INTRODUCTION

This is the biography of Ferdinand Magellan (1480–1521), the commander of the first ships to attempt to sail around the world.

Ferdinand Magellan was born in Portugal in 1480. In 1517, he went to Spain to see the teenaged Spanish king, the future Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. He sought and gained his support for the first voyage around the world.

In 1519, by then Spanish, Magellan set out from Spain in command of a fleet of five ships. His aim was to sail around the southern tip of South America, even though it was then not known if there was such a route. From there he aimed to make the first ever journey across the Pacific Ocean to the tremendously lucrative Spice Islands, before completing his journey around the world by returning to Spain.

The ship’s crew saw lands, seas, animals, plants, fruits and peoples never seen by Europeans before, including a "camel without humps" (possibly a llama, guanaco, vicuña, or alpaca), and a penguin, that they described as a "black goose" that had to be skinned instead of plucked. They were astonished by the appearance of a Patagonian Giant - a man of gigantic stature on the beach, who sang and danced, pouring sand upon his head in token of amity.

They were the first Europeans to sail around the south of South America, and to sail across the Pacific Ocean, which was named by them. They were also the first to sail from Europe westwards to Asia, and the first men to sail around the world. Their epic voyage continued despite mutiny, starvation (which caused them to eat rats, hides and sawdust), scurvy, warfare, and treachery, that resulted in the considerable loss of lives and ships.

Included are all of the first hand accounts of their journey, recorded by Antonio Pigafetta, Francisco Albo, "the unknown Portuguese", Gaspar Correa, the "Genoese pilot", and by Maximilian Transylvanus.

Of the five ships and more than 270 men that set out on that famous first voyage around the world, only one ship was to complete it, with only eighteen of those men aboard, but Magellan was not one of them.

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CHAPTER 1

EARLY LIFE

Fernão de Magalhães (Ferdinand Magellan) was born about the year 1480 - we do not know the precise date - at Sabrosa, near Chaves, in the province of Tras-os-Montes, one of the wildest districts of Portugal. Separated from the tamer seaboard province of Entre Douro e Minho by the bold Serra de Marão, the country presents few features of attraction to the ordinary traveller. Its inaccessibility, and the lack of anything of interest save a certain gloomy grandeur in its scenery, do not invite a visit.

It is true that he left it in his youth, and that we hear nothing of his return; that his short life seems, after a brief period of attendance at court, to have been spent in a swift succession of intoxicating successes with sword and compass - a ceaseless medley of fighting and exploration that can have left little time for home thoughts, and none for the strengthening of home-ties and friendships. However, the influence of his childhood's surroundings was there.

As we follow his life step by step, we are not left long in doubt as to the character of the man. Its leading feature is what his enemies would term an overweening confidence in his own powers - an obstinacy without an equal. Others would name it differently. His faults, if faults they were, were those of strength. If men have been termed men of iron, Magellan may fairly be said to have been of steel. For him, difficulties were made only to be disregarded, dangers only to be despised. Through the barriers of an impossibility he passed confident and unmoved. With almost every one against him, the India House, the ambassador of the King of Portugal, and his own friend, he started upon his voyage. With a mutiny but half repressed and starvation imminent, he pressed southward till he found his long hoped for straits. With his captains' advice to the contrary ringing in his ears, he went to his death. The story of his life is full of such traits, and it is hard not to ascribe them in some measure to the influence of the country in which his boyhood was passed.

CHAPTER 2

SERVICE IN INDIA

Almeida's fleet was the largest that had hitherto set out for that promised land. Successful as other expeditions had been upon the whole, they had from time to time met with such difficulties and opposition as had served to warn Dom Manoel that a stronger hand would be advisable, and that the time had come for the appointment of a resident official who should hold the reins of government. The distance of the mother country from her Eastern possessions was indeed so great and the latter so scattered, that this had become an imperative necessity. The King's choice fell upon Francisco d'Almeida, son of the first Conde d'Abrantes, and it would have been hardly possible to make a better selection. To him, as first Viceroy of India, fell the task - Herculean in difficulty - of organising and ruling countries and peoples as yet almost unknown to their conquerors, and nobly he fulfilled it. His name extinguished by the greater glory claimed for his successor, Albuquerque is unfamiliar to many of us, but few, if any, have left the East with cleaner hands and a record more unsullied than Almeida. "Much did they love him," says Correa, "as being one blameless in his actions.....a man without a shadow of deceit." Such a man naturally attracted to him persons of like qualities, and his ships were not long in being manned. From all parts of the kingdom there flocked to him "many fidalgos and cavaliers, and people of distinction," says Correa, "many gallant men and cavaliers experienced in war," another writer tells us. Magellan could not well have begun his Indian experiences under better auspices or with better comrades.

The preparations made for Dom Francisco's fleet in the way of stores and outfit were in keeping with the importance of the expedition. Never before had things been done upon a larger scale. Of the exact number of ships of which the armada itself consisted, the historians of the period have left us in doubt. There were, however, at least twenty. Correa speaks of them as eight large ships (naos) for cargo, six of smaller size (nauetas), and six caravels. In addition wood was carried already shaped into the necessary planks and beams for two galleys and a "bargantym," which were to be constructed, on the arrival of the fleet in

CHAPTER 3

SERVICE WITH ALBUQUERQUE

Almeida, who had not yet delivered the seal of office to Albuquerque, returned to Cochin on the 8th March 1509, and found his successor awaiting him. After his years of loyal service, after having at length brought security and success almost within measurable distance, he was called upon to resign his post. He had borne the burden and heat of the day, and now another was to reap the benefit of his toil. The trial was a most bitter one for him, and the differences in which he soon found himself involved with Albuquerque were not without excuse. Instead of resigning, he placed Albuquerque under arrest, and sent him to Cananor.

