voyages to NW*, 180–1, 407 note 187.
- <sup>11</sup> Chapman, *California*, 138–42.
- <sup>12</sup> The most prominent figure was probably the Aragonese entrepreneur Pedro de Porter y Casanate, for whom, and for minor (mainly mission) explorations before Fr Eusebio Kino SJ finally established the peninsularity of Baja California (c. 1700), see Chapman, *California*, 156–79. To Chapman, Porter is a rather dubious character; to Portillo, a selfless hero comparable to Cortes—*Descubrimientos*, 245–90 at 273–4.
- <sup>13</sup> J. R. Brebner, *The Explorers of North America* (Meridian ed., Cleveland 1964), 339. Exports were practically confined to hides and tallow; for a vivid account of Mexican California, see R. H. Dana's classic *Two Years before the Mast* (Boston 1840).
- <sup>14</sup> G. F. G. Careri, *A Voyage to the Philippines*, Manila 1963, 160–1; cf. note 70 to Ch. 4 above.
- <sup>15</sup> H. R. Wallis, *The Exploration of the South Sea, 1519 to 1644* (Oxford D.Phil. thesis 1953–4), 207 [*Exploration*]; A. de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* (Mexico 1609), trans. and ed. J. S. Cummins, HS 2nd Ser. 140 (Cambridge 1971), 319 [*Sucesos*]. Cf. R. Walter and B. Robins, *A Voyage round the World . . . by George Anson* (1748), ed. G. Williams (London 1974), 226.
- <sup>16</sup> Compare the views of W. L. Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (Dutton ed., New York 1959), 232–44; Chapman, *California*, 138–42—rather a median stance; Wagner, *Voyages to NW*, 275–83—the last seems to me the best-argued case.
- <sup>17</sup> W. Borah, *Early Colonial Trade and Navigation between Mexico and Peru* (Berkeley 1954), 29–31,

and 31-6 for the discovery of the route and the ports. For El Niño, R. C. Murphy, *Bird Islands of Peru* (New York 1925), 165-8; C. N. Caviedes, 'El Niño 1972: Its Climatic, Human, and Economic Implications', *Geogr. Rev.* 65, 1975, 493-509, which gives many references; I have also received personal information from Professor Caviedes. There is an immense amount of data, which I confess I have not attempted to digest, in *El Mar Gran Personaje*, being Tomo I, Vols. 1 and 2, of the *Historia Marítima del Perú* (Lima 1975).

<sup>18</sup> For vivid accounts, B. Subercaseaux, *Tierra de Océano: La epopeya marítima de un pueblo terrestre* (5th ed., Santiago 1965), 115-34; S. E. Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages A.D. 1492-1616* (New York 1974), 603-12. As an indication of the imperfect knowledge of these parts as late as 1946, Subercaseaux tells of an amusing find on the Taitao peninsula, supposedly uninhabited: not Man Friday's footprint, but 'un excremento humano fresco. . . .'

<sup>19</sup> D. D. Brand, 'Geographical Exploration by the Spaniards', in H. Friis (ed.), *The Pacific Basin: A History of Its Geographical Exploration* (New York 1967), 109-44, at 127 [*Pacific Basin*]. H. Kraus is in error in referring to Ladrillero's voyage as 'unsuccessful' (*Sir Francis Drake: A Pictorial Biography* (Amsterdam 1970), 118, 184-5); its purpose was not to go to Spain, but to reconnoitre the route, and in this it was successful. Kraus does however present Hernan Gallego's little-known but interesting *Declaracion del estrecho de Magallanes*.

<sup>20</sup> J. T. Medina, *El piloto Juan Fernández* (Santiago 1918), 39—a definitive work [*Fernández*]. R. L. Woodward, *Robinson Crusoe's Island* (Chapel Hill 1969), is a lively but scholarly history [*Robinson*].

<sup>21</sup> Sir Clements Markham's statement of 1904 that 'very little is known of Juan Fernandez' (*The Voyages of Pedro Fernandez de Quiros*, HS 2nd Ser. 14-15 (London 1904), II.526 [*Quiros*]) was true enough when made; but since it has been reprinted in an excellent work over sixty years later (C. Jack-Hinton, *The Search for the Islands of Solomon 1567-1838* (Oxford 1969), 26 [*The Search*]), it is as well to eliminate Markham's candidate. This man was building ships in Nicaragua in 1531; the Juan Fernandez who found the island said in 1590 that he was 60 (Medina, *Fernández*, 12-22, 66-7); and making all allowance for precocity, this exceeds! Markham's many translations for the Hakluyt Society do provide an easily accessible corpus of material, and his style, a little archaic but without undue archaism, 'has given us a story of singular charm and sustained dramatic quality . . . [with] some passages which would be difficult to improve upon' (Celsus Kelly); but wherever there is anything directional or numerical, he is excessively careless. Nor is he always objective, as any reader of his works on Peruvian history will see at once. Cf. H. Bernstein and B. W. Diffie, 'Sir Clements R. Markham as a Translator', *HAHR* 17, 1937, 546-7; C. Kelly OFM, 'The Narrative of Pedro Fernandez de Quiros', *Hist. Studies* (Melbourne) 9, 1959-60, 181-93 at 190 ['Narrative']; and the remarks of Robert Graves in the preface to his novel *The Isles of Unwisdom* (London 1950).

<sup>22</sup> Medina, *Fernández*, 118-70 *passim*; A. Dalrymple, *An Historical Collection of . . . Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean* (London 1770), I.xxiv, xxix, 53-4; J. Burney, *A Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean . . .* (London 1803-17), I.300-2. The memorial of Dr Juan Luis Arias has been often reprinted and translated, e.g. in R. H. Major, *Early Voyages to Terra Australis*, HS 1st Ser. 25 (London 1859), 1-30, and Markham, *Quiros*, II.317-36. For alleged evidence of Spaniards in New Zealand, E. Stokes, 'European Discovery of New Zealand Before 1642: A Review of the Evidence', *NZ Jnl of History* 4, 1970, 1-9. For a possible earlier sighting of Juan Fernandez Islands, above, Ch. 4.

<sup>23</sup> Woodward, *Robinson*, 12-14, 20-63 *passim*.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 17-18.

<sup>25</sup> J. Juan and A. de Ulloa, *Relación Histórica del Viaje al América Meridional* (Madrid 1748), III.284-7,

and their *Noticias Secretas de América* (London 1826), I.71–7.

<sup>26</sup> Woodward, *Robinson*, 79–88; H. Wallis (ed.), *Carteret's Voyage round the World*, HS 2nd Ser. 123–4 (Cambridge 1965), I.128–40. Carteret had to go on the more difficult and less useful Mas Afuera.

<sup>27</sup> Jack-Hinton, *The Search*, 13—a meticulous and definitive work. For the background, see his first chapter ('The Ophirian Conjecture') and C. Kelly OFM, 'Geographical Knowledge and Speculation in regard to Spanish Pacific Voyages', *Hist. Studies* (Melbourne), 9 1959–60, 12–18 ['GeogI Knowledge']. Six narratives of Mendaña's first voyage, including those of Gallego, Sarmiento, Catoira, and Mendaña himself, are translated by Lord Amherst of Hackney in *The Discovery of the Solomon Islands*, HS 2nd Ser. 6–7 (London 1901) [*Solomons*]; the actual voyage is analysed in Wallis, *Exploration*, 212–54. All three Mendaña-Quiros voyages are vividly narrated in G. A. Wood, *The Discovery of Australia* (Melbourne 1969, original ed. 1922), 85–130 [*Australia*], and there is a very balanced account in J. C. Beaglehole, *The Exploration of the Pacific* (3rd ed., London 1966), 39–107 [*Pacific*].

<sup>28</sup> Jack-Hinton, *The Search*, 24–6; A. Galvano [Galvão], *The Discoveries of the World* (trans. R. Hakluyt), HS 1st Ser. 30 (London 1862), 213–14. The Tupac Yupanqui story has a strong bearing on Thor Heyerdahl's theories—see his *Sea Routes to Polynesia* (London 1968), especially 80–1. But much of his argument is fallacious, and he relies far too heavily on the examination under duress (even threat of death) of the centenarian Indian Chepo (for which see Amherst, *Solomons*, II.465–8).

<sup>29</sup> Kelly, 'GeogI Knowledge', 15 correcting Amherst, *Solomons*, I.lviii; Jack-Hinton, *The Search*, 31, and for official adoption of the name in 1580, 80–3.

<sup>30</sup> Amherst, *Solomons*, I.83, 103 (Mendaña), I.10 (Gallego); Wallis, *Exploration*, 220.

<sup>31</sup> Jack-Hinton, *The Search*, 65–7; Wallis, *Exploration*, 218–19, 221–2.

<sup>32</sup> Amherst, *Solomons*, I.100–5 (Mendaña), II.272 (Catoira); for identification of Ysla de Jesús, H. E. Maude, *Of Islands and Men* (Melbourne 1968), 53–9 [*Islands*] and A. Sharp, *The Discovery of the Pacific Islands* (Oxford 1960), 44 [*Discovery*].

<sup>33</sup> The navigation is analysed in detail by Jack-Hinton, *The Search*, 35–41, and Wallis, *Exploration*, 214–24. Jack-Hinton favours Roncador; Wallis and Sharp, Ontong Java.

<sup>34</sup> Mendaña's own narrative in Amherst, *Solomons*, I.108–12; the star was Venus, often visible in full daylight in these latitudes.

<sup>35</sup> Catoira, in Amherst, *Solomons*, II.215–462, gives much the most vivid and detailed account of affairs ashore; an honest man, giving full credit to Melanesian courage.

<sup>36</sup> Jack-Hinton, *The Search*, 64–7; Beaglehole, *Pacific*, 52–5; Amherst, *Solomons*, I.183–7 (Mendaña), II.417–21, 427–47 (Catoira).

<sup>37</sup> Amherst, *Solomons*, I.70–4 (Gallego).

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, I.77–8 (Gallego), I.186–90 (Mendaña), II.448–63 (Catoira). For Sarmiento's side, A. Landín Carrasco, *Vida y Viajes de Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa* (Madrid 1945), 24–53.

<sup>39</sup> Amherst, *Solomons*, I.77–9 (Gallego), II.451–7 (Catoira).

<sup>40</sup> Jack-Hinton, *The Search*, 63–79.

<sup>41</sup> 'A discourse of . . . the South sea written by Lopez Vaz . . .' in Hakluyt, VIII.153–206 at 204–6; hardly so 'cautious on the subject of gold' as Jack-Hinton suggests (*The Search*, 110).

<sup>42</sup> The point is made by Mendaña himself in a complaint of harassment and obstruction by Toledo, under colour of the need to go against the corsairs. All would be well, at no cost to the Treasury, if His Majesty would give Mendaña a licence to sell 2000 quintals of mercury in Potosi or New Spain, so that he could prepare a new voyage—desirable, *inter alia*, since many young women expect to get husbands from such a voyage, and please God that waiting will not lead them to an evil life!—letter

to Council of the Indies, Lima, 24 March 1580, transcript by Zaragoza, MSS C 402, Mitchell Library, Sydney.

<sup>43</sup> The opening phrase is from the great eighteenth century Portuguese compilation of shipwrecks, the *História trágico-marítima*. The Quiros/Belmonte relation was published by J. Zaragoza in *Historia del Descubrimiento de las Regiones Australes hecho por el General Pedro Fernandez de Quiros* (Madrid 1876–82), and translated by C. R. Markham for the Hakluyt Society (above, note 21). I have relied mainly on Jack-Hinton and Wallis for dates and positions and courses, and have been content to quote Markham on the ‘human interest’ side, where he is better; but not without collating with Zaragoza (see next note). The authorship of the Quiros/Belmonte relation is ably discussed by Celsus Kelly in ‘Narrative’—with notes on Markham’s errors and on the big controversy (in a small pond) stirred up by Cardinal Moran, Archbishop of Sydney, who convinced himself but not many others that Quiros had discovered Australia, or at least Queensland; Kelly cites over forty items in this now happily dead polemic. The build-up was purely sectarian—the Mass in Australia had to antedate Holy Communion—and is now repudiated *in toto* by more conscientious Catholic historians such as Dr Eris O’Brien, formerly Archbishop of Canberra and Goulburn.

In a more refined form, the Mendaña-Quiros saga is part of the Australian mythos: see J. McAuley’s poem *Captain Quiros* (Sydney 1964), and Rex Ingamells’s ill-starred attempt at epic grandeur, *The Great South Land* (Melbourne 1951), as well as lyrics by poets such as Douglas Stewart and Ken Barrett. An English poet has retold it in an excellent novel: Robert Graves, *The Isles of Unwisdom*.

<sup>44</sup> This is Markham’s constantly quoted version (Quiros. I.17); but Zaragoza (I.37) has ‘es era toda tal, que puedo con razon decir, que en la vida tuve tanta pena como que tan bella criatura en parte de tal perdicion se quedase.’ Markham seems to have slipped in the ‘never’, and my reading would be ‘he was in all ways such that I can rightfully say that all my life I had so much pain that so fair a creature . . .’

<sup>45</sup> Both names are still in use, though Ndeni is now more common, and the group is still known as the Santa Cruz Islands. Although lying some 400 km east of the nearest point in the Solomons proper, they are administratively part of that group, so that in a purely technical sense Mendaña could be said to have rediscovered the Solomons.

<sup>46</sup> J. Allen and R. C. Green, ‘Mendana 1595 and the Fate of the Lost *Almiranta*: An Archaeological Investigation’, *Jnl Pac. Hist.* (Canberra) 7, 1972, 73–91; some of the finds were made by Melanesian schoolgirls.

<sup>47</sup> For navigational detail, Wallis, Exploration, 270–80, and Jack-Hinton, *The Search*, 129–32.

<sup>48</sup> This may seem a harsh judgment on a lady who died near 400 years ago; but be it noted that it is drawn from the Quiros/Belmonte relation, that Quiros appears almost pathologically loyal to his duty in her, and the criticism in this document is very restrained—and the more devastating for that.

<sup>49</sup> Morga, *Sucesos*, 104–5. The material is prolific: according to Celsus Kelly, more than 600 documents on the three voyages 1567–1606 have been found since 1930, and Quiros himself wrote some seventy memorials, of which about fifty are known to be extant—*La Australia del Espiritu Santo*, HS 2nd Ser. 126–7 (Cambridge 1966), I.ix, 4 [*Australia*]. Kelly gives, amongst other important documents, the *relacion* by Fray Martin de Munilla OFM (I.237–70) and the *sumario* of the accountant Juan de Iturbe (II.273–93). He also analyses, with much learning, ‘Some early maps relating to the Queirós-Torres discoveries of 1606’, in *Actas of the Congreso Internacional de História dos Descubrimentos* (Lisbon 1971), II.203–54.

The controversial account by Prado, translated by G. F. Barwick, is in H. N. Stevens (ed.), *New*

*Light on the Discovery of Australia*, HS 2nd Ser. 64 (London 1930) [*New Light*]—the new light did not dispel obscurities, and some heat was produced. The accounts of the Portuguese pilot Gonzalez de Leza and of Fray Juan de Torquemada are in Markham, *Quiros*, II.321–406, 407–54. There are analyses in Jack-Hinton, *The Search*, 133–83, and Wallis, *Exploration*, 286–335. Finally, for Torres and his Strait, it seems fair to say that B. Hilder, *The Voyage of Torres along the Southern Coast of New Guinea in 1606* (Macquarie Univ. M.A. thesis 1976), may probably be taken as definitive [Torres].

<sup>50</sup> Jack-Hinton, *The Search*, 134, 167; Kelly, *Australia*, I.2, 114–15.

<sup>51</sup> There was at this stage no inordinate delay—Kelly (*Australia*, I.21) points out that though it was about eight and a half years between Quiros's return to and his second sailing from Callao, half this time was spent in travel and eighteen months in Rome.

<sup>52</sup> Stevens, *New Light*, 27–33; Kelly, *Australia*, I.35–7. Prado's account probably embodies three recensions; it is noteworthy that it has a scurrilous reference to Ochoa as a galley-slave, and yet Ochoa attests the truth of the document (*New Light*, 97, 203)! This is fishy, and it is difficult to believe Prado on personal matters. Stevens says (at 36) that 'after complaining of the conduct of Quiros he [Prado] was still loyal to him', because the heading of his *relacion* says that the discovery was begun by Quiros (which he could hardly deny) and completed for him by Prado with the help of Torres. This is thin evidence of loyalty; and the balance of evidence suggests that 'Torres with the help of Prado' is nearer the truth (cf. note 67 below). What Stevens modestly passes off as 'complaining' includes such amiable remarks as that Quiros was a liar and a fraud, 'fit to be of the Rua Nova in Lisbon, in whose mouth is nothing but lies, bragging, and disloyalty' (*New Light*, 241). One can only wonder at Stevens's odd notion of loyalty.

<sup>53</sup> Kelly, *Australia*, I.25–6, and II.357 (Iturbe, urging Quiros's unfitness for command).

<sup>54</sup> Jack-Hinton, *The Search*, 138–40; Wallis, *Exploration*, 286; Kelly, *Australia*, I.39 and II.276 (Iturbe).

<sup>55</sup> Marutea, Actaeon Group, Vaiaatea, Hao, Tauere or Amano, Rakaraka or Raroia, Raroia or Takume—Kelly, *Australia*, I.42, 55–8; Jack-Hinton, *The Search*, 141; Sharp, *Discovery*, 57–60; Maude, *Islands*, 66–70; and their following pages for San Bernardo and Gente Hermosa.

<sup>56</sup> Kelly, *Australia*, table at I.29 and Munilla's account, I.169–74; Markham, *Quiros*, I.209–17.

<sup>57</sup> Wallis, *Exploration*, 292–303; the various dead reckonings are discussed here and also by Jack-Hinton, *The Search*, 142–8. In the next paragraph I follow Hilder, Torres, 27.

<sup>58</sup> Jack-Hinton, *The Search*, 148–53, gives good reason for not making the facile identification Manicoco = Vanikolo = Vanikoro.

<sup>59</sup> It is generally held to be 'La Australia' in honour of the Habsburg House of Austria, to which the Spanish royal family belonged; but Quiros may in fact have named it 'La Australia', adding the complimentary 'i' later—Jack-Hinton, *The Search*, 154 note; Wood, *Australia*, 129–30; cf. C. Sanz, *Australia: su Descubrimiento y Denominacion* (Madrid 1963).

<sup>60</sup> See the divergent accounts of Quiros and Leza, in Markham, *Quiros*, I.241–4 and II.360–76; Munilla is vague—Kelly, *Australia*, I.210–11, and for Kelly's judicious comments I.86–8. It may be added that given the limitations of the arquebus, especially in a damp climate, its terror could wear off quite quickly—D. Shineberg, 'Guns and Men in Melanesia', *Jnl Pac. Hist.* 6, 1971, 61–82, though she perhaps makes too little allowance for the shock effect; cf. E. Bradford, *Drake* (London 1965), 73–4.

<sup>61</sup> Kelly, *Australia*, I.223 (Munilla) and II.286 (Iturbe); Prado in Stevens, *New Light*, 123, adding that Quiros intended to build a church of marble 'to rival that of St Peter at Rome'—perhaps mere camp gossip, but a touch characteristic of either man.

<sup>62</sup> Stevens, *New Light*, 125.

<sup>63</sup> No comment is made on this snap decision by Leza, Munilla, Torquemada, or Torres; Prado *more suo* says that Quiros left because he was ‘so timid and fearful’ of the poisonous fish, although he had not partaken (Stevens, *New Light*, 129); but Quiros and Leza make it clear that the decision was made before the poisoning, and Leza says that Quiros did eat and was ill as a result—Markham, *Quiros*, I.263, II.389–90. It is clear that Stevens’s ‘much-maligned man’ was a much-maligner.

<sup>64</sup> The matter could be discussed endlessly and fruitlessly; see Jack-Hinton, *The Search*, 154–5; Kelly, *Australia*, I.88–96 (perhaps the fairest analysis); Beaglehole, *Pacific*, 96–9, and *The Journals of Captain James Cook: I. The Voyage of the Endeavour*, Hakluyt Society (Cambridge 1968), xlix [Endeavour]; Wood, *Australia*, 120–6.

<sup>65</sup> Markham, *Quiros*, I.281–6, and 291–2 for Quiros’s will; Jack-Hinton, *The Search*, 156–7; Wallis, *Exploration*, 314.

