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INSIDE: CABRILHO AND BEYOND: PORTUGUESE NAVIGATORS IN ALTA CALIFORNIA AND THE PACIFIC

The San Diego History Center, founded as the San Diego Historical Society in 1928, has always been the catalyst for the preservation and promotion of the history of the San Diego region. The San Diego History Center makes history interesting and fun and seeks to engage audiences of all ages in connecting the past to the present and to set the stage for where our community is headed in the future. The organization operates museums in two National Historic Districts, the San Diego History Center and Research Archives in Balboa Park, and the Junípero Serra Museum in Presidio Park. The History Center is a lifelong learning center for all members of the community, providing outstanding educational programs for schoolchildren and popular programs for families and adults. The Research Archives serves residents, scholars, students, and researchers onsite and online. With its rich historical content, archived material, and online photo gallery, the San Diego History Center's website is used by more than one million visitors annually. The San Diego History Center is a Smithsonian Affiliate and one of the oldest and largest historical organizations on the West Coast.

FRONT COVER: Florentine cartographer Matteo Neroni's 1604 map of the Americas, *Americae sive novi orbis nova descriptio*. Older than Antonio de Herrera's circa 1615 statement about Cabrilho being Portuguese, this map shows, near forty degrees north, the toponym "B[aia] de Cabrilho" with the Portuguese spelling. It is the oldest known document showing Cabrilho's Portuguese name. Courtesy of Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BnF).

BACK COVER: "Mr. Degraff Austin, and the M.C., Mr. Robert Grom, speaking during the unveiling of the plaque offered by the Portuguese Naval Mission in the United States [Missão Naval aos Estados Unidos], in memory of the Portuguese navigator João Rodrigues Cabrilho, April 28, 1957." The photograph is part of the personal archive of Admiral Manoel Maria Sarmento Rodrigues and bears the caption above. Document/photo provided by Dr. Ana Maria Junqueiro Sarmento Cavaleiro de Ferreira and deposited at the Biblioteca Central de Marinha—Arquivo Histórico (Portugal). Call number 2-15/00002/018. Caixa 3.

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In honor of our grandparents, Tom and Jane Fetter

Tom, congratulations on being named 2025 Mr. San Diego. Your dedication to philanthropy and steadfast support of the San Diego History Center have shown us the importance of service and the difference we can each make in our communities.

Jane, your generosity, intelligence, and unmistakable wit have enriched San Diego for decades. Your commitment to bringing people together for joyful occasions to benefit those in need has bettered countless lives, and your passion for volunteerism deeply inspires each of us.

With love and admiration,
Your grandchildren

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INTRODUCTION
CABRILHO AND BEYOND: PORTUGUESE NAVIGATORS IN ALTA CALIFORNIA AND THE PACIFIC

RICARDO VASCONCELOS, PAULO M. J. AFONSO, AND DUARTE PINHEIRO, GUEST EDITORS

This volume of *The Journal of San Diego History* stems largely from the conference of the same title organized at San Diego State University (SDSU) in September 2024 in collaboration with different local organizations, including the San Diego History Center (SDHC), the Maritime Museum, Cabrillo National Monument, and Point Loma Naval Base.

At the time of the conference, it had been thirty years since a similar gathering, or a broad volume, on the topic of navigations by Portuguese sailors along the coast of California and in the Pacific. The organizers of the recent conference—Paulo M. J. Afonso, Ricardo Vasconcelos, Duarte Pinheiro, and Idalmiro da Rosa—felt that, given recent scholarship not only about João Rodrigues Cabrilho and the exploration of the California coast, but also about other Portuguese sailors and pilots mapping and exploring both the West and East Pacific (often, but not exclusively, in expeditions under the Crown of Spain), it was time to bring together a diverse group of scholars to address these topics, present new findings, and establish further dialogues representing different perspectives. As the conference demonstrated, and as this volume clearly

shows, the theme and opportunity to discuss were very timely, resulting in substantial scholarship that also aims to speak to a nonspecialized audience. The engagement of different communities—scholars, students, members of the local Portuguese, Spanish, Mexican and Native American communities, among others—clearly illustrated both the desire to discuss many of the topics raised and our ability to establish bridges for mutual comprehension and much needed dialogues.

A letter written in 1550 by Pablo de Torres, the Bishop of Panama, stated that half the sailors and pilots in the *Mar del Sur* (the Eastern Pacific) were Portuguese. This suggests that the participation of Portuguese navigators in the exploration of the area clearly went beyond the pioneer navigations by Cabrilho, who first mapped the coast of Alta California from 1542 to 1543, just fifty years after Columbus reached the Caribbean.

Cabrilho's exploring happened thirty-seven years before Francis Drake landed in Nova Albion, forty-three years before the first English colonization attempt at Roanoke Island (North Carolina), and seventy-eight years before the *Mayflower* arrived at Plymouth. Thus, Cabrilho's voyage deserves a reflection in the context of the history of the formation of the United States. While the maritime charting of Alta California is a central topic of this volume, the essays here present further findings related to the navigations of other Portuguese sailors and pilots as well, many of whom have been heretofore understudied. Furthermore, the volume also addresses the relationships that communities establish with certain historical figures—including Cabrilho—who become central to the identity of many.

Paulo M. J. Afonso's article challenges the recent claim that João Rodrigues Cabrilho was Spanish-born, a claim based on a couple of documents in which he presented himself as "natural" of Palma del Río. Afonso clarifies that the term "natural" in sixteenth-century Spanish law often meant that someone was a *naturalized citizen* of a place, not necessarily *born* in that location. Afonso highlights the importance for Cabrilho's fleet of several other high-profile and lesser-known foreign (non-Spanish) individuals, including the Genoese pilot Bartolome Ferrer and the Portuguese pilot Alvar Nunes. The article also uncovers archival and cartographic evidence, such as the existence of a 1604 Florentine map of California naming the "Bay of Cabrilho", with the Portuguese spelling of that name. Additional findings—including a Mount Cabrilho in Portugal and a crucifix offered by Cabrilho dated to the 1530s—further support Cabrilho's Portuguese origins and invite renewed study of the topic.

Mariano Cuesta Domingo explores the writings of Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, the Spanish sixteenth- and seventeenth-century royal chronicler, whose *Décadas* provide key early accounts of Pacific exploration. Herrera's depiction of Cabrilho—whom he calls "Ioan Rodríguez Cabrillo Portugués"—has fueled long debate over Cabrilho's nationality. Cuesta Domingo reviews Herrera's historiographical methods, linguistic nuances, and the broader historical context, emphasizing fluid Iberian borders and identities in the 1500s. He concludes that Cabrilho, having served as a loyal subject of Castile, exemplifies how national mythmaking can obscure the complex realities of early imperial history.

Marco Caboara reconstructs the career of Matteo

Neroni (circa 1550–1634), a Florentine cosmographer and globe maker whose newly rediscovered works connect Europe, Asia, and the Americas. Collaborating with Jesuit Michele Ruggieri, Neroni produced the first Western map of China and the previously mentioned 1604 manuscript map of America featuring "B[aia] de Cabrilho." Caboara traces Neroni's ties to Medici patronage, his reworking of Danti's great globe, and his later influence on French mapmakers Sanson and Buache. The study situates Neroni as a crucial bridge in the global cartographic exchanges of the late Renaissance.

Ricardo Vasconcelos presents an archive, compiled by Portuguese Admiral Manoel Maria Sarmento Rodrigues and recently acquired by San Diego State University, on the Cabrillo Festival, the California Luso-American community, and João Rodrigues Cabrilho. The article details Sarmento Rodrigues's key contribution to the success of the 1969 Cabrillo Festival, which featured Portuguese naval ships, San Diego officials, and even Governor Ronald Reagan. Vasconcelos demonstrates that Sarmento Rodrigues acted as an advocate for the Luso-American community, prodding the Portuguese New State government to support Luso-American pride centered on explorer Cabrilho and reconnection to the homeland. The study also reflects on the relationship of the Portuguese and Spanish communities with the figure of Cabrilho, noting his relevance to different narratives of legitimacy.

Onésimo T. Almeida critiques nationalist mythmaking within the Portuguese diaspora, focusing on the Dighton Rock controversy in Massachusetts. He examines how myths like the supposed 1511 Portuguese inscriptions on the rock—and the elevation of figures such as Peter Francisco—

serve as tools for identity and prestige among immigrant communities. Almeida exposes the pseudoscientific methods of proponents of the theory of the Portuguese inscriptions, contrasting mythic enthusiasm with historical rigor. Through this case study, he reflects on how collective identity often privileges symbolic heroes over factual accuracy, blending nostalgia, pride, and invention.

Andrés Reséndez recounts the extraordinary voyage of Lope Martim, an Afro-Portuguese pilot from Lagos (Algarve, Portugal) who became the first navigator to cross the Pacific Ocean both ways, beating Urdaneta by several months. Serving in the 1564–1565 Spanish expedition from Mexico to Asia, Martim's ship, the *San Lucas*, became separated and independently completed the first successful *vuelta* (return voyage). Despite his pioneering feat, Martim was accused of desertion instead of being honored. Andrés Reséndez highlights how this free Afro-Portuguese man's navigation connected Asia and the Americas, laying the foundation for the global trade network that reshaped the sixteenth-century world.

Maria da Graça Ventura reconstructs the life of Isabel Barreto, born in Lima, Peru, to Portuguese parents (thus, a Creole, in the terminology of the time), who became the first female admiral in history. Based on archival documentation such as wills and testimonies, this study corrects persistent claims that Isabel Barreto was Galician-born. It recounts her 1595–1596 voyage with her husband Álvaro de Mendaña and Portuguese pilot Pedro Fernandes de Queirós to the Solomon Islands. After Mendaña's death, Isabel assumed command, leading the damaged *San Jerónimo* across the Pacific to Manila. Ventura interprets her controversial leadership within the

patriarchal context of the empire, portraying Barreto as a courageous yet maligned navigator who defied gender and national boundaries.

Steve Wright re-evaluates Francis Drake's circumnavigation (1577–1580) through the experiences of the Portuguese mariners and pilots he coerced into service—Nuno da Silva, Gaspar Martim, Custódio Rodrigues, and João Pascoal. Their navigational expertise, extracted under threat, was crucial to Drake's success and to England's emerging maritime dominance. Using Inquisition records, depositions, and English narratives, the article reveals how these Catholic mariners balanced survival, coerced Protestant conformity, and imperial loyalties. Wright shows that England's Pacific entry was inseparable from the involuntary contributions of these Portuguese sailors, whose knowledge exposed Spain's vulnerabilities and transformed individual captivity into a catalyst for global geopolitical change.

Focusing on a similar topic, Lourdes de Ita examines the participation of Portuguese sailors in Thomas Cavendish's third circumnavigation of the globe. Building on earlier voyages by Magellan and Drake, Cavendish likewise relied on the expertise of captured Portuguese mariners—Emmanuel, Tomé Hernández, Diego, and Nicolás Rodrigo (the Hispanicized versions of their Portuguese names)—whose navigation skills and linguistic abilities were vital to his success. Analyzing closely the accounts of this travel, Lourdes de Ita reveals how Cavendish systematically seized skilled Portuguese navigators across Africa, the Americas, and Asia. Their forced service underscores the complex entanglement of Iberian expertise in English maritime expansion and the global interconnectedness of sixteenth-century navigation.

It is worth pointing out some aspects of the relationship between the 2024 conference and this volume. First and foremost, all contributions were revised by the authors and reviewed by the guest editors. The conference included other rich presentations that did not make it into this issue of the journal. João Paulo Oliveira e Costa discussed what he called the "discovery of the Blue Planet" to address Iberian navigation and diplomacy from 1450 to 1529. A highlight of the event was the panel with presentations by American Indian studies scholars Ethan Banegas and Michael Connolly Miskwish, who allowed for broad discussions on the implications for the indigenous populations of the first contact with Europeans, the history of San Diego indigenous populations, and the relation of Native Americans with the symbols of early European presence in California (often built well after that early presence). Marie Duggan spoke on the Portuguese of Macao and Spain's China trade route through the Santa Barbara Channel. Carla Rahn addressed the recreation of Cabrilho's ship *San Salvador* (2007–2015). Ignacio Javier Chuecas Saldias discussed the problems with citizenship among Portuguese migrants in the Spanish Empire during the Early Modern Age. All these studies would have enriched this volume, but for various reasons, those authors were unable to participate. We are grateful for their contributions to the conference, a recording and copies of which are available online. Finally, it is worth noting that the conference invited other individuals who were unable to present or attend, such as Tamar Herzog, Fernando Ciaramitaro, and Wendy Kramer, the latter given her work on Cabrilho and the controversy

over his birthplace. Conversely, Ricardo Vasconcelos's article does not stem from the conference directly, since Sarmento Rodrigues's archive was acquired by SDSU only six months after the conference took place. The study is included in the volume, however, given its obvious relevance to the topic, namely the focus on the modern history of San Diego associated with Cabrilho.

The guest editors want to acknowledge individuals and institutions that made the conference and this volume possible. We thank the honorary consul of Portugal in San Diego, Idalmiro da Rosa, who collaborated in the organization of the conference. Likewise, we thank Joe da Rosa, who often assisted as an unofficial fifth member of the organizing committee. The members of the scientific committee—namely Onésimo T. Almeida, Jeroen Dewulf, Paulo M. J. Afonso, João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, Maria da Graça Ventura, Luís Jorge Semedo de Matos, and Fernando Ciaramitaro—discussed guest speakers and analyzed submitted proposals; they should be thanked for their work. We thank the members of the Honor Committee; SDSU President Adela de la Torre, who opened the conference; Francisco Duarte Lopes, Portuguese Ambassador to the United States; José Cesário, the Secretary of State for the Portuguese Communities; Jim Costa, US Representative for theTwenty-First District of California; and Bill Lawrence, SDHC President and CEO. We were likewise honored by the collaboration and/or presence of Pedro Pinto and Filipe Ramalheira, the former consul and the current consul of Portugal in San Francisco, and by the representative of the Portuguese Embassy in the United States, Luís Miguel Correia Cardoso. At SDSU, there are of course many colleagues to thank, from the Dean of the College of Arts & Letters, Todd Butler, to all moving parts of the Department of Spanish and Portuguese Languages and Literatures, including faculty, staff, and students, who attended the conference in large numbers. Finally, we greatly appreciate the sponsors of this event, who were many. A special acknowledgment goes to the Luso-American Development Foundation (FLAD), for its substantial financial commitment and leading support from the very beginning. Likewise, both the Portuguese Ministério da Defesa Nacional and the Estado Maior da Armada (Portuguese Navy) sponsored our academic event. We thank the Camões-Instituto da Cooperação e da Língua, I.P.; the SDSU College of Arts & Letters; the SDSU Department of Spanish and Portuguese Languages and Literatures; Kenny Alameda at Clipper Oil; the Cabrillo Civic Clubs of San Diego and Sacramento; Cabrillo Festival Inc.; Portuguese Fraternal Society of America (PFSA); Quinta da Boeira, Arte e Cultura, Lda.; Aliança Açoreana; Luso-American Financial; Joe and Marly da Rosa; John Rebelo; Chris da Rosa; and Idalmiro and Filomena da Rosa. We also thank the San Diego History Center, the San Diego Maritime Museum, the Cabrillo National Monument, and the Point Loma Naval Base for allowing the conference to partially take place in those spaces. Finally, we thank the team at *The Journal of San Diego History*, and particularly its editors Andy Strathman and David Miller, for accepting our proposal to publish this special volume, and for their work producing it.

Given so many open avenues of research that stemmed from this conference, we are confident it will not take another thirty years for the next similar event to take place.

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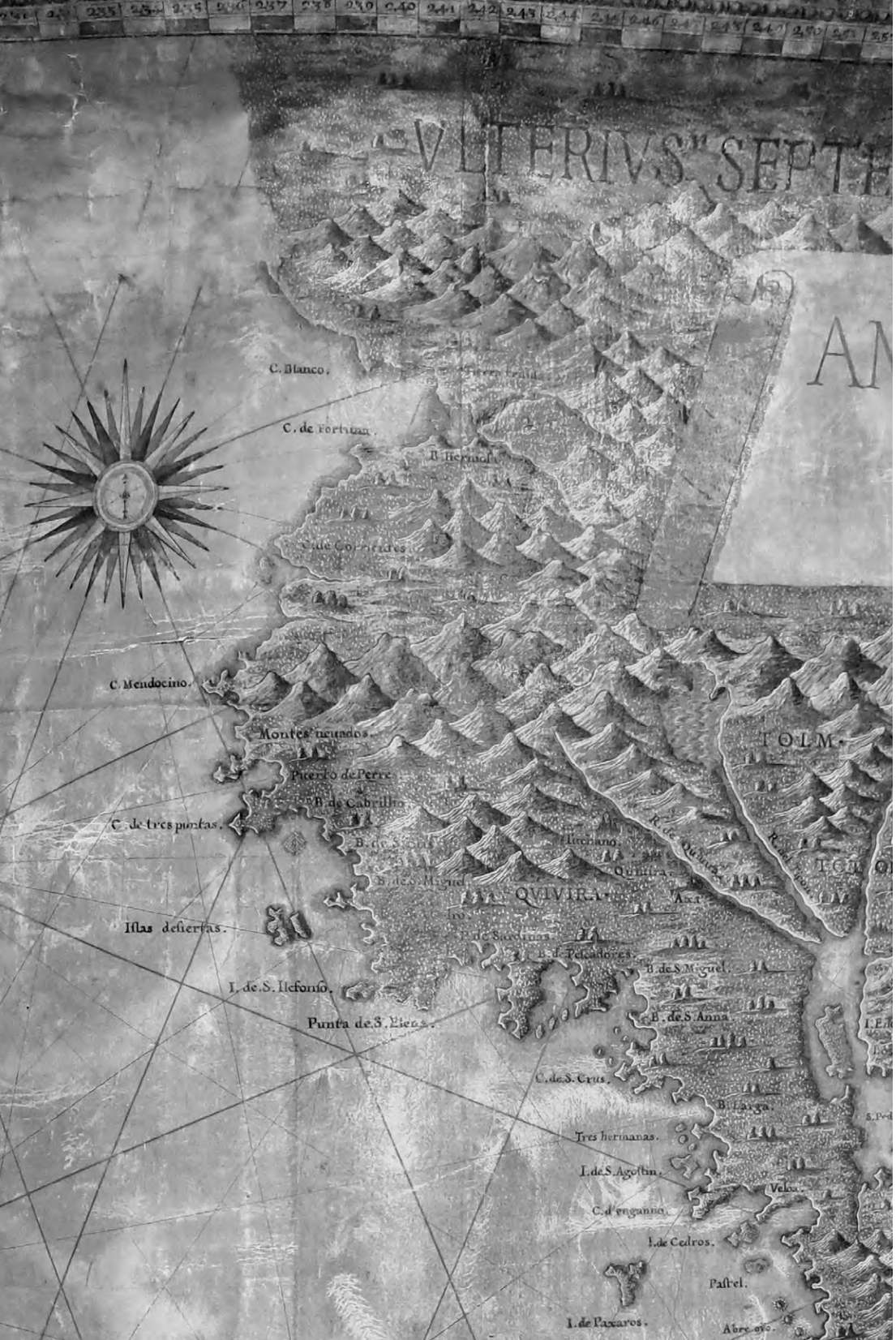

NEW HISTORICAL FINDINGS ABOUT CABRILHO AND OTHER PORTUGUESE AND GENOESE IN THE MARITIME DISCOVERY OF CALIFORNIA, 1542–1543

PAULO M. J. AFONSO

This essay focuses on the nationality of João Rodrigues Cabrilho and other Portuguese shipowners in Alvarado-Mendoça's 1540–1543 fleet.[1] Recent work has claimed that Cabrilho was born in Spain based on a couple documents in which he presented himself as "natural" of Palma del Río. My research analyzes sixteenth-century language conventions and Castilian naturalization law to reveal that Cabrilho was Portuguese, not Spanish. This fact corresponds with other records showing that numerous Portuguese sailors and navigators were at work in the Spanish New World and in Cabrilho's own fleet. I also argue that the Portuguese role in Pacific exploration is evident when we look at early European maps that reveal Portuguese antecedents of place names.

WHERE IS IT WRITTEN THAT CABRILHO WAS BORN IN SPAIN? THE ANSWER IS NOWHERE

According to Antonio de Herrera, Spain's seventeenth-century royal chronicler, Cabrilho was a Portuguese

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(Opposite page) C[abo]. Mendocino, Puerto de Perres, and B[aia]. de Cabrilho, on a 1604 map of California, by Florentine cartographer Matteo Neroni. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

navigator. In 2015, Dr. Wendy Kramer found insightful sixteenth-century documents, in which Cabrilho declared himself to be "natural of Palma del Río." Note that Cabrilho never explicitly declared he was born in Palma del Río (Spain). In Kramer's interpretation the word "natural" meant Cabrilho was necessarily Spanish-born. This assumption is simply not true.

Many historians have written about this repeated misinterpretation. While being "natural" of a place often meant being born there, it frequently meant only naturalization, especially when related to the Spanish Americas, where foreigners even paid to become naturalized.

Nothing refutes such erroneous interpretation better than the statements of the Argentine historian Enrique de Gandía: "...*the word natural*, as dictated by the Laws of Partidas, *meant ten different things*. One could be natural of a place by birth, by childhood, by living ten years in such place, by marriage, for being a subject to the Lord of the Land, etc.... It is, therefore, useless to exhibit documents where the *word natural appears, to demonstrate that a person was born in a certain place*."[2]

Gandía's paper discusses the birthplace of Juan de Garay, the Spanish re-founder of Buenos Aires, who was "natural" of more than one place (a not uncommon situation, actually), but could only be born in one location. Among other examples supporting his statements, Gandía mentions Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga (the author of the famous *La Araucana* poems), who was both "natural" of Bermeo (in Biscay) and "natural" of Valladolid, yet born in Madrid!

While some maintain, strangely, that Dr. Kramer's findings are unopposed and definitive proof of Cabrilho's supposed Spanish birth, in total and stark contrast,

Gandía (1906–2000) would eloquently consider Dr. Kramer's "natural" evidence instead as useless. The reader may conclude which one of these two radically different interpretations about the meaning of "natural" reflects expertise regarding Spain's sixteenth-century naturalization laws.

Among defenders of Cabrilho's Spanish birth, Professor Carla Rahn was the first to admit in a February 2025 public talk that "natural" often referred to naturalization and not necessarily nativity. This admission represents remarkable progress in terms of clarifying the facts, considering Dr. Kramer's putative "unopposed" evidence.[3]

However, Professor Rahn tried to "save the day," arguing that in Cabrilho's case "natural" necessarily meant "being born/native to," since, she maintained, Cabrilho was away from Spain for so long that only a Spanish-born could continue claiming citizenship, i.e., being "natural" of Palma del Río. Entangling the status of citizenship/"natural" with being born, Professor Rahn made a sequence of serious mistakes leading to such fallacious conclusions.[4]

Being born in a Spanish place granted the status of "natural," but (contrary to Professor Rahn's conclusion) not forever. This is the crux of the problem, and it is easy to understand why when reading expert authors about Castile's subtle naturalization laws.