Whether Magellan joined with others in openly expressing disapproval of this action we do not know, but there is some reason to believe that he did so. On the 21st April there arrived at Cochin from Lisbon an armada destined for the reconnaissance of Malacca, under the command of Diogo Lopes de Sequeira. Almeida affected to think that this force was insufficient, and added another vessel, with a crew of seventy men, under the command of Garcia de Sousa, with whom he was not upon the best of terms. Some of the officers are mentioned by Barros and De Goes; among them Nuño Vaz de Castellobranco, who was sent "on account of the differences between him and the Viceroy". We learn that Magellan and Francisco Serrão, who later became his bosom friend, also sailed in the same vessel.

The little fleet, consisting of four ships of about 150 tons, and a "taforea", a sort of barge - sailed from Cochin on the 19th August, and sighting Ceylon upon the 21st, made for Sumatra. Sequeira was now in unknown seas - seas at least, which had never before been navigated by European vessels. His first port was Pedir, at the northern extremity of Sumatra. Having made a treaty of peace with the king both of this place and of the neighbouring city of Pacem, he proceeded without loss of time to Malacca, and anchored in the port on the 11th September 1509.

CHAPTER 4

SERVICE IN MOROCCO

In the summer of 1513 difficulties arose with the Moors of Azamor in Morocco. In the time of Dom João II a treaty had been concluded with them. Portuguese subjects resided in the city, their ships entered the harbour free of dues, and their goods passed the customs without charge. The peace remained unbroken until, tired of paying tribute, Muley Zeyam rebelled. Dom Manoel was not the monarch to leave an insult long unavenged. An armada was fitted out in Lisbon such as neither before nor since weighed anchor from the shores of Portugal.

Why so large a fleet was despatched is not clear. It consisted, all told, of more than four hundred ships, which bore no less than eighteen thousand men-at-arms in addition to the cavalry and sailors. The command was given by Dom Manoel to his nephew Jayme, Duke of Bragança. Leaving Belem on the 13th August 1513, the force arrived off Azamor on the 28th. A pretence of fighting was gone through, but the Moors were wise enough to realise that they had not sufficient strength to cope with so formidable an enemy, and so the city opened its gates without further bloodshed.

Among the many distinguished captains who entered them, we look in vain through the chronicler's list of names for that of Magellan, although we know, from his being mentioned in the pages of Barros very shortly after, that he must have been present. The Duke of Bragança returned in November to Portugal, and left Dom João de Meneses in command, a general noted for valour and energy, of whom it was said that "he ceased not for a moment from making cruel war against the Moors." The city was scarcely settled before a series of "entradas" or armed reconnaissances was instituted, which, making their descent where least expected, greatly harassed the Moors and kept the country in a perpetual state of terror. In one of these, under the leadership of João Soarez, Magellan was wounded in the leg by a

CHAPTER 5

GAINING THE SUPPORT OF CHARLES V

It was for Seville, the centre of the West Indian trade and the busiest city of Spain, that Magellan set out upon leaving Portugal, taking with him other navigators "suffering from a like disorder" - the neglect or enmity of their king. Faleiro, as we have seen, came under this head, but he was unable to travel with his friend. On the 20th October 1517, Magellan arrived at his destination. He found himself immediately among compatriots and men whose interests were of the same nature as his own. Foremost among them was one Diogo Barbosa, also a Portuguese, a commendador of the Order of Santiago, alcaide of the arsenal, and a person of considerable importance in Seville. At his hands Magellan received the greatest kindness and assistance. From his personal knowledge of the East this help was of double value. Nor did he limit it to advice and counsel. He persuaded Magellan to be his guest, and it appears that the latter resided at his house until his departure, three months later, for the Spanish court at Valladolid.

Diogo Barbosa, although he had held his post under the Spanish flag for nearly fourteen years, and had "served much and well in Granada and Navarre," had also drawn his sword for Dom Manoel and Portugal in the far East. In 1501 he captained a ship of the fleet of João da Nova, and sailed for India. Although this armada returned almost immediately, the voyage was conspicuous for the discovery of the two islands, Ascension and St. Helena. The former was discovered on the outward voyage, the latter on their return home in 1502. His son, Duarte Barbosa, was even more distinguished. At what exact period he had sailed from, and in what fleet he returned to his native land is unknown, but he had navigated the Indian seas for years, making notes of all he saw and heard. These notes - O Livro de Duarte Barbosa - a description of all the ports then visited in the Indian Ocean, and even beyond - he finished in the year 1516, a few months before Ferdinand Magellan came to live beneath his father's roof. Father and son were sailor-adventurers born and bred, and even if no family connection existed between them and Magellan, the bond uniting them must have been of no ordinary strength.

CHAPTER 6

PREPARING FOR THE VOYAGE

It could hardly be otherwise than that the news of Magellan's approaching voyage should reach Portugal. The defection of two such well known navigators, and the fact that they took others with them "sick with a like disorder," could not be passed unnoticed. The subsequent movements of the Consejo de las Indias at Seville were, no doubt, fully reported to Dom Manoel by the Portuguese "factor" resident in that city. However, it happened that a special circumstance brought the matter still more prominently forward. So prominently, in fact, that, advanced as were the preparations, the expedition was within an ace of being countermanded.

The question of the marriage of Dom Manoel to Doña Leonor, sister of Charles V, was at that time under consideration. Alvaro da Costa, the ambassador of Portugal at the court of Spain, was charged with the arrangement of the alliance. The treaty was concluded at Zaragoza on the 22nd May 1518, and ratified at the same place on the 16th July. It was the very period when Charles was most taken up with the project of Magellan, and Da Costa, naturally, was brought much in contact both with the affair and the principals concerned. They appear to have caused him far more anxiety than the marriage. From a letter to his sovereign, still existing in the Torre do Tombo, we get a glimpse of the means he employed to frustrate them. It was not the first time that the Portuguese, having been led by their ignorance and folly wilfully to reject one of the world's greatest chances, fought tooth and nail to counteract its outcome. When Columbus reached the shelter of the Tagus upon his first return from the New World, it was suggested by some of those at court that much future trouble with Spain would be obviated by his assassination. Not that these methods were confined to Portugal. The value of each discovery, owing perhaps to the rapidity with which it followed upon a previous one, was so little understood, that either of the two countries was ready at a moment's notice to take up an attitude of protestation, if not of something worse.