<sup>66</sup> Torres to the King, Manila, 12 July 1607, in Markham, *Quiros*, II.455–66. His laconism compares very favourably with Prado’s rhetoric.

<sup>67</sup> The Papuan coast is depicted on beautiful and detailed perspective maps drawn and signed by Prado as ‘capitan’ but referring to Torres as ‘capitan y cabo’, i.e. ‘captain and commander’. Stevens’s attempts to explain away this awkward fact and place Prado in command are roughly handled by W. Dixon, ‘Notes and Comments on “New Light on the Discovery of Australia”’, *Jnl Roy. Hist. Soc. Australia* 17, 1931, 289–330 at 302–6. A probable solution is put forward by Hilder (Torres, 7–10): the Viceroy’s orders may well have nominated Prado to take over command in succession to Quiros; but Prado had transferred from the capitana to the almiranta, and after the separation it could not be known that Quiros was dead or incapacitated, whatever may have been thought or wished. On the almiranta, Torres was undoubtedly in command. Although Prado says that ‘I’ took possession at various points, and Torres that ‘we’ did, this would be at best a courteous deference to Prado’s higher social standing on such formal occasions. See also B. Hilder, ‘Torres or Prado?’, *MM* 60, 1974, 133–42.

K. McIntyre thinks that both Quiros and Torres were aware of a passage south of New Guinea, but his arguments, though ingenious and worthy of serious consideration, are not altogether convincing—*The Secret Discovery of Australia* (London 1977), 320–3. It is fair to add that, while I have some reservations as to the mode of the discovery, I think that his main thesis—that the Portuguese, and specifically Cristovão de Mendonça, charted a good deal of the Australian coast in 1522–3—will be very difficult to refute.

<sup>68</sup> Kelly, *Australia*, II.353–4.

<sup>69</sup> The argument is as confused and tricky as the navigation. Select references: F. J. Bayldon, ‘Voyage of Luis Vaez de Torres . . .’, *Jnl Roy. Hist. Soc. Australia* 11, 1925, 158–95 (Torres hugged Papuan coast, or sailed north of Mulgrave I., out of sight of Cape York); Bayldon, ‘Voyage of Torres’, *ibid.* 16, 1930, 133–46 (latter option—this after *New Light*); Stevens, *New Light*, 45–70 (Endeavour Strait, in sight of Cape York); E. A. Parkyn, ‘The Voyage of Luis Vaez de Torres’, *Geogr. Jnl* 76, 1930, 133–46 (Bayldon’s second option); A. R. H[inks], ‘The Discovery of Torres Strait’, *ibid.* 98, 1941, 91–102 (close to Papuan coast); A. Sharp, *The Discovery of Australia* (Oxford 1963), 23–30 (nothing proven). Wood, *Australia*, 133–4, is vague: Torres ‘definitely saw the Southern Continent’ yet ‘writes as one who neither expected a continent, nor saw one.’ The track shown by C. Prieto in *El Océano Pacífico: navegantes españoles del siglo XVI* (Madrid 1972), coasting most of the Gulf of Carpentaria, is quite imaginary.

<sup>70</sup> D. D. Brand, in Friis, *Pacific Basin*, 138; he confuses the Arias memorial with Torres’s letter, which Dalrymple did not find until the 1790s—see H. T. Fry, *Alexander Dalrymple and the Expansion of British Trade* (London 1970), 112–13. For Dalrymple’s map and Cook, Beaglehole, *Endeavour*, clxii–clxiv.

<sup>71</sup> Wallis, *Exploration*, 332–5, Jack-Hinton, *The Search*, 175–83, 222, 239–42 and his redrawings of the Duchess of Berry, Sanches, Van Langren, du Val, and Vaugondy maps. Eredia's maps (which show those hoary survivors Polo's Beach and Maletur) are in A. Cortesão and A. Teixeira da Mota, *Portugaliæ Monumenta Cartographica* (Lisbon 1960), IV.414 and 419. Hilder makes the intriguing suggestion that Prado's missing Mappa V may have been sent to Eredia, as the cartographer chiefly concerned with these regions—Torres, 172. J. O'Hagan, in *The Use of Torres' Charts by Seventeenth Century Cartographers*, unpublished typescript (1959) in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, draws attention to the remarkably correct outline of southern New Guinea in Sanson's maps of 1651 and 1659 and suggests that Ochoa may have sold a chart which became the source of the Van Langren globe.

<sup>72</sup> J. Forsyth analyses the process by which the change came about and makes strong case for a more general and persistent knowledge of Torres's results, even though some of his citations (e.g. from Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*) will hardly bear the weight he would put on them—Cook's Debt to Torres, unpublished typescript (c. 1960?) in the Mitchell Library.

<sup>73</sup> Beaglehole, *Endeavour*, 410–11.

<sup>74</sup> Beaglehole, *Pacific*, 105. The lingering misery of Quiros's last years is best followed in Kelly, *Australia*, I.105–16 (comment) and II.352–67 (documents). See also Jack-Hinton, *The Search*, 158–67.

<sup>75</sup> Also with da Gama, Magellan, Pizarro, and Cortes. Markham, *Quiros*, II.486, 503; Kelly, *Australia*, II.309, 362.

<sup>76</sup> Kelly, *Australia*, I.108–9. Twice *contredespachos* were prepared, in December 1609 and June 1610. The first really was a gross trick, the second merely told the Viceroy to limit Quiros to two or three ships and to stress missionary work, not conquest. Neither was used, since in each case Quiros, on sighting the open and favourable despatch, promptly raised the ante.

<sup>77</sup> Kelly, *Australia*, I.115–33. There was an extraordinary last fling in 1663–9, which ended in armed Franciscans arresting the Governor of the Philippines, while the promoter, a Peruvian astronomer, disappeared into Cochin-China. The mission to the Marianas of Fr Luis de San Vitores SJ (1667–72) was regarded as a first step towards further activity in the Austral regions, but local resistance and disorders killed any such project—Jack-Hinton, *The Search*, 171–5.

<sup>78</sup> Kelly, *Australia*, I.5.

### Notes for Chapter 6

<sup>1</sup> The title of a book by F. B. Eldridge, Melbourne 1948: unacademic and unpretentious but stimulating; my reading of it a quarter of a century ago may have implanted the first seed of this work.

<sup>2</sup> C. R. Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacon* (Lisbon 1959), 9 [*Great Ship*]; Tien-tse Chang, *Sino-Portuguese Trade from 1514 to 1644* (Leyden 1934), 7–9 [*Sino-Port. Trade*]; J. T. Pratt, *The Expansion of Europe into the Far East* (London 1947), 42–5.

<sup>3</sup> For the geopolitical background, see C. A. Fisher, *South-east Asia* (London 1964), 9–10, 83–95, 102–30.

<sup>4</sup> J. Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge 1954), IV (1971) 452 note b, 467–84, especially at 481 [*Science in China*]. J. V. G. Mills in Ma Huan, *Ying-yai Sheng-lan: The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores*, HS Extra Ser. 42 (Cambridge 1970), 27–31, is more cautious on linear dimensions but agrees with the 3100 tons [*Overall Survey*].

<sup>5</sup> Needham, *Science in China*, I.143, IV.486–503 and map at 560. The voyages are also discussed in some detail in K. Chang's thesis, *Chinese Great Explorers*, cited above, Ch. 1 note 3. The traditional motive of a search for the Emperor's dethroned predecessor (and nephew) is clearly inadequate for voyages of this range and duration.

<sup>6</sup> Chang, *Sino-Port. Trade*, 33–5; C. R. Boxer, *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, HS 2nd Ser. 106 (London 1953), xix [*S. China*]. Earlier, however, the nascent Malaccan state had Ming support against Java and Siam, obviously for strategic and commercial reasons, in contrast to e.g. Brunei—see Wang Gungwu, 'Early Ming Relations with Southeast Asia', in J. K. Fairbanks (ed.), *The Chinese World Order* (Cambridge (Mass.) 1968), 34–62 at 56–9. The tribute system was of course far more complex and ideologically significant than can be explicated here; see Fairbanks's volume in general, and especially M. Mancall, 'The Ch'ing Tribute System', 63–89.

<sup>7</sup> And indeed over the Ryukyus as late as the 1870s—see (of all places) W. de G. Birch (ed.), in the third volume of *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque*, HS 1st Ser. 62 (London 1880), xiv–xx.

<sup>8</sup> '... no serious attempt was made by either of the two great Far Eastern powers to dislodge the Spanish from Manila. Nothing shows more clearly than this the contrast between the aggressive navalism [of the maritime West] and the self-secluding policies inspired by the land-revenue ideology of Chinese civilization'.—G. F. Hudson, *Europe and China* (London 1961, original ed. 1931), 253.

<sup>9</sup> Needham, *Science in China*, IV.314–30; Mills, *Overall Survey*, 3.

<sup>10</sup> I have followed the convincing discussion (including the *raison d'être* of eunuchdom) in C. P. FitzGerald, *The Southern Expansion of the Chinese People* (Canberra 1972), Chs. 5 and 6 [*Expansion*]; some details from Needham, *Science in China*, IV.480–4, 526–30.

<sup>11</sup> Needham, *Science in China*, I.100, IV.527.

<sup>12</sup> And the 'Buyers ... have a profit adequate to the Risque they Run'—the South Sea Company factors at Kingston, Jamaica, 6 January 1736 (OS), cited in A. S. Aiton, 'The Asiento Treaty as reflected in the Papers of Lord Shelburne', *HAHR* 8, 1928, 167–77 at 167.

<sup>13</sup> P. Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese* (Kuala Lumpur 1966), 307–20; A. Cortesão (trans. and ed.), *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires*, HS 2nd Ser. 89–90 (London 1944), II.285 [Pires, *Suma*]. There is a very full account of Malacca's commerce in M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofs, *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago ...* (The Hague 1962), especially Chs. II–IV [*Asian Trade*].

<sup>14</sup> For these two paragraphs, Shunzo Sakamaki, 'Ryukyu and Southeast Asia', *Jnl Asian Studies* 23, 1963–4, 391–404, and R. K. Sakai, 'The Satsuma Ryukyu Trade and the Tokugawa Seclusion Policy', *ibid.* 405–16 (with S. Crawcour's introduction to these papers); also Atsushi Kobata and Mitsugu Matsuda (eds.), *Ryukyuan Relations with Korea and South Sea Countries* (Kyoto 1969), v, 4–7, 13–14, 125, 177.

<sup>15</sup> G. Sansom, *The Western World and Japan* (London 1950), 114 [*Western World*]; page references in the Vintage ed., New York 1973, run 10–20 pages earlier than those of this first edition. In general references to Japanese internal affairs in this chapter are drawn from Sansom's *A History of Japan 1334–1615* (London 1961) [*Japan 1334–1615*] and J. Murdoch, *A History of Japan, II 1542–1651* (London, 3rd imp. 1949) [*Japan 1542–1651*].

<sup>16</sup> D. Pacheco SJ, 'The Europeans in Japan, 1543–1640', in M. Cooper SJ (ed.), *The Southern Barbarians* (Tokyo 1971), 37 [*Barbarians*]; H. P. Varley, 'The Age of the Military Houses', in A. E. Tiedemann (ed.), *An Introduction to Japanese Civilization* (New York 1974), 61–96 at 89–90 [*Introduction*].

<sup>17</sup> Sir Edward Michelbourne (1605), cited Boxer, *Great Ship*, 60. See i.a. D. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe* (Chicago 1965), I.663–70, and also 688–706 for the great impression made by the four



Japanese youths sent to Europe by the Jesuits in 1584–6. Lach also gives (687–8) some of the ‘amusing and illuminating distichs’ of Luis Frois SJ, contrasting Japanese and European ways.

<sup>18</sup> J. W. Hall, *Japan from Prehistory to Modern Times* (New York 1972), 130 [*Japan*]. There is of course much more detail in Murdoch and Sansom.

<sup>19</sup> Hall, *Japan*, 123–6; Sansom, *Japan 1334–1615*, 270–2, 304–5; Yosoburo Takekoshi, *The Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan* (London 1930), I.356–68—a book crammed with picturesque and sometimes significant detail, but on the whole muddled and rather disappointing [*Economic Aspects*].

<sup>20</sup> Sansom, *Japan 1334–1615*, 265–70; FitzGerald, *Expansion*, 107–9; C. R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan* (Berkeley 1951), 6–8 [*Christian Century*]. Takekoshi, *Economic Aspects*, has a chapter of lively detail entitled ‘Japanese Pirate Fleet Spread All Over the Orient’ (I.336–48). See also J. Gernet, *Le Monde Chinois* (Paris 1972), 365–9 (with map) and A. J. Marder, ‘From Jimmu Tennō to Perry: Sea Power in Early Japanese History’, *Amer. Hist. Rev.* 51, 1945–6, 1–34 at 19–20 [‘Sea Power’].

<sup>21</sup> Chang, *Sino-Port. Trade*, 35–8; C. R. Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East* (The Hague 1948), 2 [*Fidalgos*]; Boxer, *S. China*, xix–xx; and cf. Cortesão’s note in Pires, *Suma*, I.120. In general I have relied on Chang’s unpretentious but valuable little book and Boxer’s three—*Christian Century*, *Fidalgos*, and *Great Ship*—especially for the Macao-Japan trade.

<sup>22</sup> Chang, *Sino-Port. Trade*, 62–74; Boxer, *S. China*, xxi–xxv, 313–26.

<sup>23</sup> M. Fitzpatrick, *Fighting Pirates in Northern Chekiang 1553–56* (unpublished, Dept of Far Eastern History, Australian National Univ.)—an excellent detailed account of defence measures.

<sup>24</sup> Meilink-Roelofs, *Asian Trade*, 127–8.

<sup>25</sup> For the nomenclature, Boxer, *Fidalgos*, 3–4; the usual Spanish form was ‘Macan’.

<sup>26</sup> Boxer, *S. China*, xxxv; Chang, *Sino-Port. Trade*, 87, 95–6. Chang refers to the alarmist memorials of scholars, for which, today, read ‘wall newspapers’.

<sup>27</sup> See Boxer, *Christian Century*, 2–31, for a discussion of dates and priorities, including the confusions introduced by Fernão Mendes Pinto, who may or may not have been a worthy successor of Sir John Mandeville but was certainly in Japan soon after 1543.

<sup>28</sup> The Japanese were of course acquainted with gunpowder through their relations with China, but despite its limitations the arquebus was more tactically useful than anything they had yet seen. Opinions differ as to the impact of firearms on the wars of unification, but cannon (first used in 1558) led to changes in fortification, and only the most powerful warlords could afford ample armaments, so that (as in Europe a few decades earlier) guns promoted centralising trends. See Hall, *Japan*, 138, 145; Varley in Tiedemann, *Introduction* 90; Sansom, *Japan 1334–1615*, 263–4, 287–8; Boxer, *Fidalgos*, 96–7; but especially D. M. Brown, ‘The Impact of Firearms on Japanese Warfare, 1543–98’, *Jnl Asian Studies (Far Eastern Qly)* 7, 1947–8, 236–53 [‘Firearms’].

<sup>29</sup> Boxer, *Great Ship*, 1–8, and *Christian Century*, 95–7, 119; Meilink-Roelofs, *Asian Trade*, 132, 183.

<sup>30</sup> Despite the most ruthless persecution, crypto-Christian communities of some thousands survived near Nagasaki and on some islands, to come to light again in 1865—Boxer, *Christian Century*, 396; D. Pacheco in Cooper, *Barbarians*, 96; R. H. Drummond, *A History of Christianity in Japan* (Grand Rapids (Mich.) 1971), 112–17 [*Christianity*].

<sup>31</sup> Drummond, *Christianity*, 75, 91–2.

<sup>32</sup> According to Murdoch (*Japan 1542–1651*, 95–6), of an estimated 125,000 Christians in 1580, over 100,000 were in three fiefs, including those of ‘Protasius’ of Arima and ‘Michael’ of Amakusa. Cf. Takekoshi, *Economic Aspects*, I.442, 443–7, and Drummond, *Christianity*, 55–8.

<sup>33</sup> Boxer, *Christian Century*, 103–4; for motives in general, Sansom, *Japan 1334–1615*, 212–33.

Cf. L. Knauth, *Confrontación Transpacífica: El Japon y el Nuevo Mundo Hispanica* (Mexico 1972), 105—a book with much detail on the cross-currents of intrigue, pagan and Christian [*Confrontación*].

<sup>34</sup> Hall, *Japan*, 135.

<sup>35</sup> Boxer, *Christian Century*, 92, and *Great Ship*, 7–11.

<sup>36</sup> *Christian Century*, 97–103, 150–1; D. Pacheco in Cooper, *Barbarians*, 50–1—q.v. for beautiful colour plates of Portuguese shipping at Nagasaki.

<sup>37</sup> T. A. Agoncillo, *A Short History of the Philippines* (New York 1969), 45 [*Short History*]; the increase in the 1890s was due to troops brought in to suppress insurrection. For the missionary effort, J. L. Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines* (Madison 1959), *passim*; N. P. Cushner SJ, *Spain in the Philippines* (Quezon City 1971), 74–101.

<sup>38</sup> Blair & Robertson, IV.166–70; Agoncillo, *Short History*, 47.

<sup>39</sup> P. Chaunu, *Les Philippines et le Pacifique des Ibériques* (Paris 1960), 43–6 [*Philippines*]; as Chaunu's points out, the costs of the defences and the running of Acapulco were also basically on Filipino account.

<sup>40</sup> Chaunu, *Philippines*, 19.

<sup>41</sup> The direct quotations in this paragraph, in order of occurrence, are from Blair & Robertson, VI.63, VIII.278, 271, 272, 252–6 (list of consignors), XI.87, X.156. There is a wonderful immediacy in these on-the-spot reports. Cf. the comments of P. Chaunu in 'Le galion de Manille', *Annales Économies Sociétés Civilisations* 6, 1951, 447–62 at 457—a brilliant resumé of the 'Grandeur et decadence d'une route de la soie' ['galion'].

<sup>42</sup> Blair & Robertson, III.244, 247.

<sup>43</sup> The details of Limahon's raid, including the moonlight sighting of the pirate fleet and Salcedo's dash to Manila, are exciting. Sande's account and his reactions are in Blair & Robertson, IV.24–58, his schemes to conquer China and the royal brush-off in IV.58–62 and 94; the sensible comments of Fr José de Acosta SJ may be found in S. Zavala, *El Mundo Americano en la Epoca Colonial* (Mexico 1967), II.177 at note 34. The vivid account of Fr Gonzalez de Mendoza in his *Historia . . . del gran Reyno de la China* (Madrid 1580) is in Blair & Robertson, VI.91–124; to him we owe the story of the 'Indians' who spurned baptism since they did not wish to go to heaven in the company of Castilian soldiers—like the Indian Prince who thought that if Heaven were any good at all, the British would have annexed it long ago. Rada's narrative of his mission is in Boxer, *S. China*, 243–59; and see the introduction, xliii–l, for a 1581 mission from Spain to China, which got no further than Mexico. G. F. Hudson's comments in *Europe and China*, 248–51, that the ships Manila asked for were sent to their doom in the Armada, seem to ignore logistics. Finally for the warlike and vinous plans of the incomparable Picrochole, F. Rabelais, *Premier livre des faictes et dicts heroïques du noble Pantagruel* (Paris 1533, numerous eds.), Ch. XXXIII.

<sup>44</sup> The shocked expression of Bishop Salazar, Blair & Robertson, VII.68.

<sup>45</sup> Blair & Robertson, V.197, IX.39; for the Japanese raids of 1580–1, V.192–5. It is amusing to find the term 'heathen Chinese Indians'.

<sup>46</sup> Boxer, *Great Ship*, 18.

<sup>47</sup> For details, E. W. Dahlgren, *Were the Hawaiian Islands Visited by the Spaniards . . . ?* (Stockholm 1916), 4–58.

<sup>48</sup> Blair & Robertson, IV.145.

<sup>49</sup> Chaunu, 'galion', at 458. An excellent sentence; but the reference he gives (Blair & Robertson, III.54–67; cf. III.184) does not bear out his further assertion that Legazpi proposed 'to abandon the hopes of pepper and put silk in the first place'; in fact, almost the contrary. The silk growers and weavers of New Spain were not pleased with this new opening.