Even (if...) being born in Palma del Río would not grant Cabrilho citizenship (or being "natural") of Palma del Río forever, but just for some time in the past, while living there. This was true both for Spanish-born citizens and for naturalized citizens. The vast majority of naturalization cases were based on statutory extension, obtained (as

mentioned above by Gandía) by living in a place for a certain number of years. Being "natural" of Palma del Río gave Cabrilho—and any other "natural" Spaniard (by birth or naturalization)—the legal right to move away to Guatemala. Cabrilho was indeed "natural" of Palma del Río but not necessarily born there.

Conversely, it was easy even for a Spanish-born to lose the "natural" status. This happened to not only many common citizens, but even to famous born Spaniards who became denaturalized in similar circumstances, such as being absent too long either from their legal residence or their birthplace. Nuño de Guzmán, cruel conqueror and governor of New Galicia (Mexico), born in Guadalajara (Spain), referred to "...having been denaturalized from my nature and family, and losing my estate, fifteen years, two thousand leagues away from it all and my king..."[5]

There were at least two other ways one could denaturalize. Those born in Spain could be denaturalized by the Crown. A paradigmatic example was the Sevillian-born Francisco de Santillán, the bishop of Osma. They could also denaturalize themselves from the kingdom. Lope de Aguirre's "Amazonia madness" was perhaps the most famous case, with his 1561 renegade self-denaturalization letter written to King Felipe II.

Note that Cabrilho's case is not unique. To give an example, for centuries some Spaniards made the same mistake regarding the Portuguese-born João Dias de Solis, Spain's pilot-major in 1512. Solis killed his wife in Portugal and escaped to Spain, living first in Lepe and later in Lebrija. However, the Portuguese King Manuel I asked for justice to be made against this Portuguese pilot knowing he ran to Spain. Since according to different

Spanish authors Solis was "natural" of Lepe and "natural" of Lebrija (both located near Seville), they staunchly, but erroneously, defended that Solis was, therefore, Spanish-born. The 2024 SDSU conference discussed a few more examples of Spaniards crudely appropriating Portuguese explorers' birth-nationality, like the navigator Lope Martim de Lagos, and the Pacific-Admiral Isabel Barreto (born in Lima, Peru), both Portuguese and/or of Portuguese descent.

The Spanish historian Gómez Centurión, writing about the beatification of sixteenth century Saint Teresa de Ávila (born in Ávila, but "natural" both of Ávila and Alba de Tormes), observed that "natural" and "*nacido*" (being born) "...are two words employed alternatively with extraordinary frequency, but in the property of the language they were two different things, of contrary and distinct significance...and these two terms were not, [nor could they be], the same thing in the juridical order..."[6]

To avoid such frequent ambiguities, Francisco Pizarro (among many others) declared himself to be both "*natural y nacido*" in Trujillo (Spain), assuring that he was not just "natural"/a citizen of Trujillo, but in fact born there too.[7]

CABRILHO'S PILOT-MAJOR, BARTOLOME FERRER, WAS NOT SPANISH EITHER, BUT GENOESE

In yet another example of foreign mariners' birth-nationality being appropriated by the Spaniards, different authors concluded (without any solid documented evidence) that Ferrer was born in Valencia (Professor Mathes), or somewhere else in the Spanish Levant/Mediterranean Coast, or even Bilbao (Spain's Royal Academy of History).[8] All were wrong, and based alone in Cabrilho's voyage

"*Relación*," written by Joan Paez, where Ferrer is described as "*natural lebantisco*" [sic].

I first published Ferrer's 1547 testament, wherein Ferrer declared, instead, to come from Albissola (near Genoa), and identified his parents, daughter, and cousin in Nicaragua. This is a perfect example of hastiness and pseudo-conclusions based on the word "natural" alone, without proper context.[9]

Cabrilho very likely met Ferrer in Nicaragua, the rotating door for trade and expeditions in *Mar del Sur*. In Nicaragua also worked the pilot Bartolome de Matea (perhaps an Italic name). Considering Francisco de Vargas's testimony in Cabrilho's son's *probanza*, was this Bartolome the pilot named Matia in Cabrilho's fleet? Data is very scarce, *mutatis mutandis* for the Basque Juan de Acurio (Magalhães's circumnavigation survivor). Was he also a Cabrilho pilot?

All captains and pilots known for certain to have been in Cabrilho's expedition were non-Spaniards: Corsican (Lorenço Barreda), Portuguese (Cabrilho and António Correia), and Genoese (Ferrer and Jeronimo Sant Remo; the latter likely from San Remo, a Genoese protectorate).

No surprise here: Spanish America had too many *conquistadores* and civil wars (in Nicaragua and Peru in particular; see the origin of the name of Bolivia's capital: La Paz) and not enough skilled mariners. In 1538, Cortés complained about the lack of pilots for his Baja California pioneer navigations. This problem persisted for several decades, since in 1594, viceroy Luis de Velasco wrote, when hiring Soromenho, that he was reliable "despite being Portuguese… because there are no Castilians with such skills…" to explore California's coast.[10]

A very important document located at the *Archivo General de Indias* in Seville confirms this reality.[11] On January 1, 1550, a letter from Pablo de Torres (Bishop of Panama) to the Spanish Council of the Indies stated that half the pilots and mariners in the *Mar del Sur* were Portuguese.

CABRILHO'S "TWIN BROTHER": JUAN RODRÍGUES(Z) PORTUGUÉS IN HONDURAS AND NICARAGUA

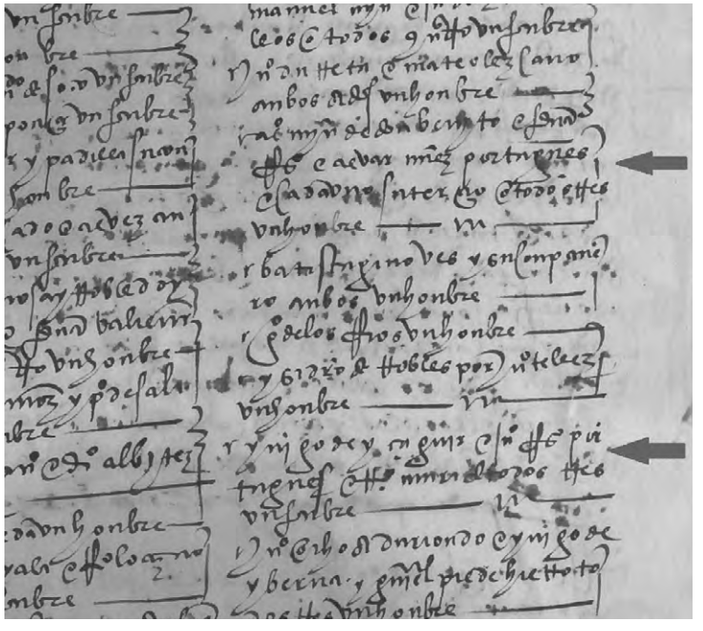
Supporting Cabrilho's Portuguese nationality I documented new, diversified, and strong circumstantial evidence in Honduras and Nicaragua regarding *Juan Rodrígues(z) portugués*, who was Cabrilho in all likelihood. Let me summarize why.

In January 1534, Alvarado's armada muster roll included a Juan Rodríguez (JR) and a Juan Rodríguez Portugués (JRP) heading to Peru. Wendy Kramer wrote "…it is worth noting the existence of this direct contemporary" when commenting on the intriguing simultaneous presence of JRP (likely the rich Portuguese merchant from Panama, as I will document elsewhere) and JR, the latter (wrongly) assumed by Kramer to be Cabrilho (although scholars have identified several JRs in Panama alone).[12] Maintaining Kelsey's highly speculative approach in questioning Herrera's statement about a Portuguese-born Cabrilho, Kramer only saw this JRP as a possible variant "reason" behind Herrera's putative (and totally fabricated) error in "confusing" Cabrilho with some other Portuguese. However, reality ran much deeper than that.

Kramer, Kelsey, Mathes et al. missed several other such noteworthy events, namely:

- León de Nicaragua, October 1529, gold mines garrison: Alvar Nunes and JRP (not the homonymous from Panama) appeared together in (likely) the oldest document supporting that Cabrilho was Portuguese. Cabrilho's son declared his father was one of Nicaragua's first settlers. Plus, Cabrilho absolutely knew Alvar Nunes.[13]
- León de Nicaragua and nearby Gulf of Fonseca, March 1533: both Cabrilho and JRP reappear in local documentation—exactly when Cabrilho returned from Spain.[14]
- Honduras, April 1536: both Cabrilho and JRP were involved in the Honduras coup against governor Cereceda, at the same place and time.[15]
- León de Nicaragua, June–July 1541: when Cabrilho's whereabouts were unknown, JRP sails to Buenaventura (Colombia) with Pedro Rodríguez Picón.

In 1538 Cabrilho sent his main commercial asset, the galleon *San Salvador*, with horses to be sold in Peru, on a business venture with Pedro Hernández Picón. By mid-1541 the *San Salvador* was taken out of Cabrilho's control, anchored in Navidad, and ready to explore the Pacific. Now that he was not earning income from the *San Salvador*, it makes sense that Cabrilho/JRP was very likely selling horses again in June-July 1541, this time in closer Buenaventura and perhaps joined by someone else from the Picón family. Cabrilho and Juan Rodríguez Portugués effectively being the same person explains quite well Cabrilho's absence in the local records around the time of Pedro de Alvarado's death (July 4, 1541). Returning from Buenaventura to Guatemala only in mid-late August would also explain quite well Cabrilho's hasty



In León de Nicaragua, by October 1529, Alvar Nunes Portuguese and Juan Rodrigues Portuguese show up together in a list of neighbors manning the Santa Maria de Buena Esperança gold mines defense garrison. This is likely the oldest document supporting Cabrilho's Portuguese nationality. In this detail of that roster, the arrows indicate Alvar Nunes Portuguese and Juan Rodrigues Portuguese. Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Justicia, 1030, N.2, R.1, fol. 5. Published courtesy of AGI.

travels in late August back to Puerto Navidad, triggered by Alvarado's death and his debts to Cabrilho.

Being in multiple instances at the same place and same time as Cabrilho, knowing the same people and doing business with them, and being involved in the same events, makes JRP a systematic "shadow" of Cabrilho. If not Cabrilho himself, then JRP (as he was known in Honduras and Nicaragua) could only be Cabrilho's "twin brother."

ALVAR NUNES, PORTUGUESE PILOT: OWNER OF CABRILHO'S FLEET'S SECOND LARGEST SHIP

Coming from Panama with Hernández de Córdoba's conquering troops and living in the house of Pedrarias de Avila (Nicaragua's governor), Alvar Nunes knew Benalcázar (living earlier also in León de Nicaragua) and Francisco Raposo (another Portuguese in Nicaragua), the latter giving the name to the present-day River Raposo (Colombia), rich in gold. Later Benalcázar founded Cali and Popayan, but searching for El Dorado required mules and horses, which Governor Benalcázar also brought from Nicaragua.

Cabrilho probably met Nunes in Nicaragua, in the context of the defense garrisons of the gold mines of Santa Maria de Buena Esperança (homonymous name of Nunes's ship), likely where Nunes made his early fortune, and Cabrilho as well, since gold was scarce in Guatemala.[16] Several of these León garrisons' neighbors appeared again later in the Honduras coup of 1536.

Totally unaware that Nunes was Portuguese, Kelsey firstly suggested that Cabrilho's fleet's second largest ship (for logistics/cargo support) was Nunes's ship, likely rechristened (something common back then) as *Santa Maria de La Victoria*. Cabrilho likely built Nunes's ship in Iztapa. It was sailing already in 1539 from Nicaragua to Panama.

In May 1542, just a month before Cabrilho's expedition departure, Nunes's ship was at Puerto Navidad. Pedro de Alvarado (Guatemala's deceased governor) had promised he would give Nunes his half of the ship if sailing into the ocean's discoveries. Thus, Nunes considered himself now the ship's full owner, starting a court claim to receive the ship's other half, as promised by Alvarado. The trial dragged on for several months.

OTHER PORTUGUESE PILOTS AND SHIPOWNERS RELATED TO CABRILHO

Very likely Cabrilho knew the Portuguese pilot Gaspar Rico, who was Villalobos's pilot-major in the expedition (also prepared by Cabrilho) that named the Philippines (1542–1546). Rico worked for Alvarado before, in the context of the 1534 failed armada to Peru, probably building the ship *Santa Clara* already in 1532. I know of several Spanish paleographic transcriptions of the original 1532 Castilian document, and they all omit the part mentioning that a Portuguese pilot built the *Santa Clara*. If these omissions are due to blind nationalism, they do not help science.

Some other careless Spanish transcriptions do not help either, since the pilot and likely owner of the small brigantine (or pinnace) *San Miguel* (Cabrilho's fleet's smallest ship), was Luis Gonçales (as the original document shows), and not Gonzalez. Gonçales is a Portuguese surname, although in the sixteenth century Gonçales was also a frequent Castilian surname, the equivalent of Gonzalez in modern Spain. Luis Gonçales was also the name of the Portuguese boatswain on the ship of João da Gama (captain-major of Macau and grandson of Vasco da Gama) during its 1589–1590 voyage from Macau to Acapulco. Remarkably, there is a real possibility that all three ships in Cabrilho's fleet were property of Portuguese seamen.

Finally, in Alvarado-Mendoça's 1540–1543 fleet, there was a ship called *Anton Hernandez*. Likely this refers to the Portuguese António Fernandes, resident of Granada (Nicaragua) where many landowners had large trading ships. According to Oviedo ("Nicaragua's Chronicler"), in 1538, "...*Anton Fernandez, portugués, Nicardo, françés*..."

and some Spaniards descended into Masaya's active lava-lake volcano searching for gold.[18]

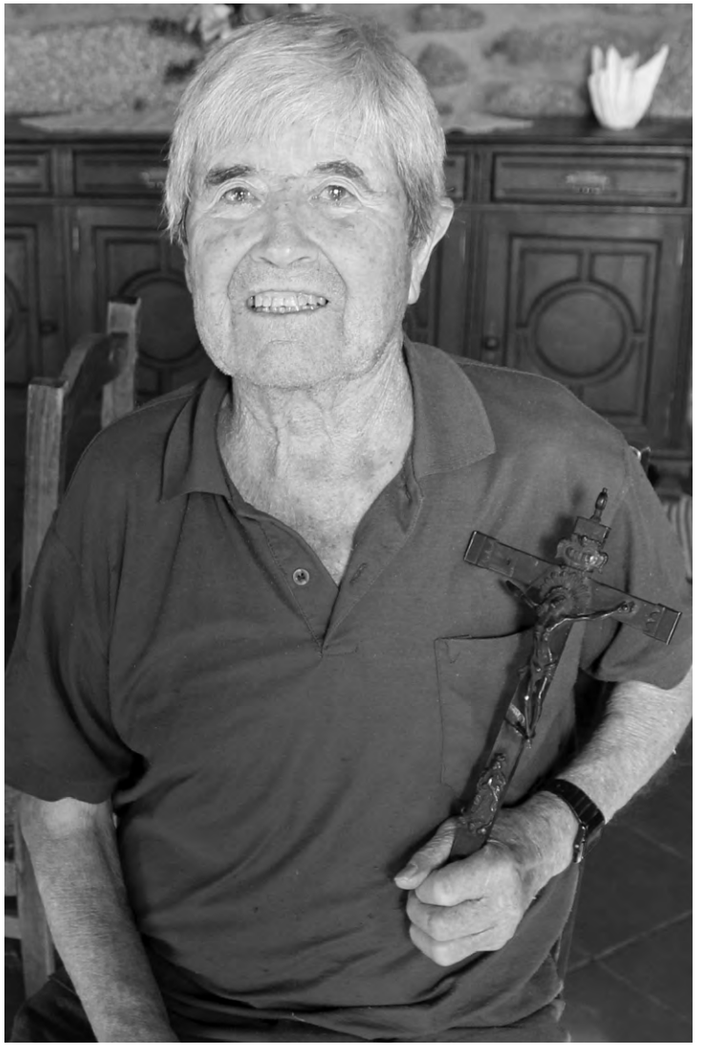
The same extraordinary story about a search for gold inside the volcano is documented elsewhere, but refers to an "*Antonio Hernandes maestre*." This is the only person appearing in the region with such a name at the time who could have been a shipowner. He was likely the same António Fernandes (from Lisbon) who was hired to go to "Panama"/Darien in 1514 (the same year Cabrilho arrived there) and working in naval carpentry.

An Antonio Fernández [sic], master of the ship *Nuestra Señora de la Luz*, made a contract on August 22, 1544 with a resident of Santiago de Guatemala to bring his 130 goats to Peru. The ship would pick up the cargo in Acajutla and Marchena in Nicaragua. Since the *Alvar Núñez* was the *Santa Maria de Buena Esperança*, was the ship *Anton Hernández* the *N. S. de la Luz*?

Also, the records of the Royal Treasury in Lima show the customs taxes paid by a ship called *N. S. de la Luz* on April 3, 1544. The ship came from Nicaragua, with a Juan Fernández as its master. It may be the same ship or a homonym.

PORTUGAL'S MOUNT CABRILHO AND CABRILHO'S 1530S PORTUGUESE CRUCIFIX CARBON-14 DATA

In the north of Portugal, what is today called Pé de Cabril (nicknamed the "lighthouse," one of the tallest peaks of the Gerês Mountains), was known as Mount Cabrilho in 1758 (and likely earlier). Describing his voyage across Portugal in his work "*Scenas de um anno da minha vida e apontamentos de viagem*," the Portuguese historian AlexandreHerculano still referred to Mount Cabrilho



Mr. Manuel José Gonçalves with the crucifix Cabrilho offered in 1532 when sampling its wood for Carbon-14 chronological radionuclide-dating. Claudina Rosa Rodrigues was his paternal great-grandmother. To this day, everyone knows him as "Mr. Rodrigues" from the house of the Rodrigues. Photo by Paulo Afonso.

in 1854, but somehow the toponym changed later to its current name.

Just seven miles (in a straight line) from Mount Cabrilho, the Rodrigues family, living in Lapela de Cabril, kept for centuries a crucifix they claim was João Rodrigues Cabrilho's offering. Using radiocarbon-14, dating measurements validated the crucifix's early 1530s age, exactly when Cabrilho would have brought it to his Portuguese family, according to their ancestral oral tradition. Bingo! Furthermore, ecclesiastic documents (discovered by Mr. Paleólogo Miranda Pereira) show that a Rodrigues family lived in Cabril's parish by the 1520s. Were they, perhaps, Cabrilho's direct family members?

Finally, Rhode Island's 1920 census records a Portuguese family, including António Cabrilho, Joaquina Cabrilho, and Américo Cabrilho. Their real family name was (very likely) Pereira, but they decided to adopt the Cabrilho surname when they arrived in the United States, since they all came from the vicinity of Mount Cabrilho, to which they returned later. Did our navigator also adopt his surname from Mount Cabrilho?

This example also shows that local common people knew about Cabrilho's oral tradition, independently and earlier than any supposed political advantage obtained by fascist Portugal's *Estado Novo* in promoting Portuguese Cabrilho.

BAY OF CABRILHO: AN EXTRAORDINARILY RARE 1604 FLORENTINE MAP OF CALIFORNIA

A large map of the Americas, clearly based on Spanish sources, was made in 1604 by the Florentine cartographer Matteo Neroni, working for the Medici's Court at the same time as Galileo. I located the sole surviving copy

that remarkably shows the toponym "*B. de Cabrilho*" near 40° N in California. This Bay of Cabrilho, spelled the Portuguese way, is thus the oldest known document showing the Portuguese name *Cabrilho*, and gives strength to Antonio de Herrera's statement about Cabrilho being Portuguese.

Furthermore, between 1602 and 1610, both Ferdinando I and Cosimo II de' Medici (Tuscany's Grand Dukes) paid "many" sums of money to several people in the Spanish Court, including Antonio de Herrera, who "was very committed to the greatness of the Medici's Court." Cosimo II confirmed to his ambassador in Spain that he intended to give compensation to Herrera, since his deceased father Ferdinando I had done the same.

In September 1604, Orazio della Rena (secretary of Tuscany's Embassy in Spain who had already lived there for eleven years) wrote a detailed description of the Spanish Indies, including New Spain. Rena defended the reliability of his information, obtained directly with Spain's Cosmographer-Major and Chronist-Major (Herrera himself). Is it possible that Rena's work informed Neroni's map? After a prolonged interest in the Americas, Ferdinando I even considered acquiring some part of Brazil or New Spain, and surely Cabrilho's voyage cartography would be of interest to Tuscany.

However, Herrera was not the only possible source for Neroni. English sources may have played a role as well, since Ferdinando I in 1608 sent an expedition under the English Captain Thornton to the Portuguese Amazon and present-day French Guyana, and not to New Spain. In fact, Neroni's 1604 map has unique toponyms like *Nova Anglia* (over the Falklands—was John Davis the source? Or

Molyneux?), and *Gran Provinsia de Machimalania* (over present-day Brazil, from Maranhão to Recife), the latter being a toponym unknown in any other map. Surely Drake and Cavendish's voyages, attacks on Spanish galleons, and acquisition of Pacific cartographic information made it to Florence's archives, where a Pacific Ocean manuscript map (circa 1600–1602), made by Tatton, shows instead "*B. de Cabrillo*," written in Castilian. Tatton's 1600 printed map of the Pacific also shows "*B. de Cabrillo*" north of today's Santa Barbara. Both maps are less detailed than that of Neroni, who likely knew Tatton's maps previously. Were the maps taken by Drake from the Spanish trans-Pacific pilot Alonso Colchero a source for Tatton and Neroni, provided earlier than anything possibly reported by Rena?

Probably "*B. de Cabrilho*" is nowadays Drake's Bay, where Drake (1579) and Soromenho (1595) anchored. From Paez's "Relación," we know Cabrilho was searching for the fleet's second largest ship, after escaping a storm in November 1542, anchoring in a bay near an "...edge that exits into the ocean and makes a cape...and this edge is at 40 degrees." Very likely this cape was Point Reyes (as christened by Vizcaino later) with its characteristic T-shape, or three edges (*puntas*)—and may be "*C[abo]. de tres puntas*" in Neroni's map (at 40° N), next to "*B. de Cabrilho*."