At first, Da Costa confined himself to simple dissuasion. In the course

CHAPTER 7

MAGELLAN'S FINAL WILL

On the 24th August 1519 Magellan made his final will. The document is still in existence in the Seville archives. It bears evidence of strong religious influence, if not religious feeling. In it he desired that one-tenth part of his share of the profits of the expedition (which share was to be one-fifth of the whole) should be taken and divided into three equal shares, one of which was bequeathed to the Convento de los Minimos of Victoria de Triana, where he was to be buried if he died in Seville. The other two shares were to be equally distributed between the monastery of Monserrat in Barcelona, the convent of San Francisco in Aranda de Duero, and San Domingo de las Duenas in Oporto. Of the effects he might die possessed of in the fleet and of his real and personal property in Seville, he desired that a fifth share should be expended in saying masses for his soul.

The rule and seignorial rights of the lands he might discover he desired should pass in regular succession, first to his son Rodrigo, or, to the child that might be born to him - his wife being then pregnant - or, failing direct descent, to his brother Diogo de Sousa, or to his sister Isabel. If the property should pass to the side branch, the holder of the mayorazgo should, in the event of the survival of Doña Beatriz, his wife, pay to her annually a fourth part of the revenue and a sum of two hundred ducats. Magellan's son Rodrigo died in 1521; his second child was stillborn; his wife died in 1522; Duarte Barbosa was killed in the surprise of May 1st 1521, the father, Diogo Barbosa, dying in 1525, the Crown took possession of the estate, which was claimed by Jaime Barbosa and other sons of Diogo. The case, after having remained seven years unheard, was again brought forward on the 6th June 1540. The claimants had spent all their money and were reduced to want, and though Magellan had given his life in the service of Spain nineteen years before, they had not received a maravedi. What was the ultimate result we do not learn, but knowing what we do of Spanish justice at that period, we can guess.

Of the 50,000 maravedis of pension conferred by the Casa de

CHAPTER 8

THE SHIPS AND THEIR CREWS

Before entering upon the narrative of Magellan's final expedition, the issue of which was to stamp him as the greatest of the world's discoverers, we must turn for a moment to consider the materials with which he was provided. To the ships themselves allusion has already been made. They were for the most part old, small, and in anything but good condition. The Trinidad, though not the largest, was the most seaworthy and most suitable for capitana, and at her mast-head Magellan accordingly flew his pennant. Juan de Cartagena captained the San Antonio, the largest vessel of the fleet. The Concepcion was commanded by Gaspar Quesada, and the Victoria by the traitor Luis de Mendoza, treasurer of the armada, who had already been reprimanded by the King for insolence to the Captain-general. The little Santiago was given to João Serrão, whose long experience in the East and great knowledge of navigation rendered him one of the most important members of the expedition.

The command of the Santiago by Serrão was, as it happened, an affair of no little moment to Magellan. However, for his old friend and comrade it is more than possible that the mutiny of Port St. Julian might have proved too much for him, and the great discovery of Magellan's Straits might have been postponed to deck another brow with laurels. Upon the Portuguese in the fleet, despite his altered nationality, Magellan relied even more as friends than as navigators. By the time the squadron had crossed the bar, the originally permitted number of five had greatly increased. Among the 280 men, more or less, who sailed, thirty-seven, as we have seen, were Portuguese, and of these many held most important posts. On the Trinidad were Estevão Gomez the pilot, Magellan's brother-in-law-Duarte Barbosa, Alvaro de la Mezquita, and eight others. The San Antonio bore the cosmographer Andres de San Martin and João Rodriguez de Mafra. All the pilots of the fleet, indeed, were Portuguese, just as the gunners were foreigners; and João Lopez Carvalho and Vasco Gallego navigated respectively the Concepcion and the Victoria.

CHAPTER 9

FROM SPAIN TO SOUTH AMERICA

All was now ready, and the Captain-general rejoined his ship and hoisted his pennant. Every day, Pigafetta tells us, officers and men had gone ashore to hear mass at the church of Nossa Senora de Barrameda, and now, on the eve of sailing, Magellan gave orders that all should confess, "in the which he himself showed the way to the others." Next day, Tuesday the 20th September 1519, a favourable breeze having sprung up, he gave the order to weigh, and a little later the ships cleared the river and commenced the memorable voyage that, through almost unparalleled suffering and disaster, was to win an immortal name for its survivors as the first circumnavigators of the globe.

The squadron's course on leaving Spain was shaped southward for the Canaries. Immediately on getting to sea, Magellan instituted a strict system of signalling at night by means of lights, and appointed the watches, as was even at that time customary. The admiral's ship led the van, bearing on the poop the farol or lantern, which it was the duty of his fleet to keep in sight. The night was divided into three watches - the first at the beginning of night; the second, called the medora, at midnight; and the third towards daybreak. The last was known as la diane, or the watch of the morning star. Each night they were changed; those who had kept the first watch kept the second on the following day, the second the third, and so on. In accordance, too, with the customary rules laid down by the India House, the crew of each vessel was divided into three companies - the first belonging to the captain or contramaestre, who took it in turns to command; the second to the pilot; and the third to the maestre. "The Captain-general, a discreet and virtuous man, careful of his honour," says Pigafetta, "would not commence his voyage without first making good and wholesome ordinances."