<sup>50</sup> Chaunu, 'galion', at 458; W. L. Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (Dutton ed., New York 1959), 27–39.

Unreferenced statements on the Galleon trade are drawn from this comprehensive and well-written work [*Galleon*]. The regulations were extremely minute, descending to the position of fireplaces on the ships; though, admitting that *de minimis non curat lex* was a maxim of no applicability in Spanish bureaucracy, this at least was not trivial, in view of the fire risk—Blair & Robertson, XXV.23–47.

<sup>51</sup> Schurz, *Galleon*, 154–90.

<sup>52</sup> The mission from Manila which secured Macao's adhesion left when the Chinese became 'increasingly suspicious about the Spaniards' real intentions'. They sailed (1582) on a Portuguese ship which was wrecked on Formosa, most of the company reaching Macao after building a small boat; this seems to be the first European landing on an island which the Portuguese had coasted for forty years and had named for its beauty as seen from the sea—Boxer, *Fidalgos*, 43–4.

<sup>53</sup> Blair & Robertson, VI.243, and VIII.174–96 for the Manila Cabildo's views on the advantages of trading with Macao, and the large profits made by the Portuguese on this easy run.

<sup>54</sup> Blair & Robertson, VII.199–204, 269–71, 281–9.

<sup>55</sup> Blair & Robertson, VI.157–240—a wonderful synopsis of fears and hopes, splendid velleities and sordid realities. Other engaging points are that Chinese women 'lack only Christianity to be much beyond us in all matters of morality' (shades of *The Golden Lotus!*) and will make wonderful wives, mothers for a mixed race 'united and fraternal, and Christian'; that the Chinese will readily abandon their writing, so difficult that it is a 'diabolic invention' to retard men's minds; and that this conquest, conducted with impeccable civility and moderation, will forestall the French and English and other northern heretics who could make an entry by the strait (Anian) opposite Labrador.

<sup>56</sup> Blair & Robertson, IX.161–80, 197–203; A. de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* (Mexico 1609), HS 2nd Ser. 140 (Cambridge 1971), 80–8, 119–36, 150–4 [*Sucesos*].

<sup>57</sup> Boxer, *Fidalgos*, 46–7, and *Great Ship*, 61–82; for the Spanish version, Morga, *Sucesos*, 136–49, including an interesting letter 'from the port of El Pinal, frozen with the cold' by Hernando de los Rios Coronel, who argues the advantages of direct trade to Canton and alleges, at this late date, that the Portuguese at Malacca had trespassed across the demarcation. *Per contra*, a Filipino Bishop argued eloquently that intervention in China would mean the destruction of Macao, and hence the ruin of the Japanese mission and of all Iberian interest in the East, since 'all these affairs are moved by but one wheel, namely, Macan'—Blair & Robertson, X.190–7.

<sup>58</sup> There was in fact no Shogun from 1573 to 1603, when Ieyasu assumed the title; Hideyoshi acted as Regent for the Emperor.

<sup>59</sup> Murdoch, *Japan 1542–1651*, 135–6.

<sup>60</sup> Takekoshi, *Economic Aspects*, I.371; Hall, *Japan*, 146; Sansom, *Japan 1334–1615*, 300–5.

<sup>61</sup> Boxer, *Christian Century*, 95–6. It is scarcely possible, even were it necessary, to give precise references for judgments compounded from scattered notices in many authorities; my sources will be clear from other notes.

<sup>62</sup> M<sup>is</sup> de la Mazelière, *Le Japon* (Paris 1907), III.32. Another triad has it that Nobunaga kneaded the dough, Hideyoshi baked the cake, Ieyasu ate it.

<sup>63</sup> Sansom, *Japan 1334–1615*, 303, 320.

<sup>64</sup> Andrew Marvell, *An Horatian Ode upon Cromwel's Return from Ireland*.

<sup>65</sup> In many respects the running of the country remained in the hands of local daimyo, but these were supervised by a bureaucracy drawn exclusively from the warrior class—cf. C. Totman, 'Tokugawa Japan', in Tiedemann, *Introduction*, 98–104.

<sup>66</sup> For all this see Boxer, *Christian Century*, 140–53, and *Great Ship*, 48–57; Sansom, *Japan 1334–1615*, 346–8; Pacheco in Cooper, *Barbarians*, 58–63.

<sup>67</sup> In 1586 the Great Ship went to Hirado, as Nagasaki was thought unsafe on account of the internal warfare in Kyushu which preceded the island's subjugation; it was still at Hirado when Hideyoshi was at Hakata in July 1572, and he asked for it to be brought round for his inspection. The commander declared this impossible for navigational reasons, but tactfully came to apologise in person, and the incident was apparently smoothed over; but it may have had some effect.

<sup>68</sup> Boxer, *Christian Century*, 152–3.

<sup>69</sup> The Portuguese account by Fr Luis Frois SJ is given in J. A. A. Pinto, Yoshitomo Okamoto and H. Bernard SJ (eds.), *Le Première Ambassade du Japon en Europe 1582–1592* (Tokyo 1942), Part I.

<sup>70</sup> Boxer, *Christian Century*, 153.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 150.

<sup>72</sup> G. Stramiglioni, 'Hideyoshi's Expansionist Policy on the Asiatic Mainland', *Trans. Asiatic Soc. Japan* 3rd Ser. 3, 1954, 74–116; Hall, *Japan*, 155–6; Sansom, *Japan 1334–1615*, 361–2. Hideyoshi is said to have told Nobunaga that if granted Kyushu for one year, he would take Korea and China 'as easily as a man rolls up a piece of matting and carries it under one arm'—Murdoch, *Japan 1542–1651*, 305.

<sup>73</sup> Murdoch, *Japan 1542–1651*, 311.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 348; cf. Robert Graves, 'Diplomatic Relations', in *Poems (1914–1926)* (London 1927), 129–32.

<sup>75</sup> Takekoshi, *Economic Aspects*, I.472. Sansom, *Japan 1334–1615*, gives a clear account of the land campaigns, and there is much detail (often picturesque) in Murdoch, *Japan 1542–1651*, 302–59 (with map); see also Brown, 'Firearms', at 240–1. The Spanish Armada carried some 31,000 men in all, the combined Christian fleets of southern Europe at Lepanto 75–80,000. For the naval side, see Marder, 'Sea Power', 21–31.

<sup>76</sup> Murdoch (*Japan 1542–1651*, 334–8) seems responsible for the view that the tortoise-boats were capital ships, heavily-armoured rams. He is followed by G. A. Ballard, *The Influence of the Sea on the Political History of Japan* (London 1921), 42–72 [*Influence of Sea*]. As might be expected of a Vice-Admiral, Ballard is good on the strategic aspects, and on a close reading it is clear that he gives more weight to fire-power than is implied in A. L. Sadler, 'The Naval Campaign in the Korean War of Hideyoshi (1592–1598)', *Trans. Asiatic Soc. Japan* 2nd Ser. 14, 1937, 177–208. Sadler corrects Murdoch on ships and armament and gives good accounts of the ten engagements, but his abominably drawn map is useful only after decipherment. He doubts the armour-plating (at 180), but this seems needless in view of the discussion of Yi-sun's tortoise-boats and their Chinese antecedents in Needham, *Science in China*, IV.682–8. Cf. also Brown, 'Firearms', 243, 250–3.

<sup>77</sup> Takekoshi, *Economic Aspects*, I.477–9.

<sup>78</sup> Ballard, *Influence of Sea*, 71.

<sup>79</sup> Boxer, *Christian Century*, 154–60; for what follows, apart from the specific references to Blair & Robertson, Sansom, *Japan 1334–1615*, 371–8.

<sup>80</sup> Blair & Robertson, VIII.256–69, and 285–97 for Dasmariñas's emergency measures, which went so far as to urge that if anyone should be captured, 'from myself and my son first, down to the least', there should be no thought of ransom. According to Murdoch (*Japan 1542–1651*, 282–3) Valignano refused to support Harada and wrote to the Jesuits of Manila about him, so that Dasmariñas may have had some warning. See also Knauth, *Confrontación*, 128–34.

<sup>81</sup> Boxer, *Christian Century*, 121; Murdoch, *Japan 1542–1651*, 282–5; Takekoshi, *Economic Aspects*, I.451–4; Blair & Robertson, IX.45.

<sup>82</sup> Boxer, *Christian Century*, 162; for the diplomatic exchanges, Blair & Robertson, IX.23–57, 122–35.

<sup>83</sup> In the first draft Dasmariñas gently reminded Hideyoshi that ‘The Sun has no life or power than what God gave it, and this does not go to the extent of taking or giving away kingdoms . . .’—Blair & Robertson, IX.128.

<sup>84</sup> Blair & Robertson, IX.263.

<sup>85</sup> For the *San Felipe* affair, Murdoch, *Japan 1542–1651*, 267–99; Boxer, *Christian Century*, 164–6; Sansom, *Japan 1334–1615*, 374; and especially M. Cooper SJ, *Rodrigues the Interpreter* (New York 1974), 132–5, 150–60. Murdoch and Boxer accept the story of the pilot’s boast; Sansom flouts it; Cooper, in a careful review (including Spanish counter-charges that the Portuguese Jesuits were responsible) suspends a definitive judgment but inclines towards acceptance. Morga, writing before 1609 and in close touch with the affair, also gives the story—*Sucesos*, 108.

<sup>86</sup> Morga, *Sucesos*, 111.

### Notes for Chapter 7

<sup>1</sup> *Arbitristas*, as we should now say economic publicists, ‘those contrivers of schemes, or *arbitrios*, who searched for a “universal means” to improve the situation’—J. Lynch, *Spain under the Habsburgs* (Oxford 1964–9), II.83 [*Habsburgs*].

<sup>2</sup> For instance, Philip’s marital visits to Mary Tudor brought enough treasure into England to permit the revaluation of her badly debased currency—F. Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le Monde méditerranéen à l’époque de Philippe II* (Paris 1949), 377 [*Méditerranée*].

<sup>3</sup> Cf. D. Ramos, *Minería y Comercio Interprovincial en Hispanoamerica (siglos XVI, XVII, y XVIII)* (Valladolid n.d.), 21, 50 [*Minería*].

<sup>4</sup> P. W. Powell, *Soldiers, Indians and Silver* (Berkeley 1952), 204, and *passim* for a vivid description of the northern frontier; for the Tlaxcalans, E. Florescano, ‘Colonización . . . en el norte de Nueva España, 1521–1750’, in A. Jara *et al.*, *Tierras Nuevas* (Mexico 1969), 43–76, at 55–61. See also M. L. Moorhead, ‘The Soldado de Cuera’, *Jnl of the West* 8, 1969, 38–57. N. Wachtel, *La Vision des Vaincus* (Paris 1971), 289–95, is good on the Araucanians [*Vaincus*]; for the retreat, L. Galdames, *A History of Chile* (Chapel Hill 1941), 88–9 [*Chile*]. There are many admirable general remarks and details in Chaunu, especially at 33, 145–9, 1111.

<sup>5</sup> *Habsburgs*, II.213; see 200–12 for Mexican and 212–14 for Peruvian populations (including whites) and economic activity. Cf. also Chaunu, 1111, and Byron: ‘A tyrant—but our tyrants then/Were still at least our countrymen.’

<sup>6</sup> See *The Rise of the Spanish American Empire* (London 1947), 326–7 [*Rise*]. Madariaga wrote before modern analyses and purports to follow Angel Rosenblat. But he starts with Rosenblat’s 3,500,000 for Mexico in 1570, and is thus able to show an increase to 3,700,000 in 1825, so that ‘this all-important test . . . is decidedly favourable to the Spanish rule.’ Since Rosenblat gives the 1492 population as 4,500,000, there is really a fall of 800,000 rather than a rise of 200,000. More modern Spanish apologists admit the decline, and refer it *inter alia* to some undefined shock at meeting a superior race. An extreme position is taken by B. W. Diffie, *Latin American Civilisation: Colonial Period* (Harrisburg 1945), 179–81—‘the population of Montezuma’s empire would not have reached one million people’ [*Civilisation*].

Rosenblat is the most serious proponent of a low starting figure; his calculations were first put forward in 1935 and in book form in *La Población Indígena de América desde 1492 hasta la Actualidad* (Buenos Aires 1945), reprinted, with documentation up-dated, in *La Población Indígena y el Mestizaje en América 1492–1950* (Buenos Aires 1950), and repeated unchanged in his critique of the ‘Berkeley School’, *La Población de América: viejos y nuevos calculos* (Mexico 1967). It should be said that he is not

unduly rhetorical nor chauvinist. Cf. W. Borah, *La Demografía Histórica de la América* (Bogota 1972), and P. Chaunu, *Conquête et Exploitation des Nouveaux Mondes* (Paris 1969), 378–83 [*Conquête*].

<sup>7</sup> W. Borah and S. F. Cook, *The Population of Central Mexico in 1548, The Indian Population of Central Mexico 1531–1610, The Aboriginal Population of Central Mexico on the Eve of the Spanish Conquest* (Berkeley 1960, 1960, 1963); see especially 2–7, 24–34, 41–4 of the last of these for the pictographic tribute lists, illustrated on Plate VIII of C. Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule* (Stanford 1964) [*Aztecs*]. See also the Borah–Cook paper ‘La Despoblación del México Central en el siglo XVI’, *Hist. Mexicana* 12, 1962–3, 1–12. Even if we take the lower estimates of S. F. Cook and L. B. Simpson, *The Population of Central Mexico in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley 1948)—11,000,000 in 1519, 2,014,000 in 1607—this is still genocide on a giant scale. Depopulation and gradual recovery after about 1630–50 can be followed in detail for many localities in P. Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain* (Cambridge 1972). There is an acute analysis of the decline in a world-setting in M. J. MacLeod’s introduction, ‘The War of the Worlds’, to his *Spanish Central America: A Socioeconomic History, 1520–1720*, 1–20 [*Central America*].

<sup>8</sup> W. Borah, ‘America as Model: The Demographic Impact of European Expansion upon the Non-European World’, *Actas y Memorias del XXXV Congreso Internacional de Americanistas* Vol. III (Mexico 1964), 379–87 at 387 (also as Berkeley Reprint No. 292).

<sup>9</sup> The Mayan Chilam Balam de Chumayel, cited Wachtel, *Vaincus*, 59; yet (at 48, note 1) the whites are also sons of the Sun.

<sup>10</sup> Including e.g. Lynch, *Habsburgs*, II.213, or E. Romero, *Historia Económica del Perú* (Buenos Aires 1949), 97, [*Perú*]; but L. A. Sanchez, *Historia General de América* (Santiago 1970), I.135 cites 8,000,000 [*América*].

<sup>11</sup> Chaunu, 1110; Wachtel, *Vaincus*, 138–52, 307, 333 (graph). Another estimate by D. N. Cook (1970) is 6,000,000 in 1531 (Lynch, *Habsburgs*, II.213), but more recently he gives 2,738,000 in 1530, ‘certainly a revival of the conservative view’ (not seen, but cited from review in *HAHR* 56, 1976, 297–9).

<sup>12</sup> Lynch, *Habsburgs*, II.201, 213. There is an important review of the question in M. Mörner, ‘Spanish Migration to the New World prior to 1810’, in F. Chiappelli (ed.), *First Images of America* (Berkeley 1976), II.737–82.

<sup>13</sup> J. Vicens Vives, *An Economic History of Spain* (Princeton 1969), 318 [*Spain*]. For New Spain, F. Chevalier, *Land and Society in Colonial Mexico* (Berkeley 1963), sections on ‘The Land Grabbers’ and ‘Settlers’ Encroachments’, 135–46 and 207–20 [*Land and Society*]. See also MacLeod, *Central America*, 125–6.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. the ‘assignment’ of convicts at Botany Bay.

<sup>15</sup> This discussion is based mainly on W. Borah, *New Spain’s Century of Depression* (Berkeley 1951), 32–42 [*Depression*]; C. H. Haring, *The Spanish Empire in America* (New York 1963, original ed. 1947), 42–63, 240–2 [*Spanish Empire*]; Lynch, *Habsburgs*, II.209–11; J. H. Parry, *The Spanish Seaborne Empire* (Harmondsworth 1973), 210–13 [*Seaborne Empire*]; L. B. Simpson, ‘Mexico’s Forgotten Century’, *Pac. Hist. Rev.* 22, 1953, 113–21. There are interesting peripheral comments in Vicens Vives, *Spain*, 317–21, and Sanchez, *América*, I.333–43, and some very pertinent ones, on pre- as well as post-Conquest aspects, in S. J. and B. H. Stein, *The Colonial Heritage of Latin America* (New York 1970), 28–53—a miracle of concision and stimulation.

<sup>16</sup> Vicens Vives, *Spain*, 317. For the remarkable exceptions of Costa Rica and Antioquia, P. E. James, *Latin America* (New York [1942]), 100–5, 706–17; see the relevant chapters of this book for the geographical background of areas mentioned here.

<sup>17</sup> G. B. Masfield, ‘Crops and Livestock’, in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe* IV, 1967, 275–301 at 275 [*Cambridge EHE*].

- <sup>18</sup> D. Perez, *Historia de Colonización Española en América* (Madrid 1947), 158–9 [*Colonización*]; Haring, *Spanish Empire*, 235–8.
- <sup>19</sup> W. Borah, *Early Colonial Trade and Navigation between Mexico and Peru* (Berkeley 1954), 10–18, 37–62, 84–6 [*Early Trade*].
- <sup>20</sup> Chaunu, 741–4; Haring, *Spanish Empire*, 237–8; Madariaga, *Rise*, 58; but especially W. Borah, *Silk-Raising in Colonial Mexico* (Berkeley 1943), *passim*.
- <sup>21</sup> Perez, *Colonización*, 197–9; cf. Chaunu, 787–8; Lynch, *Habsburgs*, II.207–9; Vincens Vives, *Spain*, 353. On the relation between mines and farming, cf. Humboldt's remarks cited in C. Prieto, *Mining in the New World* (New York 1973), 65–7 [*Mining*], and Chevalier, *Land and Society*, 102–7 and 154–5, the latter the specific case of a Governor of New Galicia who had 'huge droves, orchards, a winery, a water system, and four silver smelters with their charcoal heaps'.
- <sup>22</sup> Chaunu, 772–3, 848–58, 885–92; Ramos, *Minería*, 225; MacLeod, *Central America*, 68–95, 274–5; for Guayaquil competition 146, 152; for indigo 176–86.
- <sup>23</sup> Borah, *Early Trade*, 34–5, 65–6; Chaunu, 1071–4, 1083–90; Lynch, *Habsburgs*, II.198–9; Ramos, *Minería*, 215. MacLeod, *Central America*, 160–3, for attempts to have the transit trade of Panama diverted to Nicaraguan or Honduran ports, especially Realejo. The shipbuilding resources of Guayaquil are detailed in G. Lohmann Villena, 'La Marina Mercante', in *Historia Marítima del Perú* (Lima 1974–5), IV.213–369 at 215.
- <sup>24</sup> S. Zavala, *El Mundo Americano en la Epoca Colonial* (Mexico 1957), I.15 [*Mundo Americano*]; Ramos, *Minería*, 214.
- <sup>25</sup> J. Lockhart, *Spanish Peru 1532–1560* (Madison 1968), 186, 198; see 125 for truck-farming, which was looked down upon by Spaniards and was largely in Portuguese hands [*Peru*].
- <sup>26</sup> Dates and other details in Romero, *Perú*, 98, 117–27; he has the delightful story that two or three survivors of the first olive seedlings, brought with loving care from Seville and guarded by Negroes and dogs, were stolen and turned up in Chile. Other points in Chaunu, 1094–7; Lynch, *Habsburgs*, II.215–28; Perez, *Colonización*, 163; Ramos, *Minería*, 216–20.
- <sup>27</sup> For Jesuit activities in New Spain, Diffie, *Civilisation*, 385–6; Chevalier, *Land and Society*, 239–50; in Chile, Galdames, *Chile*, 103, 121–2.
- <sup>28</sup> Thomas Gage, *The English-American* (1648; ed. A. P. Newton, London 1928), 45—this refers to New Spain, but could apply *a fortiori* to Peru. Gage, an English Dominican deserting to the Puritans, was a scoundrel who betrayed old comrades to their deaths, but he was a brisk reporter, invaluable as giving a non-Spanish view of life in New Spain and Guatemala.
- <sup>29</sup> Haring, *Spanish Empire*, 236–7; Ramos, *Minería*, 236–7; Vincens Vives, *Spain*, 394.
- <sup>30</sup> James, *Latin America*, 229. Chaunu, 139–42, 1171–5, has some acute remarks on Chile as the remotest frontier, but with a strangely moralising air, almost like Toynbee damning the Eskimos for living as they had to live.
- <sup>31</sup> Galdames, *Chile*, 57–8, 72–4.
- <sup>32</sup> Perez, *Colonización*, 199–200; Lockhart, *Peru*, 122; A. de Ovalle SJ, *Histórica Relación del Reino de Chile* (Rome 1646), cited from the 'Antología' ed. by R. Silva Castro (Santiago 1961), 37–41. Concision is not usually the strongest point of Spanish sixteenth and seventeenth century writers, and in bulk (503 pages in the complete Santiago 1967 ed.) the *Relación* might be tedious; but in excerpt the good Father (b. Santiago 1601, d. Lima 1651 on his way home from Europe) is irresistible in his ingenuous pleasure in almost everything and his style at once breathless and fresh. As for what sort of fish a *róbalo* might be, don't ask me: dictionaries give it as bass, sea-bass, bream, haddock, sea-pike, snook, and labrax. A queer fish anyhow.
- <sup>33</sup> Lockhart, *Peru*, 103; see his listing of artisans at 243 (Table 5) and notes on skilled artisans, 126–7.