Neroni shows "*C. Mendocino*" near 43.5° N, about 3.5° N of "*C. de tres puntas*": i.e., about one degree more than the 2.4° shift from 40.4° to 38.0°, the true latitudes of C. Mendocino and Point Reyes, respectively. Tatton's 1600 map places "*B. de Cabrillo*" at 36° N, while Tatton's Florence manuscript map indicates 39° N instead. Furthermore, Neroni's map shows a tiny group of islands or rocks between "*C. de tres puntas*" and "*B. de Cabrilho*," perhaps

the rocky Farallon Islands (easily visible by eye from Point Reyes), ironically with some of its rocky peaks resembling Mount Cabrilho's granitic top.

This is just a hypothesis. Given the amalgamation of sources in Neroni's map, the misplacement of some toponyms, and the migration of others from the Sea of Cortés's oriental side, representing "large" Coronado Islands (*Islas desiertas*), but not explicitly the Channel Islands, one cannot be sure about the Bay of Cabrilho's location.

Given the frequency of mistakes made while copying curly handwriting from original sources, it would be interesting if the mysterious "*Puerto de Perres*," just north of "*C. de tres puntas*," was instead the Port of (P/)Ferrer(\s). Referring to other California maps, Henry Wagner mentions a "*Cavo de Ttortugas*" as a copying mistake of "*Cabo de Fortunas*," and "*Galipornia*" as an obvious "f" to "p" switch.

There is another example of copying mistakes in Neroni's map. Just next to "*I. de Cedros*" and at about the same latitude of "*C. d'enganno*" a mysterious toponym called "*Veloa*" shows over land. This is likely a reference to Ulloa, since Francisco de Ulloa reached this far north in his Baja California voyages, and Cabrilho knew so.

TWO SOLUTIONS FOR TWO CARTOGRAPHIC MYSTERIES: G. DENIO AND B. DE LOS PRIMEROS

In his monumental volumes about the "The cartography of the northwest coast of America to the year 1800," Henry Wagner tackled the puzzling toponym "*G. denio*" or "*G. Demo*" as it appears further corrupted on other maps. Wagner wrote: "I spent more time trying to find the origin of this name than that of all others combined," concluding, based on nearby California toponyms that "as all the

names in this neighborhood are imaginary so far as we know, this may be simply one more of the same class."[19]

From Paez's "Relación," we know where Cabrilho's fleet was on October 8 ("*baya de los fumos*," present-day San Pedro, Los Angeles's southern harbor) and October 10 ("*pueblo de las canoas*," near today's Pt. Mugu, in Ventura County). On October 9, 1542, the liturgical calendar day of Saint Denisio/Dionisio, Cabrilho's fleet (moving from South to North-Northwest) must have sailed in front of Los Angeles/Santa Monica Bay, thus christening the local feature as the Gulf of Saint Denisio. That is indeed what a French map, dated 1644, by C. Tassin and N. Berey, clearly shows: the toponym "*G. St. Denisio*." The solution to Wagner's headache, for the corrupted "*G. denio*," is obviously the Gulf of Saint Denisio. It turned out the toponym was not imaginary, and though Wagner accumulated a large volume of detailed and rigorous data, he could not solve this mystery without the proper combination of the "Relación" of Cabrilho's voyage and other cartographic sources.

If this mystery was easy to solve, others are not, partially because it is hard to filter the correct data in the available sources, since even this French 1644 map is full of mistakes. It shows "*B. de S. Miguel*" (present-day San Diego) just south of "*G. St. Denisio*," and that is correct. Both locations, though, are located above 40° N, and Drake's "*Nova Albion*" appears south of "*B. de S. Miguel*," though still above 40° N. Obviously later cartographers copied their information from previous sources, thus explaining why, for example, this 1644 map has toponyms like "*Tierra de Monthanas*," an obvious (and frequent in several other maps) mix of Castilian and Portuguese (with the "h" out of place for the Portuguese word *Montanhas*).

If looking at Molyneux's globe, the first ever English-made globe (1592–1603), some California toponyms are spelled in Portuguese, showing possible Portuguese cartographic influence, like "*Cabo Formoso*" (instead of Hermoso, in Castilian), or "*B. de Fumos*" (instead of the Castilian *Humos*—though here one must be careful because in older Castilian the word *Fumos* was still used, even by J. Paez). On an original source map, was the toponym written in Portuguese or in Castilian? If it was originally in Castilian, or even Galician, was it copied "wrongly" by a Portuguese language-influenced cartographer? Or vice versa, also with any Bay of Cabrilho/Cabrillo toponyms?

If in some cases it is harder to answer such questions, in other cases the original language seems less difficult to certify. One such case is the mysterious "*bahía de los Primeros*," as listed by López de Gómara in his *La Historia General de las Indias*, published in 1552, just nine years after Cabrilho's expedition. This was likely the first European publication giving a list of the California coast's toponyms as christened during Cabrilho's voyage. Wagner and others figured out easily, when comparing its location with later maps, that this "*bahía de los Primeros*" was in fact "*Bahía de los Pinos*" (present-day Monterey), so called by Cabrilho due to the many pine trees found there. Wagner wrote "...by some curious error the name appears in Gómara's list of places on the coast as *Primeros* and thus came to be so established on the maps." A curious error indeed, since "*Primeros*" in Castilian means "the first ones," and not pines (*pinos* in Castilian). It seems Gómara, or whoever copied such information for the first time, was not an expert in Portuguese. Such an expert

would know "*Pinheiros*" is the Portuguese word for pines. A wrongly copied curly handwriting from Portuguese "*Pinheiros*" to Castilian "*Primeros*," seems more likely than the "Bay of the first ones." This assumption then raises the question of who the first Portuguese author of the toponym "*Pinheiros*" was; one cannot dismiss the possibility that it was Cabrilho himself.

Other than Herrera's *Décadas* and Neroni's 1604 map, were there other older sources supporting Portuguese Cabrilho? This is a reasonable question to ask, considering many authors across the centuries not only referred to Cabrilho as Portuguese, but spelled his surname the Portuguese way (unlike Herrera). Did they all "copy" the name Cabrilho incorrectly from Herrera's Cabrillo? Or did they just use the Portuguese spelling instead because Cabrilho was Portuguese? Were they all referring to Neroni's map, or the later French copies (still spelling Cabrilho) ordered by Buache? Or, like Urdaneta, did they have other data about Cabrilho's voyage?

Here are a few examples of authors using the Portuguese spelling of Cabrilho:

- Juan Rodriguez de Cabrilho. Georg Forster's 1791 published work (Forster was Captain Cook's naturalist on the Pacific Ocean voyage of 1772–1775.)
- Cabrilho. Immanuel Kant's published work "Physische Geographie," 1801. The famous German philosopher was a professor of geography for most of his life.
- Rodrigues de Cabrilho. Traugott Bromme, 1838. Bromme was a German map publisher who travelled extensively across North America.
- João Rodriguez de Cabrilho. Johann Jakob Egli, a geographer from Zurich, published a geographic dictionary in 1893 called "Nomina geographica: Sprach-und Sacherklärung von 42000 geographischen Namen aller Erdräume" (Volume 2).

To my knowledge, Dom António da Visitação Freire de Carvalho, canon regular of St. Augustine and professor of geography and history at the Monastery of São Vicente de Fora (Lisbon), wrote the oldest (circa 1799–1804) documented reference (by a Portuguese author) to Cabrilho's achievements, calling him Rodrigo Cabrilho.

CABRILHO'S TESTAMENT: FIRST EVIDENCE IT EXISTED

It is reasonable to suppose Cabrilho had time to write his testament before dying. I may have found the first evidence that indeed Cabrilho's testament existed. Ferrer was responsible for implementing Cabrilho's will, suggesting that Cabrilho and Ferrer must have known each other well, even before the expedition's departure. In late 1543, in the context of organizing a small trading fleet to Peru and selling viceroy Mendoça's horses, Ferrer complained about Francisco Hernandez, a caulker, who bought goods from the deceased Juan Rodriguez Carrillo. The document I am referring to is a copy of the original document Ferrer took with him, and very likely the copying scribe switched a letter "b" to a letter "r," transforming Cabrillo into Carrillo, the latter being a far more common surname.

There was nobody with the name Juan Rodriguez Carrillo in Colima at the time, and why would the viceroy of New Spain interfere in a "small" debt case of a common citizen called Carrillo? The request of Ferrer, on the other hand, if indeed related to Cabrilho, would justify

the involvement of the viceroy. Furthermore, there was a Francisco Hernandez who, together with Cabrilho, was one of the founders of Santiago de Guatemala, moving later to Colima: he was likely our caulker. Hernandez (who had great debts) did not pay for Cabrilho's goods sold in public auction, and Ferrer could not convince him to pay, or serve instead as a ship's caulker or mariner. Mendoça ordered justice to be made, by request of Ferrer.

It turns out that by this time Urdaneta oversaw justice around Colima and Navidad. Urdaneta wrote unique information about Cabrilho's voyage that does not appear even in Paez's "Relácion." Thus, there is a chance it was Urdaneta who followed Mendoça's orders–knowing perhaps all the details of one of the most precious documents searched for: Cabrilho's testament. Now, we may have some clues about its existence.

I believe my research helps settle the debate over Cabrilho's nationality while also placing it within the context of the broader Portuguese role in Pacific exploration. This work should also point the way to new avenues of historical research.

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NOTES

1 Given the available space, most topics across this text are just briefly discussed. A thoroughly documented and fully detailed work is in preparation. Publication expected in 2025–2026.

2 Enrique de Gandía, "Juan de Garay y la segunda fundación de Buenos Aires," *Bulletin of Argentine's National Academy of History*, LIII (1980): 117–118. The italics are mine.

3 Carla Rahn Phillips, "Who was Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, explorer of San Diego Bay?" VII Annual Naval History Symposium of the Western Naval History Association, San Diego, CA, February 2025, made public by the House of Spain in San Diego, YouTube, 1:01:01, www.youtube.com/watch?v=JzgtiOvPoDI.

4 Professor Rahn Phillips, Union Pacific Professor (Emerita) at the University of Minnesota Twin Cities (UMN TC), has many rich publications about the History of Discoveries. She gave an excellent talk during this 2024 conference about building the replica of Cabrilho's *San Salvador* galleon. I want to publicly thank her also for more recent private, frank, and courteous discussions about these "natural" matters and her 2025 talk.

5 Fausto Marín Tamayo, Nuño de Guzmán (Mexico, Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1992), 246. During his "residency" trial (to judge his performance as governor), Nuño de Guzmán defended himself with such statements (among others).

6 Enrique de Gandía, "Juan de Garay."

7 For extensive bibliography and further details, read: Paulo Manuel João Afonso, "The Double Nationality of João Rodrigues Cabrilho, Portuguese-Born, Naturalized Castilian. Part I—A Much Needed Review," *Bulletin for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies*: Vol. 48: Iss. 1, Article 1 (2023).

8 Afonso, "Double Nationality."

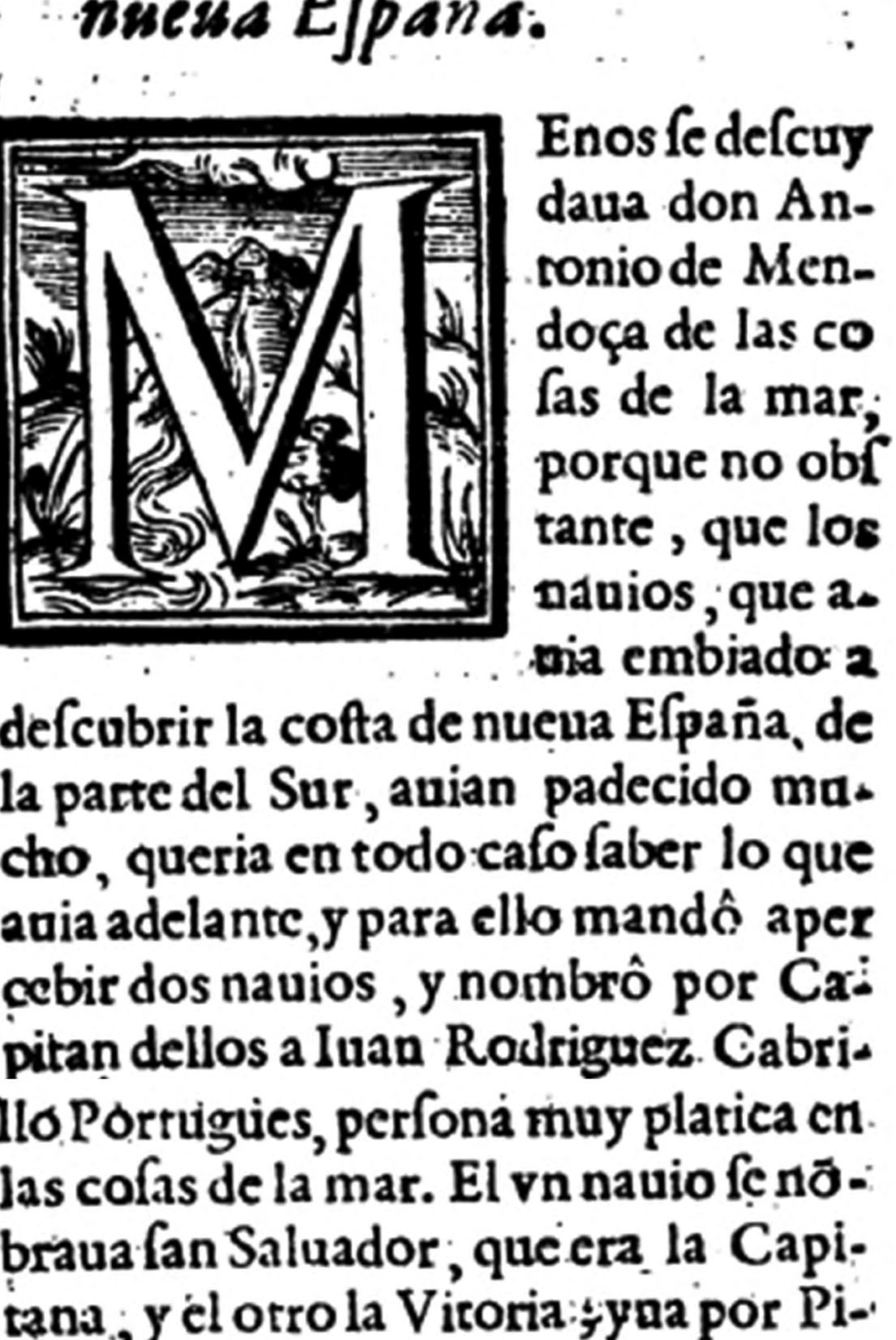
9 Ibid.

10 Afonso, "Double Nationality," 12.

11 Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Panama, 100, N.7, fol. 30. "Carta del obispo Torres al consejo de Indias", January 1, 1550.

12 Wendy Kramer, "Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, a Voyage of Rediscovery," A special publication of *Mains'l Haul, A Journal of Pacific Maritime History* 55, N. 1–4 (Winter/Spring/Summer/Fall 2019, Maritime Museum of San Diego, CA), 32–33.

13 Afonso, "Double Nationality."
14 Kramer, "Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo."
15 Afonso, "Double Nationality."
16 Ibid.
17 Harry Kelsey, *Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library Press, 1998), 106.
18 Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés, Historia general y natural de las Indias, Tercera Parte, Tomo IV, Libro XLII, Cap. X (Madrid, Spain: Imprenta de la Real Academia de la Historia, 1855), 90.
19 Henry Raup Wagner, The cartography of the northwest coast of America to the year 1800, vol. I, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1937), 108.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ANTONIO DE HERRERA AND THE CALIFORNIAN PACIFIC

MARIANO CUESTA DOMINGO

The history of the Californias, peninsular and continental, has been well studied; those studies have focused on, among other topics, its places and protagonists. Antonio de Herrera plays a particularly important role in this context and attracts special attention in San Diego for his early mention of the explorer Cabrillo. This article reviews Herrera's work, which was contracted by the Spanish Crown, as well as his historiographical methods. It discusses some key linguistic nuances of his texts in a broader context, highlighting the fluidity of Iberian borders and identities in the 1500s. Furthermore, the study concludes that Cabrillo, having served as a loyal subject of Castile, can be seen as another example of an individual whose identity is woven into contemporary reflections about imperial history and national historiographies.

PROTAGONISTS, FACTS, AND A REPORT

Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas was born when Rodríguez Cabrillo had already died thousands of kilometers away. By then, with the Spanish New Laws approved, the Indies were a new world in the New World. Antonio de Herrera was introduced to King Felipe II as a *docto historiador*,

(Opposite page) *Década VII*, Libro V, Cap. III, where Herrera wrote "...Iuan Rodriguez Cabrillo Portugues, persona muy platica en las cosas de la mar."

i.e., a learned historian. He was a systematic and tireless writer. His voluminous work, focusing on a diverse array of subjects, includes studies and his twenty-nine *discursos*, or "speeches."[1] These works comprise a grand total of thousands of manuscript pages, printed texts, and some unpublished documents in a genre that falls somewhere between chronicle and history.

His most characteristic publications were those dedicated to history. On May 15, 1596, Felipe II appointed Herrera as "my Historiographer, Chief Chronicler of the mentioned Indies, islands and mainland of the ocean sea" for his intelligence, writings, style, disposition, and range. This was a lifelong and well-remunerated position that Felipe II had first created in 1571 for the purpose of gathering information about the territories for the sake of good governance.[2] His dedication and capacity meant that the Court could not find someone who could succeed him until 1686.[3]

The king ended up authorizing Herrera's two great writings: *Historia general del Mundo en tiempos de Felipe II*, and the *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos en las islas y tierra firme del mar océano* (commonly known as the *Décadas*).[4] They were published during the rule of his successor, Felipe III.

With the first four *Décadas* published (1601), controversy arose. The author himself disseminated the criticisms of his works and his refutations. Herrera was convinced that the chronicler should have certain qualities and that he possessed them: science and wisdom; presence, truth and rectitude; authority and freedom; rigor and right judgment; and not being a mercenary. As for the rewards for such a character, Herrera believed he was entitled

to universal popularity and good reputation among his contemporaries, and he thought his endeavors would grant prestige to the country and to the main characters of his works.

The *Décadas* begin with a *Descripción* and demonstrate Herrera's interest in the Californian Pacific.[5] The first map in it shows the *Mar del Sur*. Moreover, the map presents the evident gaps in knowledge about the New World in the mid-sixteenth century, altogether predictable given the scarcity and delay of news that arrived from that territory. Throughout the thirty-two chapters, multiple appendices, and fourteen maps of the *Descripción*, one becomes acquainted with the protagonists of the expansion of those horizons.

Shortly after taking Tenochtitlan, Hernán Cortés in 1522 sent an exploratory group under Rodríguez Villafuerte, which chose the estuary of the Zacatula River for naval construction in anticipation of Pacific exploration. The conquistador was seduced by his own project, which, with royal support, would allow the king to boast the title of "monarch of the world."[6] The ships departed Zihuatanejo in 1527 on a journey to *Baja California Sur* but were also tasked with resolving the issue of returning from the Orient. Subsequent voyages under Saavedra Cerón, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, and Diego Becerra, with pilots Fortún Jiménez and the Portuguese Martín de Acosta in the crew, settled on the notion of Californian insularity (as it appears in European maps from the seventeenth century).[7] Hernando de Grijalva discovered the islands of Santo Tomás and others, reaching the Bay of La Paz.

The efforts to chart the Pacific coast of America continued with voyages led by Cortés himself and Andrés

de Tapia. These were an economic failure, but they offered interesting geographical contributions, having explored beyond 23° N. The conquistador navigated the sea that bears his name up to the Bay of Santa Cruz, which he founded in the presence of Francisco de Ulloa and cartographer Domingo del Castillo.

Sent by Cortés in 1539, Francisco de Ulloa traveled the coasts of the so-called Vermillion Sea or Sea of Cortés; his expedition reached open ocean by navigating along the coast of the peninsula, traveled the Pacific shore of California (Magdalena Bay, Cedar Island, and *punta del Engaño*) and, from about 29° N, returned to La Paz.[8] The outline of the peninsula was traced by Ulloa's final navigation as represented on Domingo del Castillo's aforementioned map. Hernando de Alarcón (1540) was another navigator in search of fabulous cities of golden riches, who traveled the gulf and even a stretch of the Colorado River.

Viceroy Mendoza was also captivated by the possibility of riches north of his New Spain. He negotiated with Pedro de Alvarado to carry out an expedition, but Alvarado died before he could lead it. The voyage was instead commanded by Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo who, in anticipation of his own death, had already named pilot Bartolomé Ferrer as his successor.[9] The three ships weighed anchor and traveled carefully, more as a consequence of the winds than by their own will, along the west coast of America from the New Spanish port of Navidad to beyond Cape Mendocino. They reached Cape Blanco, discovering numerous ports, towns, capes and islands. On January 3, 1543, Cabrillo died of an infection resulting from an accident.[10] He had exceeded 42° N

An anonymous eighteenth century map of North America's West coast, from *Derrotero de las costas de América*, Colección San Román [2/Ms. 30], Real Academia de la Historia, Spain.

latitude. Like so many others, he passed the entrance of San Francisco Bay without discovering it. The region later acquired notoriety as an arrival area for the "Manila Galleon" and in the navigations from the San Blas naval station in search of another transoceanic passage (the fabled Strait of Anian). The first descriptions of California were meager, consisting of only paragraphs by Herrera and Chaves.[11] The ecclesiastic and naval protagonists of eighteenth-century voyages would add abundant information about the region.

THE HISTORIAN AND THE QUESTION OF RODRÍGUEZ CABRILLO

We will finish this short study with two conclusions: the first one refers to the Chief Chronicler himself; the second pertains to his mention of California, ending—or not—the debate about the nature of a famous navigator.

Herrera wrote, throughout his life, thousands of pages about America and about history, about a time spanning little more than half a century, and about an immeasurable space. He dealt with an abundant quantity and variety of protagonists, handling a multitude of documents and an extraordinary bibliographical collection. As was common at the time, Herrera could include contributions from other authors by quoting them from memory, or by copying paragraphs that were relevant to his own writings; mentions of the wrong work or author were not uncommon.[12]

When Herrera concluded his *History of Portugal and Conquest of the Azores Islands* (1586), he presented history as a mother (or teacher) of life, witness of times, light of truth, memory of deeds, and archive of past ages, so beneficial for the human race that the most prudent of us gaze at ourselves as though in a mirror, to better gauge the measure of what must be done, because nothing is so barbarous as to willingly ignore the past.