On the 26th September the fleet arrived at Tenerife. The log-book of the "Genoese pilot" gives the 29th as the date. Remaining three or four days to take in wood and water, they then sailed for a port called Monte Rosso on the same island, where they again delayed two days to supply

CHAPTER 10

MUTINY IN PORT ST. JULIAN

Great as their anxiety and hardships had been, it seemed that they were destined to grow worse as the fleet advanced. A few days later they arrived at a bay with a narrow entrance, which appeared, since it was roomy inside, to be suitable for them to winter in. They entered it, and in six days encountered severer storms and ran greater danger than had yet fallen to their lot. A boat that went ashore to water upon their arrival was unable to return, and the crew subsisted as best they could upon shellfish. “At last,” Herrera tells us, “at last it pleased God that they should leave that bay, and they named it the Bay of Toil,” (“Bahia do los trabajos”- possibly Bahia de los Desvelos, in latitude 48° 15' S.). How long a time had been passed in it does not appear, but considerable delay must have occurred either in the bay itself or its immediate neighbourhood, for it was not until the 31st March 1520, that the fleet anchored for the winter in Port St. Julian in latitude 49° 20' S. The weather had become too severe for a farther advance. Well sheltered and abounding in fish, the harbour seemed in every way a suitable one. However, it was destined to be no haven of rest to Magellan, for it was here that the mutiny, so long planned and so long foreseen, at length broke out.

Upon their arrival, one of the first steps taken by the Captain - general was to place officers and crew once more upon diminished rations. Bearing in mind the long winter they had before them, no wiser action could have been taken. However, such actions, however wise or even necessary they may be, are rarely popular, and this was no exception to the rule. The sailors grumbled, as sailors will grumble, and, hating Magellan, and anxious only for the failure of his expedition, it is little probable that the Spanish captains showed much energy in checking them. Matters grew daily worse. The extreme cold they were beginning to experience, the frequent storms they encountered, their disbelief in the existence of a strait, combined to render them oblivious alike of potential honours and of duty.

They openly demanded either that they should be put on full rations, or

CHAPTER 11

DISCOVERY OF THE STRAIT OF MAGELLAN

Order having once more been established, Magellan kept all hands busily at work during the remainder of his sojourn in Port St. Julian. The vessels were careened and caulked, and such repairs as were found necessary were carried out. The San Antonio especially stood in need of them. The mutineers, in chains, were kept working at the pumps until the carpenters had rendered such work no longer needful. It was not until the day of departure from the bay that they were set at liberty.

Towards the end of April Magellan determined to undertake a reconnaissance of the coast in the vicinity. The fear of a more or less prolonged inaction and its effect upon the men most probably led him to this step. The Santiago, from her handiness and small draught, was chosen for the work, and her choice was the more indicated from the fact of Serrão being her commander. Few men were so well versed in the art of seamanship and navigation; fewer still were endowed with his experience. He had long used the Eastern seas both as subaltern and captain. From the time of his first command under Rodrigo Rabello in 1506 until his departure on the expedition, he had been constantly in active service. As brother, moreover, of Magellan's great friend, Francisco Serrão, the Captain-general knew that every trust could be reposed in him. He received instructions therefore to sail along the coast to the southward, examining each bay and inlet. He was not to carry his explorations too far. If after a certain time nothing worthy of note was met with, he was to retrace his steps and once more rejoin his comrades in Port St. Julian.

It is to Herrera that we are indebted for an account of the voyage. The Santiago, working slowly along the coast, arrived on the 3rd May at the mouth of a river of considerable size, nearly sixty miles from the harbour whence she had set out. Serrão named it the Rio de Santa Cruz. The fish were so abundant that he was induced to prolong his stay for six days to lay in a supply. The seals, or sea-wolves, as the sailors termed them, were equally numerous, and of such large size that the

CHAPTER 12

PASSAGE OF THE STRAIT OF MAGELLAN

The explorers, we have seen, reached the entrance of the Straits on October 21st, 1520. According to Thevet, it was Magellan himself who first described it. It is not improbable that the great desire of his life should lend the leader of the expedition a preternatural keenness of vision, and reward him as it rewarded Columbus. In the narrative of the anonymous Portuguese published by Ramusio, the strait is called after the Victoria, "because the ship Victoria was the first that saw it."

Be that as it may, however, the order was given for the fleet to enter. On their starboard hand they passed a cape, which since it was St. Ursula's day, they called the Cape of the Eleven Thousand Virgins. The pilot Albo took the latitude, and found it to be 52° S. (although Cape Virgins is in latitude 52° 20' S.). The bay within was spacious; and seemed to afford good shelter.

The admiral gave orders that Serrão and Mesquita should continue the reconnaissance in the Concepcion and San Antonio. Meanwhile, the flagship anchored in company with the Victoria to await their return, which was not to be deferred for more than five days. It is probable, assuming Pigafetta's account to be correct, that the vessels anchored in Lomas Bay, upon the south side of the strait. For he distinctly tells us that the mouth of the "First Narrows" remained unknown to them until discovered by the San Antonio and her consort. This could not have been the case had they anchored in Possession Bay, and they could not well have chosen any other spot. Lomas Bay is also the most natural shelter for a ship.

During the night one of the characteristic storms of these regions broke upon them, lasting until noon on the following day. It blew, most probably, from the north-east, for they were forced to weigh anchor and make an offing, standing on and off until the weather moderated. The San Antonio and Concepcion were in equally bad case. Endeavouring to rejoin the others, they found themselves unable to weather the cape that separated them from the anchorage. It was probably the eastern

CHAPTER 13

VOYAGE ACROSS THE PACIFIC

The three remaining ships of the squadron, the Trinidad, Concepcion and Victoria, passing Cape Deseado, directed their course to less inhospitable shores and a warmer climate. Their passage of the strait had cost them thirty-eight days. Herrera, Oviedo and Maximilian give the period as twenty-two days. This may possibly mean the actual time occupied in sailing, or perhaps the number of days passed in traversing the narrow part to which the name "Canal do Todos Santos" was more particularly applied. Although its length was in reality not more than 320 miles, the many incidents that had arisen and the protracted time that they had spent within its limits led them to exaggerate its size. The distance from mouth to mouth was variously estimated at from 350 to 400 miles.