<sup>34</sup> Braudel, *Méditerranée*, 400; Haring, *Spanish Empire*, 60–1, 66, 242–4; Perez, *Colonización*, 190–1; Romero, *Perú*, 131–2. For the obrajes themselves and their products, see R. D. Hussey, ‘Colonial Economic Life’, in A. C. Wilgus (ed.), *Colonial Hispanic America* (Washington 1936), 305–32 at 322–3 [‘Economic Life’]; Chaunu, *Conquête*, 306; Diffie, *Civilisation*, 386–92; Ramos, *Minería*, 215–24; Perez, 193–9; Romero, 130–47.

<sup>35</sup> P. Guzmán-Rivas, Reciprocal Geographical Influences of the Trans-Pacific Galleon Trade (Texas Univ. Ph.D thesis 1960), 37–50; it was not a systematic slave trade. However, under the forms of law many Indians were virtually immured for life in obrajes—Gibson, *Aztecs*, 243–7. For corregidores and caciques, Haring, *Spanish Empire*, 57, 67, 132–3; Lockhart, *Peru*, 209. Their corrupt tyranny is still a main theme in J. Juan and A. de Ulloa, *Noticias Secretas de América*, written in the mid-eighteenth century but not published until 1826, in London. Although published as part of a propaganda campaign for American independence, the authenticity of the *Noticias* is accepted even by Madariaga (*Rise*, 391). Cf. Diffie, *Civilisation*, 389, 468—the more significant since he sees most things *couleur de rose*—and R. Donoso, ‘Autenticidad de las Noticias Secretas de América’, *Rev. Chilena de Historia y Geografía* 138, 1970, 17–39.

<sup>36</sup> W. R. Ambrose, ‘3,000 Years of Trade in New Guinea Obsidian’, *Nature* 237, No. 5349, 1972, 31–3—obsidian from New Britain was transported to the Santa Cruz about 1000 B.C. The total distance is 2000 km with one stage of 450 km over open seas, and the amounts suggest exchange, not a sporadic loss (personal communication).

<sup>37</sup> These included a tunnel between 5 and 6 km long and over 3 by 4 metres in section—H. H. Bancroft, *History of Mexico* (San Francisco 1883–6), III.7–11, 85–91 [*Mexico*]. But it narrowed at one point to about one metre each way—Gibson, *Aztecs*, 236–43.

<sup>38</sup> Hussey, ‘Economic Life’, 319; Gage, *The English-American*, 125–36—one of his most vivid passages; Prieto, *Mining* 68–9; Borah, *Early Trade*, 25–8; Chaunu, 713–19, for the Camino de Castilla between Mexico and Vera Cruz.

<sup>39</sup> A. P. Whitaker, *The Huancavelica Mercury Mine* (Cambridge (Mass.) 1941), 105 note 21 [*Huancavelica*].

<sup>40</sup> The classic source is E. J. Hamilton, *American Treasure and the Price Revolution in Spain, 1501–1650* (Cambridge (Mass.) 1934), especially 32–46 [*Treasure*]. Good summaries in Chaunu, *Conquête*, 302–15; Lynch, *Habsburgs*, II.204–9, 212–14; J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain 1469–1716* (London 1963), 174–88; comments in Vicens Vives, *Spain*, 322–4, 377–9. Recently, however, Alvaro Jara, *Tres Ensayos sobre Economía Minería Hispanoamericana* (Santiago 1966), has used Peruvian as well as Sevillean archives to revise Hamilton’s figures upwards; he also puts the dominance of silver over gold later, not until the 1560s—26, 52 (table), 96–100, 103–6 [*Tres Ensayos*]. Cf. also P. Chaunu, *L’Amérique et les Amériques* (Paris 1964), 95 ff.

<sup>41</sup> D. A. Brading and H. E. Cross, ‘Colonial Silver Mining: Mexico and Peru’, *HAHR* 52, 1972, 545–79 at 568–71 and 579—an important paper.

<sup>42</sup> Vicens Vives, *Spain*, 323.

<sup>43</sup> Braudel in 1949 (*Méditerranée*, 400–1) seems to support the tripling of silver; but in 1967 he and F. Spooner indicate the 50 per cent increase—‘Prices in Europe from 1450 to 1750’ in *Cambridge EHE*, IV.378–486 at 445–50 [‘Prices’]. Cf. also Braudel, ‘European Expansion and Capitalism, 1450–1650’ in J. L. Blau (ed.), *Chapters in Western Civilisation* (New York 1961), I.245–84 at 260–3 [‘Expansion’].

<sup>44</sup> Bancroft, *Mexico*, II.31–2; Prieto, *Mining*, 21 and the long quotation from Humboldt at 34–6. For the silver cannon, F. L. de Gomara, *Historia de la Conquista de Mexico* (1552; ed. J. Ramirez Cabanos, Mexico 1943), II.114–15 [*Conquista*]. The standard general survey of colonial mining seems to be M. Bargalló, *La minería y la metalurgia en la América Española durante la época colonial* (Mexico 1955)



[*La minería*], and its references to non-precious metals (mercury excluded) are cursory—77, 213–15, 295–6, 302–3.

<sup>45</sup> Chaunu, *Conquête*, 303; for mining expansion, Chevalier, *Land and Society*, 38–42.

<sup>46</sup> Whitaker, *Huancavelica*, 3. Valuable as this book is it is surpassed by G. Lohmann Villena, *Las Minas de Huancavelica en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Seville 1949) [*Las Minas*], which gives a vast amount of detail on the extraordinarily complex legal and technical tangles of the mines. Unreferenced statements to Huancavelica come from these works.

<sup>47</sup> Chaunu, 1112; Ramos, *Minería*, 240; Jara, *Tres Ensayos*, 70–3.

<sup>48</sup> Still used, though not for smelting, at the tin and bismuth mines which have revived Potosi—James, *Latin America*, 201. Collection was easier than might be thought, as a flock very decently deposits all its dung at a fixed spot—E. C. Rolls, *They All Ran Wild* (Sydney 1969), 257–8.

<sup>49</sup> There is no doubt that the process was known simply as a process well before 1554—see F. Spooner, *The International Economy and Monetary Movements in France, 1493–1725* (Cambridge (Mass.) 1972), 17–18 [*Movements*]—and Chaunu calls Medina ‘only a diffuser’ (*Conquête*, 305); but this seems to underrate him. The matter is discussed with much learning in M. Bargalló, *La Amalgamación de los Minerales de Plata en Hispanoamérica Colonial* (Mexico 1969), 50–91 [*Amalgamación*]; see also A. Probert, ‘Bartolomé de Medina: The Patio Process and the Sixteenth Century Silver Crisis’, *Jnl of the West* (Los Angeles) 8, 1969, 90–124. Perhaps Brading and Cross sum up fairly that ‘it was the Spaniard who carried out the experiments which made it an industrial reality’—‘Colonial Silver’, 552.

<sup>50</sup> Chaunu, 1118, and 1112–22 for general discussion; also Borah, *Early Trade*, 88–93, and Brading and Cross, ‘Colonial Silver’, *passim*. For effects in Europe, Zavala, *Mundo Americano*, I.43, 216.

<sup>51</sup> Prieto, *Mining*, 79. Although Garcés was certainly very active, the paucity of references to him in Lohmann Villena, *Las Minas*, suggests that he was less important than Prieto implies. See also Lohmann Villena, ‘Enrique Garcés ...’ *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* (Seville) 5, 1948, 439–82; Bargalló, *La minería*, 77–9, 134–7, and *Amalgamación*, 162, 166–74.

<sup>52</sup> Brading and Cross, ‘Colonial Silver’, 561, 573–6. Peru paid only the diezmo from 1548 till 1554, then the quinto until 1735—Bargalló, *La minería*, 82.

<sup>53</sup> M. F. Lang, ‘New Spain’s Mining Depression and the Supply of Quicksilver from Peru 1600–1700’, *HAHR* 48, 1968, 632–41 at 637–9. For a small shipment (200 quintals) from China in 1612, see Blair & Robertson, XVII.237; but most Chinese mercury went to Japan—VI.68. More could have been got from China for New Spain but for the perverse fear of adding to the silver drain to that country—P. J. Bakewell, *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico: Zacatecas 1546–1700* (Cambridge 1971), 152–4 [*Silver Mining*].

<sup>54</sup> Lohmann Villena, *Las Minas*, 173 (my italics); ‘modorra’ is heavy sleepiness, but the context calls for more than this; in veterinary usage, the dictionaries give it as meaning (1) the staggers (2) ‘sturdy’! Cf. Chaunu, 1120–2; Whitaker, *Huancavelica*, 19–21. Perez in *Colonización* manages to mention hospitals but not mercury sickness.

<sup>55</sup> The main references in *Las Minas* are 169–77 (mercury poisoning, open-cut proposal), 189, 238, 258–88, 411–12; cf. Bakewell, *Silver Mining*, 158–64. The later history of the mine until its final ruin in the mid-nineteenth century is fascinating; see Whitaker’s *Huancavelica*, from which one may pick out three points: ores found elsewhere were always assayed by Huancavelican experts, and ‘invariably declared worthless’ (50); after 1794 over two-thirds of output was by Indian *pallaquedores*, i.e. virtually fossickers, and ‘Thus the race in whose interest the court had formerly considered abandoning the mine was now its principal support’ (74–5); and—a nice reprise of the first point—the final report on the worthlessness of Huancavelica was prepared for the (Californian) New Almaden Quicksilver Company (129, note 190).

<sup>56</sup> James, *Latin America*, 200–1.

<sup>57</sup> Chaunu, 1124–8. There is a careful and objective but finally condemnatory discussion in A. Crespo Rodas, ‘La “Mita” de Potosí’, *Rev. Histórica* (Lima) 22, 1955–6, 169–82. The comment on greed was made in 1715 about Huancavelica, but is even more applicable to Potosí—Lohmann Villena, *Las Minas*, 209.

<sup>58</sup> L. Hanke, *Potosí: Boom Town Supreme* (The Hague 1956), 1 [*Potosí*]; Chaunu, *Conquête*, 309–11; Lynch, *Habsburgs*, II.218–19. European comparisons from K. F. Helleiner, ‘The Population of Europe . . .’ *Cambridge EHE*, IV.1–95 at 81–3. There is a good account of Potosí in J. A. Crow, *The Epic of Latin America* (New York 1946), 267–73, and an excellent one in G. B. Cobb, ‘Potosí, a South American Mining Frontier’, in A. Ogden and E. Sluiter (eds.), *Greater America* (Berkeley 1945), 39–57.

<sup>59</sup> Brading and Cross, ‘Colonial Silver’, 553–4, 566–7; Hanke, *Potosí*, 15, 21—total water storage is said to have been 6,000,000 metric tons before the disastrous dam-break of 1626 destroyed 126 out of 132 mills and killed some 4000 people—Arzáns de Orsúa (see note 63 below), II.1–15, and W. E. Rudolph, ‘The Lakes of Potosí’, *Geogr. Rev.* 16, 1926, 529–54.

<sup>60</sup> G. B. Cobb, ‘Supply and Transportation for the Potosí Mines, 1545–1640’, *HAHR* 29, 1949, 25–45.

<sup>61</sup> R. N. Salaman, *The History and Social Influence of the Potato* (Cambridge 1949), 40–1, 101–3. With all respect, one cannot follow Salaman in his apparent inference (205–6) that the Spanish success in dominating the Indians, by the aid of the potato, may in some sense have inspired the English in dominating the Irish by the same means. It seems unlikely that knowledge of the specific—the use of *chuño*—could have been diffused to the English at the relevant time; Salaman’s own rationale for the remarkable breach of conservative food habits in the adoption of the potato is very plausible; and he ascribes to Jacobean Englishmen a rather unlikely capacity for forward thinking. The whole notion is an offence against Occam’s Razor; but it is a splendid book.

<sup>62</sup> Ramos, *Minería*, 241–2. A quintal was 40–5 kg.

<sup>63</sup> The romantic list is given in Prieto, *Mining* 71–3 (see also 31–4 for Potosí in general and 70–1 for the La Plata route), and Hanke, *Potosí*, 28–9, from Bartolomé Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela, *Historia de la Villa Imperial de Potosí* (Providence (Rhode Island) 1965), I.7–9, edited by L. Hanke and G. Mendoza in three splendid folios (clxxxv+1464 pages)—alas, that life is too short to do more than dip into them. Its remarkable flavour can be judged by the twenty pages of its chapter headings translated by Hanke in *B. A. de O. y V’s History of Potosí* (Providence 1965), or better still in the extracts in R. C. Padden (ed.) *Tales of Potosí* (Providence 1975)—a riot of rape, elopement, abduction, duels, street fights, religious and imperial fiestas, gallantry and gallantries, drawn from a million-word tabloid which also contains a great deal of sober information. Often the bizarre and the mundane are juxtaposed: Book IV Ch. 13 is headed ‘Of the Punishment which God executed in this Town on some sodomitic Indians, and of how in this same year there were found in the mines of its wealthy mountain admirable secret works of Nature’—but also contains (I.131–2) an account of the discovery of mercury at Huancavelica.

<sup>64</sup> For *Peruleiros* and *Peruleros* (sometimes confused) see Lynch, *Habsburgs*, II.59, 112, 187–8, 196.

<sup>65</sup> Hanke, *Potosí*, 2–3; C. R. Boxer, *Salvador de Sá and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola* (London 1952), 102–8. At least Potosí had *built* churches, unlike Mark Twain’s Virginia City which had ‘a whisky-mill every sixteen steps, half a dozen jails, and some talk of building a church’—hear H. Holbrook, *Mark Twain To-Night*, Columbia OL 5440, Side 1.

<sup>66</sup> *Conquista*, II.293–4; cf. Chaunu, 33, and Lynch, *Habsburgs*, II.200–1.

<sup>67</sup> Brading and Cross, ‘Colonial Silver’, 557–60, 564, 576–9; Chaunu, 786. In Chile Indians received one-sixth of placer gold produced (1559), but this was a collective payment—I. Wallerstein, *The*

*Modern World-System* (New York 1974), 94 [*World-System*].

<sup>68</sup> Chaunu, 756–9.

<sup>69</sup> James, *Latin America*, 615–22, 643–5; for desertion of Acapulco, W. L. Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (Dutton ed., New York 1949), 74–6. For the geopolitics, Chaunu, 789–90, 1062; Ramos, *Minería*, 157–9, 212.

<sup>70</sup> Borah, *Early Trade*, 117–18.

<sup>71</sup> *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, trans. H. V. Livermore (Austin 1966), II.645; cf. 636–7 for an extraordinary panegyric on Pizarro and his partners, who have enriched the world. Incidentally, Gomara himself may in a sense have anticipated by ten years Jean Bodin's famous enunciation of the quantity theory of money (1568), but the former's work was unpublished until 1912. Another Spaniard, Martin de Azpilcueta Navarro, actually published in 1556 a work ascribing the inflation to the influx of precious metal, but Bodin was the first to develop the idea systematically and to gain wide recognition for it. See Hamilton, *Treasure*, 292–3; Braudel, *Méditerranée*, 398–9; Lynch, *Habsburgs*, I.123–4; Spooner, *Movements*, 88–90, and 'The Economy of Europe 1559–1609' in *The New Cambridge Modern History*, III (1968) 14–43 at 18–19 ['Economy'].

<sup>72</sup> The 'long' sixteenth century is taken as from the mid-fifteenth to the Thirty Years' War; see i.a. Wallerstein, *World-System*, 67–9. See Chaunu, VIII.2.1 (1959), 10, for a rather verbose definition of 'conjuncture', and cf. Braudel and Spooner, 'Prices', 438. The opening of this essay is delightful as a comment on the history of price history, and admirable on its value and values. A rather clearer discussion of 'conjuncture' than Chaunu's may be found in F. Mauro, *L'Expansion Européenne (1600–1870)* (Paris 1967), 301–16.

<sup>73</sup> Hamilton's thesis is set out in *Treasure*, 283–306 ('Why Prices Rose'); several critiques of it are summarised in Wallerstein, *World-System*, 70–84. The following account is based on the relevant passages in the already cited works of Braudel, Chaunu, Elliott, Lynch, Parry, Spooner, Wallerstein and Vicens Vives. These overlap and interlock, so that several citations might be made on any one point. References below are therefore selective.

<sup>74</sup> Spooner, 'Economy', 22.

<sup>75</sup> Braudel, *Méditerranée*, 374–6—with details of some smuggling intercepts.

<sup>76</sup> Hamilton, *Treasure*, 33.

<sup>77</sup> A French estimate of 1691 reckoned that 25 per cent of 'Spanish' exports to the Indies were of French origin, 21 Genoese, 19 Dutch, 11 Flemish, 11 English, 7.6 Hamburgers, 3.8 Spanish—Vicens Vives, *Spain*, 433; cf. Lynch, *Habsburgs*, II.192.

<sup>78</sup> Parry, *Seaborne Empire*, 242–4; Spooner, 'Economy', 26–7.

<sup>79</sup> For the value of the Netherlands to Spain, and the cost of 'the provisioning of Flanders', see Lynch, *Habsburgs*, I.144–6, 272–3, 294–5, 346–7; for the *asiento* system, 131–4. See also Braudel, *Méditerranée*, 375–98, and Spooner, *Movements*, 26–7.

<sup>80</sup> J. E. Neale, *Queen Elizabeth* (London 1934), 181–3; J. A. Froude, *The Reign of Elizabeth* (Everyman ed.), II.471–7.

<sup>81</sup> H. Holborn, *A History of Modern Germany: The Reformation* (New York 1959), 75.

<sup>82</sup> C. H. Wilson, 'Trade, Society and the State', in *Cambridge EHE*, IV.487–575 at 494.

<sup>83</sup> Hamilton, *Treasure*, 90–1, 289. He is curiously precise: army disbursements on the Portuguese frontier in 1641–2 were 99.96 per cent in vellón. After an unsuccessful attempt to introduce vellón into New Spain in 1642, the Indians' fractional currency needs were met, until the eighteenth century, by the traditional medium of cocoa beans—Chevalier, *Land and Society*, 72, and E. J. Hamilton, *War and Prices in Spain 1651–1800* (Cambridge (Mass.) 1947), 72; see this work for the vicissitudes of vellón and the 1680 deflation. For the copper cargo, Parry, *Seaborne Empire*, 245.

<sup>84</sup> All this from J. McMaster's fascinating article 'Aventuras Asiáticas del Peso Mexicano', *Hist. Mexicana*

8, 1958–9, 372–99; see Spooner, *Movements*, 27–9, for the world-meshing ‘network of silver’, and O. Pantaleão, *A Penetração Comercial de Inglaterra na America Espanhola de 1713 a 1783* (São Paulo 1946), 273.

<sup>85</sup> Lynch, *Habsburgs*, II.177; for the general theme of this section, 180–200.

<sup>86</sup> Lynch, *Habsburgs*, II.222–4.

<sup>87</sup> Chaunu, 758–9.