We thus come to the Rodríguez Cabrillo question. An expression by Herrera has been literally transcribed, "Iuan Rodríguez Cabrillo Portugués"—without a comma between Cabrillo and Portugués, with capital letter, like a second surname.[13] This has generated debate among researchers, who have considered the documentation and bibliography, which is very accessible and includes works by Wagner, Kramer, Afonso, and others, such as the Spanish Royal Academy of History.[14]

Consequently, considering the various reasons exposed by the authors who have delved into the nationality of Rodríguez Cabrillo, it becomes necessary to make a few notes about onomastics (the scientific study of names), or more specifically on anthropotoponymy (the study of the names of people) or patronymy (the study of the names of places), whether endonymic or exonymic. Let us consider an individual who may appear in texts as Biscayan or Portuguese, for example. Such descriptors originate from the place of birth or reflect the individual's roots or nationalization. It may be the consolidation of a friendly or derogatory alias, a cordial or humiliating pseudonym which derives into an identifying element. There are Spanish places where denominators are found such as "the Portuguese," or "the Coellos of Portugal."[15]

The lack of reliable data may also lead to mistakes. Herrera mentions *Martín de Bohemia, Portugués*, with a comma that delimitates the surname, a problem that is complicated by highlighting the island where he was born. But, without a doubt, Herrera intended to be rigorous and truthful. In his "twenty-nine moral, political and historical discourses" he insists that "Men must believe men if they do not want to appear brutish" and they should also believe "in the faith, and word of men."[16]

Nation and nationalism were, and continue to be, protagonists of history. In Europe, general study and education were most certainly a primary focus. Each nation erected institutions including libraries, archives, theaters, and, much later, even liberation movements. This was a self-serving way of instilling values. These institutions could be prolix and draining, as Juan de Cárdenas recalled for a New World, or they could be tinged with *saudade*—the Portuguese word for nostalgia—as Professor Castro Henriques says.[17]

Tradition often led to defining national identities based on heroic characters who are more myth than reality

(Romulus and Remus, the Sabines, Viriathus, Pelayo, Santiago on his horse...). Man or woman, these always boast superhuman characteristics, as they are virtuous, strong, admirable, and dazzle everyone with their deeds or contributions, thus becoming cultural heroes.[18] This may also be the case of Rodríguez Cabrillo.

With the passage of time and the rise of other needs, heroes decline and it becomes more attractive or profitable to "deconstruct" them.[19] Afterwards they are destroyed or are replaced by modern ones. They can also be incorporated into a suggestive rhetoric, apt to be attractive and usable. But Álvarez Junco has some distrust regarding "identities"; his doubts increase when he hears invocations of "historical memory" and the intentionality behind it.[20] Is the goal to know the past better? Or to make obscene claims through self-interested victimism? As scholars note, myths can be tyrannical.

Broad and common culture is the unifying factor. There lays the foundation for cohesion which never pretends an impossible uniformity. By adopting a certain empathy, understanding, and even solidarity with our cultural, political, or physical neighbors, a certain connection, far from a cold and distant ecpathy, can be achieved. We can and must remember our past, perfect or imperfect, but it is essential to overcome it and not to fall into a vicious circle, even if it is as repetitive, in part, and as musical as Ravel's *Bolero*.

While acknowledging that this essay does not resolve the controversy on this topic, I am inclined to affirm that the boundary line between Portugal and its neighbors was not clearly marked in the sixteenth century, that the subjects of both crowns had as much freedom of

movement in their bordering kingdoms as do current residents of these countries or the European Union. An analogous debate occurred about Columbus, Juan de la Cosa, and Magellan. A common conclusion is that place of birth may not be as influential in the development of personality as your environment and social surroundings. Such ideas inform the Spanish saying that *uno no es de donde nasce, es de donde pasce* or literally: "One is not from where one is born, but from where one grazes."

This is what has led to the current debate about Rodríguez Cabrillo, a not so renowned character. The confidence offered by some professors (Díaz and Abasolo, for example) who have intervened over time (*men must believe men*) lead to the opinion that Cabrillo could have been Cordoban by birth and first steps; he was, without doubt, a subject of the Crown of Castile; he had a more or less lucid attitude on behalf of the viceroyalty of New Spain; he was instrumental in what are currently considered Spanish discoveries in the Pacific; he was brilliant regarding the exploration of New Spain's coast of California and, very particularly, of San Diego.[21]

It would perhaps have been fitting if Herrera had recalled *D. Quixote*, which he knew so well, to conclude, with Cervantes, that "Everyone is the child of their own works."

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NOTES

1 Mª. Pilar Cuesta Domingo, "Obra literaria de Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas", in *Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, historiador acreditado*. (Ayuntamiento. Cuéllar, 2009), 33–66.

2 *Laws of the Indies*, book II, title XII.

3 He showed will and capacity; his work, unpublished, consists of 2,800 pages of tight handwriting. He made a chronological expansion of contents, until 1584 (BNE, mss/2796 to 2799).

4 Mariano Cuesta, *Antonio de Herrera y su Historia General del Mundo* (Madrid, Spain: Agencia Estatal BOE, 1992), Vol I. Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general del Mundo en tiempos de Felipe II* (Madrid, Spain: El primer volumen por Luis Sánchez, a costa de Juan de Montoya, mercader de libros, 1601–1615. Madrid, Spain: Ed. de M. Cuesta, Vol. II–IV, Agencia Estatal BOE, 1992). Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos en las islas y tierra firme del mar océano* (Madrid, Spain: Imprenta Real, 1601–1615; ed. de M. Cuesta, 4 t. Universidad Complutense, Madrid, 1992). The publication of the *Décadas* began in 1601, and it was eventually printed in other languages (Latin, French, Dutch, German, and English); there were twenty-five editions before 1859.

5 Each of the eight *Décadas* is subdivided into ten books, and each book into chapters. The entire work consists of 1,233 chapters.

6 Carlos I had ordered Cortés, some time ago, to investigate the existence of a passage between both seas, "where there would be great secrets and things in which God would be much served and these kingdoms much increased." For this he ordered that wise people be sent to discover it (Herrera: *Décadas*, III, V, II; the chronicler notes marginally in 1523, although the disposition was from the preceding year), (Álvaro del Portillo: *Descubrimientos y exploraciones en las costas de California 1532–1650* (Madrid, Spain, Ed. Rialp, 1982)). Hernán Cortés, *Cartas y documentos* (México: Ed. y estudio de M. Hernández Sánchez-Barba, Edit. Porrúa, 1963).

7 Mendoza was engaged in coastal reconnaissance from Acapulco passing Banderas Bay, discovering the Magdalenas Islands or Three Marys (*Mª. Madre, Mª. Magdalena and Mª. Cleofás*). He sailed north and took refuge in Colima, where he ended his days (Cortés, 1953, fourth Letter of October 15, 1524).

8 L. Navarro García, *Francisco de Ulloa explorador de California y Chile austral* (Badajoz, Spain: Ed. Diputación Provincial, 1994).

9 Paulo M. J. Afonso, "The Double Nationality of João Rodrigues Cabrilho, Portuguese-Born, Naturalized Castilian. Part I – A Much Needed Review," *Bulletin for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies 48*, Iss. 1, Article 1 (2023). Around the same dates López de Villalobos failed in his repeated attempt to reach New Spain from the Far East, something only achieved twenty-two years later by Urdaneta. The routes of the "galleon" would make some geographical contributions in the Pacific.

10 L. Carrero Blanco (ed.), "Viaje por las costas de las Californias, de Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo," in *Colección de diarios y relaciones para la historia de los viajes y descubrimientos*, (Madrid, Spain: Instituto Histórico de la Marina-CSIC, 1943), I: 27–42 and lámina III.

11 "California is a great headland that extends in the westernmost part of New Spain, at 22° latitude. From then it extends to the NW about 200 leagues, although there is no very complete information about it either about the ports and islands of the Gulf of California, which is made between said headland and the Gulf of New Spain that runs there like to the NW, in which there are many rivers, capes and ports and landing stages, no particular information is had about them, as they are not very frequented." Herrera: Descripción. XI, 31–32. Chaves, *Espejo de Navegantes*: Ch. 19. "That deals with the *Mar del Sur*" and describes the coast according to the position of the ports, rivers and capes up to the *Sancti Spiritus* River which "is the last known on this coast until the year 1536." RAH. Ms. 9/2791.

12 Under these conditions, misprints and errors were not an exception and it was more than possible for the printer to slip in some others. Mistakes could also arise from the use of types in printing (u-v, g-j, h-f, j-i, ç-s, y-i...) or the errata with Roman numerals in pagination.

13 *Décadas*: VII, V, and III. P. Boyd-Bowman, *Índice geobiográfico de 40.000 pobladores españoles de América en el siglo XVI* (México: Ed. Jus., 1968). Boyd-Bowman collected about thirty Portuguese Rodríguez or simply mentioned as "Portuguese"; of them

Herrera (*Décadas* VII, I, XI) only cites one: "Simón Rodríguez de Marbán" (who died by arrow, in a tree (1541) along with the also Portuguese Roque de Yelbes; with them was another Portuguese "Estevan Pegado, native of Yelbes." Other Portuguese (*Décadas* IV and VII) are cited in the same work (pilot, gentleman, good nobleman... like Antonio Álvarez, Martín de Acosta, Roque and Martín de Yelves, Rodríguez Méndez, Fernando de Camalo...).

14 Henry R. Wagner, *Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, Discoverer of the Coast of California* (San Francisco, CA: 1941); Wendy Kramer, *El español que exploró California: Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo* (circa 1497–1543). *De Palma del Río a Guatemala* (Córdoba, Spain: Ed. de la Diputación, 2018); Afonso, "The Double Nationality of João Rodrigues Cabrilho, Portuguese-Born, Naturalized Castilian. Part I – A Much Needed Review."

15 Mariano Cuesta, "Vocación cartográfica de un militar profesional, Coello de Portugal." *Revista de História da Sociedade e da Cultura 14* (Coimbra, Portugal: 2014), 297–329.

16 Herrera, *Descripción*, 1; Discursos, XXIX.

17 I. Castro Henriques, "Construção e desconstrução do herói colonial (s. XIX-XX)," in *Nação e identidade: Portugal, os portugueses e os outros* (Lisbon, Portugal, Ed. Caleidoscópio, 2009), 337–350.

18 Onésimo T. Almeida, "Identidade nacional – algumas achegas ao debate português." *Semear, Revista da Cátedra Padre António Vieira de Estudos Portugueses* 5 (2001): 151–165; Henriques, "*Construção e desconstrução do herói colonial* (s. XIX-XX)," in *Nação e identidade: Portugal, os portugueses e os outros* (Lisbon, Portugal, Ed. Caleidoscópio, 2009), 337–350.

19 "We know that political space is that of lies par excellence; and while traditional political lies relied on secrecy, modern political lies no longer hide anything behind them, but are based, paradoxically, on what everyone knows." "Everything I miss about myself; I am capable of observing in others." "We must forget the Manichean logic of truth and lies, and focus on the intentionality of those who lie." Deconstruction for an idea of authentic identity; a post-structuralism of textual analysis, according to Jacques Derrida based on paradoxes (Álvarez Junco, 2011, 42).

20 J. Álvarez Junco, *Historia y mito. Saber sobre el pasado o cultivo de identidades* (Madrid, Spain: UCM, 2011), 45.

21 M. L. Díaz-Trechuelo and A. García Abasolo, *Andalucía y América, I- Córdoba* (Córdoba, Spain: Publicaciones Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1987).

A FLORENTINE RENAISSANCE COSMOGRAPHER BETWEEN AMERICA AND CHINA: MATTEO NERONI'S REDISCOVERED MAPS AND GLOBES, THEIR SOURCES, AND THEIR AFTERLIFE

MARCO CABOARA

Matteo Neroni, a Florentine Renaissance cosmographer, painter, and creator of globes, is a figure whose work has only recently gained significant attention in the field of cartography. Thanks to the recent rediscovery and identification of his maps and globes located in Rome, Florence, and Paris, his contributions to the mapping of the early modern world, particularly in integrating knowledge of East Asia and the Americas into European cartographic traditions, can be now recognized as a key node in the network of intellectual and cultural exchanges of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. I will here give a sketch of Neroni's cartographic works, their sources, and their afterlife, with attention to his depictions of California and San Diego.

Matteo Neroni (circa 1550–1634) was a Tuscan cosmographer who worked in Rome and Florence during the late Renaissance. Cosmography referred to the integrated study of earthly and celestial spheres; its most tangible products were the terrestrial and heavenly globes that feature in so many Renaissance libraries and

(Opposite page) Detail of Nicolas Sanson's 1656 map titled *La Chine Royaume*. (Hong Kong HKUSTL, G7820 1679. S35).

portraits, most famously Holbein's 1533 *Ambassadors*. As Denis Cosgrove observes, "Cosmography attracted intense interest among early modern Europeans as they grappled with the sudden expansion of their knowledge space and reflected a desire to grasp unity in the diversity of creation and to place humans within it."[1] With training in both mathematics and painting, cosmographers would not only be able to survey and map small areas, but to draw maps of large, newly discovered areas by adapting and visualizing disparate information and maps brought to them by explorers and missionaries. This is exemplified by Neroni's collaboration with the first Jesuit missionary who learned Chinese and entered China, Michele Ruggieri.

Neroni's work as a cosmographer was deeply intertwined with the intellectual and artistic circles of his time, as shown by his collaboration with the renowned mathematician and cosmographer Egnazio Danti (1536–1586) and by his role as the official cosmographer to Grand Duke of Tuscany Ferdinand I de' Medici, when he was part of the court's intellectual life, much like Galileo (though with a much lower salary and status).[2]

EARLY WORKS IN ROME AND COLLABORATION WITH DANTI

Neroni's earliest known works include a pair of globes created in the 1570s (the celestial one dated 1575); formerly housed in the Jesuit Collegio Romano, both globes are now housed in the Rome National Library. The terrestrial globe demonstrates his early mastery of cartographic techniques and his ability to synthesize diverse sources of geographical knowledge. It especially shows strikingly new information about China, most likely obtained via

Jesuit sources—information that predates and matches the first printed map of China produced in 1584 by Ortelius in Antwerp in the first printed European Atlas.[3]

Around 1580–1582, he worked for a year in the Vatican gallery where Egnazio Danti was frescoing the series of geographical maps. At the time, Italian courts were competing to create painted map displays with the most updated cartographic information. Beside the Vatican gallery, Danti's most famous work was made twenty years earlier in Florence, where he was commissioned by Cosimo I to create cartographic paintings (based on the work of Ptolemy) of all the known regions of the world on the wardrobe cabinets in the Hall of Geographical Maps in Palazzo Vecchio. In the 1570s, Danti made the drawings of thirty of the fifty-three total maps located in the Hall (fourteen of Europe; eleven of Africa; fourteen of Asia; and fourteen of America). The large globe in the centre of the Hall, approximately 220 centimeters in diameter, is the oldest large globe to survive today. Made by Danti, it was reworked by Neroni three decades later, but until its recent restoration Neroni's contribution was considered marginal.

CONTACTS WITH RUGGIERI AND GREAT MAP OF CHINA

In the early 1590s, Neroni contacted the Jesuit Michele Ruggieri, who had just come back from China with knowledge of Chinese and printed Chinese atlases; his aim was to create a Western Atlas of China based on the Chinese models. The manuscript maps remained unpublished until thirty years ago, and the first printed Western atlas of China was published only in 1655 by the Jesuit Martino Martini and the Dutch publisher Blaeu.[4]

Nicolas Sanson's (1600–1667) 1656 map titled *La Chine Royaume* (The Kingdom of China) published in his atlas *Cartes generales de toutes les parties du monde* (Paris, 1656 (but published in 1658, Mariette)). (Hong Kong HKUSTL, G7820 1679. S35).

However, according to the French cartographer Sanson, who published it in 1656 in Paris, Neroni created a general map of China in 1590 using Ruggieri's information. The manuscript used by Sanson has not been preserved.[5]

Based on the 1656 print, Neroni's map seems to have been a manuscript cartographic image of much higher accuracy and (unlike Ortelius's map) based directly on Chinese sources. In 1592 Ortelius, trying to update the new edition of his atlas with a map of China based on better sources, made contact with Matteo Neroni at Medici Oriental Press to obtain it. Ortelius wrote, "*Typographum arabicum promittit mihi Chinam suam magnam [...] expectat P. Michaelem Rogerium*" (The man working at the Arabic Press promises me his large map of China [...] he is waiting for Michele Ruggieri).[6] But we have no record of that map ever reaching him.

LEGAL TROUBLES AND RETURN TO FLORENCE

Neroni's career in Rome was cut short due to legal troubles. In 1593, he was accused of having stolen hundreds of extremely valuable books (such as sixty-five copies of Arabic works by Avicenna and 400 of the bilingual Arabic-Latin Gospels) from the warehouse of the Medici's Oriental Typography in Rome, where he was employed as the superintendent to the press (*Proto della Stamperia*), and selling them to a Flemish book dealer. The dealer then marketed them at the Frankfurt Book Fair, "where merchants from all over the world compete," at a price much lower than their value.[7] Neroni was held in jail for a couple of years, admitting his involvement but refusing to pay.[8] He evidently had good connections and a talent for failing upwards, as he was eventually called by the Medici Grand Duke to Florence to work at the court as a cosmographer to compensate for the losses suffered by the Oriental Typography.[9]

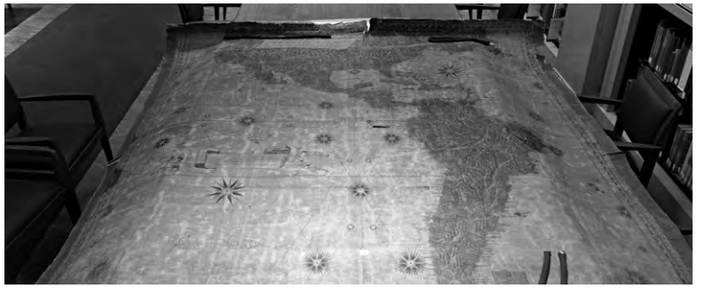
NERONI'S ROLE AS THE MEDICI'S COSMOGRAPHER

In 1603, "Matteo di Jacopo Neroni da Peccioli" was in Florence "to draw geographical maps." Registered among those working for the Grand Ducal court, he was first described as a "mathematician," then as a "geographer," and then, from September 1, as "cosmographer of His Serene Highness," with a salary of ten scudi per month, a title and commission he held for the next thirty years until his death in 1634.[10]

From 1603 to 1608, Neroni renewed the Medici map displays in the Palazzo Vecchio.[11] His most general source was the printed Atlas by Ortelius, in its different editions. He also profited from the role of Rome and Florence as centres of the global information network to access and utilize more updated textual and cartographic materials.

He designed sixteen geographical wall maps "coloured, illuminated and highlighted with gold": Japan, Peru, "Eastern Sea" and "New World" (1603–1604); "Kingdom of China," Philippines and Indies (1604–1605); Cyprus, Africa and the Mediterranean, Türkiye and the kingdom of Persia (1606–1607); another Asia and the Eastern Islands (1606); and another "New World" (1608) for Grand Duke Ferdinand I. He drew another eight maps for Grand Duke Cosimo II: Europa (1609); Spain, France, Germany, Italy (1610–13); England, Scotland, and Ireland (1613). Thus there were twenty-four maps in total, and all were thought to be lost, except for the later small maps of China (printed by Sanson in 1656) and California (printed by Buache in 1754) based on Neroni's large manuscript maps.

Neroni's cartographic work was deeply influenced by the global exchange of knowledge during the late Renaissance and motivated by the prestigious display of newly gained geographical information which manifested itself in the monumental cycles of maps, painted or manuscript, in princely villas and palaces.[12] The discovery of new worlds in the Americas and the growing European interest in East Asia created a fertile ground for cartographers to synthesize information from diverse sources. Neroni's maps and globes reflect this synthesis, particularly in his depictions of China and the Americas, the only two regions for which remain maps produced by



Americae sive novi orbis nova descriptio... Par Matheum Neronium Pecciolen. Cosmog; Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, Richelieu—Cartes et plans—magasin GE A-512. Courtesy of BnF.

him or reproduced by others closely based on his work. Due to the links between Florence and France under Henry IV's consort Maria de' Medici (1575–1642), her son and great map collector Gaston, Duke of Orléans (1608–1660) must have acquired some of Neroni's maps. The duke's cartographic collection, now mostly preserved at the French National Library, used to include Neroni's map of China (now lost, but seen and used by Sanson) and a map of America, which we will discuss below.

NERONI'S MAP OF AMERICA AND HIS DEPICTION OF THE BAIA DE CABRILHO

Neroni's map of America is a large (268 × 250 cm) and beautifully executed manuscript map dated 1604, now held at the French National Library. Like the map of China, it was seen and printed by a later French cartographer (Philippe Buache, who published it in Paris in 1754), but unlike the map printed by Sanson, it was not lost. It was included in a catalogue published in 1892 in Paris to celebrate the four hundredth anniversary of Columbus's voyage and has been described in Wagner's 1937 work

The Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800, but its memory has disappeared outside of the circle of Americanist cartographers.

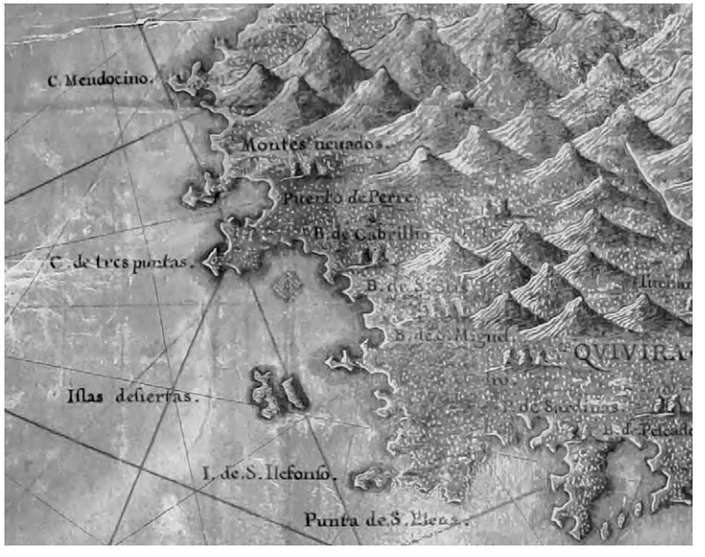
My aim in this and future papers is to show an American audience how this striking early seventeenth-century cartographic representation of America fits within its maker's broader body of work, while also bringing Neroni's American map in Paris to the attention of European cartographic historians.

Neroni's representation of California as a distinct geographical entity reflects the growing European awareness of the Pacific Coast of North America. In the drawing of California, Cabo Blanco (located at 43° N and discovered by Sebastian Vizcaino in 1603) is located at 50° N, the northernmost location reached by the Spanish. This drawing, of a completely unusual shape, is the same in the 1604 manuscript map and in the 1754 print by Buache.

At around 40° N is the Baia de Cabrilho, named after the leader of the 1542 Spanish expedition which discovered the bay known today as San Diego Bay. Neroni uses a Portuguese spelling instead of the later, prevalent Spanish spelling Cabrillo, which could reflect a knowledge on his part of Cabrilho's debated Portuguese origin or a reliance on Portuguese cartographic sources, due to Florence's ties with Portugal.