On reaching the Pacific, the other Patagonian captured in Port St. Julian died. He had been kept on board the flagship, and had apparently reconciled himself in part to his position. To Pigafetta he had become an object of curiosity and interest. "I conversed by signs or as best I could with the Patagonian giant we had on board, making him tell me the names of things in his language, whence I was able to form a vocabulary. When he saw me take the pen in my hand he used to tell me the names of the objects around us, or of some action he might imitate.....When he felt himself gravely ill of the malady from which he afterwards died, he embraced the Cross and kissed it, and desired to become a Christian. We baptized him, and gave him the name of Paul."

Faring northward to escape the cold, the explorers encountered such favourable weather that the difficulties and privations they had passed through were well-nigh forgotten. The sudden, violent tempests had given place to steady winds that wafted them on their course over the surface of a placid sea. Thankful for their deliverance from their troubles they gave the name of the Pacific to the vast ocean that had afforded them so friendly a reception. "Well was it named the Pacific" Pigafetta writes, "for during this time (three months and twenty days) we met with no storm." At first their course led them along the wild

CHAPTER 14

ARRIVAL IN THE PHILIPPINES

On the 16th March they saw land - the southern point of Samar Island of the Philippines. Finding the coast beset with shoals, they bore away to the southward and fell in with the conspicuous island then, as now, known by the name of Suluan. From thence they reached the neighbouring island of Malhou, and anchored for the night. It appeared to be uninhabited. Next day, being anxious to rest his sick, Magellan ordered tents to be set up on shore and a pig to be killed for them - which animal, no doubt, was obtained during their stay at the Marianas. The sight of the fleet attracted the notice of a passing prau, and on Monday, March 18th, the Europeans made acquaintance for the first time with the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands. They were of a very different nature to those of the Marianas. The boat contained some notables from the little island of Suluan, who welcomed the newcomers without fear. Magellan ordered some caps, looking glasses, bells, and other trifles to be given to them, and in return was presented with fish and palm-wine. Pigafetta's "figs a foot long, and two cocchi," which he also mentions among the gifts, we have little difficulty in recognising as bananas and coconuts. Friendship with the natives was still further cemented by their visiting the ships. The hopes of the Spaniards were roused by being shown various spices, which must have enabled them for the first time to realise the proximity of the Moluccas.

To the archipelago thus discovered the Captain general gave the name of St. Lazarus, for he had first sighted the group upon the day sacred to that saint. It was not till long after, that the later appellation of the Islas Philippinas was conferred upon them in 1542 after Philip II, the son of Charles V. Meanwhile, curiously enough, they became known to the Portuguese as the Eastern Islands while the Spaniards called them the Islas del Poniente, for, as we have seen, the latter power sailed westward round the world, and the Lusitanians eastward. This circumstance was the cause of yet another oddity. To the first circumnavigators the necessity of altering their day on passing the meridian of 180° was unknown, and so the error persisted until later centuries of Hong Kong and Manila calling the same day Monday and

CHAPTER 15

THE BATTLE OF MACTAN

It is probable that Bulaya - the village burnt by order of Magellan, on the occasion of the chastisement inflicted on the rebel chiefs - was situated on the little island of Mactan or Matan, whose rajah, Silapulapu, had rendered an unwilling obedience to the authority of the Cebu potentate. He could not understand, he said, why he should do homage to one whom he had been accustomed for so long to command. The action taken by the Spaniards had not rendered his attitude in any way more submissive. While he was meditating upon some method of revenge, one of his chiefs, by name Zula, sent a small present to the admiral, together with a secret message to the effect that if he did not give a more suitable offering it was through no fault of his own but rather from fear of the rajah. Zula added that if Magellan would help him with a boat and a few of his men, he would undertake to subdue his chief and hand over the island to the Spaniards.

Upon receipt of the message, Magellan at once resolved to take the affair in hand. Although at first opposed to the enterprise, the King of Cebu was anxious to assist him when he saw that he was determined upon going. João Serrão, the captain's staunch adherent and right-hand man, the old and tried warrior of a hundred fights, was altogether against it. Not only was nothing to be gained by it, he argued, but they had already lost a number of men. It would be unwise to leave the vessels as unprotected as they would be obliged to leave them, for the expedition needed a considerable force. However, it was in vain that he protested. Filled with religious enthusiasm at his successes in Cebu, Magellan desired to push them still farther, until the whole archipelago should recognise the authority of Spain and be received into the bosom of the Catholic Church. He was one, moreover, to brook no opposition from an individual whom he regarded as a rebel rather than an enemy. Action with him followed close upon resolve. Nothing, apparently, could ever make him reconsider a determination, and if he took counsel it was for form's sake only. So Serrão's wiser words of caution were put aside, and the expedition was prepared. At the last moment his officers besought him not to go in person. However, he would not have

CHAPTER 16

TREACHERY IN CEBU

Upon the arrival in Cebu of the survivors of the Mactan disaster, one of the first duties performed was the election of a successor to the post of captain-general. A dual command, a not unusual custom in those days, was resolved upon, and the choice of the electors fell upon Duarte Barbosa, and João Serrão. Both were navigators of no ordinary merit, who had seen long service under Almeida and Albuquerque in India, and both were Portuguese by birth.

At the time of the conversion of the Cebu people, it will be remembered, a large store had been opened in the town, and much bartering had been carried on. We do not know whether the Spaniards had any definite reason to suspect treachery. However, if such was the case they took the best measures to induce it, for one of their first acts was to transport this merchandise again to the ships. A more ill-advised step could hardly have been conceived. Their defeat at Mactan had seriously damaged their prestige in the eyes of the islanders, and it behoved them to make as light of it as possible. The withdrawal of the goods from their store was tantamount to a confession of weakness. In short, it was courting attack.