<sup>88</sup> Admiral de Bañuelos y Carilla (1638) in Blair & Robertson, XXIX.71.

<sup>89</sup> P. Chaunu, *Les Philippines et le Pacifique des Ibériques* (Paris 1960), 38–46, 268–9; cf. J. Grau y Monfalcon, ‘Informatory Memorial’ to Philip IV, in Blair & Robertson, XXVII.55–212 at 167–8.

<sup>90</sup> Lynch, *Habsburgs*, II.225.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, II.193.

<sup>92</sup> MacLeod, *Central America*, 385–9. Very much has been written on the contraband penetration, sometimes amounting to domination, of Latin American markets in the eighteenth century, such as Olga Pantaleão’s excellent study cited in note 84 above. This theme will be discussed in later chapters of this work.

<sup>93</sup> Ramos, *Minería*, 115–18.

<sup>94</sup> Chaunu, *Conquête*, 277–8; cf. 279–81 on ‘le frein de poids moteur’.

<sup>95</sup> This epigram is often quoted; I have taken it from Vicens Vives, *Spain*, 464.

### Notes for Chapter 8

<sup>1</sup> J. Vicens Vives, *An Economic History of Spain* (Princeton 1969), 398–9 [*Spain*], refers to Genoese and Portuguese, French and Netherlandish interests, and also ‘another network, more obscure but no less powerful, between these same merchants and the great Andalusian latifundist magnates’ such as the Count–Duke Olivares and that Aunt Sally of English popular navalism, Medina Sidonia, whose appointment to command the Armada, though a mistake, was by no means the mere nonsense that is so often stated or implied—for a welcome change, see W. Graham, *The Spanish Armadas* (London 1972), 78–80. For the Genoese, see I. Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System* (New York 1974), 49–50, 168–9, 173, 215 [*World-System*]; F. Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le Monde méditerranéen à l’époque de Philippe II* (Paris 1949), 395 [*Méditerranée*].

<sup>2</sup> In his chapter ‘Le “monopole” de la Péninsule du Sud’, Pierre Chaunu makes the point that ‘The political and economic collapse of Spain in the 17th century did not carry with it, as would have been logical on the absurd hypothesis of a princely caprice, the disappearance of the “Carrera de Indias” but its internal colonisation by the colonies of foreign factors living at Cadiz’—*Conquête et Exploitation des Nouveaux Mondes* (Paris 1969), 245–76 at 268 [*Conquête*].

<sup>3</sup> For the Casa at Corunna, see F. de Solano, ‘Navios y mercaderes en la ruta occidental de las especies (1519–1563)’ in *A Viagem de Fernão de Magalhães e a Questão das Molucas* (Actas do II Colóquio Luso-Espanhol de História Ultramarina (Lisbon 1975), 579–610 at 583–7, and J. Pérez de Tudela y Bueso, ‘La especería de Castilla . . .’, *ibid.*, 627–87 at 658–9, 681 [‘La especería’]. Chaunu, 177–201 has a lengthy analysis of the reasons for settling the monopoly at Seville; he formally repudiates the (conventionally immoral) stance of geographical determinism, but his narrowing of choices is difficult to distinguish from that position. See also J. H. Parry, *The Spanish Seaborne Empire* (Harmondsworth 1973), 31–6, 110–14 [*Seaborne Empire*]; C. H. Haring, *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies in the Time of the Hapsburgs* (Cambridge (Mass.) 1918), Chs. I–II *passim* [*Trade*]; Haring, *The Spanish Empire in America* (New York 1963, original ed. 1947), 194–304 [*Spanish Empire*]; J. Lynch, *Spain under*

the *Habsburgs* (Oxford 1964–9), I, 117–19, 151–5 [*Habsburgs*]. There are some perceptive remarks on the system, and especially its durability, in S. J. and B. N. Stein, *The Colonial Heritage of Latin America* (New York 1970), 46–53. [*Heritage*].

<sup>4</sup> Vicens Vives, *Spain*, 437–8; J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain 1469–1716* (London 1963), 173 [*Spain 1469–1716*]. The main liability of Cadiz was its vulnerability to attack, as in Essex's raid of 1596, when the President of the Casa de Contratacion himself was taken—A. L. Rowse, *The Expansion of Elizabethan England* (Cardinal ed., London 1973), 323–6.

<sup>5</sup> Vicens Vives, *Spain*, 370–1; for the persistent structural crisis of the American market, Chaunu, *Conquête*, 339.

<sup>6</sup> Stein, *Heritage*, 46. There is a clear account, including an interesting quasi-defence of the system, in E. W. Dahlgren, *Les Relations Commerciales et Maritimes entre La France et les Côtes de l'Océan Pacifique* (Paris 1909), 1–50 but especially 4–5.

<sup>7</sup> The causes are of course complex, but include the expulsions of Jews and *conversos*, who had many of the more progressive entrepreneurs and artisans, and the grossly inequitable official favour to the Mesta, the guild or corporation of sheep-rearers. Later, highly retrogressive taxation, especially the *alcabala* or sales tax, and the great inflation, which in so far as it stemmed from Indies treasure naturally struck Spain first and hardest, put Spanish industry at a great disadvantage compared with other countries—see i.a. Elliott, *Spain 1469–1715*, 179–81, 187–90; Lynch, *Habsburgs*, I.15–18, 119–21; Vicens Vives, *Spain*, 241–57, 401.

<sup>8</sup> '... the routine procedures and lack of imagination of the Spanish administration which, having prepared a system for transmitting merchandise to America and for receiving silver, allowed foreign interests to infiltrate and take advantage of it ...', while 'the escort ships carried merchandise even in the mouths of their cannons'—Vicens Vives, *Spain*, 399. This last may seem a picturesque exaggeration, but even the forger of the convoy system, Menendez de Avila, though 'a stern disciplinarian, made a fortune by smuggling', and a flagship was reported so heavily laden that her lower gun-ports were below the water-line—Parry, *Seaborne Empire*, 122. The motto of the bureaucracy seems to have been *Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?*—unless it was a perversion of the Crown's great boast, *Plus Ultra*.

<sup>9</sup> Vicens Vives, *Spain*, 382–4; Braudel, *Méditerranée*, 375–97; see above, Ch. 7.

<sup>10</sup> The splendidly ingenious maps and diagrams in Tome VII ('Construction Graphique') of the Chaunu's *Séville* are probably more enlightening to the general historian than the details and tabulations of the actual trade movements in Tomes II–VI. More succinct accounts of the organisation of flotas and galeones may be found in Haring, *Trade*, 201–30, and *Spanish Empire*, 304–5; Parry, *Seaborne Empire*, 104–8, 120–2, 286–7, and Parry, 'Colonial Development ... I. America' in *The New Cambridge Modern History* III, 1968, 507–32 at 516–20.

<sup>11</sup> Baptista Antonio [Juan Bautista Antonelli], 'A relation of the ports, harbors, forts and cities in the west India ... Anno 1587' in Hakluyt, VII.109–27 ['relation'].

<sup>12</sup> D. Francis, *The First Peninsular War 1702–1713* (London 1975), 53–4; cf. Parry, *Seaborne Empire*, 260; Lynch, *Habsburgs*, II.74–5, 174–7, 191; M. Lewis, *The Spanish Armada* (Pan ed., London 1961), 88; P. Geyl, *The Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century 1609–1648* (London 1961), 88 [*Netherlands*].

<sup>13</sup> 'Tierra Firme' was the northern mainland of South America, roughly the modern Colombia (with Panama) and Venezuela, which until they were joined in the Viceroyalty of New Granada in the eighteenth century were attached respectively to Peru and New Spain. Tierra Firme was the original 'Spanish Main'; the use of this term for the adjacent seas is secondary. See *The New Cambridge Modern History*, XIV (Atlas), 1970, 229–30, and *The Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. Spanish.

<sup>14</sup> D. R. Perez, *Historia de la Colonización Española en America* (Madrid 1947), 235 [*Colonización*].

- <sup>15</sup> G. Mack, *The Land Divided: A History of the Panama Canal and other Isthmian Canal Projects* (New York 1944), 239–41, 151–8 [*Land Divided*]; for a modern first-hand account of the terrain, D. Howarth, *The Golden Isthmus* (London 1967), 11–14, 31–6.
- <sup>16</sup> R. D. Hussey, ‘Colonial Economic Life’, in A. C. Wilgus (ed.), *Colonial Hispanic America* (Washington 1936), 305–32 at 324–5 [‘Economic Life’].
- <sup>17</sup> See above, Ch. 3, and references there. Locational and other factors are analysed with great skill and detail in Chaunu, 821–32, 869–89; while Mack, *Land Divided*, is unmatched for the meticulous treatment of all possible and impossible canal projects, not to mention the Eads Ship[–carrying] Railway.
- <sup>18</sup> M. J. MacLeod, *Spanish Central America: A Socioeconomic History 1520–1720* (Berkeley 1973), 159–65 [*Central America*].
- <sup>19</sup> P. Nichols, *Sir Francis Drake Revived*, in J. Hampden (ed.), *Francis Drake Privateer* (London 1972), 53–104 at 83; Chaunu, 916–21.
- <sup>20</sup> A. Galvano [Galvão], *The Discoveries of the World*, trans. R. Hakluyt, HS 1st Ser. 30 (London 1862), 180. The Gomara list I know only from Mack, *Land Divided*, 42–3, and Haring, *Trade*, 192—where however there seems a misprint in the Spanish, as well as a careless description of Galvão and his book.
- <sup>21</sup> For these early projects, see Mack, *Land Divided*, 40–6, and slighter mentions in Perez, *Colonización*, 264, and in H. M. Stephens and H. E. Bolton (eds.), *The Pacific Ocean in History* (New York 1917), at 118–21 (R. J. Taussig) and 45–6 (R. Altamira).
- <sup>22</sup> Mack, *Land Divided*, 44–54; J. de Acosta SJ, *The Natural & Moral History of the Indies*, trans. C. R. Markham, HS 1st Ser. 60 (London 1880), 135–6; for a nicely muddled version of the tradition, J. B. Bishop, *The Panama Gateway* (New York 1913), 29–30 [*Gateway*].
- <sup>23</sup> Mack, *Land Divided*, 53, 55; for another first-hand testimonial, Haring, *Trade*, 183—a priest living in Tierra Firme called it in 1640 ‘malissimo camino’, the worst he had ever seen.
- <sup>24</sup> Chaunu, 898, 901–8; and cf. 684, 825. The whole chapter ‘Panama, Isthme de Seville’ (898–958) is a magnificent piece of historical geography. However, in 1526 Panama had been formally designated as the terminal for the (putative) spice trade; but this was ‘certainly beyond the economic possibilities of the isthmian area’, pending the actual anchoring of a ship from Asia at Panama, which in turn would demand far more experience than was yet available—Tudela y Bueso, ‘La especería’, in *Actas II* at 679.
- <sup>25</sup> Although briefly responsible for everything from Nicaragua to the Straits of Magellan! This first Audiencia was established in 1542, and after some vicissitudes Panama became in 1567 a Presidency, with its own Audiencia, under Peru—Haring, *Spanish Empire*, 83–4.
- <sup>26</sup> Chaunu, 905–8.
- <sup>27</sup> Chaunu, 1013–33; Antonelli, ‘relation’, 110–15.
- <sup>28</sup> Antonelli, ‘relation’, 116; Chaunu, 925–9; Parry, *Seaborne Empire*, 116.
- <sup>29</sup> Thomas Gage, *The English-American* (1648), ed. A. P. Newton (London 1928), 367–9; Gage’s admirations and complaints are echoed, in more exalted language, by J. Juan and A. de Ulloa, *Relación Histórica del Viage a la América Meridional* (Madrid 1748), I.139–40. The estimate of US\$200 is from J. A. Crow, *The Epic of Latin America* (New York 1946), 180–1—a lively description of the fair. A. C. Loosley, ‘The Puerto Bello Fairs’, *HAHR* 13, 1933, 314–35, gives a long list of the wares exchanged.
- <sup>30</sup> Antonelli, ‘relation’, 122; Gage, *English-American*, 364. Wood may have been favoured because of earthquake risk and for lack of good local stone.
- <sup>31</sup> It is amusing, but also instructive, to compare the old translations quoted in S. de Madariaga, *The Rise of the Spanish American Empire* (London 1947), 114–15 [*Rise*] with A. O. Exquemelin, *The Buccaneers*

of *America*, trans. A Broom (Harmondsworth 1969), 197–8. This is claimed in the Introduction (at 18) to be ‘the first translation accurately based on the Dutch ever to appear in English’, and is quite sober compared with the exuberance of earlier versions. On the other hand, J. B. Bishop’s objection (*Gateway*, 21) that rich paintings in Panama are likely to have existed only in Exquemelin’s imagination, since they would have had to come from Spain over 4000 miles of sea and the horrid mule-track, is quite absurd; there was no earthly reason why they should not have been so brought, many heavenly ones why they should; not to mention the artists of Mexico and Lima.

<sup>32</sup> Haring, *Trade*, 188.

<sup>33</sup> Chaunu, 910; Haring, *Trade*, 186–7; Gage, *English-American*, 365.

<sup>34</sup> Chaunu, 950–3; Haring, *Trade*, 187.

<sup>35</sup> W. Borah, *Early Colonial Trade and Navigation between Mexico and Peru* (Berkeley 1954), 11–13, 67, 71–2—a basic source for this section [*Early Trade*]; D. Ramos, *Minería y Comercio Interprovincial en Hispanoamérica* (Univ. of Valladolid n.d.), 212–13, misses Borah’s point on Grijalva, but cf. 151–9 for some interesting general views. See also Chaunu, 757.

<sup>36</sup> J. Lockhart, *Spanish Peru 1532–1560* (Madison 1968), 117 [*Peru*]; H. Morton, *The Wind Commands: Sailors and Sailing Ships in the Pacific* (Vancouver 1975), 191–2, gives some extreme examples of the difficulty of working out of the Bay.

<sup>37</sup> Borah, *Early Trade*, 29–34, 63; Lockhart, *Peru*, 116–17, and 121–2 for an unlucky voyage in 1550–1. Some sailing details are given in G. Lohmann Villena, *Historia Marítima del Perú*, Tomo IV (*Siglos XVII y XVIII*) (Lima 1975)—see Cap. II, ‘La Marina Mercante’, 213–369 at 226–7 [*Hist. Marítima*].

<sup>38</sup> J. Frezier, *A Voyage to the South Sea* (London 1717), 193–4; cf. D. Whittlesey, *The Earth and the State* (New York 1939), 437, 463–4, for the locational values of Valparaiso and Callao. J. A. del Busto Duthurburu, in *Hist. Marítima*, Tomo III (*Siglo XVI: historia interna*) Parte 1 adds little on Callao (381–405) but gives much detail in Cap. VIII, ‘Los Primeros Portos’, 327–79.

<sup>39</sup> A. Jara, ‘La flota del Mar del Sur ...’, in *Tres Ensayos sobre Economía Minera Hispanoamericana* (Santiago 1966), 55–97, at 74–7 [*Tres Ensayos*]. This essay also appears in *Les Grandes Voies Maritimes dans le Monde XV<sup>e</sup>–XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris 1965), 247–75; this book is as difficult to track down, even in Berkeley, as any seventeenth century work; it is not, as most references suggest, solely by or edited by Jara but by M. Mollat. It is published by SEVPEN for the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes.

<sup>40</sup> For this paragraph and the next, Borah, *Early Trade*, 63–9; Chaunu, 1104–10; Lockhart, *Peru*, 114–34; Lohmann Villena in *Hist. Marítima*, IV.215–18, 227–30.

<sup>41</sup> Haring, *Trade*, 261.

<sup>42</sup> Borah, *Early Trade*, 85–7. It is however perhaps too much to say, as Borah does, that the merchants ‘were really engaged in long-distance peddling’; after all, if at one end they were supplied by a fair, they seem to have had fixed bases in Lima and definite factors and agencies elsewhere. There is an analogy with the classic peddling trade as described in N. Steensgaard, *The Asian Trade Revolution of the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago 1974), 22–59; but it seems to me rather a slight one.

<sup>43</sup> Ramos, *Minería*, 247–8; cf. 226 for ‘vías extralegales’ and 234–5 for illicit devices, such as Peruvian wine entering Guatemala ‘under pretext of being vinegar’. Borah, *Early Trade*, 96–115, describes the web of tax and regulation.

<sup>44</sup> Borah, *Early Trade*, 80–4, 117–18; Chaunu, 752–9.

<sup>45</sup> Borah, *Early Trade*, 117–18; Lohmann Villena, in *Hist. Marítima*, IV.318; Ramos, *Minería*, 227–30; Blair & Robertson, IV.313–14, V.11, 30–1.

<sup>46</sup> Lynch, *Habsburgs*, II.187, 196.

<sup>47</sup> Jara, *Tres Ensayos*, 69; see 82–7 for the opening of a Chile–La Plata route.

<sup>48</sup> Perez, *Colonización*, 212; Haring, *Spanish Empire*, 308–9; Lynch, *Habsburgs*, II.178–9; Ramos, *Minería*, 195–200; Romero, *Perú*, 177–8. The use of the Plate estuary to breach the monopoly reached its height in the eighteenth century: there are full studies by S. Villalobos R., *Comercio y Contrabando en el Río de la Plata y Chile 1700–1811* (Buenos Aires 1965), and Olga Pantaleão, *A Penetração Comercial de Inglaterra na América Espanhola del 1713 a 1783* (São Paulo 1946). S. E. Morison’s analogy of Montreal and Quebec confined to New York for an outlet is entertaining but ignores the differences in true locational factors—especially in regard to winds, an astonishing lapse for the Admiral—and is quite beside the point—*The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages 1492–1616* (New York 1974), 581.

<sup>49</sup> The detailed story of the end of the New Spain–Peru trade is in Borah, *Early Trade*, 116–27. The decrees are in Blair & Robertson, XVII.27–52. Many points stem from the long memorial on ‘Reforms needed in the Philippines’ (1620) by Hernando de los Rios Coronel, Procurator–General for Manila at Madrid, *ibid.* XVIII.290–342. Ramos, *Minería*, 230–5, brings out the threat of monopsony; there are other details in Lohmann Villena, *Hist. Marítima*, IV.314–18, and it becomes extremely difficult even for Ramos to discern that Common Market in which ‘La defensa del consumidor es la única ley’ (*Minería*, 117–18, 229).

<sup>50</sup> Grau y Monfalcon’s ‘Informatory memorial’ of 1637, Blair & Robertson, XXVII.55–214 at 165 [Grau, ‘Memorial’], and the ‘Informatory decree’, XXX.97–101 at 101. Grau’s ‘Justification of the maintenance of the Philipinas Islands and their commerce’, XXX.25–81, is addressed to Bishop Palafox and adds a few points.

<sup>51</sup> The debate of 1644 is reported in a printed *Relacion* bound with Prado’s MS. narrative of his voyage through Torres Straits, in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, item 3–9A, Safe 1/73. For the decrees of 1706 and 1779, see W. L. Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (Dutton ed., New York 1959), 366–70, 381–2 [*Galleon*]; but Puerto del Marques is southeast not north of Acapulco—see W. Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World* (1697) (Dover ed., New York 1968), 170–2 and map at 26. Between 1711 and 1715 at least seven ships from Peru, with cacao, aguardiente, and wine, were embargoed in Acapulco harbour—N. P. Cushner SJ, *Spain in the Philippines* (Quezon City 1971), 136–7 [*Spain*]. For occasional licensed trading, see G. Lohmann Villena, *Las Minas de Huancavelica* (Seville 1949), 431.

<sup>52</sup> MacLeod, *Central America*, 165–70, including the amazing story of the Galleon which overshot Acapulco and put in at the Gulf of Fonseca.

<sup>53</sup> Wallerstein, *World-System*, 335; Anthonio van Diemen (1640), cited from Geyl, *Netherlands*, 186. In stating that ‘Spain eventually gave up the Manila Galleon’, impliedly *c.* 1640, Wallerstein must have misread his source. P. Chaunu, ‘Le galion de Manille’, *Annales Economies Sociétés Civilisations* 6, 1951, 447–62 [‘galion’].

<sup>54</sup> Chaunu, *Philippines*, 22.

<sup>55</sup> Epigraph to Fr Francisco Colin SJ, *Labor evangelica . . .* (Madrid 1663), itself the epigraph to Chaunu, *Philippines*.