NERONI'S NEWLY RESTORED GLOBE

A final piece in the recently reconstructed oeuvre of Neroni is the large globe at the centre of the Hall of Geographical Maps in Florence's Palazzo Vecchio which, at approximately 220 cm in diameter, is the largest Renaissance-era globe to survive today. Made by Danti, it was reworked by



Detail of Neroni's *Americae sive novi orbis nova description*. Courtesy of BnF.

Neroni, but until recently the received opinion was that Neroni's reworking was just a superficial update.

Instead, the recent restoration, carried out by Dr. Lucia Dori and Dr. Andrea Dori, reveals that the original painted surface of the globe presents subsequent additions and corrections, so that it wholly represents Neroni's work. This matches the archival research conducted simultaneously by the municipal official responsible for the scientific restoration, Dr. Serena Pini, from which it emerged that the surface of Egnazio Danti's globe was completely eliminated during a restoration carried out by the painter Matteo Neroni between 1605 and 1613. This also matches the cartographical study conducted by the map historian Marica Milanesi, according to whom the newly legible globe in Palazzo Vecchio represents the

Earth as it was known at the end of the sixteenth and the very beginning of the seventeenth century. The globe, furthermore, matches the coastal profiles of California and China, with a very distinctive shape of the Korean peninsula, further strengthening the common authorship and the newly established importance of Neroni.

As Neroni's role in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century cartography becomes more recognized with new attributions and wider knowledge of remaining sources, the search for his legacy in Florence, Rome, and Paris is bound to progress.

Could we find new maps in old inventories? Will we be able to identify precise sources? Will they go beyond the two crucial areas of China and America?

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NOTES

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3 Marco Caboara, *Regnum Chinae: The Printed Western Maps of China to 1735* (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 30–31, 169–173.

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7 Margherita Farina and Sara Fani, eds., *Le Vie Delle Lettere: La Tipografia Medicea Tra Roma e l'Oriente* (Firenze: Library on Display 5, Mandragora, 2012).

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10 Ibid., 12.

11 Alessandro Cecchi and Paola Pacetti, eds., *La sala delle carte geografiche in Palazzo Vecchio: "capriccio et invenzione nata dal Duca Cosimo"*. (Firenze: Pagliai, 2008), 101–104.

12 Francesca Fiorani, *The Marvel of Maps: Art, Cartography and Politics in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

13 Émilie d'Orgeix, "Le Furor cartographicus d'un prince lettré en armure,"in Jean-Marie Constant, Pierre Gatulle, Maxence Hermant, François Lafabrié, and Château Royal de Blois, eds. *Gaston d'Orléans: prince rebelle et mécène* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2017), 215–220.

WHEN REAGAN TOASTED WITH PORT ABOARD A PORTUGUESE FRIGATE: ADMIRAL SARMENTO RODRIGUES'S ARCHIVE ON THE SAN DIEGO LUSO-AMERICAN COMMUNITY AND THE CABRILLO FESTIVAL

RICARDO VASCONCELOS

On October 15, 1969, the San Diego *Evening Tribune* published an article, penned by Bill Boyarski, dedicated to "A Day in the Life of Gov. Reagan." The editor's note at the top of the page claimed that "Ronald Reagan has been governor of California nearly three years and, friends say, is preparing to run for another term. Yet many questions about the man remain unanswered." As such, this article proposed to offer a "look at Reagan by a writer who traveled with the Governor for a full day recently."[1] In what is mostly a benign take on the governor's attributes in advance of his campaign for reelection, we find among the litany of events that filled up Reagan's day, in which he had cruised the state in his "two-engine propjet," a somewhat surprising short paragraph: "Before meeting [Billy] Graham, he had flown from Sacramento south to San Diego. The trip took him [...] to a Portuguese frigate, where he sipped port wine and helped the San Diego

(Opposite page) Admiral Reboredo e Silva, Governor Reagan, and Assemblyman Barnes aboard a Portuguese frigate at the Cabrillo Festival, 1969. A Port wine cup is visible in Reagan's hands.

Portuguese community open a celebration." While there is nothing too shocking in an incumbent governor about to start a campaign for reelection "traveling more, testing public opinion," as the article states, it would be fair to say that the governor sipping the very international wine of the city of Porto aboard a Portuguese navy vessel in the San Diego harbor was far from common.

The article was muted on the specifics of that episode, but several other newspapers of the time reported on it. The two Portuguese frigates, *Almirante Magalhães* (F-747) and *Almirante Gago Coutinho* (F-743), were visiting San Diego to celebrate different occasions: the yearly Cabrillo Day on September 28; the whole of the Cabrillo Festival, which took place over the course of that week and had its highlights that weekend; and the bicentennial of the founding of San Diego.[2] On Friday, September 26, 1969, Vice-Admiral Armando Júlio de Reboredo e Silva offered this reception in honor of the governor and his wife.

The episode, which demonstrates Reagan's willingness (or at least openness) to reach out to the Luso-American community and Portugal, and, conversely, the desire of the Portuguese community to be celebrated by its state leadership, was not altogether isolated. Illustrating the politician's well-lubricated political machine, as well as a clear organization of that community, on September 25, 1969, the *Jornal Português* included Reagan's photo and a "Welcome from Governor of California" on its front page with the following message:

> It is a great pleasure for me, on behalf of all Californians, to welcome the Chief of Staff of the Portuguese Navy and his wife, Admiral and Mrs. Armando Reboredo e Silva, and the crews of the two Portuguese frigates to our California Shores.
>
> You are playing an important role in the Cabrilho Festival celebrations of San Diego's bicentennial as a modern day Portuguese Admiral and crew, commemorating the days of 400 years ago when the Portuguese Admiral, João Rodrigues Cabrilho first came to these shores.
>
> You compliment us with your visit and it will be a great pleasure for us to make it an enjoyable and memorable one.
>
> Sincerely,
> Ronald Reagan

Also on the first page, and just below, the newspaper included a message from San Diego Mayor Frank Curran. The tenor is essentially the same, albeit with an even stronger encomiastic tone. Indeed, Mayor Curran starts his brief note by claiming that "There is no question that the 1969 Cabrilho Festival, with the support given to it by the Portuguese Government [,] will be the greatest in our history."[3] While it may seem like pure speech-writer hyperbole in a year full of pomp and fanfare, that may not have been fully the case. Given the scale of its events, the high profile of the participants, and the presence of Portuguese representatives (including the navy), the event intended to celebrate the bicentennial of San Diego with a bang and succeeded. At the very least, the 1969 Festival was likely the most elaborate since the inaugural event in 1892.

I do not seek to write here the history of that year's event. But I do want to draw attention to an archive compiled by

Portuguese Admiral Manuel Maria Sarmento Rodrigues, which was recently acquired by the Department of Spanish and Portuguese Languages and Literatures at SDSU, and which serves as a remarkable time capsule of those years, namely of the support that the Portuguese community sought and found in Portugal for this festival. I will illustrate how Sarmento Rodrigues advocated with the Portuguese dictatorship on behalf of the community (not the other way around) and will furthermore reflect on the insights offered by this archive regarding the relationship of members of the Portuguese community with the figure of Cabrilho.

SARMENTO RODRIGUES, THE CALIFORNIA LUSO-AMERICAN COMMUNITIES, AND THE CABRILLO FESTIVAL

Sarmento Rodrigues, a foremost Portuguese Navy man who also served in many roles in the Estado Novo regime, was the main figure in Portugal that managed to materialize many of the requests and expressed desires that he received from the San Diego Portuguese community and from local politicians not of Portuguese heritage between 1968 and the mid-1970s. These requests—some of which must have sounded like flights of fancy when he first heard them—were always turned into reality thanks to his evident appreciation for the Luso-American community in California. A look at the archive illustrates his remarkable organizational skills, surely needed given that Sarmento Rodrigues no longer occupied a position in the Portuguese cabinet. This was all the more so since, in the years from 1968 to 1970, the dictatorship was highly focused on the often-conspiratorial machinations related

to the succession of dictator António de Oliveira Salazar, as well as the Colonial War in Africa.

The archive demonstrates abundantly the requests of the community; the respect given to the admiral by the city of San Diego and the leadership of the state of California at many levels; his own commitment to the Portuguese communities in the United States; his admiration for the figure of Cabrilho and belief in his Portuguese nationality; and even Sarmento Rodrigues's efforts to pass on his work as an informal liaison between the California Portuguese and the Portuguese government to someone else in that same government.

Born in 1899 in Freixo de Espada à Cinta in Northeast Portugal, Manoel Maria Sarmento Rodrigues studied in Bragança and the University of Coimbra and completed his naval studies in 1921. In 1922, he was aboard the cruiser *República*, which that very year accompanied the first air crossing of the South Atlantic, by Portuguese aviators Gago Coutinho and Sacadura Cabral. Between 1940 and 1942, he completed the course of the Escola Superior Colonial, where he also taught. From 1941 to 1945, he was the commander of the destroyer *Lima*, whose watery paths would cross those of the United States. Indeed, he's credited for saving 118 Americans from the ships *Julia Ward Howe* and *City of Flint*, which had been sunk by German submarines close to the Azores Islands, and it was during the same trip that the *Lima* listed a remarkable sixty-seven degrees without capsizing.

Sarmento Rodrigues apparently adhered to Portuguese Freemasonry in the 1920s, within a left-leaning faction that still supported the rise of the New State. With the ascension of Salazar, though, the government came to

demonize Freemasons, forcing any membership into discretion, secrecy, or oblivion. Very soon, Sarmento Rodrigues was called to serve in a political capacity as well. He was appointed governor of Guinea-Bissau (1945–1949). In 1950, he was appointed Minister of the Colonies (Ministro das Colónias), a title that shortly after he helped change to Minister of the Overseas Territories (Ministro do Ultramar) in the context of a political reform. Years later, when he already believed his political duties were done, he was called to serve as governor of Mozambique between 1961 and 1964, a critical period since the Angolan War of Independence was already raging and the regime hoped he would help prevent its expansion.[4] In addition to his maritime and political duties, Sarmento Rodrigues was a scholar and published dozens of articles and monographs. Indeed, he was one of two founding members of the Portuguese Academia da Marinha (Naval Academy) in 1969 and is still revered at the institution.

While Sarmento Rodrigues was undoubtedly a New State man—and indeed a crucial figure in the definition of a short-lived Luso-tropicalist approach, as the colonial wars for independence were imminent—he was perceived as a liberal within the regime who sought to develop a number of initiatives to better integrate African native populations and the Portuguese colonists, rejecting segregationist practices. In 1962, he was part of a movement that sought to make the Minister of the Overseas Territories (Adriano Moreira) the second figure of the cabinet, in order to give more power to the colonial peripheries and the Portuguese leaderships therein. The initiative, however, was completely thwarted by Salazar. The respect he gathered as a liberal within the regime was

such that Raul Rêgo, a main figure of the opposition to the dictatorship, suggested to other members of the liberal wing of the regime that Sarmento Rodrigues's name should be put forth as a candidate for the Portuguese presidency. The goal was to deter the most violent colonialist approaches of Salazar and his supporters, but the proposed presidential bid never took place.[5]

How did Admiral Sarmento Rodrigues come to play such an important role for the Portuguese community in San Diego and to directly support the Cabrillo Festival? The story is told in different documents by the admiral himself. In an unpublished June 16, 1971 letter to the Portuguese secretary of the navy (now found in the SDSU archive) he details the following:

> [...] although my first contacts with California were made in 1952, as Minister of Overseas Territories on my return from an official visit to the Provinces of the East, my closest connection with California, and especially with the Portuguese-American community of that State, resulted from the stay of about nine months I had there, in 1956 and 1957, heading the Portuguese Naval Mission that received the two Portuguese frigates "Diogo Cão" and "Corte Real." In that large period of time, my relations were considerably strengthened, not only with the American naval authorities of San Francisco and San Diego, but also with the Mayors of the cities of Oakland, San Francisco and San Diego, and most particularly with the numerous Portuguese-American fraternal associations throughout the State. I can say that I would not have had a single weekend

> free, since they were practically all occupied with participating in the numerous patriotic celebrations that were taking place in the Fraternal Associations and for which my presence was requested.[6]

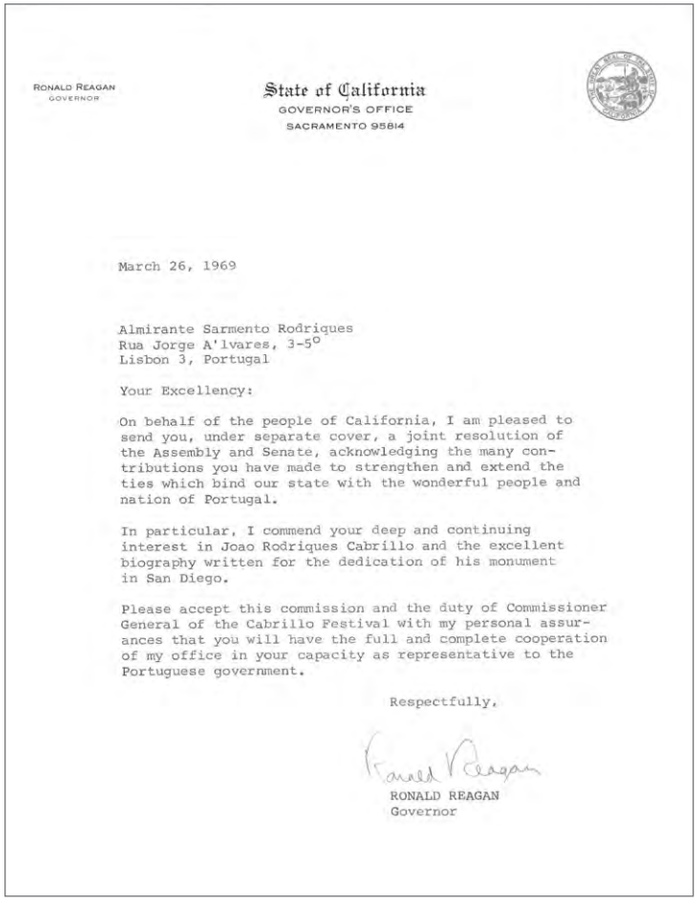
Indeed, Sarmento Rodrigues's collection of papers at the Portuguese Arquivo da Marinha includes several photos of the Admiral participating in events in California. In one of them, from February 8, 1957, he is giving a speech in Oakland accepting for Portugal the USS *McCoy Reynolds* and USS *Formoe*, which would subsequently be rechristened the *Corte Real* and *Diogo Cão*. Photos from April 28, 1957 show the admiral participating in ceremonies at Point Loma near the statue of Cabrilho, including the dedication of the official plaque offered by the Portuguese navy as a tribute to Cabrilho.[7]

In a tribute to Sarmento Rodrigues, Mary Giglitto, a crucial president of the Cabrillo Festival, explained how the admiral, after his presence in California in 1957, came to be involved in the Cabrillo Festival between 1969 and the early 1970s. She stated: "The first time I heard about the Admiral was through Alberto Lemos, editor of the Jornal Português, and Paulo Goulart, director of the radio program 'Hora Portuguesa.'" Both had described the positive impression he had left in the Portuguese community. Giglitto continued:

> When, in 1967, I became Vice-President of Cabrilho Festival, Inc., I felt that we needed a direct contact with Portugal, for a 'Hands across the sea' effort, that was the Cabrilho Festival. I contacted Admiral Sarmento Rodrigues by phone. He listened to what

Admiral Sarmento Rodrigues (right) and Admiral C. C. Hartman (left) unveiling the plaque offered by the Portuguese Naval Mission to the USA in honor of João Rodrigues Cabrilho, May 1957. This photo is not part of the archive acquired by SDSU. It was ceded by Ms. Ana Maria Junqueiro Sarmento Cavaleiro de Ferreira and deposited at the Biblioteca Central de Marinha – Arquivo Histórico (ref. Ref PT/BCM-AH/APAMMSR/2-15/00002/017).

> I had to say, and agreed to consider the invitation to be nominated High Commissioner for the Cabrilho Festival. We followed up with a formal letter and he accepted...Following that phone call, Mr. Tom Ham, former President, and one of the founders of the Cabrilho Festival, sat me down and dictated a list of the many things that he felt we should ask our High Commissioner for, from Portugal. I almost fainted, when he told me not to change anything on the list. Everything we asked for the Admiral accepted.[8]



RONALD REAGAN
GOVERNOR

State of California
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE
SACRAMENTO 95814

March 26, 1969

Almirante Sarmento Rodriques
Rua Jorge A'lvares, 3-5°
Lisbon 3, Portugal

Your Excellency:

On behalf of the people of California, I am pleased to send you, under separate cover, a joint resolution of the Assembly and Senate, acknowledging the many contributions you have made to strengthen and extend the ties which bind our state with the wonderful people and nation of Portugal.

In particular, I commend your deep and continuing interest in Joao Rodriques Cabrillo and the excellent biography written for the dedication of his monument in San Diego.

Please accept this commission and the duty of Commissioner General of the Cabrillo Festival with my personal assurances that you will have the full and complete cooperation of my office in your capacity as representative to the Portuguese government.

Respectfully,

RONALD REAGAN
Governor

Governor Ronald Reagan's letter to Admiral Sarmento Rodrigues, March 26, 1969, which is part of the newly acquired archive compiled by Sarmento Rodrigues.

The Sarmento Rodrigues archive at SDSU illustrates what happened next. It includes a resolution of the Cabrillo Festival appointing him "Honorary Director and Commissioner General to the Cabrillo Festival" and "personal representative to the Government of Portugal for the citizens of California on all matters concerning the accomplishments of Portugal/the world both past and present but most specifically concerning the annual celebration of the discovery of the West Coast of the United States by João Rodrigues Cabrilho on the 28th September 1542 (...)."[9] Not long thereafter, in her February 17, 1969 letter, Mary Giglitto rejoiced for the Admiral's acceptance and indicated that official resolutions from the State will follow. Furthermore, the letter notes that San Diego will be celebrating its bicentennial and asks for the support of the Portuguese government for many initiatives. Of all the plans, perhaps the most unorthodox was the staging of a Portuguese fashion show with "the presence of the spouse of the Governor of California, Mrs. Ronald Reagan, as a model [...] as well as Madame Garin, the wife of our illustrious ambassador in Washington."[10]

Shortly after, Sarmento Rodrigues received a copy of a resolution adopted by the California Legislature that recognized the attribution of the title by the Cabrillo Festival to Sarmento Rodrigues, and rather outlandishly states that, among the influences on California of people from many foreign lands, "The oldest and most significant of these contributions are those of the Portuguese people and their great nation."[11]

In this archive we see several letters regarding this resolution, notably from Assemblyman Richard Barnes, San Diego Mayor Frank Curry, and even Governor Ronald Reagan (see letter at left).

On April 22, 1969, Mary Giglitto wrote again, concerned about the requests she had previously sent; astonishingly, Giglitto penned another letter that same day (this one handwritten, rather than typed as the first one had

been), indicating that the festival wanted to invite none other than the President of Portugal, and furthermore indicating that the "White House has already requested information of our plans."

It is through an April 30, 1969 letter from the admiral that we learn that he had knocked on many doors, including the Portuguese Foreign Office, the secretary of the navy, secretary of information and commissariat for tourism, and TAP Air Portugal, and had enlisted other personal contacts. He indicated that if the secretary of the navy could not attend, he would be represented by Vice-Admiral Reboredo e Silva; that two frigates would be sent; that the commissariat for tourism was considering sending exhibits on Portuguese fashion, exported products "both from the continent and the overseas territories," a folklore group, and books and leaflets on the "European and overseas Portugal." The letter added—with no sign of impatience—that he would forward the invitation for the Portuguese president, and would reply to Mayor Curran, who had been sending letters regarding the possibility of erecting an enormous monument to Cabrilho.

In the archive we find the reply sent to Ronald Reagan the following day. Among other elements, Sarmento Rodrigues mentioned that he had been made an honorary citizen of Oakland years before. Furthermore, he notes that the Portuguese Minister of the Navy had promised to send two frigates to join the celebration.

Many other letters would be exchanged to arrange the logistics of this festival and Portuguese participation in it. The admiral was careful not to irk the Portuguese ambassador in Washington and wrote to him on May 26, 1969

to keep him up to speed. The tone is clear: "As you probably know, my stay in California, in 1956–1957, brought me some consequences, pleasant, no doubt, but sometimes quite labor-intensive." He goes on to explain the chores which fell upon him, adding that "these Americans are very nice—as far as I am concerned—and when they are doing things with such good intention we must help them." Sarmento Rodrigues wrapped up by stating "I would like to be left alone, but I won't refuse to contribute."

If all the letters in the archive from so many American officials, many beyond the Portuguese community, did not already demonstrate that these efforts were collective and truly engaged many layers, Stephen Baldanza, the director of information and cultural services of the US Embassy in Lisbon, reached out to congratulate Sarmento Rodrigues on his efforts. He furthermore stated that someone from the embassy would have picked up the Festival's pageant winner, Miss Cabrilho 1969 (Juliana Madruga), at the Lisbon airport, had they known she was arriving in the beginning of August. Also illustrating that broad-based commitment, after the festival concluded, Richard Barnes sent a letter to Richard Nixon describing the tremendous success of the initiative.

Before that, on September 9, 1969, two weeks before the Cabrillo Festival took place, Sarmento Rodrigues sent out several letters to Portuguese cabinet members, all with the same content. Believing that his mission had been accomplished, in these letters he described what was going to take place and indicated that his work was done. He sent a similar letter to Ronald Reagan, explaining that all the requests of the Portuguese community had been addressed (though clearly the invitation to the

president of Portugal got dropped somewhere). This communication makes sense given that he had been tasked by the State of California to assist with the Luso-American community's requests. Sarmento Rodrigues thus made a final invitation for the governor to go "on board our ships on the occasion of their stay in San Diego." This was in many ways the capstone to his organizational work, which would indeed lead Ronald Reagan to be present.

THE LUSO-AMERICAN COMMUNITY AND CABRILHO: INSIGHTS FROM THE ARCHIVE

It is important to emphasize that all this correspondence with Admiral Sarmento Rodrigues was sent to and from his home address and, indeed, he was no longer in any official governmental position, despite clearly continuing to be respected and very influential. In fact, the California Luso-American community at the time seemed not to be talking with the Portuguese government, other than sporadically. Rather, Admiral Sarmento Rodrigues was speaking with the community directly and on a more personal level. Indeed, it is worth remembering again that he was appointed as "a personal representative to the Government of Portugal for the citizens of California," and not the other way around. He did reach out to several branches in the Portuguese government, and seemingly with some ease, but did not seem to be acting on directives from anyone in that government. Quite the opposite: he was bringing to the government requests as they arrived at his own desk, as sent by the Portuguese community in California.