The disaster came soon enough, whether the distrust exhibited by the Spaniards was or was not a factor in it. What actually tempted the King of Cebu to the base act of treachery of which he was guilty seems uncertain. By some historians it is said that the chiefs who had made difficulties in submitting to his authority, united to form a common cause. They informed him that if he did not assist them in exterminating the Spaniards and seizing their ships, they would kill him and lay waste his country. Others declare the treachery to have originated in the fleet itself - a story related so circumstantially that it is impossible not to give some credence to it. Magellan’s slave, Enrique of Malacca, the interpreter to the expedition, had been wounded slightly in the Mactan affair, and remained obstinately in his bunk, and declining to move. As his injury was very trivial and his services were greatly needed, Barbosa rated him soundly, telling him that though

CHAPTER 17

THE SPICE ISLANDS

With grief and despair in their hearts the members of the now much-weakened expedition resumed their voyage. Not only were they greatly reduced in numbers, but the comrades they had lost were the strongest of the party. Many also were men of importance in the command or navigation of the ships. On mustering all hands it was found that only 115 remained of the original 270 or more who left Seville. The account of the Genoese pilot states the number to have been 108 men, that of Barros 180. The latter number is evidently incorrect. The San Antonio left Seville with nearly seventy men on board, and since she received her share of the Santiago's crew, it is probable that she did not desert with much fewer than eighty men. The list of deaths up to this time numbered seventy-two. This would leave about 120 men. The Concepcion, too, was leaky and unserviceable. So, rather than run the risk of being undermanned and of losing her cargo, they resolved to burn her, after transshipping the best of her stores into the other vessels. This was accordingly done off the island of Bohol, and, while Espinosa was made captain of the Victoria, Carvalho was confirmed in his command as Captain-general, a post that he did not very long retain.

The course was now shaped to the southward for the Moluccas. Coasting the western promontory of the great island of Mindanão, where they touched and made friends with the natives, they bore away for Borneo, having on their way undoubtedly received intelligence of the city now known as Brunei. Their track took them to the island of Cagayan Sulu. Pigafetta speaks of the very large trees in it, and records that its few inhabitants were Moors banished from Borneo, who regarded the newcomers as gods. Provisions were now running very short, and their first object being to obtain them, they enquired for Palawan, where they heard that rice was procurable. They were directed northward again, and after running twenty-five leagues hit off its southern end, and coasted it for a considerable distance to the north-east. So reduced were they that but eight days provisions remained. They had for some time under consideration the project of

CHAPTER 18

THE FATE OF THE TRINIDAD

Before completing the history of Magellan's voyage, we must detail the fate of the Trinidad. Her condition was such as to necessitate the discharge of all her cargo, and a thorough examination of her timbers. She was accordingly dismantled. Her artillery, cargo, spars, and fittings were sent ashore, and placed under guard in the store that the Sultan of Tidor had allowed them to erect, and the vessel having been careened, the work of her repair was at once commenced. While engaged upon it, Espinosa received a visit from the King of Gilolo, who begged for cannon or firearms to aid him in subduing some rebels with whom he was fighting. A small number of Spaniards were sent to his assistance, and before they returned, the Indians had worked so well under the direction of the captain that the ship was ready for sea.

It was decided to leave certain goods and articles of barter upon the island, as much that a centre of Spanish influence might be established, as that trade should continue until the arrival of the next armada. Luis del Molino was therefore selected as officer in charge. Juan de Campos acted as clerk and treasurer, and Alonso de Cota, Diego Arias, and Master Pedro - one of the Flemish bombardiers - formed the remainder of the garrison. Carvalho, the deposed Captain-general, had died on the 14th February.

On the 6th April 1522, the Trinidad sailed upon her long voyage to Panama - a destination she was fated never to attain. She was manned by a crew of fifty four men all told, and took a cargo of a thousand quintals, or nearly fifty tons of cloves. The course resolved on led them northwards, coasting the west shores of Gilolo until its terminal cape was reached. Rounding it they came in sight of Chão or Porquenampello and Pyliom - two islands subsequently known as Morti and Rau - and passed between them and the mainland of Gilolo on a southerly course. Their object was to make "Quimar," a district under the authority of the Sultan of Tidor, where fresh provisions were awaiting them. Quimar and its port Zanufo, Camafo, or Camarfya (which are doubtless synonymous), have been variously identified with

CHAPTER 19

THE RETURN OF THE VICTORIA

The crew of the Victoria consisted of sixty men all told, of which forty-seven were Europeans and the rest natives. Touching at Mare, and taking on board the wood that had been cut for them, the Victoria shaped a S.W. Course that took her to the west of the Batchian group. Anchoring at one of the Xulla Islands on their way, they reached Buru on Friday, the 27th December, and obtained fresh provisions. On New Year's eve they were off the Lucopin or Schildpad Islands, and sighting the great island barrier that stretches from Timor to Sumatra on the 8th January 1522, passed through it in a storm so severe that all vowed a pilgrimage to N.S. de la Guia. What passage was chosen by the Victoria is uncertain, but there is no doubt that it was either Flores Strait or Boleng Strait, from details in Pigafetta and Albo's log-book. The ship was allowed to run before the gale on an easterly course, coasting the southern side of the chain, and eventually the island of Mallua - subsequently Ombay (now Alor) - was reached in safety.

Here they spent fifteen days. The ship stood in need of caulking, and the crew were kept at work at it. The people of Ombay seemed to have been of Papuan origin, judging from Pigafetta's account of their "hair raised high up by means of cane combs with long teeth," and also by the beard being encased in reed tubes, "a thing," he adds, "which seemed to us most ridiculous."