<sup>56</sup> T. A. Agoncillo, *A Short History of the Philippines* (New York 1969), 21–2, 45–6; K. Lightfoot, *The Philippines* (London 1974), 49–50; G. F. Zaide, *The Philippines since Pre-Spanish Times* (Manila 1949), 410–27, 438–9 [*Philippines*].

<sup>57</sup> Zaide, *Philippines*, 203, 229.

<sup>58</sup> A. De Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* (1609), trans. and ed. J. S. Cummins, HS 2nd Ser. 140 (Cambridge 1971), 261, 308, 310 [*Sucesos*]; Grau, ‘memorial’, 79–80, 198–201; Schurz, *Galleon*, 44–9. For spice-smuggling from the Moluccas by Portuguese and Sangleys, Blair & Robertson, XI.207; the information on tobacco I owe to Cushner, *Spain*, 202–3, and a control tag of La Flor de Isabela, Inc.,



Manila. The mechanism of the trade at Manila is described above, Ch. 6.

<sup>59</sup> Schurz, *Galleon*, 31–3; Morga, *Sucesos*, 305–6, 308–9.

<sup>60</sup> P. Guzmán-Rivas, Reciprocal Geographical Influences of the Trans-Pacific Galleon Trade (Univ. of Texas Ph.D thesis 1960), 59 [Influences]; Schurz, *Galleon*, 275; Chaunu, ‘galion’, 458; Blair & Robertson, XXIV.286–8, for nature and importance of Japan trade.

<sup>61</sup> Guzmán-Rivas, *Influences*, 244–58.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 37–53, 99–107, 119–44, 196–208. The complaint about *tuba* is in a report on ship-building (1619) in Blair & Robertson, XVIII.169–85; in 1671 the inhabitants of Colima petitioned for licence to make *tuba*, described as very innocuous!—*Influences*, 104. For the inhuman treatment of Indio sailors, the details of which ‘would fill many pages’, Rios Coronel in Blair & Robertson, XVIII.299–300.

<sup>63</sup> Schurz, *Galleon*, 371–84, quotes vivid vignettes of Acapulco from a variety of travellers; see also M. Carrera Stampa, ‘Las Ferias Novohispanas’, *Hist. Mexicana* 2, 1952–3, at 329–34.

<sup>64</sup> J. H. Parry, ‘Transport and Trade Routes’, in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe* III (1967) 155–222 at 210 [‘Transport’].

<sup>65</sup> Blair & Robertson, XVIII.228.

<sup>66</sup> For the beginnings of Dutch expansion, B. H. M. Vlekke, *Nusantara: A History of Indonesia* (rev. ed., The Hague 1959), 101–9; G. Masselman, *The Cradle of Colonialism* (New Haven 1963), 62–105 [*Colonialism*]; C. R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600–1800* (Harmondsworth 1973), 21–6. There were also plenty of Dutch proclamations against trading with the enemy, especially under Leicester—as ineffectual as the Spanish; see D. W. Davies, *A Primer of Dutch Seventeenth Century Trade* (The Hague 1961), 25–8.

<sup>67</sup> Masselman, *Colonialism*, 130–1, 141–50; C. R. Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East 1550–1770* (The Hague 1948), 50–1 [*Fidalgos*].

<sup>68</sup> Chaunu, ‘galion’, 458 and *Philippines*, 53, 152; Boxer, *Fidalgos*, 68–9; A. R. Disney, *Twilight of the Pepper Trade*, unpublished typescript, Ch. 2 (cited by courtesy of the author). Chaunu’s figures for the actual entry of Macaonese ships at Manila (*Philippines*, Série 13) do not at first sight seem to bear out his reference to an ‘entrée massive’, but the Portuguese ships would be larger than the Chinese craft. Even after the catastrophe of the expulsion from Japan, followed by the loss (at least officially) of the Manila market after 1640, the Macaonese remained active entrepreneurs; e.g. their Bocarro gun-foundry was the best in the East, and English gun-runners took its products through the Dutch blockade to Goa—Boxer, *Fidalgos*, 110, 113. For the Makassar-based merchant adventurer Figueiredo, see C. R. Boxer, *Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo . . . 1624–1667* (The Hague 1967).

<sup>69</sup> Blair & Robertson, VII.199–204 (letter from Portugal, 1590); X.190–7 (Bishop of Nueva Segovia to King, 17 May 1599).

<sup>70</sup> Borah, *Early Trade*, 123; the figure of 12,000,000 pesos is given by Haring (*Trade*, 189) and accepted by Parry (‘Transport’, 210); but see Schurz, *Galleon*, 188–90; Chaunu, *Philippines*, 268–9; Grau, ‘memorial’, 167–8, 171–6, which cumulatively make such an amount highly improbable. For Anson’s capture, R. Walters and B. Robins, *A Voyage round the World . . .* (1748), ed. G. Williams (London 1974), 344, 393—by Anson’s time, Mexican silver output had recovered from the seventeenth century trough.

<sup>71</sup> Chaunu, ‘galion’, 459–61; Grau, ‘memorial’, 152–7; Boxer, *Fidalgos*, 133–4.

<sup>72</sup> Blair & Robertson, XVIII.212–32 at 200—Montesclaros at this time (1612) was Viceroy of Peru, and had been of New Spain—a man of experience in fending off unwelcome suggestions.

<sup>73</sup> Schurz, *Galleon*, 187–8, 379–80; cf. Grau’s protests, and excuses, in ‘memorial’, 167–8.

<sup>74</sup> Blair & Robertson, XVIII.194–203, XX.131–2.

<sup>75</sup> Hernando de los Rios Coronel, ‘Memorial y Relacion’ for the King (Madrid 1621), Blair & Robertson, XIX.187–298 at 235–55; Grau y Monfalcon, ‘Justificacion’ (1640), *ibid.* XXX.25–81 at 28–47.

<sup>76</sup> Blair & Robertson, XIV.217, 231; XVIII.57–64.

<sup>77</sup> Chaunu, ‘galion’, 460; Boxer, *Fidalgos*, 132–57; Blair & Robertson, XX.129 (1621), XXII.97–101 (1626). The complex links and rivalries are emphasised in Chaunu’s article ‘Manille et Macao face à la conjoncture des XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles’, in *Annales Economies Sociétés Civilisations*, 1962 (not seen, but quoted in F. Mauro, *L’Expansion Européenne (1600–1870)* (Paris 1967), 303, 306).

<sup>78</sup> Blair & Robertson, XXIII.112, 114 (1630), XXIV.218–20 (1632).

<sup>79</sup> Blair & Robertson, XXVI.269–90; quotation from Boxer, *Fidalgos*, 136–8.

<sup>80</sup> C. R. Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacon* (Lisbon 1959), 18; Chaunu, ‘galion’, 452.

### Notes for Chapter 9

<sup>1</sup> D. B. Quinn, ‘The Argument for the English Discovery of America between 1480 and 1494’, *Geogr. Jul* 127, 1961, 277–85, also in his *England and the Discovery of America 1481–1620* (London 1973), 5–23 [*Discovery*]; J. A. Williamson, *The Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery under Henry VII*, HS 2nd Ser. 120 (Cambridge 1962), 19–32, 187–9 [*Cabot Voyages*]. The priority of Prince Madoc (A.D. 1170) is disputed, and anyhow he was Welsh.

<sup>2</sup> Thorne in R. Barlow, *A Brief Summe of Geography*, ed. E. G. R. Taylor, HS 2nd Ser. 69 (London 1932) at xxviii [*Brief Summe*]; also in Hakluyt, VIII.44–5; for Cabot’s voyage, S. E. Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages A.D. 1492–1616* (New York 1974), 537–61 [*Southern Voyages*].

<sup>3</sup> Henry VII’s thinking and its evolution were subtle; see Williamson, *Cabot Voyages*, 50–3, 125–7, 132–3. The close relations of Bristol and the Azores are noteworthy.

<sup>4</sup> To avoid overlapping and repeating citations, it may be stated that unreferenced factual statements in this section are from: E. G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography 1485–1583* (London 1930), Chs. III and V–VII [*Geography*]; Taylor, ‘Early English Empire Building Projects in the Pacific Ocean, 1565–1585’, *HAHR* 14, 1934, 295–306 [‘Early Empire’]; J. A. Williamson, *The Ocean in English History* (Oxford 1941), Chs. I–III [*Ocean*]; Williamson, *The Age of Drake* (2nd ed., London 1946), Chs. I–III [*Age of Drake*]. There is a stimulating political and cultural commentary in A. L. Rowse, *The Expansion of Elizabethan England* (Cardinal ed.; London 1973) [*Expansion*]. Rowse inclines somewhat to a more sophisticated rendering of the ‘Dogs of Devon’ tradition stemming from Charles Kingsley’s *Westward Ho!* (1855) and J. A. Froude’s *English Seamen in the Sixteenth Century* (1895), in which the chapter on Drake is totally chauvinist and largely erroneous. There is also much background material in the immense compilation (cccclxxvii + 5720 pages!) by E. M. Tenison, *Elizabethan England ... ‘In Relation to all Foreign Princes’* (Leamington Spa 1933–61) [*Elizabethan England*]; but strangely enough, unless it be due to a subconscious desire to avoid questions of piracy, there is scarcely any reference to Drake’s circumnavigation in this fascinating, highly idiosyncratic, and very courageous work.

<sup>5</sup> See for example John Hawkins’s all too close relations with Pedro de Ponte, a shady magnate of Tenerife, in A. Rumeu de Armas, *Los Viajes de John Hawkins a América, 1562–1595* (Seville 1957), 87–106, 202, 218; and 36–48 on the general position [*Hawkins*].

<sup>6</sup> Contrast e.g. Rowse, *Expansion*, 192, and Williamson, *Age of Drake*, 93, with the playing-down of the political effects in K. R. Andrews, *Drake’s Voyages: A Re-assessment of their Place in Elizabethan*

*Maritime Expansion* (London 1967), 28–30 [*Voyages*]. But for the important purely naval aspect, see D. W. Waters, ‘The Elizabethan Navy and the Armada Campaign’, *MM* 35, 1949, 90–138 at 95.

<sup>7</sup> This is Barlow’s *Brief Summe*, mainly a translation of Juan de Encisco’s *Suma de Geographia* (Seville 1519), but adding Barlow’s first-hand reports from the Parana region and ending with an appeal for northern discovery. For Northumberland’s wild idea, Taylor in *Brief Summe*, liv.

<sup>8</sup> D. W. Waters, *The Art of Navigation in England in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Times* (London 1958), 157, 220–5, 229 [*Navigation*].

<sup>9</sup> E. G. R. Taylor, ‘The Northern Passages’, in A. P. Newton (ed.), *The Great Age of Discovery* (London 1932), 199–224 at 202–7. For the possible origin of the legendary Friseland and Estotiland and the disputed Zeni voyages, see her article ‘A Fourteenth Century Riddle—and its Solution’, *Geogr. Rev.* 54, 1964, 573–6; which is perhaps a little more convincing, if not quite so entertaining, as the account of a fourteenth century Italo-Scottish expedition to Massachusetts in R. H. Ramsay, *No Longer on the Map* (New York 1972), 53–76. C. Miller, *The Silver Map of the World* (London 1900), 49–67, is amusing and damnatory.

<sup>10</sup> R. Willes, ‘Certaine other reasons . . . to prove a passage by the Northwest’, in Hakluyt V.120–32 at 130; H. Gilbert, ‘A discourse . . . to prove a passage by the Northwest to Cathaia’, *ibid.* 92–120 at 117 [‘A discourse’]; the latter also in D. B. Quinn (ed.), *The Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, HS 2nd Ser. 83–4 (London 1940), I.129–65 [*Gilbert*].

<sup>11</sup> The various combinations can be most readily grasped from the maps in Williamson, *Age of Drake*, at 21, and Taylor, *Geography*, at 80. See also the 1566 ‘General Map, made onely for the particular declaration of this discovery’, in Quinn, *Gilbert*, at I.164.

<sup>12</sup> J. B. Brebner, *The Explorers of North America 1492–1806* (Meridian ed., Cleveland 1964), 25, 95–102.

<sup>13</sup> E. Prestage, *The Portuguese Pioneers* (London 1933), 187, 270–7, for the Azorean Corte Reals; for the name ‘Trium fratrum’, Taylor, *Geography*, 82. Of the three Cabot brothers, Ludovico and Sancio were ‘unknown men’, completely overshadowed by Sebastian (Williamson, *Cabot Voyages*, 114), while of the three brothers Corte Real only two sailed and perished in these waters.

<sup>14</sup> H. R. Wagner, *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century* (Amsterdam 1960, original ed. 1929), 53, 111, 138, 162; Wagner, ‘Apocryphal Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America’, reprint from *Proc. of Amer. Antiquarian Soc.* (Worcester (Mass.) 1931); J. C. Beaglehole, *The Journals of Captain James Cook: III . . . 1776–1780*, HS Extra Ser. 36 (Cambridge 1967), xxxvii–xlvi. P. Novo y Colson, *Sobre los Viajes Apócrifos de Juan de Fuca y de Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado* (Madrid 1881), gives damning documentation on the latter, and there are some interesting points in H. H. Bancroft, *Retrospection Political and Personal* (3rd ed., New York 1915), 528–34; but R. R. Owen, ‘The Myth of Anian’, *Jnl Hist. of Ideas* 36, 1975, 135–8 adds little or nothing. I regret not seeing G. E. Nunn, *Origin of the Strait of Anian Concept* (Philadelphia 1929). The name ‘Ania(n)’ was used by Marco Polo for a region in northeast Asia, and ‘came into the literature’ as the name of a strait with Gastaldi in 1562; oddly enough it seems to derive from ‘Aniwa’, the Japanese name for the real strait between Sakhalin and the mainland—Ramsay, *No Longer on the Map*, 150–1.

<sup>15</sup> D. M. Lebedev and V. I. Grekov, ‘Geographical Exploration by the Russians’, in H. R. Friis (ed.), *The Pacific Basin: A History of Its Geographical Exploration* (New York 1967), 170–200 at 170.

<sup>16</sup> Barlow, *Brief Summe*, 180–2; Grenville, quoted in A. L. Rowse, *Sir Richard Grenville of the ‘Revenge’* (London 1940), 80 [*Grenville*].

<sup>17</sup> Gilbert, ‘A discourse’, at 102, 110–11 in Hakluyt VIII. The name Sierra Nevada comes from confused reports of Coronado’s great inland exploration (1540–2) and was placed rather north of

the modern Sierra Nevada of California, as in Gilbert's map of c. 1563. The date of the talk about Urdaneta is given as 1568 ('A discourse' was drafted in 1566 but not printed until 1576), and obviously the story was much misrepresented or misunderstood; see Quinn in *Gilbert*, 30–1. Returning the compliment, the Spaniards of Mexico called the Passage 'the Englishman's Strait'.

<sup>18</sup> The reference in Henry Hawks's account of New Spain (Hakluyt, VI.279–96 at 291) is too brief and off-putting to have provided much of a lure, but it gives a definite date for English knowledge.

<sup>19</sup> Rowse, *Grenville*, 88–105.

<sup>20</sup> Zelia Nuttall (ed.), *New Light on Drake*, HS 2nd Ser. 34 (London 1914), 9–10 [*New Light*]: '... y despues pasarian al estrecho y poblarian donde hallasen buena tierra para poblar. ...' Oxenham claims, convincingly, to have seen the project or a draft of it, and from the deposition of his fellow-captive John Butler it seems that he need not have made such an admission unless there was reason behind it. At this time the original Spanish settlement at Buenos Aires (1536) had faded away, but Asuncion remained as a centre of dominion in the Parana-La Plata region, and Buenos Aires was refounded, permanently, in 1580.

<sup>21</sup> Rowse, *Grenville*, 90.

<sup>22</sup> I have read and re-read *The History of England* for years, always with pleasure and sometimes with profit; but it must be remembered that the treatment of Drake in *English Seamen* and 'England's Forgotten Worthies' is Froude at his unworthy worst. One may doubt the virgin purity of Queen Elizabeth's political attitude (Rowse, *Grenville*, 108), but this pales before Froude's 'simple majesty' as a term descriptive of the tangled and murky Doughty trial—*Short Studies on Great Subjects* (Fontana ed., London 1963), 175. For admirably pungent comment, see *The Letters of Sir Walter Raleigh 1879–1922* (London 1926), I.263.

<sup>23</sup> The standard biography is probably still Julian Corbett's massive (924 pages) *Drake and the Tudor Navy* (London 1898), good stuff though outdated [*Drake*]; G. M. Thomson, *Sir Francis Drake* (London 1972), is a reasonably good modern life [*Francis Drake*]. K. R. Andrews, *Drake's Voyages* is important, while J. Hampden (ed.), *Francis Drake Privateer* (London 1972), is a most useful volume, reprinting Hawkins's *Third Troublesome Voyage*, *Sir Francis Drake Revived* (1626, but vetted by Drake himself), and *The World Encompassed* (1628), as well as the accounts of Cooke and Winter, with intelligent comment [*Privateer*]. These have modern spelling; the original is retained in N. M. Penzer (ed.), *The World Encompassed and Analogous Contemporary Documents* (London 1926), which has also the important notes of Francis Fletcher and accounts by Cooke, Cliffe, Nuño da Silva, Zarate, and San Juan de Anton—a very useful collection, though the 'Appreciation' by R. C. Temple is sad stuff [*World Encompassed*]. There is a rich iconography in H. P. Kraus, *Sir Francis Drake: A Pictorial Biography* (Amsterdam 1970). For the Spanish side, Nuttall's *New Light*, despite some editorial naïveties, is indispensable for the circumnavigation, and I. A. Wright, *Spanish Documents Concerning English Voyages to the Spanish Main 1569–80*, HS 2nd Ser. 71 (London 1932), for Nombre de Dios in 1572–3 and for Oxenham [*Documents*].

<sup>24</sup> Deposition of Robert Barrett, master of Hawkins's *Jesus of Lubeck*, taken at San Juan de Ulua, in Wright, *Documents*, 153–60; documents 22–9 in this volume give the Spanish version. As Wright points out in her Introduction (at 21), Hawkins at San Juan for the first time faced not colonists and minor officials 'whose material interests and secret intentions were in harmony with his own', but a Viceroy and a Captain-General. For details of Rio de la Hacha, J. A. Williamson, *Hawkins of Plymouth* (2nd ed., London 1969), 96–9 [*Hawkins*].

<sup>25</sup> Hampden, *Privateer*, 27, 53.

<sup>26</sup> In the abstract, certainly dastardly; but for all the moral fury, one may wonder if a Spanish fleet driven into an Irish port would have fared much better; perhaps worse, judging by events in the Armada year, for which see C. Falls, *Elizabeth's Irish Wars* (London 1950), 163–7. Far worse by any

civilised standard is the treatment of prisoners by the Inquisition, though here again the English record in Ireland was ugly, e.g. the Rathlin massacre, where Drake was present but unlikely to have been involved (Falls, 116). For details of the fight at San Juan, Williamson, *Hawkins*, 135–47, and R. Unwin, *The Defeat of John Hawkins* (London 1960), 135–47; for a Spanish version, Rumeu de Armas, *Hawkins*, 265–304.

<sup>27</sup> See Thomson, *Francis Drake*, 341–2, for the claimants to Port Pheasant (so named ‘by reason of the great store of those goodly Fowles’); one is tempted to opt for the Puerto Escoces of the Scots colony in Darien (1698–1700), but—like so many of Drake’s localities—its site must be left an open question.

<sup>28</sup> For Spanish accounts, Wright, *Documents*, 48–73. All direct quotations in this section are from her reprint (245–326) of the very vivid *Sir Francis Drake Revived*.

<sup>29</sup> But ‘the French Capitaine cast abroad his hands, and prayed our Capitaine to helpe him to some water, for that he had nothing but Wine and Cider aboard him, which had brought his men into great sicknesse.’

<sup>30</sup> The phrase is William Paterson’s, cited in J. Preble, *The Lion in the North* (Harmondsworth 1973), 281.