Undoubtedly, a New State man who always believed first and foremost in the idea of unity of the Portuguese

homeland (including its colonies) would always see strategic value in solidifying the relationship with the migrant communities. Most certainly, he also saw the value of advertising Portugal in the United States and the world, particularly at a time when the regime was facing international pressure. The correspondence, however, suggests that he was essentially advocating with the Portuguese government on behalf of the Luso-American community, and not the reverse.

This is not to say that a Portuguese Cabrilho did not dovetail with specific values of the New State, of which Sarmento Rodrigues was a strong proponent. In fact, Salazar's regime always sought to exalt two values that Cabrilho could help highlight: the belief in the exceptionality of the Portuguese navigator (even when he sailed for other nations); and that of a worldly Portuguese individual who traversed the four corners of the world—a notion that comfortably encompassed past navigators, twentieth-century colonists, colonial subjects, and in fact those who emigrated or fled to escape Salazar's dictatorship.

However, the fact that Cabrilho could blow some wind into the sails of such values doesn't mean that the dictatorship was primordially committed to Cabrilho. Judging from the several letters in the archive, the scenario seems quite the opposite. Sarmento Rodrigues was prodding the government to do something, not being pressured by the regime leaders.[12]

In his monograph *João Rodrigues Cabrilho, Descobridor da Califórnia*, for example, Sarmento Rodrigues said it clearly: when he came to California in the 1950s, he realized that neither Portugal nor Spain had done much to highlight the historical figure of Cabrilho, and

moreover only the local Luso-American communities had given what he saw as a necessary recognition. As he noted, for Portugal and Spain, Cabrilho "had been neither a Columbus nor a Magellan," and his exploration of Alta California had been "neither the discovery of America nor the circumnavigation of the globe," which had made the figure less interesting to promote.[13] For Sarmento Rodrigues, nationalism merged with the notion of merit: as is clear in this monograph, what irked him particularly about the oblivion into which Cabrilho had fallen in Portugal was the lack of consideration of the very notion of maritime skills and merit.

In Sarmento Rodrigues's view, both nations had essentially forgotten Cabrilho, and he was more critical of Portugal, as he believed the navigator was Portuguese. It becomes abundantly clear that Admiral Sarmento Rodrigues and the community did not engage in questioning the Portuguese nationality of Cabrilho. In the multiple letters exchanged with the Portuguese community, neither the members of this community nor the admiral discussed the topic. There is only one mention: in 1973, Sarmento Rodrigues answered Mary Giglitto, who was considering the relevance of bringing a historian to talk about Cabrilho's birthplace. In his reply, Sarmento Rodrigues stated that all were bound to Antonio Herrera's famous and unequivocal affirmation of a "Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo Portugues," for lack of further information:

> I think there is no advantage in discussing issues that are not under discussion, or about which there are no doubts. For example, when I was in California in 1957–mainly in San Francisco and Oakland, but also sometimes in San Diego–a friend of mine insisted that I try to prove Cabrilho's nationality with evidence. I told him that this matter was definitely solved, since it was a Spanish chronicler of that time who declared him Portuguese. So there was no need to investigate, especially since at that time there were no birth records. Neither Vasco da Gama, nor Camões, nor Ferdinand Magellan have birth certificates. But everyone knows that they are Portuguese. The same happens with João Rodrigues Cabrilho. There was a first Spanish historian who presented him as Portuguese and to this day no one has demonstrated the opposite. [...] But what there is no doubt about is that he was Portuguese. There are several villages that officially consider him as their son, but without concrete evidence. So I would advise not to raise problems that do not exist.

Sarmento Rodrigues believed Cabrilho was Portuguese but was aware there was no concrete knowledge of his actual birthplace in Portugal. He openly stated that he had commissioned researchers to study the topic, but, given that no unequivocal evidence had been found, Antonio Herrera's statement continued to be the law of the land. If the last sentence quoted may suggest that he was shutting down the topic, in fact he himself committed resources to finding the location of birth, as the archive shows. Had Sarmento Rodrigues believed that Cabrilho was not Portuguese and had he wanted to hide that, it would not have made sense for him to hire researchers to continue to study the matter of the birthplace.

The archive suggests that the Admiral felt above all a

triple sense of mission: he wanted to emphasize what he saw as the greatness of Cabrilho and to invest in the good relations between Portugal and the USA, promoting his homeland. Above all, however, he seemed always to be working out of a sense of mission to serve the Portuguese community in California and particularly San Diego. This was seen not only in his endeavors to ensure that the Cabrillo Festival was successful, but also in seemingly small efforts, such as ensuring that any representative of the community who visited Lisbon met the mayor, the minister of foreign affairs, the president of the republic, and even the prime minister (the dictator). He undertook these efforts not only because of the actual people who visited—such as Linette da Rosa, Miss Cabrilho in 1968, or Mary Giglitto, president of the festival—but because it seemed important to him that these individuals maintain a connection to their ancestral country (even when—or especially when—they were already second or third generation Portuguese-Americans). This was completely in line with his own view of the so-called Ultramar, the Portuguese colonial space, in which he kept considering the value of unity between colonists and indigenous populations—even as the regime he served countered that.

Cabrilho was many things in his life and has evolved to become many others. Objectively, he was a military commander, a conquistador in Central and North America, and an explorer tasked with mapping the coast of Alta California. His figure is certainly worthy of rigorous research today, and not simplistic idolization or ideological rejection. Cabrilho has become a source of pride for some in the Portuguese and Spanish communities, who see him as a central element in their narrative of legitimacy, and

is contested by others. Certainly, Cabrilho was and is, for many, a reminder of an obligation to serve—the homeland and the communities—as seems to have been the case for Admiral Sarmento Rodrigues.

I would argue that Sarmento Rodrigues's archive illustrates that, for many in the Portuguese American community, Cabrilho is and will always be the "San Diego version" of *saudade*, or longing, in the most literal sense of the feeling nourished in relation to one's own lost homeland, which may be rescued with this navigator. For some, it may be the lost homeland of the parents and grandparents who emigrated: Cabrilho allows these relatives to symbolically return home and rest. In other words, the longing for Cabrilho is one capable of finally healing some of the open wounds of migration. To be clear, this is no different with some members of the Spanish community who make a claim to Cabrilho's nationality and who celebrate his service to the Spanish Crown. None of this changes Cabrilho's birthplace and nationalities, and history will make its course.

It may be worth reminding that Lapela de Cabril and Palma del Río are approximately 500 kilometers (a bit more than 300 miles) apart in a straight line. That is less than the distance between San Diego to San José, Monterey, or even Big Sur. Cabrilho seems to have circulated between these two areas in Portugal and Spain at a time when such circulation of individuals across the Spanish and Portuguese border was essentially free, much like it is today. It is remarkable, considering that Cabrilho cruised both the Atlantic and parts of the Pacific, that for many it is those 300 miles that became, in recent years, the most controversial aspect of his itineraries, given the

ramifications of Cabrilho's voyages to the narratives of legitimacy of migrant communities, to say nothing of the broader impacts of Iberian exploration on the Indigenous peoples of California. The honest stance is to continue to welcome rigorous scholarship while rejecting conspiracy theories that may only muddy the waters further.

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NOTES

1 Bill Boyarski, "A Day in the Life of Gov. Reagan," *Evening Tribune*, October 15, 1969, A1 and A6. The author had already published the book *The Rise of Ronald Reagan* in 1968.

2 Throughout the article I am using the Spanish spelling *Cabrillo* in official designations, such as Cabrillo Day or Cabrillo Festival, and the Portuguese form *Cabrilho* when I am referring to the actual navigator.

3 The *Jornal Português* was founded in 1888 and published in Oakland, CA.

4 Regarding Sarmento Rodrigues's governorship in Mozambique, see Norberto Lopes's "Figura Inconfundível," Cf. *Almirante Sarmento Rodrigues—1899-1979 | Testemunhos e Inéditos* (Academia da Marinha e Câmara Municipal de Freixo de Espada à Cinta, 1999), 249–254. On Sarmento Rodrigues's leadership in Guinea-Bissau, see Victor Andrade de Melo's "O esporte na política colonial portuguesa: as iniciativas de Sarmento Rodrigues na Guiné (1945–1949)," *Revista Brasileira de História* 34, no. 68 (2014): 175–192, as well as António E. Duarte Silva, "Sarmento Rodrigues, a Guiné e o luso-tropicalismo," *Revista de História e Teoria das Ideias* 25 (2008): 31–55.

5 See the testimonies given by Raul Rego and Adriano Moreira in the tribute book, *Sarmento Rodrigues—1899–1979 | Testemunhos e Inéditos*, op. cit.

6 All translations are mine; I am not including the original in Portuguese due to the space constraints.

7 The plaque reads: "Ao navegador português | João Rodrigues Cabrilho 1542 | Homenagem da Marinha de Guerra Portuguesa | To the Portuguese Navigator João Rodrigues Cabrilho | A tribute from the Portuguese Navy | N.R.P Diogo Cão | N.R.P Corte-Real | April 1957." N.R.P. stands for Navio da República Portuguesa, or Portuguese Republic Ship.

8 Mary Giglitto. "Remembering." *Almirante Sarmento Rodrigues 1899–1979*, 240–241.

9 The archive has a copy of this typed document, with the date "San Diego, 22 Jan. 69" penned above.

10 See Mary Giglitto's typed letter to Admiral Sarmento Rodrigues dated February 17, 1969.

11 Assembly Concurrent Resolution No. 62 of the California Legislature—1969 Regular Session, introduced February 24, 1969, and amended March 6, 1969.

12 Indeed, it is not lost on me that recent arguments that suggest that the Portuguese community in San Diego had a sort of conspiracy with the Portuguese Fascist regime to promote Cabrilho seem oblivious to an inherent contradiction. The contradiction lies in saying that the dictatorship actively wanted to promote a Portuguese Cabrilho, while also claiming that the fact that the Dictatorship left Cabrilho out of the Padrão dos Descobrimentos is somehow evidence that Cabrilho is not Portuguese. Sarmento Rodrigues's texts in his archives—and indeed what he published in his life—do reply (albeit obliquely) to the matter of why João Rodrigues is not part of the *Padrão dos Descobrimentos*, erected in 1940 for the *Exposição do Mundo Português*, with all its glorification of the colonial world, and rebuilt in 1960 in more solid materials. As he clearly states, Cabrillo had never been a priority to Portugal, or for that matter, Spain.

13 Sarmento Rodrigues, *João Rodrigues Cabrilho, Descobridor da Califórnia*. Separata de *Memórias da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, Classe de Letras* Tomo II (1969): 26.

CHERRY-PICKING, MYTHMAKING, AND CULTURAL IDENTITY: THE PORTUGUESE PRESENCE IN NORTH AMERICA

ONÉSIMO T. ALMEIDA

I have always been skeptical of romantic readings of historical events. I criticized the madness defended by my neighbor in Rhode Island, Manuel Luciano da Silva, in defense of his lover (the term is his) the Dighton Rock, as proof that the Portuguese were the first to arrive in the area now known as the United States. The rock, adorned with illegible inscriptions, has been known since the seventeenth century. It was extracted from the Taunton River and is now at the small Dighton Rock Museum in Dighton, Massachusetts. Interestingly, Luciano da Silva was not even careful in distinguishing between the first arrivals and the first European arrivals. For him, only the Portuguese counted. We were the first to arrive in the Americas.

In my long experience in the diaspora, I learned that people need myths. And if the Portuguese in Portugal have throughout history—like any other people—created their myths, diaspora communities feel particularly pressured to find heroes who can counterbalance the sense of unwelcomeness they feel in their adopted homelands. Proving to the Americans that we were the

(Opposite page) The earliest known photographic representation of Dighton Rock, 1853. Capt. Seth Eastman (1808–1875), a prominent photographer and artist, is depicted sitting on the rock.

ones who got here first, or that we played a preponderant role in the country's formation, is a powerful temptation.

I will focus on Dighton Rock, but it seems important to tell a story here about a historical figure of American independence, as it is particularly relevant to how the creation of historical myths works. I am referring to Peter Francisco, a hero of American independence. His place of birth is not known for sure. There are several theories, including a Portuguese one. George Monteiro published a long and rigorous article in the *Journal of American Folklore*, which raised serious doubts about its historical consistency.

Edmundo Dinis, a District Attorney in Bristol County, Massachusetts, in which New Bedford and Fall River are located, told me how he solved the problem at the end of the 1950s. The Portuguese needed an emblematic figure who would help them acquire some respect in the American community, and he called the descendants of Peter Francisco, asking them if they knew that their ancestor was Portuguese. For them, this was news. But the plan held further intrigue; Dinis invited family members to participate in a session to present the Peter Francisco Prize to the great Portuguese American writer John Dos Passos. The prize would be presented by none other than President Kennedy. Moreover, Peter Francisco's family had to be present. The family accepted enthusiastically, and from then on, they considered themselves of Portuguese descent.

When the newspapers published the news and Hispanic leaders contacted Edmund Dinis to protest his unfounded claims about the independence hero's Portuguese ancestry, Dinis told me that he replied: "Do not come to me. Ask the family."

DIGHTON ROCK: AN UNKNOWN RECORD OF NON-FANATICAL READINGS OF THEIR INSCRIPTIONS

A boulder along the Taunton River with inscriptions dating back to at least the seventeenth century, Dighton Rock has been the object of protracted controversy due to several ethnic groups attributing authorship to their respective ancestors. In the 1920s, Edmund Delabarre, a professor of psychology at Brown University, claimed that he identified an inscription with the name Miguel Corte-Real and the year 1511.[1] Portuguese historians and experts never accepted his theory and pointed out several flaws. This did not impede the United States' Portuguese community from transforming the rock into an identity symbol that legitimized the Luso presence in this American nation.

In the 1940s, José Dâmaso Fragoso, an instructor at New York University, assumed Delabarre's mantle and added the supposed identification of a Cross of the Order of Christ on the rock. Fragoso kept the flames of enthusiasm surrounding the "Portuguese theory" alive by proposing the creation of a park and the founding of an association called the Miguel Corte-Real Memorial Society, which in 1952 acquired land surrounding the area where the boulder in question stood. With the intervention of Luso-American politician Edmund Dinis, a chain of events was set into motion that would later transfer the boulder to dry ground since the inscriptions were almost entirely submerged at high tide.[2] In 1973, a pavilion was constructed in a state park housing the Dighton Rock Museum in Dighton. The museum displays present—as equally credible—several conflicting theories

about the controversial inscriptions.

Since the 1960s, the main advocate of the Portuguese theory has been physician Manuel Luciano da Silva, a native of Vale de Cambra in the District of Aveiro in Portugal, and a resident of Bristol, Rhode Island. Luciano da Silva has self-published a book in two editions (one in English, the other in Portuguese), staunchly defending the above-cited thesis and proposing the possible identification on the rock of yet two more Crosses of the Order of Christ.[3]

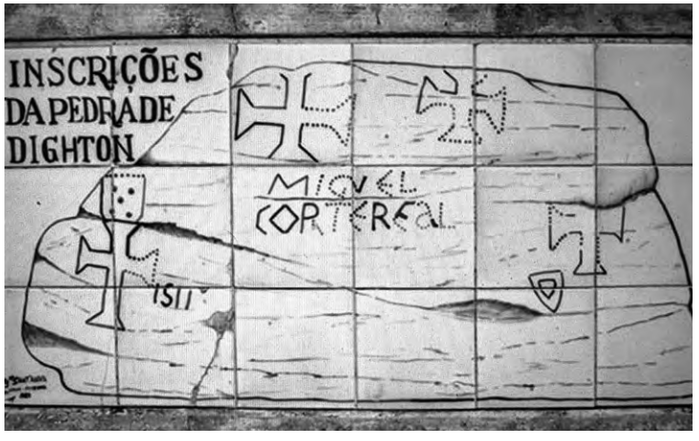
Over the years, Luciano da Silva has made numerous public presentations before an array of organizations, almost exclusively community-based, often hurling invectives against American and Portuguese historians for not accepting the "Portuguese theory." The publications that provide a platform for his proposition—magazines and prominent newspapers, primarily Portuguese—belong to the general-interest sector. Even though Portuguese and American historians alike have continued to find no scientific merit whatsoever to the theory in question, six replicas of the rock have already been sent to Portugal, one of them installed at the entrance to the Maritime Museum in Lisbon.

In his nationalistic zeal, Luciano da Silva had adopted blatantly dogmatic attitudes, even going so far as to propose that the Assembly of the Republic of Portugal decree that the Portuguese discovered America. He reacted poorly to my gentle criticisms of the "Portuguese" reading of the inscriptions, unleashing a polemic that led me to enumerate in detail my reasons for not accepting the theory. This unfolded in 1981 in the pages of New Bedford's *Portuguese Times*. I nearly included the entire

collection of my comments on this controversy in my book *L(USA)lândia: The Tenth Island*, but opted to withdraw the section, for it seemed to me at the time that the case warranted an entire book dedicated to it.[4] I wound up writing more than eighty pages, but ultimately convinced myself that it was not worth continuing to waste time on polemics of this ilk. My opposition resorted to unethical means to defend his fanaticism: he sent letters to the president of my university demanding my dismissal and disseminated a series of assorted accusations in his self-published book, *Os Três "Amigos" da Onça* [The Three Snakes in the Grass], with one chapter each devoted, respectively, to the late endowed chair holder Professor Francis M. Rogers of Harvard University, the late Professor Luís de Albuquerque of the University of Coimbra (Chair of the National Commission for the Commemoration of the Portuguese Discoveries), and me.[5] Luciano da Silva's volume is a mass of vituperations, unfounded accusations, and bald-faced lies cast in shameless language ranging from insult to defamation.

Years ago, I devoted some attention to the role that beliefs of this nature can play in identity formation in diasporan communities.[6] In that writing, I sought to place in context the preoccupations of psychologist Edmund Delabarre, a disciple of William James, on the supposition that his reading of the inscriptions on the aforementioned rock confirmed his theories on the role of subjectivity in perception.

In the present text, I merely intend to share with the Portuguese public a document published long ago in the United States but never revealed by the promoter of Delabarre's theory. Truth be told, what is repeatedly and



The "readings" on the Dighton Rock by Manuel Luciano da Silva. Tile representation of Dighton Rock at the Museu da Marinha, Lisbon.

frequently publicized is a photograph of the rock with overlapping inscriptions. To aid in reading the supposed inscriptions, lines were ignored, and words and numbers were added, allegedly to enhance the best way to highlight said inscriptions. However, the result is a distorted alteration of the original inscriptions. To corroborate this, an example of the gap between what is, in fact, originally on the rock and what the theory's proponents presume to be there is reproduced here in the image above.[7]

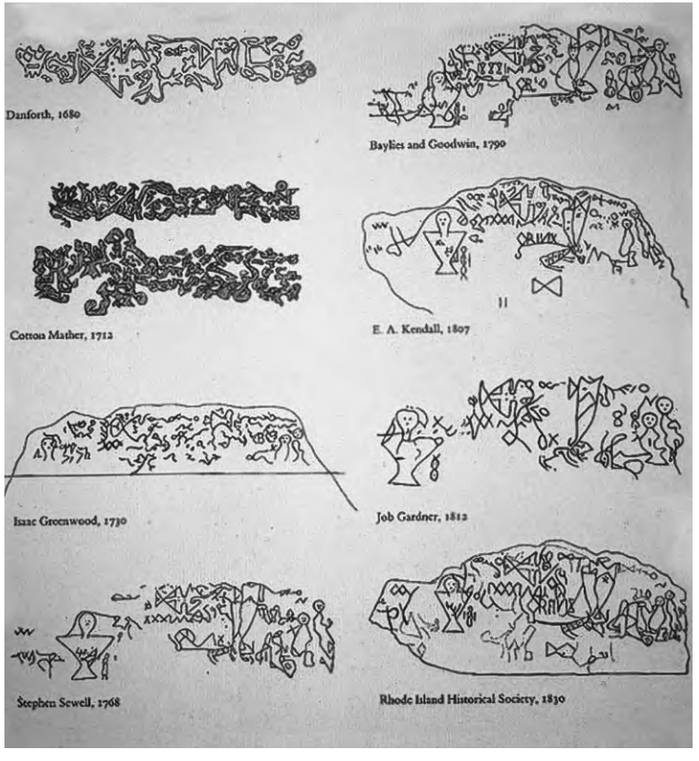
Next, let us observe a photograph of Dighton Rock with the supposedly rewritten "inscriptions" blanked out (see image at right). I make a point of noting that this reproduction (much like the previous one) is perfectly legal because it serves here as a citation. I stress this detail because Manuel Luciano da Silva had repeatedly branded the late lamented Professor Luís de Albuquerque a "thief" for having reproduced this same photograph in one of his books.[8]

The Dighton Rock, at the Dighton Rock State Park. Dighton Rock State Park.

Now contrast this image with subsequent ones that record several attempts at faithful reproduction performed by assorted scholars between 1680 and 1854. A fleeting glimpse is sufficient to warrant the following conclusion: the older the reproduction of the inscriptions, the further removed it is from any plausibility of the proposed reading.

Yet quite the opposite ought to have occurred. In fact, what happens is that the successive cross-outs the rock has accumulated over the centuries are what permit these fantastical, hallucinatory flights of fancy by positing entirely fictitious combinations (see image on next page).[9]

Since this documentation has never been published in Portugal and I have never seen it reproduced in Manuel Luciano da Silva's publications, I have deemed it appropriate to share it here. It may eventually serve someone interested in the study of the role of nationalist fanaticism in the rewriting of history, for this case is not unique, as we all sadly know.



The earliest attempts at reproducing the inscriptions on the Dighton Rock. A compilation of transcriptions from *Envisioning Information* by Edward Tufte, based on the *Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1880.

In any event, should any doubts still linger, I am including another image (see photograph opposite page 75) of Dighton Rock with the inscriptions underlined or highlighted in Edmund Delabarre's time. This allows us, on the one hand, to confirm that in the psychologist's day, the inscriptions were not far from those recorded throughout the centuries (they follow, incidentally, in an evolutionary line from earlier ones)—and on the other hand, to perceive the great leap from them that would occur thereafter with the emergence of the so-called "Portuguese theory".

The basic document from which all this fabulous story of human creativity unfolds and from which these much-ballyhooed "facts" were created has been imposed as a dogmatic article of national faith. The philosopher Richard Rorty said: "We cannot get along without heroes. We need mountain peaks to look up towards. We need to tell ourselves detailed stories about the mighty dead to make our hopes of surpassing them concrete."[10]

These stories that I have told here, I hope, illustrate well the difference between the thinking of historians who are attached to the facts and to the value of empirical evidence, and that of a large part of the public that disdains the facts and gives more importance to what preserves and promotes their image as an individual and the community to which they belong. Of course, I am not claiming that historians should not be listened to; I am simply reminding historians that they are often not listened to for reasons that transcend history.