On Saturday, January 25th, del Cano sailed, from Ombay, and having run some twenty miles to the S.S.E., arrived at the large island of Timor. The Portuguese at that time had no settlements upon it, and indeed had never even visited it. However, it was renowned throughout the archipelago for its trade in sandalwood and wax. At the time of the Spaniards' visit a Luzon junk was trading in the port at which they touched. Having some difficulty in getting provisions, the captain ordered one of the chiefs who had visited the vessel to be detained until he ransomed himself with live stock. However, on receiving this, del Cano gave him an equivalent value in articles of barter and sent him away satisfied. The Victoria then continued her voyage, coasting the

CHAPTER 20

PIGAFETTA'S JOURNAL OF THE VOYAGE

Antonio Pigafetta was an Italian navigator. He was one of the few people that completed the entire journey around the world. He kept a journal in which hearsay evidence is largely mixed with personal experience, but which gives by far the best and fullest account of the expedition.

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Since there are several curious persons (very illustrious and very reverend lord) who not only are pleased to listen to and learn the great and wonderful things that God has permitted me to see and suffer in the long and, perilous navigation, that I have performed (and which is written hereafter), but also they desire to learn the methods and fashions of the road that I have taken in order to go thither, (and who do) not grant firm belief to the end unless they are first well advised and assured of the commencement. Therefore, my lord, it will please you to hear that finding myself in Spain in the year of the Nativity of our Lord, one thousand five hundred and nineteen, at the court of the most serene king of the Romans, with the reverend lord, Mons. Francis Cheregato, then apostolic proto-notary, and ambassador of the Pope Leon the Tenth, who, through his virtue, afterwards arrived at the bishopric of Aprutino and the principality of Theramo, and knowing both by the reading of many books and by the report of many lettered and well-informed persons who conversed with the said proto-notary, the very great and awful things of the ocean, I deliberated, with the favour of the Emperor and the above-named lord, to experiment and go and see with my eyes a part of those things. By which means I could satisfy the desire of the said lords, and mine own also. So that it might be said that I had performed the said voyage, and seen well with my eyes the things hereafter written.

Now in order to decypher the commencement of my voyage (very illustrious lord); having heard that there was in the city of Seville, a small armade to the number of five ships, ready to perform this long

CHAPTER 21

PIGAFETTA'S TREATISE OF NAVIGATION

Besides writing a journal of Magellan's voyage around the world, the Italian navigator Antonio Pigafetta wrote a treatise of navigation detailing the navigation methods he used.

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Treatise of Navigation of the Chevalier Antony Pigafetta

The armillary sphere, of which the author gives a drawing, serves to explain the system of the world according to Ptolemy, and could also serve as an astrolabe, for one sees at the top of it a kind of handle or ring, by which to hold it suspended, as is seen in the above-mentioned drawing. He begins his treatise by giving us an idea of that system, as have done all those after him, who have written of the elements of the nautical art and of pilotage.

"The earth is round," he says, "and remains suspended and immovable in the midst of all the celestial bodies. The first index fixed on two poles, the arctic and Antarctic, which are supposed to correspond with the poles of the earth. It runs from East to West, and transports with itself all the planets and stars. Besides this there is the eighth sphere, the poles of which are at 23 deg. 33 min., it runs from West to East."

"It is supposed that all the circumference of the earth is divided into 360 degrees; and each degree is of 17 leagues and a half, consequently the circumference of the earth is 6,300 leagues. Land leagues are of three miles and sea leagues of four miles."

"The ten circles of the armillary sphere, of which the six major pass through the centre of the earth, serve to determine the situation of countries and climates. The Ecliptic determines the movement of the sun and the planets : the two Tropics indicate the point to which the sun declines from the equator towards the North in summer, and towards the South in winter. The Meridian, always variable, because it passes

CHAPTER 22

ALBO'S LOG BOOK OF THE VOYAGE

Francisco Albo (or Alvaro or Calvo), the contramaestre of the Trinidad, kept a log book of the voyage, largely consisting of nautical observations that provide data for the actual course sailed by the vessels of the fleet.

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Tuesday, 29th day of November, I began to take the altitude of the sun whilst following the said voyage; and whilst in the vicinity of Cape St. Augustine, and in 7° altitude on the S. side, and at a distance from the said cape a matter of 27 leagues to S.W..

Wednesday, 30th of said month, I took the sun in 76°, and its declination was 22° 59', and its polar altitude was 8° 59', and the course was S.S.W..

On the 1st December, Thursday, the sun had 78° meridian altitude, and 23° 4' declination, and our distance (from the equator) 11° 4', and the course was S.S.W..

Friday, the 2nd of the said month, I took the sun in barely 80°, and its declination was 23° 3', the altitude was just 13°, and the course S.S.W..

Saturday, the 3rd of the said month, I took the sun in 82° 15', which had 23° 13' declination, and our distance was 14° 58', and the course was S.S.W..

Sunday, the 4th of the said month, the sun had 83° altitude, and 23° 17' declination; and our distance came to be 16° 17', and the course was S.S.W..

Monday, 5th of the said month, I took the sun in barely 84°, and it had 23° 21' declination; and our distance to the South came to be 17° 13', and the course was S.S.W. ¼W..

CHAPTER 23

ACCOUNT BY AN UNKNOWN PORTUGUESE

In Ramusio's Navigationi et Viaggi occurs a brief account of the voyage by an unknown Portuguese, who was a companion of Odoardo Barbosa, on board the ship Victoria.

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In the name of God and of good salvation. We departed from Seville with five ships on the tenth of August, in the year 1519, to go and discover the Molucca Islands. We commenced our voyage from San Lucar for the Canary Islands, and sailed south-west 960 miles, where we found our selves at the island of Tenerife, in which is the harbour of Santa Cruz in twenty-eight degrees of north latitude.