<sup>31</sup> Williamson, *Age of Drake*, 133–44 at 134–5. There is a brief account by Lopez Vaz in Hakluyt, VIII.155–9, but no English primary sources except a few passing references (see Quinn, *Gilbert*, 32, 169); the depositions of Oxenham, Butler, and ‘Xerores’ (Sherwell—see Rowse, *Grenville*, 109) are in Nuttall, *New Light*, 1–12, and Spanish accounts in Wright, *Documents*, *passim*. The moral story of Oxenham’s love for a Spanish lady, romanticised by Kingsley in *Westward Ho!*, is mere gossip—see J. A. Williamson (ed.), *The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins* (1622), London 1933, 162–4 [Hawkins, *Observations*].

<sup>32</sup> Wright, *Documents*, 118. The Spanish evidence of outrages is too sober and circumstantial to be discounted, and says little for the commonsense of the party.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 112, 114, 128, 134.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 232–4.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 234–41; cf. Lopez Vaz in Hakluyt, VIII.159.

<sup>36</sup> Williamson in Hawkins, *Observations*, xxv; but cf. his *Age of Drake*, 134–5.

<sup>37</sup> J. A. Froude, *The Reign of Elizabeth* (Everyman ed.), IV.327–8—a most beautiful passage.

<sup>38</sup> Apart perhaps from Penzer’s, the most comprehensive assembly of texts, and certainly the most detailed analysis, are in H. R. Wagner, *Sir Francis Drake’s Voyage around the World* (Amsterdam 1969; original ed. 1926) [*Voyage*]. Like all Wagner’s work, this volume of 543 pages is somewhat heavy and pontifical, but immensely thorough and immensely useful. A refreshingly cool and realistic view of Drake’s motives and actions is taken by L. Gibbs, *The Silver Circle* (London 1963). All direct quotations on the circumnavigation, unless otherwise indicated, are from accounts in Penzer’s *World Encompassed*.

<sup>39</sup> The *locus classicus* for this debate is now K. R. Andrews, ‘The Aims of Drake’s Expedition of 1577–80’, *Amer. Hist. Rev.* 73, 1968, 724–41, to which my debt is obvious [‘Aims’]; see also Chs. 3–4 in his *Voyages*, and Hampden, *Privateer*, 107–21 (with transcript of the Draft Plan).

<sup>40</sup> *Age of Drake*, 145; cf. Morison, *Southern Voyages*, 636: ‘an opportunist . . . what he would do when he got [to the Pacific] would depend on wind, weather, luck and circumstances.’

<sup>41</sup> Nuttall, *New Light*, lvi; there is a give-away reference (xiv) to Drake as a hero of her girlhood.

<sup>42</sup> Wagner, *Voyage*, iii. Taylor’s new data and her views thereon are in *Geography*, 115–19; ‘John Dee, Drake and the Straits of Anian’, *MM* 15, 1929, 125–30; ‘More Light on Drake’, *MM* 16, 1930, 134–51 [‘More Light’]; ‘The Missing Draft Project of Drake’s Voyage of 1577–80’, *Geogr. Jnl* 75, 1930, 46–7; ‘Early Empire’ at 300–6.

<sup>43</sup> The direct quotations are: Winter, in Taylor, 'More Light', 151; Cliffe and Cooke, in Penzer, *World Encompassed*, 198, 150. Nuño da Silva also speaks of a rendezvous between 30 and 31°S, and is not necessarily to be dismissed as a Portuguese anxious to placate his interrogators in New Spain. Incidentally, Winter read Magellan's voyage to his crew, 'who seemed to like well of [it]'—doubtless in a well-censored version.

I owe much to Eva Taylor's encouragement in my earlier career, but remain astonished that so acute and hard-headed a lady should take Winter's statement at face value.

<sup>44</sup> Taylor, *Geography*, 115–19; Andrews, 'Aims' at 738, and 732–3 for a cogent argument against the Moluccas and Dee's influence, at least to the extent asserted by Taylor.

<sup>45</sup> Wagner, *Voyage*, 465.

<sup>46</sup> See Hampden, *Privateer*, 229, 231. Zarate said that he was shown a commission, but there is no evidence that he could read English; Nuño da Silva's story (Nuttall, *New Light*, 378) of Drake producing papers at Port St Julian is neither clear nor decisive. What is, or should be, almost certainly decisive is the point brought out by W. Senior in his unduly neglected paper 'Drake at the Suit of John Doughty', *MM* 7, 1921, 191–7: production of a commission would have quashed John Doughty's suit at the beginning; no commission was produced, Doughty was non-suited on a technicality, and gaoled (for other aspects of this nasty affair, Corbett, *Drake*, I.340–3). As Queen Elizabeth was directly responsible, she can I suppose be held to have legitimised Drake after the fact; but this is a long way from the invariable chivalrous fairness which devotees like Froude, Tenison, and Geoffrey Callender stick to despite the evidence. See the amusing polemic between Gregory Robinson and Callender in *MM* 7, 1921, for the very tortuous knots into which the more devout believers in Drake as a knight *sans reproche* must tie themselves.

<sup>47</sup> It is true that the story comes from the bitterly hostile Cooke (Hampden, *Privateer*, 237); but his indignant bias is so open and sincere that he carries his own corrective. As Corbett says, 'In his heat . . . there is a certain honesty which betrays him into constant admissions' which he did not recognise as favouring his adversary (*Drake*, I.233, 424–6). Cooke could hardly have invented, or needed to invent, this point.

<sup>48</sup> Andrews, 'Aims', 749.

<sup>49</sup> As shown by his opportunistic exploitation of his welcome by the Californian Indians, and his desire (Penzer, *World Encompassed*, 38) to have been a patron to defend those of Chile.

<sup>50</sup> F. C. P. Naish, 'The Mystery of the Tonnage and Dimensions of the *Pelican-Golden Hind*', *MM* 34, 1948, 42–5, sums up: 'the 150-ton ship, the 120-ton ship, and the 100-ton ship were different ways of reckoning . . . one and the same ship'. There are several other papers in *MM* on the same subject, especially in 1950–1. Some writers say that there were two pinnaces, *Benedict* and *Christopher*, but these seem to be two names for the same craft. They sailed on 15 November but were driven back by tempest, finally leaving on 13 December.

<sup>51</sup> Andrews, *Voyages*, 59–60; cf. Williamson in Hawkins, *Observations*, liii.

<sup>52</sup> Tenison, *Elizabethan England*, IV.61–2 for Doughty as suborned by Spain; she gives no hint of evidence, and was answered far in advance by Corbett: the complete ignorance of Drake's intent shown by the Spanish ambassador, Mendoza, refutes this suggestion. On the other hand, his own suggestion that Doughty was Burghley's agent is also mere inference, though rather more responsibly put than Tenison's—*Drake*, I.266, 342–3.

<sup>53</sup> Drake's brother John, in Nuttall, *New Light*, 25.

<sup>54</sup> Williamson, *Ocean*, 38–9.

<sup>55</sup> It is pleasant to record that Fletcher and Cooke are substantially at one on the closing scene. My use of Cromwell's 'Stone dead hath no fellow' is independent of Gibbs, *The Silver Circle*, 47.

<sup>56</sup> *Age of Drake*, 181.

<sup>57</sup> There is a contemporary English translation in the British Library; see E. G. R. Taylor, ‘The Dawn of Modern Navigation’, *Jnl Inst. of Navigation* I, 1948, 283–9. Cf. Wagner, *Voyages*, 34–41, and R. Boulind, ‘Drake’s Navigational Skills’, *MM* 54, 1968, 349–71.

<sup>58</sup> Andrews (*Voyages*, 69) takes this as clear evidence that Drake had no intention of looking for Terra Australis; however, Wagner (*Voyage*, 80) makes the point that Ortelius shows the Terra Australis coast here as running first southwest then northwest, so that ‘every effort would be made to avoid running in either a south or southeast direction’ for fear of embayment. An overlooked statement by Fletcher (in Penzer, *World Encompassed*, 30) might be taken as giving some support to the Terra Australis case—Drake was enforced by the increasing cold ‘not to saile any farther towards the pole Antartick’. But it is rather too vague.

<sup>59</sup> Fletcher, in Penzer, *World Encompassed*, 133; *more suo*, he draws a pietistic lesson. It is of course not certain that the *Marigold* was so dramatically and immediately cast away as Fletcher implies (one fears for the sake of the moral!); Cavendish in 1587 saw in the Straits a wreck ‘which we judged to be a Barke called the John Thomas’ (Hakluyt, VIII.213), and John Thomas was captain of the *Marigold*. Wagner (*Voyage*, 81) suggests that the wreck might have been one of Sarmiento’s but this is unlikely as it was pointed out to Cavendish by the survivor of that expedition whom he picked up. There is also the strange story of the pinnacle lost shortly after the *Elizabeth* separated, which made its way as far as the Plate before being wrecked; the sole survivor, Peter Carder, reached England some years later, with many marvellous tales—see Hampden, *Privateer*, 156, 209–10, and Carder’s narrative in S. Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625) (Glasgow 1905–6), XVI.136–51.

<sup>60</sup> For the following discussion, see Corbett, *Drake*, I.266–75; Wagner, *Voyage*, 80–6; R. Hough, *The Blind Horn’s Hate* (London 1971), 100–5; F. Riesenbergh, *Cape Horn* (London 1941), 81–114; R. H. Power, ‘The Discovery of Cape Horn by Francis Drake in the Year 1578’, typescript lecture to the Society for the History of Discoveries, Hotel Sir Francis Drake, San Francisco 1975 (cited by permission) [‘Cape Horn’]; B. Hilder, ‘Drake’s Passage’, *Navigation* (Jnl of Australian Inst. of Navigation, Sydney) 5, 1976, 507–12. All these have maps, though Corbett’s inexplicably takes Drake through Cockburn Channel, in conflict with his text at I.266. The nature of Pactolus Bank is confirmed by Plate 165 of the authoritative *Fiziko-Geograficheskiy Atlas Mira* (Akademia Nauk CCCP, Moscow 1964).

<sup>61</sup> Fletcher’s authorship of these maps has been doubted (Wagner, *Voyage*, 291–2), but this is irrelevant. Whether or not his southernmost island is accepted as Cape Horn, Power does at least sort out the confusion (which even Wagner left obscure) of Drake’s Elizabethan names: 1. *Elizabeth I.*, the modern Isabel, in the Straits, where he took possession; 2. *Elizabethides*, a collective name for the archipelago south of the Straits; 3. *Elizabetha I.*, the southernmost. This makes sense of the tangle.

<sup>62</sup> E. G. R. Taylor (ed.), *The Troublesome Voyage of Captain Edward Fenton 1582–1583*, HS 2nd Ser. 113 (Cambridge 1959), lvi, 120–31 [*Fenton*]. For the maps, Wagner, *Voyage*, 406–37; Corbett, *Drake*, I.27–74; Taylor, ‘Early Empire’, 303; Power, ‘Cape Horn’. Hondius hedged a little in his legend.

<sup>63</sup> Andrews, *Voyages*, 71–2, 83–4; Williamson, *Age of Drake*, 186. Hakluyt, always in modern parlance a ‘North Atlantic man’, seems to have thought of the new discovery more as an approach to the Northwest Passage than as with a specific Pacific context—Andrews, *Voyages*, 84, and H. Wallis, ‘The Pacific’, in D. B. Quinn (ed.), *The Hakluyt Handbook*, HS 2nd Ser. 144–5 (London 1974), I.223–33 at 232–3.

<sup>64</sup> See H. Wallis, ‘English Enterprise in the Region of the Strait of Magellan’, in J. Parker (ed.), *Merchants and Scholars: Essays in the History of Exploration and Trade* (Minneapolis 1965), 193–220 at

204–6. After Mocha, the account in *The World Encompassed* is no longer from Fletcher but uses ‘The famous voyage of Sir Francis Drake . . .’ in Hakluyt, VIII.48–74—see Wagner, *Voyage*, 286–93, and Hampden, *Privateer*, 120–1.

<sup>65</sup> ‘. . . con poco verdad se traten estos Indios . . .’—quoted in Aida Chaparro Galdames, ‘El corsario Francisco Drake en Chile’, *Rev. Chilena de Historia y Geografía* 50, 1924, 109–31, and 51, 1925–6, 288–320 at 288–91 [‘El corsario’]. This paper adds several details to the English accounts. Drake’s weathered canvas sails would have appeared ‘black’ in contrast to the white cotton used by local shipping; see H. A. Morton, *The Winds Command: Sailors and Sailing Ships in the Pacific* (Vancouver 1975), 128.

<sup>66</sup> Wagner, *Voyage*, 477–8.

<sup>67</sup> G. Chaparro, ‘El corsario’ at 51, 301–3; cf. Juan Griego and others in Nuttall, *New Light*, 69. For options at this stage of the voyage, Andrews, *Voyages*, 72–4. Wagner gives the most detailed itinerary, with maps, in *Voyage*, Chs. V–VIII.

<sup>68</sup> Nuttall, *New Light*, 47; cf. Wagner, *Voyage*, 481. The number of ships damaged is stated at nine to thirty, but usually thirteen or seventeen.

<sup>69</sup> J. A. del Busto Duthurburu, *Siglo XVI—Historia Externa*, being Tomo III Vol. 2 of the *Historia Marítima del Perú* (Lima 1975), 524–5; but according to E. Morales, *Aventuras y Desaventuras de un Navegante: Sarmiento de Gamboa* (Buenos Aires 1946), 139–40, this device was due to quick thinking by the wife and sister-in-law of a Callao port official; given the timing, this seems plausible.

<sup>70</sup> Sarmiento’s Narrative in Nuttall, *New Light*, 57–88—the basic source for the ‘pursuit’.

<sup>71</sup> ‘. . . que no perdió nada en las ferias’—Nuttall, *New Light*, 205; Austin Dobson, *The Ballad of ‘Beau Brocade’*.

<sup>72</sup> Nuttall, *New Light*, 172, 178. For the confusion, see in that volume 73–87 (Sarmiento), 216–25, 242–5, 252–5 (Viceroy Enriquez), 23–37 (Velasco); and from a different angle—that of one of Hawkins’s men, captive in New Spain—the story of Miles Philip, Hakluyt, VI.325–8.

<sup>73</sup> Nuttall, *New Light*, 101–7—a delightfully logical structure of absurdities.

<sup>74</sup> It is usually stated that there were two pilots, but one, Martin de Aguirre, may have been only a mariner or successfully pretended to be so, in which Colchero failed.

<sup>75</sup> See Nuttall, *New Light*, 295–399 *passim*, for much graphic detail, e.g. the Inquisition’s meticulous tracking down of da Silva’s personal effects, including a pair of women’s boots, two pounds of soap, and half a pound of cinnamon and cloves, ‘good for the womb’. Perhaps the real reason for dumping him is that had Drake brought him to England, he could have been an awkward witness in a prize court.

<sup>76</sup> For Drake’s course from Guatulco to Nova Albion, the best fairly recent discussions (though reaching opposite conclusions) are in Wagner, *Voyage*, 130–69, and R. P. Bishop, ‘Drake’s Course in the North Pacific’, *Brit. Columbia Histl Qly* 3, 1939, 151–81 [‘North Pacific’].

<sup>77</sup> Bishop, ‘North Pacific’, 160–1, gives various English sixteenth century references.

<sup>78</sup> Personal information from Asst Prof. R. Byrne, Dept of Geography, Berkeley.

<sup>79</sup> E. G. R. Taylor, ‘Francis Drake and the Pacific: Two Fragments’, *Pac. Histl Rev.* 1, 1932, 360–9; Wagner, *Voyage*, 141; cf. Penzer, *World Encompassed*, 49, 51–2. I would like to support Taylor on this item—but Wagner has other points in favour of a lower latitude, as does Aker, *Report of Findings*, 245–60 (full title in next note).

<sup>80</sup> J. Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* (Everyman ed.), I.553. In this laudable spirit, I have sighted just sixty (60) items on this sole point, many worthless. Besides Wagner, *Voyage*, 154–69 (below the master’s best), and Morison, *Southern Voyages*, 669–80, 686–9, there are the earlier works of G. Davidson between 1887 and 1908 and J. W. Robertson in 1926–7, favouring Drake’s and San Francisco Bays respectively. These give the basic arguments, but they have been supplemented by



a recent explosion of pamphlet and periodical literature, from which may be mentioned: California Hist. Soc. Special Publ. No. 25, *The Plate of Brass*, 1953 (reprints Nos 13, 1937, the initial report, and 14, 1938, the metallurgical analysis) [*Plate of Brass*]; R. F. Heizer, *Francis Drake and the California Indians, 1579* (Berkeley 1947); W. A. Starr, 'Drake Landed in San Francisco Bay', *Calif. Hist. Soc. Qly* 41, 1962, 1–29; A. S. Oko, 'Francis Drake and Nova Albion', *ibid.* 43, 1964, 145–58; R. H. Power, 'A Case for San Francisco Bay', *ibid.* 53, 1973, 100–28; R. H. Power, *Francis Drake and San Francisco Bay: A Beginning of the British Empire* (Univ. of California, Davis 1974) [*Francis Drake*]. The numerous researches of the Drake Navigators Guild are summed up in the 460 multilith pages of R. Aker, *Report of Findings Relating to Sir Francis Drake's Encampment . . .* (Point Reyes 1970) [*Report of Findings*], criticised in an *Analysis* by Heizer and others, 1971. A special number of the *Calif. Hist. Soc. Qly* 53, Fall 1974, is devoted to a debate between the Guild and Power (A. V. Neasham intervening, to little effect, for Bolinas Bay). This has many maps and illustrations, and a bibliography (incomplete) of 103 items. Finally, the best and most detached summing-up is in R. F. Heizer, *Elizabethan California* (Bellena Press, Ramona (Calif.) 1974). 'Here is God's plenty'—or the Devil's!

<sup>81</sup> A. Villers, 'Queen Elizabeth's Favourite Sea Dog, Sir Francis Drake', *Natl Geographic Mag.* 147, 1975, 216–53. As well as these two sea-captains, the Drake Navigators Guild is supported by two Admirals, Nimitz and Morison.

<sup>82</sup> Aker, *Report on Findings*, 211–13.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 70–93.

<sup>84</sup> A. L. Chickering, 'Some Notes with Regard to Drake's Plate of Brass', *Calif. Hist. Soc. Qly* 16, 1937, 275–81 at 276; *Plate of Brass*, iii–iv, 1; E. R. Caley and R. B. Haselden, critique of the metallurgical analysis by C. G. Fink and E. P. Polushkin, *Amer. Hist. Rev.* 44, 1938–9, 879–80—an item not included in the bibliography in the Fall 1974 *Quarterly*. The Plate was cleaned before being submitted to analysis. An Elizabethan sixpence has been discovered in a properly excavated site at Olompali, perhaps the chief village of the Coast Miwok—personal information from R. H. Power, and visit to the site.

The suspicion indicated in the text may now be taken as confirmed by the up-to-date metallurgical analysis in *The Plate of Brass Reexamined 1977* (Bancroft Library, Berkeley).

<sup>85</sup> H. R. Wagner, 'Creation of Rights of Sovereignty through Symbolic Acts', *Pac. Hist. Rev.* 7, 1938, 297–326—not a single reference to the use of brass 'down to the end of the 17th century, nor indeed, until much later' (308). However, Fenton in 1582 is stated to have used a copper plate in Sierra Leone—Taylor, *Fenton*, 104. M. Servin, *Acts of Possession in the Age of Discovery* (Univ. of Southern California Ph.D. thesis 1959), makes only passing references to this point, but except for Drake's Plate itself, all plates he mentions (ranging from Baffin Land in 1613 to Jarvis I. in 1935) were of lead.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Nuttall, *New Light*, xxxviii, with Penzer, *World Encompassed*, 59–60.

<sup>87</sup> Wagner, *Voyage*, 153.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 427–36; he argues strongly for a seventeenth century date.

<sup>89</sup> Williamson, *Cabot Voyages*, 67.

<sup>90</sup> *The History . . . of Elizabeth* (1630 ed.), quoted in Power, *Francis Drake*, 22–3; personal information from Mr Power. Cf. Taylor, *Geography*, 113–17.

<sup>91</sup> Power, *Francis Drake*, 14–17; Morison, *Southern Voyages*, 668, 689.

<sup>92</sup> Power, *Francis Drake*, 16–20; D. B. Quinn and N. M. Cheshire, *The New Found Land of Stephen Parmenius* (Toronto 1972) (text and translation of the *Carmen*).

<sup>93</sup> In 1584 Hakluyt referred to Parmenius as 'lately my bedfelowe in Oxforde'—D. B. Quinn (ed.), *The Hakluyt Handbook*, HS 2nd Ser. 144–5 (London 1974), I.273–4.