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NOTES

1 Edmund B. Delabarre, *Dighton Rock: A Study of the Written Rocks of New England* (New York: Walter Neale, 1928). For studies by the same author see: *Recent History of Dighton Rock* (Cambridge, MA: J. Wilson, 1919) and *Middle Period of Dighton Rock History* (Cambridge, MA: 1917). For other earlier theories see also: Gabrick Gravier, *Notice sur le Roc de Dighton et le Séjour des Scandinaves en Amérique au Commencement* [295] *du Onzième Siécle* (Nancy, France: Typographie de G. Crépin-Leblond, 1875).

2 We can only speculate as to what could have led a sailor who supposedly wanted to record his name for posterity to do so on a boulder in midstream, with the knowledge that the waters would damage his writing.

3 Manuel Luciano da Silva, *Os Pioneiros Portugueses e a Pedra de Dighton* [Portuguese version] (Bristol, RI: self-published, 1974).

4 Onésimo Teotónio Almeida, *L(USA)lândia: A Décima Ilha* (Angra do Heroísmo, Direcção dos Serviços de Emigração, 1987).

5 Manuel Luciano da Silva, *Os Três "Amigos" da Onça* (Bristol, RI: self-published, 1988).

6 Onésimo Teotónio Almeida, "Irmãos Côrte-Real: os mitos e os factos e a sua importância identária" [The Brothers Corte-Real: Myths and Facts and Their Identity Importance], in *O Faial e a Periferia Açoriana no Século XV a XX [Faial and the Azorean Periphery from the 15th to the 20th Century]*, ed. Luís Arruda (Horta: Núcleo Cultural, 2004), 37–43, 97–105.

7 Manuel Luciano da Silva and Silvia Jorge da Silva, *Cristovão Colón [Colombo] Era Português* [*Christopher Columbus Was Portuguese*] (Lisbon: Quidnovi, 2006), 254. This book collects all of Manuel Luciano da Silva's writings, though a comparison with the original U.S. editions reveals substantial editorial changes. One of his pamphlets reprinted in this volume is *As Verdadeiras Antilhas: Terra Nova e Nova Escócia* [*The True Antilles: Newfoundland and Nova Scotia*] (Bristol, RI: self-published, 1987). I also took the trouble to revisit Zuane Giovanni Pizzigano's famous map, which relies on another theory by Manuel Luciano da Silva and similar research published in his essay, "Plutarco como possível origem do nome das Ilhas Santanazes do mapa de 1424" ["Plutarch as the Possible Originator of the Name of the Santanazes Islands (Newfoundland and Nova Scotia) on the Map of 1424"], *Boletim do Instituto Histórico da Ilha Terceira* [*Bulletin of the Historical Institute of Terceira Island*] 47 (1990): 75–84

8 Luís de Albuquerque, *Navegadores, Viajantes e Aventureiros Portugueses: Sécs. XV e XVI*, 2 vols. (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores and Editorial Caminho, 1987), 185.

9 Edward R. Tufte, *Envisioning Information* (Cheshire, CT: Graphics Press, circa 1990), 72.

10 Richard Rorty, "The Historiography of Philosophy: Four Genres," in *Philosophy in History*, ed. Richard Rorty, J. B. Schneewind, and Quentin Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 73.

THE AFRO-PORTUGUESE COLUMBUS OF THE PACIFIC

ANDRÉS RESÉNDEZ

Blazing a path across the Pacific Ocean for the first time was not easy. Magellan took a decisive first step in 1521 by navigating from South America to Asia in one swoop. Yet, he could not sail back the same way he had gone. In the wake of Magellan, no less than four Spanish expeditions in the 1520s, 1530s, and 1540s had the potential to achieve the elusive return voyage, or *vuelta*, but none of them succeeded.[1]

The expedition that finally "opened" the Pacific by crossing the world's largest ocean in both directions departed from the western coast of Mexico in 1564. The second viceroy of Mexico, don Luis de Velasco, was the royal official in charge of organizing this all-out effort underwritten by the Spanish crown. Over seven years (1557–1564), Velasco commissioned some of the largest vessels ever built in the Americas up to that time and recruited some of the most capable navigators and crewmembers that he could find anywhere in the Spanish empire. Among these handpicked individuals was an Afro-Portuguese pilot named Lope Martín. He was from the town of Lagos in the Algarve in southern Portugal. At the time, it was the preeminent maritime region of the

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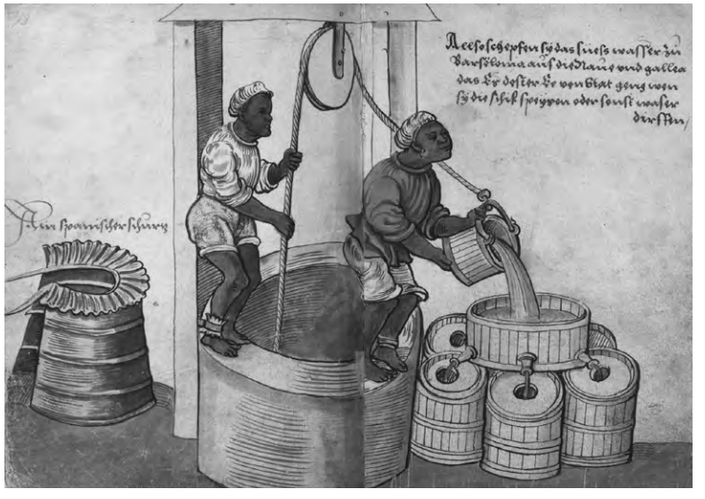
(Opposite page) Detail of illustration by Christoph Weiditz, circa 1530. Courtesy of Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Digitale Bibliothek. Image 189.

world, where Black people performed the most menial and grueling jobs aboard Portuguese and Spanish ships of exploration.

Lope Martín was a *mulatto* (a free person of color of African ancestry) and an immensely talented navigator who always seemed to know just what to do aboard a sailing vessel. Through the years, this Afro-Portuguese man was able to climb to the pinnacle of his career by becoming a licensed pilot. This was rare in an era when the vast majority of naval officers, shipmasters, and pilots were white Europeans. Lope Martín was not the only *mulatto* pilot working in the Spanish fleets, but rare enough to stand out. His trajectory was also unlikely because, to ascend from ordinary sailor to pilot, he had to acquire a great deal of knowledge and master several skills.[2]

Sailors were "mostly ignorant and unlettered people," as one sixteenth-century naval writer put it, while the pilot's craft had become notoriously technical by the middle of the sixteenth century. Among other things, it required measuring the altitude of the sun at noon with an astrolabe, using declination tables, and performing a series of mathematical calculations. Lope Martín must have mastered the material, taken the required courses, and passed the examinations at the House of Trade, the powerful agency in Seville that not only regulated all Spanish commerce with the Americas but also trained and licensed pilots.[3]

Early in the year 1564, Lope Martín accepted a commission to serve as a pilot in one of the four ships that were to sail from western Mexico to Asia and back, thus making the Columbian dream of reaching the East by going west a reality at last. On Monday, November



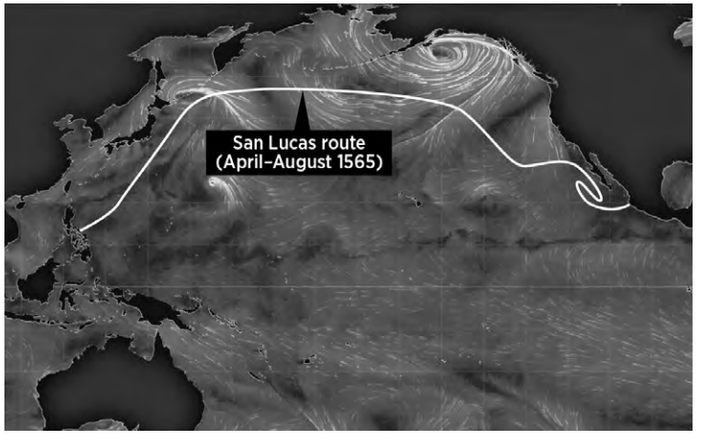
No image of Lope Martín survives, but this image of two slaves working in the Spanish fleets indicates the presence of Black people in their expeditions. Illustration by Christoph Weiditz, circa 1530. Courtesy of Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Digitale Bibliothek. Image 189.

20, 1564, all voyagers boarded their respective ships and prepared to depart. At two or three o'clock in the morning on Tuesday, in the darkest hour, the flagship finally fired a salvo. A crier said something along these lines: "Ease the rope of the foresail, in the name of the Holy Trinity—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, three persons in one single true God—that they may be with us and give us a good and safe voyage, and carry us and return us safely to our homes!"[4]

Merely ten days after departing from the port of Navidad (now Barra de Navidad), during a storm that lasted three or four days, the smallest of the four ships, the *San Lucas*, piloted by Lope Martín, became separated from the other three vessels. They would thus continue the voyage all the way across the Pacific separately. The

San Lucas arrived in the Philippines two weeks ahead of the rest of the fleet. Lope Martín and the rest of the crew attempted to rejoin the other ships. But as fate would have it, they narrowly missed each other. The crew of the *San Lucas* thus faced an agonizing choice: continue to search for the other vessels, all the while consuming their dwindling food supplies; go to the Spice Islands (Indonesia) which could be reached in a few weeks of sailing from the Philippines and surrender to the Portuguese stationed there; or attempt the return voyage by themselves.[5]

The *San Lucas* began the most improvised *vuelta* ever attempted on the Pacific on Easter Sunday, April 22, 1565. This fateful decision happened almost by accident. On that date, the men of the *San Lucas* reached an opening between the islands of Samar and Luzon in the northern Philippines, now called the San Bernardino Strait. After passing through the strait, they could see no more islands ahead. They were at the end of the archipelago. The currents are notoriously strong in the San Bernardino Strait, and there was hardly any wind that day, so the *San Lucas* started drifting into the open ocean. The captain of the *San Lucas* asked his pilot to "consider carefully the best course in the service of God, His Majesty, and to save everyone aboard." Lope Martín's exact words have reached us to reveal his awareness of the last missing piece of the puzzle of the *vuelta*. He said that "it was best to return to Mexico because the summer season was about to start and, if we could gain enough altitude toward the north, we would find very favorable conditions, and that would be better than being captured by the islanders or the Portuguese."6



The first successful *vuelta*. Map commissioned by the author and rendered by Mapping Specialists, Ltd., Fitchburg, Wisconsin.

The pilot's insight is unassailable. To return, they needed to find favorable sailing conditions. First, they had to catch the North Pacific Gyre, a river of currents and winds in the northern Pacific running from Asia to North America. Second, they needed to do so at the right time of the year to benefit from the monsoon, a dramatic seasonal reversal of the winds. Although most people associate the monsoon with the Indian Ocean, it extends into the western Pacific, including the Philippines and the China Seas. This 180-degree shift in wind direction stems from the cooling and warming of the Asian landmass.

The *San Lucas* voyagers traveled northward for weeks to thirty-one degrees of northern latitude to stop at Japan, but it was nowhere in sight. As they traversed up to forty-three degrees of northern latitude, the pioneers ran into a frigid ocean close to the Aleutian Islands. They faced "the greatest cold of winter," as the captain put it, "even though it was the middle of summer in June and

July." On June 11, snow fell on the deck and did not melt until noon. Lamp oil became so frozen that the bottle in which it was kept had to be warmed over a fire, "and it still came out in pieces like lard."[7]

During this long passage, the sails began to deteriorate. The *San Lucas* carried no extra sails or mending equipment, so the crew had to hand-sew the tears with fishing line and eventually they would even have to part with their blankets and clothes to patch the holes. But the most dangerous enemy was not the cold or the ocean, but the rats. After two months at sea, the large rodent population became thirsty, aggressive, and audacious. The only available water aboard the *San Lucas* was sealed in eight casks, "and in desperation the rodents turned to gnawing on the barrels." One day the thirsty creatures perforated two barrels in as many hours, spilling all their contents. By that point, out of eight barrels of water they only had three left; inadequate for a crew of twenty men. To defend what little they had left, the expeditioners were forced to keep a four-man guard by the casks below decks day and night. The guardsmen lit fires to keep the rodents at bay, especially at night, a necessary but extremely dangerous precaution that threatened to burn the entire ship. Yet the rodents kept attacking; the crew "killed between twenty and thirty every night."[8]

Weeks of agonizing sailing in a southeasterly direction brought the voyagers ever closer to the continent until the evening of July 16, 1565, when the North American coastline became faintly visible in the distance. It had been nearly three months since they had decided to return to the Americas. From that point onward, the *San Lucas* voyagers must have expected a comparatively safer

coastal passage to Navidad. In fact, the most dangerous moment occurred not in the middle of the ocean but immediately before reaching their home port. After ten days of coastal sailing, the expeditioners were running fast, with all sails out and a strong breeze pushing from behind. As the wind continued to strengthen, however, the pilot finally gave the order to shorten the mainsail. Unfortunately, it was too late. A few sailors climbed up the mast and started gathering the sails, but as the ship captain recalled, "we were suddenly hit by a blast of wind, sea, and rain, and the blow was so hard that the sail tore away from the hands of the sailors, knocking open two or three heads, and flinging two men on the deck." The *San Lucas* turned abeam to the wind and the large waves, heeling violently with the mast almost touching the water and the men hanging onto anything to stay inside the vessel. Everything above and below decks became pandemonium, "and we could not tell if it was land or sea." Everything on the deck was swept away, along with the helmsman.[9]

The sailors regained control eventually, but not before the *San Lucas* was swept off course. The last few days were excruciating as the ship limped to Navidad carrying men who were naked, thirsty, hungry, and showing very advanced signs of scurvy. They arrived on August 9, 1565. It had taken them three months and twenty days to finally connect Asia and America. Their bold passage caused a burst of excitement in Mexico. The Americas were poised to become the axis mundi, the bridge between East and West. Lope Martín and the other crew members were treated to a hero's welcome.

Yet, their moment of glory ended swiftly. Two months after their arrival at Navidad, another ship in the

expedition washed up on the coast of Mexico. It was the flagship *San Pedro*. In the eyes of the commanding officer of the three ships that had stayed together, the separation that had occurred only ten days after the start of the voyage had been intentional rather than owing to the weather. A lawyer representing the expedition's commander (Miguel López de Legazpi) formally accused the crew of the *San Lucas* of "absconding and becoming absent from the fleet under the cloak of night, without cause, and when the sea was calm, and the weather was good." The accusation was baseless. Yet, it triggered an investigation that threatened the life of Lope Martín, who had been unquestionably the first navigator to go back and forth across the largest ocean in the world. This was how the Spanish crown intended to repay the "Columbus of the Pacific" for his services.[10]

Regular transpacific contact ultimately transformed the world. Among other things, it led to a population boom in Asia, driven by the introduction of New World crops like corn, sweet potatoes, and peanuts. It also created the first global trading system. Economic activities in the Americas came to depend not just on colonial-metropolitan relationships across the Atlantic but on supply and demand around the world—especially in China. Excellent examples are the great silver mines of Peru and Mexico, which constituted a mainstay of the economy of the Americas in colonial times and structured life for hundreds of thousands of Native Americans who directly or indirectly, forcibly or not, became a part of the silver economy. Traditionally, this is told as a story of European empires extracting valuable resources from their American colonies. Left unsaid is that the most important

end-market customer by far was not Europe, but China. All of this was possible because of a transpacific connection first accomplished by Spanish sailors in 1564–1565 and especially by the Afro-Portuguese pilot Lope Martín.

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NOTES

1 The expeditions in question are Juan García Jofre de Loaísa in 1525, Álvaro de Saavedra in 1527, Hernando de Grijalva in 1537, and Ruy López de Villalobos in 1542. For sketches of these voyages, see Amancio Landín Carrasco ed., *Descubrimientos Españoles en el Mar del Sur* 3 vols. (Madrid: Editorial Naval, 1992), passim. The research for this piece is from Andrés Reséndez, *Conquering the Pacific: An Unknown Mariner and the Final Great Voyage of the Age of Discovery* (New York: Mariner Books, 2021), passim.

2 On the requirements and training of pilots, see María Luisa Martín-Merás, "Las enseñanzas náuticas en la Casa de la Contratación de Sevilla" in *La Casa de la Contratación y la navegación entre España y las Indias* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2003), 667–693; and Alison D. Sandman, "Educating Pilots: Licensing Exams, Cosmography Classes, and the Universidad de Mareantes in 16th century Spain," in *Fernando Oliveira and his Era. Humanism and the art of navigation in Renaissance Europe* (1450–1650) (Cascais: Patrimonia, 2000), 99–109. On other pilots of African ancestry see Pablo E. Pérez-Mallaína, *Spain's Men of the Sea: Daily Life on the Indies Fleets in the Sixteenth Century* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 40–41 and 57–58.

3 The quote is from Diego García de Palacio, a well-known writer of naval treatises, quoted in Pérez-Mallaína, *Spain's Men of the Sea*, 37.

4 Log of Pilot Esteban Rodríguez, 1565, CDIU II, Document 33, entries for November 20 and 21. I also consulted the other version in "derroteros y relaciones de los pilotos del viaje a Filipinas," AGI, Patronato 23, R. 16. Exactly what the criers may have said is unknown. This is the version provided by veteran mariner Juan de Escalante de Mendoza while departing for the Indies transcribed in Pérez-Mallaína, *Spain's Men of the Sea*, 69.

5 Don Alonso de Arellano, relación mui circunstanciada . . ., Mexico, 1565, transcribed in *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de ultramar* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1886), Volume III, Document 37 (hereafter CDIU III, Document 37).

6 All quotes are from don Alonso de Arellano, relación mui circunstanciada... , Mexico, 1565, transcribed in CDIU III, Document 37.

7 Don Alonso de Arellano, relación mui circunstanciada... , Mexico, 1565, transcribed in CDIU III, Document 37.

8 The quotes are from don Alonso de Arellano, relación mui circunstanciada... , Mexico, 1565, transcribed in CDIU III, Document 37.

9 The quote is from don Alonso de Arellano. See Reséndez, *Conquering the Pacific*, 157–158.

10 Quotes in Gabriel Díaz, treasurer of the Casa de Moneda in Mexico City and legal representative of Commander Legazpi, accusation against don Alonso de Arellano, Mexico City, November 7, 1565, in CDIU II, 37.

ISABEL BARRETO, A PORTUGUESE CREOLE WOMAN IN COMMAND OF A GALLEON IN THE SOUTH SEA WITH THE PILOT PEDRO FERNANDES DE QUEIRÓS (1595–1596)

MARIA DA GRAÇA A. MATEUS VENTURA

Although the Portuguese were considered foreigners and were subject to restrictive laws in the Spanish Empire, they nevertheless participated in the Spanish discovery and conquest of the New World. Many were the strategies used to evade these restrictive laws: hiding one's place of birth and nationality, presenting a false hometown, marrying in Spain to acquire the vicinity of one's wife, settling in Castile for as long as it took to obtain the status of resident, taking advantage of homonymy, or simply lying. In fact, herein lies an exasperating problem that makes it difficult for us to identify the Portuguese in the Spanish Empire. Not only is it difficult to distinguish between Portuguese and Castilian onomastics, but the spelling itself was identical. To make matters worse, Hispanic sources always recorded Portuguese names as they sounded to the Spanish.

(Opposite page) Detail of route of Mendaña's second voyage, Juan Gil, *En demanda de la isla Salomón—Navegantes olvidados por el Pacífico Sur*, Madrid, Fundación José de Castro, 2020.

Naturalization was the process most used by non-Spanish vassals of the Catholic monarchy to take part freely in American trade. Ultimately, the question of nationality was merely a legal formality that did not prevent Portuguese participation in the imperial project. Furthermore, Portuguese navigators were fundamental to the expansionist aims of the Spanish monarchy. In fact, the matter of nationality was never a significant problem for soldiers or experienced Portuguese navigators sailing under the Spanish flag. That was the case of Isabel Barreto's pilot, Pedro Fernandes de Queirós, in the second expedition to the Solomon Islands, by Mendaña.

In the case of a female "navigator" and her pilot, at least two fundamental questions arise: the issue of nationality and the role of a woman leader of an expedition. This essay utilizes underused sources to challenge traditional Spanish historiography.

Isabel Barreto, the famous governor of the Solomon Islands, was of Portuguese descent, but traditional historiography has misunderstood her nationality. Indeed, from the nineteenth century onwards, Spanish historians appropriated some distinguished Portuguese navigators or omitted their nationality. In addition to Cabrilho and even Soromenho, Isabel Barreto is a case that is still controversial today.[1]

Isabel Barreto was a unique sixteenth-century female navigator about whom many falsehoods have been written, and who inspired authors attracted by women who triumphed in the patriarchal world of the Spanish Empire. Independent, intrepid, for some endowed with a mystical aura, for others fragile in her contradictions, Isabel became the protagonist of a fiction that filled the

silence left by her short life. Novelists, based on real or false data, have written "historical" novels about Isabel Barreto.[2] Thus, we see the repetition of misinformation, such as Isabel's purported Galician family ancestry or the mention of Galicia as her place of birth and burial. She could not be Galician because she was born in Lima, Peru, was a daughter of a Portuguese man, and never went to Galicia. As far as Spanish historians are concerned, the same mistakes are repeated to this day with a few exceptions.[3] In any case, the dominant tendency is to keep the errors of the past and that is why media outlets such as the BBC carry on with documentaries on Isabel Barreto, calling her "the Galician Admiral." In turn, Portuguese historiography ignores this protagonist of the maritime history of the Modern Age.

However, the archival sources for a biographical study of Isabel Barreto offer no doubt about her birthplace and ancestry. Those sources include her own will and inventory of possessions, her father's will, and information provided by her nephews.[4]

Isabel Barreto declared her filiation in her will, which was made in the city where she passed away, Castrovirreina (not in Galicia), on July 15, 1612: "Firstly I declare that I am the legitimate daughter of Nuno Rodriguez Barreto and Dona Mariana de Castro, neighbors of the city of Los Reyes, that my parents married me to Alvaro de Mendaña, *Adelantado* of the Solomon Islands." For his part, Nuno Rodrigues Barreto, her father, clarified his birthplace in his will made in Lima on April 19, 1596, when he was ill: "(...) let those who see this letter be aware that I, Nuno Rodríguez Barreto, a resident of the city of Los Reyes del Peru, a native of the island of the said Madeira, I am

the legitimate son of Manuel Mendez Pereyra and Isabel Gutiérrez, deceased, may God have mercy…" Thus he was born on Madeira Island (Portugal) and went to Peru in the middle sixteenth century. According to his grandchildren, his wife may have belonged to the same extended family through the Borjas, but this assertion has not been proven so far.[5] The couple lived in the manor house that had belonged to Mariana's first husband, Alonso Benito de San Martín, one of the founders of the town of Los Reyes.[6]

Isabel, born in 1567, married the *adelantado* Álvaro de Mendaña in 1586. In 1574, Mendaña signed a new capitulation with Philip II. Under its terms, he undertook to organize a further expedition to the Solomon Islands. In compensation, the Crown conferred upon him the title of marquis and the offices of *adelantado*, governor, and captain general of the Western Islands of the South Sea, for himself and his designated heir. In fact, Isabel's father declared in his will that they had all "received much quality and honor in having married the said *adelantado*."[7] Mendaña's marriage to Isabel allowed him to receive the capital for the second journey (delayed by twenty-one years) and, for her, the possibility of taking part in an epic voyage. Just as Nuno Rodrigues Barreto obtained *encomiendas* and social prestige for his participation in the conquest of Peru and got close to the viceroy's court, Álvaro de Mendaña would also bring honor and glory to the Barreto family.