And from the island of Tenerife we sailed southwards 1680 miles, when we found ourselves in four degrees of north latitude. From these four degrees of north latitude we sailed south-west, until we found ourselves at the Cape of Saint Augustin, which is in eight degrees of south latitude, having accomplished 1200 miles. And from Cape Saint Augustin we sailed south and by south-west 864 miles, where we found ourselves in twenty degrees of south latitude. From twenty degrees of south latitude, being at sea, we sailed 1500 miles south-west, when we found ourselves near the river, whose mouth is 108 miles wide, and lies in thirty-five degrees of the said south latitude. We named it the river of Saint Christopher.

From this river we sailed 1638 miles south-west by west, where we found ourselves at the point of the Lupi Marini, which is in forty-eight degrees of south latitude. And from the point of the Lupi Marini we sailed south-west 350 miles, where we found ourselves in the harbour of Saint Julian, and stayed there five months waiting for the sun to return towards us, because in June and July it appeared for only four hours each day.

From this harbour of Saint Julian, which is in fifty degrees, we departed

CHAPTER 24

GASPAR CORREA'S ACCOUNT

The historian, Gaspar Correa gave descriptions in his "Lendas da India" of the voyage that bear evidence of a degree of first-hand information.

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Ferdinand Magellan went to Castile to the port of Seville, where he married the daughter of a man of importance, with the design of navigating on the sea, because he was very learned in the art of pilots, which is that of the sphere. The emperor kept the House of Commerce in Seville, with the overseers of the treasury, with great powers, and much sea-faring traffic, and fleets for abroad.

Magellan, bold with his knowledge, and with the readiness which he had to annoy the King of Portugal, spoke to the overseers of this House of Commerce, and told them that Malacca, and Maluco, the islands in which cloves grew, belonged to the emperor on account of the demarcation drawn between them both [the Kings of Spain and Portugal] : for which reason the King of Portugal wrongfully possessed these lands : and that he would make this certain before all the doctors who might contradict him, and would pledge his head for it. The overseers replied to him, that they well knew that he was speaking truth, and that the emperor also knew it, but that the emperor had no navigation to that part, because he could not navigate through the sea within the demarcation of the King of Portugal. Magellan said to them : "If you would give me ships and men, I would show you navigation to those parts, without touching any sea or land of the King of Portugal; and if not, they might cut off his head." The overseers, much pleased at this, wrote it to the emperor, who answered them that he had pleasure in the speech, and would have much more with the deed; and that they were to do everything to carry out his service, and the affairs of the King of Portugal, which were not to be meddled with; rather than that everything should be lost. With this answer from the emperor, they spoke with Magellan, and became much more convinced by what he

CHAPTER 25

ACCOUNT OF THE "GENOESE PILOT"

A first hand account of the voyage was written by the "Genoese pilot", who almost certainly was neither Genoese nor a pilot because the manuscript is written in remarkably pure Portuguese and bears no evidence of having been written by a pilot, and because no Genoese sailed as pilot in the fleet.

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Navigation and voyage that Fernando De Magalhães made from Seville to Maluco in the year 1519. (By a Genoese pilot)

He sailed from Seville on the 10th day of August of the said year, and remained at the bar until the 21st day of September, and as soon as he got outside, he steered to the south west to make the island of Tenerife, and they reached the said island on the day of St. Michael, which was the 29th of September. Thence he made his course to fetch the Cape Verde islands, and they passed between the islands and the Cape without sighting either the one or the other. Having got as far as this neighbourhood, he shaped his course so as to make for Brazil, and as soon as they sighted the other coast of Brazil, he steered to the south-east along the coast as far as Cabo-frio, which is in twenty-three degrees south latitude; and from this cape he steered to the west, a matter of thirty leagues, to make the Rio de Janeiro, which is in the same latitude as Cabo-frio, and they entered the said Rio on the day of St. Lucia, which was the 13th December, in which place they took in wood, and they remained there until the first octave of Christmas, which was the 26th of December of the same year.

They sailed from this Rio de Janeiro on the 26th December, and navigated along the coast to make the Cape of St. Maria, which is in thirty-four and two thirds degrees; as soon as they sighted it, they made their course west-northwest, thinking they would find a passage for their voyage, and they found that they had got into a great river of fresh water, to which they gave the name of river of St. Christopher, and it is

CHAPTER 26

LETTER OF MAXIMILIAN TRANSYLVANUS

Maximilian Transylvanus, an under-secretary at the court of Charles V was at Valladolid when El Cano arrived. Maximilian interrogated him and his two companions, Albo and Bustamante. He wrote his description of the voyage in a letter to his father Cardinal Archbishop Lang of Salzburg.

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Most Reverend and Illustrious Lord, my only Lord, to you I most humbly commend myself.

One of those five ships has lately returned that Caesar sent in former years, when he was living at Saragossa, to a strange, and for so many ages, an unknown world, in order to search for the islands where spices grow. For though the Portuguese bring a great quantity of them from the Golden Chersonesus, which we now suppose to be Malacca, yet their own Indies produce nothing but pepper. Other spices, such as cinnamon, cloves, and the nutmeg, which we call muscat, and its covering (mace), which we call muscat flower, are brought to their own Indies from distant islands till now only known by name, and in ships which are fastened together not by iron but by palm leaves. The sails of these ships are round and woven, too, of the palm fibre. This sort of ships they call junks, and they only use them with a wind directly fore and aft.

It is no wonder that these islands should be unknown to any human beings almost up to our time. For whatever we read concerning the native soil of the spices has been told us by ancient authors, and is partly, certainly, fabulous; and, partly, so far from the truth, that even the very countries in which they said that they grew naturally, are but little less distant from those where it is now known that they grow, than we are. For to omit others, Herodotus, in other respects a most famed author, has said that cinnamon is found in birds' nests, to which the birds have brought it from most distant regions, and specially the