<sup>94</sup> Bishop, 'North Pacific', 174–5; C. O. Paullin and J. K. Wright, *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States* (Washington 1932), 25–7 and Plate 42.

<sup>95</sup> Power, *Francis Drake*, 20; Wagner, *Voyage*, 152–3. There is a final mystery, which may have some bearing on the 'colony' question, in that while there were eighty or so men in Nova Albion, there seem to have been only sixty when Drake left Ternate, and there is no evidence of losses en route or of a factory being left there. Aker, *Report of Findings*, 330–42, discusses the matter in (admittedly speculative) detail; but cf. Wagner, 148–9.

<sup>96</sup> A. Sharp, *The Discovery of the Pacific Islands* (Oxford 1960), 49–50; W. A. Lessa, *Drake's Island of Thieves: Ethnological Sleuthing* (Honolulu 1975), 180–7, 236–55 at 240; Power's criticism is in an unpublished review, cited by permission; Aker favours Palau but on a different approach from Lessa's—personal information. Palau is probably right.

<sup>97</sup> Wagner, *Voyage*, 172–82; Corbett, *Drake*, I.315–18. Cf. Blair & Robertson, IV.313–14, VI.59.

<sup>98</sup> Andrews, *Voyages*, 79–80; Corbett, *Drake*, I.320–4; Wagner, *Voyage*, 185–92. There is some doubt about the precise date, due perhaps to 'security' considerations—Corbett, I.329.

<sup>99</sup> W. R. Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish, and Irish Joint Stock Companies to 1720* (New York 1951; original ed. 1912), I.78; see 75–88 for the best analysis of the amount and disposal of the loot (it is a pleasure to use once more a book which contributed to my doctoral thesis forty years ago!). Scott's figures are summarised in Gibbs, *The Silver Circle*, 114–18; Wagner, *Voyage*, 194–206, gives much political background.

<sup>100</sup> J. M. Keynes, *A Treatise on Money* (1930), in *The Collected Writings* (London 1970–3), VI.139–40.

### Notes for Chapter 10

<sup>1</sup> The basic source in English is C. R. Markham, ed. and trans., *Narratives of the Voyages of P. S. de G . . .*, HS 1st Ser. 91 (London 1895), which contains Sarmiento's own accounts [*Narratives*]. There is an immense documentation—too immense for our purposes—in Vol. II of P. Pastells SJ, *El Descubrimiento del Estrecho de Magellanes* (Madrid 1920). Modern biographies: A. Landín Carrasco, *Vida y Viajes de P. S. de G.* (Madrid 1945), perhaps the best technically [*Vida y Viajes*]; Rosa Arciniega, *P. S. de G.: (El Ulises de América)* (Buenos Aires 1956), somewhat romanticised in expression but sound in substance [*Ulises*]; E. Morales, *Aventuras y Desaventuras de un Navegante: P. S. de G.* (Buenos Aires 1946) [*Aventuras*], a reissue of *S. de G.: Un Navegante Español del Siglo XVI* (Barcelona 1932) [*Navegante*], and perhaps especially useful for Sarmiento's earlier career, as is A. Rosenblat's introduction to the *Historia de los Incas* (Buenos Aires 1942) [*Historia*]. In English again there is a good analysis in S. E. Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages 1492–1616* (New York 1974), 690–708 [*Southern Voyages*]; a very readable account in R. Hough, *The Blind Horn's Hate* (London 1971), 108–51; and a complete, sound, and again very readable biography by S. Clissold, *Conquistador: The Life of Don P. S. de G.* (London 1954) [*Conquistador*].

The three Spanish biographies, and Clissold, traverse the same ground, and so far as this chapter is concerned are based essentially on Sarmiento's own accounts; it does not seem necessary to document statements of fact common to all of them. Unreferenced direct quotations in this and the next three sections are from Markham, *Narratives*. Markham and Morison also have good maps of Sarmiento's explorations in the very intricate western approaches to the Straits.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. del Busto Duthurburu, 'La Fortificación del Estrecho', in *Historia Marítima del Perú* (Lima 1975), T.III Vol. 2, 541–91, at 547–8 [*Hist. Marítima*].

<sup>3</sup> Morales, *Aventuras*, 103–15; Rosenblat, *Historia*, 33–38; it is generally agreed that the ‘validation’ by Inca notables was so cursory as to be almost a farce. But see J. Hemming, *The Conquest of the Incas* (Abacus ed., London 1972), 413–16 and 609, and R. Levillier, *Don Francisco de Toledo* (Madrid 1935), I.279–356. One does not need to accept Markham’s uncritical and indeed rabid Black Legend-mongering to find the apologia rather less than convincing.

<sup>4</sup> For these activities, see Clissold, *Conquistador*, 198–9, and G. Callender, ‘Fresh Light on Drake’, *MM* 9, 1923, 16–28. His sonnets to Enrique Garcés, which I have read somewhere, are poor stuff.

<sup>5</sup> S. Johnson, *The Vanity of Human Wishes* (London 1749).

<sup>6</sup> Arciniega, *Ulisses*, 128; Clissold, *Conquistador*, 126; cf. B. Subercaseaux, *Tierra de Océano* (5th ed., Santiago 1946), 144–5. It is likely that Sarmiento was unfair to Villalobos, as he tended to be to any man (and they were numerous) who could not measure up to his rigid ideal of duty.

<sup>7</sup> Landín Carrasco, *Vida y Viajes*, 94–5, q.v. for Argensola’s inflation of Sarmiento’s ‘gente grande’ into giants and ‘shapes like houses’ into the tall buildings of a city. Cf. Markham, *Narratives*, 125–7, 136–7, 147–8.

<sup>8</sup> Claimed by Markham (*Narratives*, 164) to be the first such observation by a method suggested in 1522; it had in fact been attempted by Vespucci in 1499—E. G. R. Taylor, *The Troublesome Voyage of Captain Edward Fenton 1582–1583*, HS 2nd Ser. 103 (Cambridge 1959), 311 [Fenton].

<sup>9</sup> Clissold, *Conquistador*, 136–7; Landín Carrasco, *Vida y Viajes*, 107–11.

<sup>10</sup> Busto Duthurburu, *Hist. Marítima*, 570.

<sup>11</sup> R. Fitzroy, *Narrative of the Surveying Voyage of . . . Adventure and Beagle* (London 1839), I.26–7, 29, 262—‘our favourite old navigator’.

<sup>12</sup> Morales, *Aventuras*, 125, 130; Landín Carrasco, *Vida y Viajes*, 115; Arciniega, *Ulisses*, 151–4; Clissold, *Conquistador*, 137. Alba’s opposition was not solitary, nor did Diego Flores lack maritime experience (Hough, *The Blind Horn’s Hate*, 121–2); the admiral Cristobal de Eraso thought that a good squadron in Chilean waters would be more effective than forts in the Straits—C. Fernández Duro, *La Armada Española desde la Unión de las Coronas de Castilla y León* (Madrid 1895–1903), II.358 [Armada]. J. B. Antonelli was to have sailed with Sarmiento, but in the event his brother did so—fortunately for Spain, in view of J.B.’s services in strengthening Cartagena and other places after Drake’s 1585 Caribbean raid.

<sup>13</sup> Markham, *Narratives*, 222–4, 230. Perhaps the only similarly light-hearted ‘forward planning’ of a colony was the slinging round the world of 750 convicts in 1787, on little more than Sir Joseph Bank’s say-so (after a week’s visit in 1770) that Botany Bay was a good place.

<sup>14</sup> See M. Lewis, *The Spanish Armada* (Pan ed., London 1966), 47–8, 187, 189.

<sup>15</sup> Pastells, *Descubrimiento*, II.135.

<sup>16</sup> Arciniega, *Ulisses*, 161.

<sup>17</sup> The reasons are nowhere stated, but Medina Sidonia, as Captain General of Andalusia, was responsible for the good government of the region, and no local authority could view with equanimity the prospect of some 3000 soldiers, sailors, and semi-conscripted colonists hanging about Seville for months.

<sup>18</sup> Landín Carrasco, *Vida y Viajes*, 130–2.

<sup>19</sup> Arciniega, *Ulisses*, 188.

<sup>20</sup> Busto Duthurburu suggests that Flores would not land for fear that once ashore, with Sarmiento as Captain-General of the colony, he might be arrested—*Hist. Marítima*, 576. This is speculation, but certainly nothing would have given Sarmiento greater pleasure.

<sup>21</sup> Clissold, *Conquistador*, 156–8; Morales, *Aventuras*, 141–2.

<sup>22</sup> Clissold, *Conquistador*, 158; as Duro says (*Armada*, II.366–8) the affair was a ‘lightning-rod’ for Flores, who was condemned even by Ribera, ‘his fellow-provincial and kinsman’. There are hints

towards a defence of Flores in a review of Rosenblat in *Rev. Chilena de Historia y Geographia*, 118, 1951, 343–6.

<sup>23</sup> Arciniega, *Ulisses*, 189–90; Landín Carrasco, *Vida y Viajes*, 155–6.

<sup>24</sup> Arciniega, *Ulisses*, 203.

<sup>25</sup> Markham, *Narratives*, 374–5.

<sup>26</sup> Sarmiento says that there were three English ships with 34 guns and 170 musketeers, plus two armed launches (Markham, *Narratives*, 340); the English account (Hakluyt, IV.278–81) only two pinnaces, although even after sending away prizes they outnumbered Sarmiento by three to one, and much more at the time of the fight. Sir Richard Grenville was in the Azores with three ships at about this time, and they may have been visible in the offing; but there is no warrant for Markham's statement that Grenville must have been the captor—fitting as it would be that Sarmiento should be taken by a man as tough as himself. For Sarmiento's captivities, Duro, *Armada*, 423–43.

<sup>27</sup> Morales (*Navegante*, 259) says that they set out to walk to La Plata, and adds truly that 'The venture was Dantesque, the design very sixteenth century'. But this rests only on the statement in Hakluyt (VIII.214) that 'they were determined to have travailed towards the river Plate', which in turn Cavendish must have understood, or misunderstood, from Tomé Hernandez, while the latter says definitely (Markham, *Narratives*, 363) 'these survivors agreed to go to the first settlement', which was Nombre de Jesus.

<sup>28</sup> Landín Carrasco, *Vida y Viajes*, 197, 202–7; cf. 171 for an example of the reasoning which earned for Philip the somewhat ironic title of the Prudent King.

<sup>29</sup> Tomé Hernandez, 'Declaration', in Markham, *Narratives*, 352–75, at 364–5. The fourth ship was a pinnace built in Brazil. Morison's account of this incident (*Southern Voyages*, 714) is marred by a number of minor errors.

<sup>30</sup> Hakluyt, VIII.282–5.

<sup>31</sup> Subercaseaux, *Tierra de Océano*, 144; Morales, *Aventuras*, 163.

<sup>32</sup> Landín Carrasco, *Vida y Viajes*, 183; for the 'Lost Colony', D. B. Quinn, *England and the Discovery of America 1481–1620* (London 1973), 432–42 [*Discovery*], and the moving passage in Hakluyt, VI.221–2.

<sup>33</sup> A. Braun Menéndez, *Pequena Historia Magallánica* (5th ed., Buenos Aires 1969), 41–50. Population of Punta Arenas is 1966 estimate.

<sup>34</sup> Morales, *Aventuras*, 163, and *Navegante*, 259–75. The name comes from Francisco Cesar, an officer on Sebastian Cabot's 1526 voyage to La Plata, not from the Romans—until our own day, there were limits even to myth! Cf. E. J. Goodman, *The Explorers of South America* (New York 1972), 170–8 (it is odd that this otherwise comprehensive book manages to make only three slight passing mentions of Sarmiento) and R. H. Shields, 'The Enchanted City of the Caesars . . .' in A. Ogden and E. Sluiter (eds.), *Greater America* (Berkeley 1945), 319–40.

<sup>35</sup> [D. Henry], *An Historical Account of all the Voyages round the World performed by English Navigators* (London 1774), I.160.

<sup>36</sup> 'A Discourse of the Commodity of the Taking of the Straight of Magellanus', in E. G. R. Taylor (ed.), *The Original Writings . . . of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, HS 2nd Ser. 76–7 (London 1935), I.139–46, at 142. The ascription to Hakluyt was queried by J. A. Williamson (in E. Lyam (ed.), *Richard Hakluyt and his Successors*, HS 2nd Ser. 93 (London 1946), 27–8), on the grounds that Hakluyt 'never again showed much concern with the South Sea' but in general concentrated on the Northern Passages. But surely a man who published so much may be allowed a little divagation, and in this case Hakluyt's reference (at 140) to the feared death of Ivan the Terrible (with consequently a possible lapse of good

relations with Russia), not to mention the réclame of Drake's success, provides good reason for this flurry of interest in the Straits.

<sup>37</sup> H. R. Wagner, *Sir Francis Drake's Voyage around the World* (1936; reprinted Amsterdam 1969), 214; see his whole chapter on 'The Fenton Expedition'. The project was considered by Zelia Nuttall as one for a colony in Nova Albion—*New Light on Drake*, HS 2nd Ser. 34 (London 1914), xxxviii. For a discussion of the geopolitical atmosphere, see K. R. Andrews, *Drake's Voyages* (London 1967), 84–9.

<sup>38</sup> Taylor, *Fenton*, xxviii–xxxii and 5–8.

<sup>39</sup> *An Elizabethan in 1582: The Diary of Richard Madox, Fellow of All Souls*, ed. E. S. Donno, HS 2nd Ser: 147 (London 1976). It is understandable that Fenton does not figure in the work of a more distinguished Fellow of All Souls—A. L. Rowse, *The Expansion of Elizabethan England* (Cardinal ed., London 1973) [*Expansion*].

<sup>40</sup> Taylor, *Fenton*, xlv, 183, 278, 266–72. For the shifty career of Simão Fernandez, Quinn, *Discovery*, 246–63.

<sup>41</sup> Taylor, *Fenton*, 342, and following pages for the proceedings of the council.

<sup>42</sup> J. Donne, 'The Sunne Rising', in *Songs and Sonets* (1590–1601).

<sup>43</sup> See i.a. K. R. Andrews, *Drake's Voyages* (London 1967), 93–5.

<sup>44</sup> For Cumberland, see Rowse, *Expansion*, 310–14, and for the expedition he sent out Hakluyt, VIII.132–53, where the debates between the two captains (140–1, 151) give an excellent example of the divisions which paralysed so many ventures. The portraits of Frobisher and Cumberland in Rowse and of Cavendish in Quinn (see next note) repay study.

<sup>45</sup> For Cavendish, see D. B. Quinn (ed.), *The Last Voyage of Thomas Cavendish* (Chicago 1975) [*Last Voyage*]; Pretty's account of the circumnavigation is in Hakluyt, VIII.206–82, source of all direct quotations unless otherwise stated.

<sup>46</sup> See the very feeling remarks (already cited, Ch. 2) in J. A. Williamson (ed.), *The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins* (1622) (London 1933), 87–9, 91–5 [Hawkins, *Observations*]. It was at Port Desire that Cavendish 'took the measure of one of [the Indians'] feete, and it was 18. inches long'—probably the length of a skin shoe, and one source of the long-lived legend of Patagonian giants; see H. Wallis, 'English Enterprise in the Region of the Strait of Magellan', in J. Parker (ed.), *Merchants and Scholars* (Minneapolis 1965), 193–220 at 200, and her essay 'The Patagonian Giants' in R. E. Gallagher (ed.), *Byron's Journal of his Circumnavigation 1764–1766*, HS 2nd Ser. 122 (Cambridge 1964), 185–96.

<sup>47</sup> P. C. Scarlett, *South America and the Pacific* (London 1838), II.137–8; cf. W. Dampier, *A New Voyage round the World* (Dover ed., New York 1968), 104–5.

<sup>48</sup> Morales, *Navegante*, 133.

<sup>49</sup> For this and other local incidents, see P. Gerhard, *Pirates on the West Coast of New Spain 1575–1742* (Glendale, Calif. 1960), 83–94.

<sup>50</sup> Santiago de Vera to the King, Manila, 26 June 1588, in Blair & Robertson, VII.53.

<sup>51</sup> W. L. Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (Dutton ed., New York 1959), 308.

<sup>52</sup> Salazar to the King, Manila, 27 June 1588, in Blair & Robertson, VII.66–8. For details of Cavendish in the East Indies, see Quinn, *Last Voyage*, 14–15.

<sup>53</sup> Viceroy of (Portuguese) India to the King, 3 April 1589, in Blair & Robertson, VII.81–2.

<sup>54</sup> For Cavendish's return and the general results of his voyage, see Quinn, *Last Voyage*, 16–17.

<sup>55</sup> Hakluyt, VIII.282–9; see especially the vivid complaints of the *Delight's* crew in the Straits.

<sup>56</sup> Quinn, *Last Voyage*, 18–19; G. Dyke, 'The Finances of A Sixteenth Century Navigator . . .', *MM* 64, 1958, 108–15. Quinn's volume has a facsimile of Cavendish's own account, with facing transcript (source of all direct quotations unless otherwise stated) and reproductions of two maps belonging to Cavendish. See also John Jane's account in Hakluyt, VIII.289–312.

- <sup>57</sup> Dedication to Lord Howard of Effingham of *The Seamans Secrets* (1594) in *The Voyages and Works of John Davis*, ed. A. H. Markham, HS 1st Ser. 59 (London 1880), 232–3.
- <sup>58</sup> He also had with him Thomas Lodge, one of the ‘University Wits’, who claimed to have written his romance *Margarite of America* in the Straits.
- <sup>59</sup> ‘The admirable adventures and strange fortunes of Master Antonie Knivet’, a harrowing tale of hardships in the Straits and in Brazilian captivity, in S. Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes* (1622) (Glasgow 1905–6), XVI.177–289 at 178–9 [*Pilgrimes*]. Cavendish hanged two other Iberian pilots, and according to Knivet and Jane abandoned some of his sick.
- <sup>60</sup> Hawkins, *Observations*, 87.
- <sup>61</sup> See the terrible but heroic story in Hakluyt, VII.298–312.
- <sup>62</sup> ‘Naval Abuses’, in *The Naval Tracts of Sir William Monson*, ed. M. Oppenheim, II.237–44, at 239 (Navy Records Society, Vol. 23), London 1902.
- <sup>63</sup> G. Lohmann Villena, *Las Minas de Huancavelica* (Seville 1949), 218–19, and *Las Defensas Militares de Lima y Callao* (Lima 1964), 27–9.
- <sup>64</sup> All direct quotations or statements in this section, unless otherwise stated, are from Hawkins’s *Observations* or J. A. Williamson’s valuable introduction in the Argonaut edition (London 1933).
- <sup>65</sup> The *Dainty*, to Hawkins’s chagrin, had been christened by his mother *Repentance*, as ‘the safest Ship we could sayle in, to purchase the haven of Heaven’, and to his delight renamed by the less puritanical Queen herself. As Hawkins wryly remarks, ‘his mother was no Prophetesse’.
- <sup>66</sup> As Williamson points out, not the (modern) Santos of Fenton and Cavendish, but Victoria, north of Rio de Janeiro.
- <sup>67</sup> Doubts have been expressed, but in my opinion Williamson refutes them convincingly—*Observations*, lvii–lxi.
- <sup>68</sup> For the Spanish response, see Busto Duthurburu, in *Hist. Marítima*, 608–12.
- <sup>69</sup> See Hawkins’s letter to his father Sir John, in *Observations*, 178–83.
- <sup>70</sup> Our old acquaintance Tomé Hernandez was in the fight, and Hawkins notes with grim satisfaction that ‘the judgement of God left not his ingratitude vnpunished . . . [for] I saw him begge with Crutches, and in that miserable estate, as he had beene better dead, then aliue!’ The judgment of God kept him alive until 1620 at least . . .
- <sup>71</sup> W. Foster, *England’s Quest of Eastern Trade* (London 1933), 138–42.
- <sup>72</sup> See Rowse, *Expansion*, 321–39, for a good account of the closing phases of the war.
- <sup>73</sup> Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, XVI.292–97.
- <sup>74</sup> *Asia in the Making of Europe*, Vol. I, Books 1 and 2 (Chicago 1965).
- <sup>75</sup> Hawkins, *Observations*, 17.