Finally, in 1595, Isabel and her family made Mendaña's dream come true. Isabel's dowry, 40,000 ducats, allowed Mendaña to buy the galleon *Santa Isabel*, which traveled as an admiralty ship, and the 50,000 pesos contributed by his father-in-law were earmarked for the luggage and

provisioning of the fleet. Clearly this connection was strategic for Barreto's family. In fact, five brothers took part in this mission with some Portuguese sailors and the pilot-in-chief Pedro Fernandes de Queirós, born in Évora (Portugal), who had arrived in Lima the year before.

Queirós's account focuses on the maritime space of 3,600 kilometers between Lima and Manila and on the 317 days spent mostly on board the galleon *San Jerónimo*.[8] In his detailed report, Queirós tells of the conflicts on board, recounts the storms and hunger during the voyage from Callao to Manila, and criticizes the cruelties committed by the Barreto siblings, including Isabel Barreto, characterized as a veritable "Queen of Sheba" to the conciliatory and submissive character of Mendaña. From his account, we can imagine what happened after the death of the *adelantado* Mendaña in Santa Cruz and we can follow the leadership of Isabel, the first woman in command of a galleon. Considering the testimonies of some survivors, especially the Portuguese António Manuel, the pilot's report of events that occurred during the expedition are truthful.[9]

The expedition left the coast of Peru in June 1595. Comprising four ships and over 378 individuals, including men-of-war, sailors, and settlers, the fleet sailed northwest for three months toward the island of Santa Cruz, situated between the New Hebrides and the Solomon Islands in Melanesia. Upon arriving on September 7, they remained unaware of their proximity to the Solomon Islands. What followed in the Graciosa Bay of St. Cruz Island, on land and at sea, was a story of confrontation, conflict, pain, and death.

On October 17, 1595, Mendaña was extremely ill in his bed with malaria, so he dictated a will that he could hardly

sign.[10] He named his brother-in-law Lorenzo Barreto as "captain general of the entire fleet." The following day Mendaña passed away. From the reading of his will, it is clear he followed the clauses of the *asiento* of 1574 that granted him the privilege of naming any successor he wanted.[11] So, he decided to name his wife as governor and his universal inheritor, and he also granted her the rank of marquisate. While a moment of glory for Isabel, the general mood of the voyage was very weak. Her brother Lorenzo was also extremely sick and died fifteen days after Mendaña. After his death, Isabel became the highest authority in the South Sea. Thus, from November 2, 1595, until her arrival in Manila on February 11, 1596, this woman, aged twenty-eight, accumulated the positions of captain general, governor of the Western islands discovered in this expedition, and the title of marquisate. However, it was not Mendaña's decision to grant Isabel the leadership of the expedition. This happened because, after the death of her brother Lorenzo, there was no other legitimate authority on board other than her. And that was her big chance.

Pedro Fernandes de Queirós's report relates the long and dangerous voyage of 20,000 leagues that, for the first time, connected Peru with the Philippines. The author presented himself as a participating narrator. This quality may have affected his choice of facts and the interpretation of Isabel Barreto's behavior, which generated great controversy, given her status as a woman in a men's universe. Considering the prevailing morality, the pilot's comments on Isabel's decisions and the testimonies of the survivors should be treated with caution.

Isabel took on the unexpected leadership of the fleet. After the death of her husband and her brother on Santa Cruz Island, Isabel faced severe troubles on board due to the failure of the expedition. Even so, she firmly imposed her authority. Her determination was to head for Manila and bring priests and settlers to accomplish Mendaña's objective. Faced with imminent chaos, she nevertheless convinced the crew to follow her leadership.

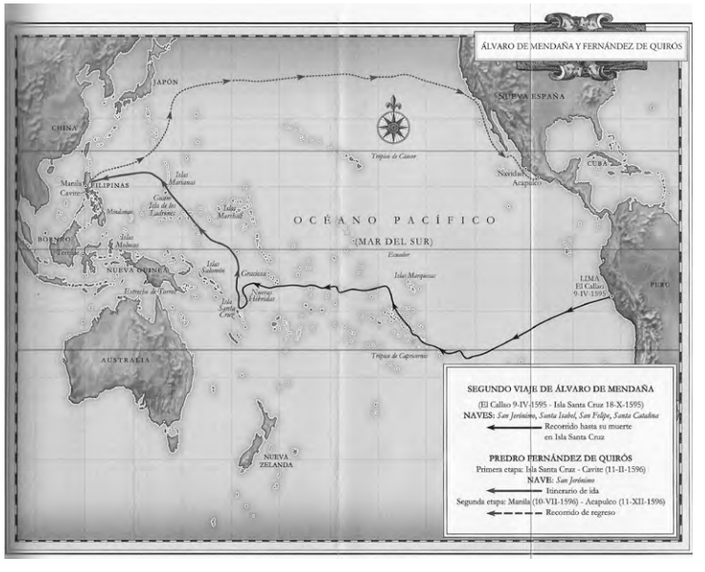
On the way to Manila, three ships were lost, leaving only the galleon *San Jerónimo*. Faced with sickness, hunger, and thirst during this hard and uncertain crossing, Isabel was accused of despotism. She refused to share food and water, arguing that she had invested heavily in the expedition. The madness was total in an inclement sea with a damaged ship and mutinous personnel. Isabel acted shamelessly, perhaps because she felt that being a woman governor in a male-dominated world required obedience by fear. Isabel's supposed despotism and avarice can be understood in the light of her social condition and her need to assert her leadership in a patriarchal world. It is undeniable that her leadership, combined with the pilot's skills, saved the galleon *San Jeronimo* and its 100 people. Isabel achieved the extraordinary goal of crossing the Pacific Ocean from Lima to Santa Cruz Island, as the *adelantado*'s wife and, from there to Manila, as the first and only woman admiral of a sea expedition.

The Portuguese pilot recorded in his diary this sentence: "Look that we have brought this ship from so far and through remote lands and parts, by a route never sailed before." It was true! After almost a year of a tormented voyage, the galleon finally arrived in Cavite, Manila, on February 11, 1596. The survivors were received

in triumph, with particular attention given to Isabel. Prominent local authorities came from the city to see the ship from Peru, which was said to carry the Queen of Sheba from the Solomon Islands.[12]

A few months later, in Manila, Isabel Barreto married general Fernando de Castro, and the two left for Mexico, passing by California, in the galleon *San Jeronimo*, driven, again, by the Portuguese pilot. Later, they settled in Castrovirreina, Peru. Fernando de Castro reclaimed the title of marquisate that Isabel had inherited from Mendaña and even tried to get permission to organize a new expedition to the Solomon Islands. He failed. It was Pedro Fernandes de Queirós who, in 1605, commanded the expedition that reached a large island he considered to be part of the southern continent he was looking for, which he called Terra Austral or Australia of the Holy Spirit. In fact, he reached the archipelago later called the New Hebrides.

Isabel Barreto was a bold and brilliant woman who stood out in a man's world. Her destiny took place on a ship that crossed the Pacific and did not perish thanks to her perseverance and the skill of the Portuguese pilot, the sole narrator of the ill-fated expedition to the Solomon Islands. Queirós was an expert pilot who sailed without a map, in an unknown sea, at the helm of a damaged ship. Isabel, from the top of her cabin, indomitably forward, faced the whirlwind of rebellion. In the midst of chaos, she stood firm and charted the right course, facing the storms with courage and endurance. And so, Isabel's odyssey in the South Seas became legend: the Queen of Sheba who faced the fury of the sea and of men and who, with discernment, steered her galleon *San Jeronimo* into



Route of Mendaña's second voyage to the Solomon Islands with Isabel Barreto and Pedro Fernandes de Queirós. Source: Juan Gil, *En demanda de la isla Salomón—Navegantes olvidados por el Pacífico Sur*, Madrid, Fundación José de Castro, 2020.[13]

the safe harbor of Manila, saving more than a hundred people. Four centuries later, Isabel Barreto occupies a prominent place in maritime history for her audacity and leadership, defying social atavism by asserting herself as a woman in a world traditionally reserved for men.

Isabel Barreto was born in Lima, daughter of an important Portuguese conqueror and *encomendero*, Pizarro's companion. Her leading position in the command of a Spanish fleet is unique. In fact, the second expedition to the Solomon Islands became a symbolic achievement for Barreto's family. The Barreto surname still exists today and has its origins in Isabel's father, Nuno Rodrigues Barreto. The same way Isabel achieved a place in history

as the first admiral of the South Sea, Pedro Fernandes de Queirós also took a place in maritime history, not only for his competence in piloting the *San Jerónimo* (1595–1596), but also for his expedition to Terra Australis (1605–1606).

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NOTES

1 On this matter, see in particular the following three references: F. Mellén Blanco, "Genealogía de Isabel Barreto, una mujer que atravesó el Pacífico en el siglo XVI". In M. Luque y M. M. Manchado (Coords.). *Un océano de intercambios. Hispanoasia (1521–1898)* (Madrid: Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional, 2008), 103–107. Juan Gil, *En demanda de la Isla del Rey Salomon: Navegantes olvidados por el Pacífico (Relaciones de los viajes de Álvaro de Mendaña, Pedro Fernández de Quirós y Diego de Prado)* (Madrid: Fundación José Antonio de Castro, 2020). Maria da Graça A. Mateus Ventura, *Por este mar adentro: êxitos e fracassos de mareantes e emigrantes do Algarve na América Hispânica* (Lisboa: Edições Tinta da China, 2022).

2 See in particular: Pemón Bouzas, *El informe Manila: Isabel Barreto, la mujer que surco los mares del Sur en busca de la ruta de las especias* (Madrid: Martínez Roca, 2005). Annie Baert, *Marquise de la Mer du Sud. Les premiers voyages espagnols en Océanie par dona Isabel Barreto* (Au vents des Isles, 2011). Alexandra Lapierre, *Serás reina del mundo* (Barcelona: Planeta, 2013). Eva García, *La casa del algodón*. Madrid: Agua Editorial, 2023.

3 See F. Mellén Blanco, "Genealogía de Isabel Barreto, una mujer que atravesó el Pacífico en el siglo XVI". See also Juan Gil, *En demanda de la Isla del Rey Salomon*.

4 *Isabel Barreto's Will*, Castrovirreina, 15 July 1612, Library of Congress, Harkness Collection, History of the Spanish Peru, box 17, doc. 951; Nuno Rodrigues Barreto's Will, Lima, 19 April 1596, Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Contratación, 253, N. 1, R. 13; *Informations: Juan de Villegas Barreto de Aragón*, Lima, 1666, AGI, Lima, 257, N. 10.

5 AGI, Lima, 257, N. 10.

6 *Libro 3º de los cabildos de esta ciudad de los Reyes (1548–1553)*, fol. 148v, Repositorio digital de la Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, bnp.gob.pe/bnp/recursos.

7 Nuno Rodrigues Barreto's will. Lima, 19-IV-1596. Archivo General de Indias (Sevilla, España), Contratación, 253, N. 1, R. 13, fl. 7.

8 *The voyages of Pedro Fernandez de Quirós, 1595 to 1596* (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1904). See also Juan Gil (2020), *En demanda de la Isla del Rey Salomon*.

9 AGI, Patronato, 18, N. 10, R. 8, *Expediente de Doña Isabel Barreto*, 1598. Fols. 70–261.

10 *Copy of the Will of Álvaro de Mendaña*, Ciudad de México, 13 February 1598, AGI, Patronato, 18, N. 10, R. 8, Fls. 42–42 v. AGI, Indiferente, 415, L. 1, Fls. 280r–280v.

11 *Royal Decree of Captainship taken with Álvaro de Mendaña to discover, to settle and pacify the Western islands that are in the South Sea*, Madrid, 27 April 1574, AGI, Indiferente, 415, L. 1, fols 278r–285r.

12 Besides Queirós' report, see Letter from Antonio de Morga to the King Philipe II, AGI, Filipinas, 18B, R. 6, N. 51.

13 In the original caption in the map, there is a typo, as the name should be spelled "Pedro." We thank the publishers for the authorization to reprint this map here and note that correction at their request.

NAVIGATING FAITH, FLAG, AND FEAR: FRANCIS DRAKE'S CAPTIVE PORTUGUESE MARINERS AND ENGLAND'S NASCENT PACIFIC ASCENDANCE

STEVE WRIGHT

When João Rodrigues Cabrilho (Spanish: Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo) sailed along the North American coast, he could hardly have foreseen that thirty-seven years later, the audacious English corsair, Francis Drake, would venture into those same Spanish-controlled waters. Drake's exploits would send shockwaves through the region and trigger alarms in the Spanish court as he systematically plundered Spanish assets. Moreover, while Drake amassed an immense fortune for his sovereign, Queen Elizabeth, he did so with minimal violence and astounding ease, deepening the sense of crisis among the Spaniards. However, his success was facilitated by non-English mariners, particularly Portuguese pilots—men who found themselves caught amidst competing imperial powers that threatened their personal security and religious fidelities. Consequently, Drake's legendary Pacific voyage was not a purely English achievement but depended on the forced expertise of Portuguese mariners, particularly pilots who navigated under duress.

(Opposite page) Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger's portrait of Sir Francis Drake, circa 1591. Drake publicly credited Portuguese pilots for his successful circumnavigation (1577–1580). Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons.

When Drake embarked from Plymouth, England on November 15, 1577 to begin his circumnavigating expedition, he did so in an era when circumstances favored bold mariners. Driven by Elizabeth's lack of official naval assets, the rise of England's national ethos and Protestantism, a robustly emerging intellectual life, and a growing merchant-adventurer class, a daring English mariner with foresight and navigational prowess found himself amidst a sea of lucrative opportunities. As such, Drake's skills and ambitions aligned perfectly with England's needs, coalescing to set him on a voyage that intertwined exploration with plunder and geopolitical intrigue.

Drake recognized the perilous nature of his journey, one that would take him into vaguely documented waters utterly alien to him. The English corsair carried three navigation books: one written in French, another in English, and Magellan's *Discovery*, in what language is unknown.[1] Moreover, he carried a navigation chart made specifically for him in Lisbon.[2] Thus prepared, Drake augmented his materials and talents with those of experienced pilots, accepting no substitute for mariners trained in the hazardous waters that awaited him. Enlisting unwilling foreign pilots was a minor challenge, but Drake's personal threats swiftly compelled cooperation. Without exception, all the pressed mariners' actions must be viewed with this duress and manipulation in mind.

Facing a shortage of qualified Spanish mariners, Spain relied heavily on foreign pilots, so they were common in the empire's Pacific waters. Among those Drake pressed into service were four Portuguese mariners: Nuno da Silva, Gaspar Martim, Custódio Rodrigues, and João Pascoal. It must be understood, however, that

while Drake's achievements were supported by skilled pilots, his own maritime abilities were exceptional. This is evidenced by his astonishing nonstop voyage from Java to Sierra Leone—a feat unmatched until the late eighteenth century.[3] Moreover, his prisoner, Portuguese pilot Nuno da Silva (Spanish: Nuño de Silva), referred to Drake as "a great mariner."[4] Nonetheless, the English navigator understood his mission's demands exceeded his personal abilities and recognized the crucial role experienced pilots could play.

Da Silva was a skilled transoceanic navigator with expertise in dead reckoning and celestial positioning, complemented by intimate knowledge of Brazilian coastlines. The others were coastal pilots, adept with local landmarks, currents, tidal races, hazards, and depths. Their greatest value lay in their intimate familiarity of the regions where they were captured, enabling Drake to find supplies, avoid detection, sidestep threats, and guide him to desired destinations. Drake had faced costly consequences due to his lack of local knowledge, particularly when seeking fresh water. Three times, Drake's crew had faced sudden attacks resulting in the deaths of five men and injuries to ten others, including Drake. These unanticipated attacks proved too severe for the English crew, and the decision to press local pilots into service resulted in a marked reduction of crew losses.

The first Portuguese pilot who reluctantly served Drake was da Silva, a well-seasoned mariner whose fate became deeply intertwined with Drake's after the English corsair seized him and his caravel, the *Santa Maria*, in the waters off the Cape Verde archipelago.[5] Described as a "Portuguese pilot, married, citizen of the town of Gaia in

the district of the city of Oporto, and a native of Lisbon," much of what we know about da Silva's life comes from a wealth of surviving Spanish documents, including his logbook, depositions, and associated documents.[6]

Beginning on January 19, 1577, da Silva served the Englishmen faithfully and skillfully until his discharge in April 1579 at Guatulco. He was the only Portuguese pilot to serve Drake in both the Atlantic and Pacific, and his contributions to the expedition's success were extensive. Da Silva provided invaluable charts covering regions from the River Plate to the Cape of Good Hope, and his knowledge of Brazilian waters stemmed from years of experience.[7] Da Silva first crossed the Atlantic as a boy of eight, learning navigation under the tutelage of his uncle, Adão Fernandes (Adan Fernandez, in the Hispanicized version at the time), an accomplished navigator who taught the young da Silva during transatlantic crossings to Brazil.[8]

Da Silva unquestionably saved Drake's flotilla from destruction on two separate occasions. The first instance came when he guided the expedition through dense fog, safely steering past a perilous, rocky lee shore of Brazil. The second occurred when he warned the Englishmen against entering the Bay of Todos os Santos, cautioning that Portuguese galleys were stationed there—an encounter that could have doomed the entire mission. Francis Fletcher, the expedition's chaplain, characterized the intense gravity of these situations, recording, "So that if the Portugall pilot had not ben [sic] apointed of God to do us good, we had perished without remembrance."[9] Even though da Silva's geographical knowledge reached its limit at the River Plate, Drake was likely impressed

with the Portuguese pilot's skills and so retained him. Da Silva acclimated well to life with the English crew. Spanish witnesses recounted that he was fully accepted and well-treated by Drake as evidenced by his participation in the English crew's Protestant religious services, use of the English language, and his regular presence at Drake's table. Often, prisoners noted da Silva's silence in their presence, a defensive ploy to avoid an Iberian identification. Da Silva's discreet manner is further revealed in John Drake's custom of referring to the pilot using an Anglicized version of his name, Sylvester; both versions of the name meaning of *the forest*.[10] Possibly, Drake's familiar use of Sylvester was due to da Silva adopting the name "to serve as a disguise."

As a Catholic, da Silva confronted a difficult challenge of reconciling his religious convictions while serving in a Protestant crew, a necessity to evade detection by both his fellow Catholics and his English captors. Partaking in Protestant religious services, he was forced to negotiate a precarious situation, maintaining his Catholic identity while avoiding any actions that might be construed as heretical by captive co-religionists.

For reasons that remain unclear, Drake abruptly abandoned da Silva when embarking from Guatulco, Mexico on April 16, 1579. Mexican authorities immediately held the Portuguese pilot for interrogation and depositions. When inventoried by his Spanish captors, his personal belongings revealed a share of the bounty: among the list of largely mundane items such as "one old sack-coat of black cloth" and "one wooden pail," there were also two and a half yards of blue, opulent Chinese damask silk, material evidence suggesting awards for his

efforts.[11] Prosecuted by the Mexican Inquisition in 1582, da Silva's participation in religious services aboard Drake's flagship, the *Golden Hind*, proved to be his greatest sin, resulting in extraordinary suffering when subjected to questioning by the Inquisitors of Mexico who acted on charges "that he had assisted in prayers and sermons" without compulsion or duress.[12] Despite acknowledging that he had received communion twice in his own custom, he was subjected to interrogation under torture and denied all other allegations.[13] Ultimately, da Silva was sentenced in an *auto-da-fé*, a public act that included confession and contrition, and "perpetually exiled from the Indies."[14]

` Evidence is scant about da Silva's later years but strongly suggests that Drake belatedly compensated the exploited Portuguese mariner after returning to England.[15] Moreover, given England's attempts to replace Philip II with the pretender Don Antonio on the Portuguese throne and da Silva's exile from the Indies, da Silva plausibly viewed sailing under English sanction as the only way to return to seafaring after serving with Drake. A 1593 Spanish colonial report on English corsair attacks describes their guide as a "chief pilot, a Portuguese, 65 years old, married in Plymouth, and another called Martin Jaco, who entered this southern sea with Captain Francisco Drake, a great sailor and 60 years old."[16] While it is tempting to believe da Silva relocated to Plymouth and served under English colors, assigning this identification to da Silva remains uncertain. Nonetheless, da Silva stands out as elite in his craft, and distinguished historian John Sugden regards the Portuguese pilot as one of the finest mariners of the era.[17]

Unlike da Silva, who endured extended captivity, Drake held other pilots for only a few weeks before releasing them. Shortly before arriving at Callao de Lima, Drake pressed another Portuguese pilot into service—Gaspar Martim (Spanish: Gaspar Martín).[18] Little is known about him, as sources provide scant information on the mariner. If Martim was deposed, the records remain lost, and no extant accounts exist from other witnesses to suggest his testimony was documented.

On February 6, 1579, at the port of Arica, Drake pressed the Flemish mariner Nicolas Jorje into service as a coastal pilot, placing him aboard the *Golden Hind*, where he was present when Drake's men assaulted the ship of Martim, a mariner Jorje knew.[19] Speaking with Drake, Jorje discovered that the corsair had learned hearsay details about nearby treasure ships through comments extracted from Gaspar Martim. Drake failed to seize two of these ships, those of Miguel Angel and Andres Muriel, both vessels heavily burdened with silver. However, Martim also informed the English corsair about San Juan de Antons's fabulously laden ship, the *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*. In addition to informing Drake that she was sailing for Panama, Martim also indicated that the vessel was stopping at other ports to take on loads of flour, indispensable knowledge Drake required to stalk the ship.[20]

Drake's next encounter with a Portuguese pilot occurred at the port of Paita, Peru on February 20, 1579, when he pressed the fifty-year-old pilot Custódio Rodrigues (Spanish: Custodio Rodriguez) into service.[21] Aboard his *fregata* which was harbored in the port, Rodrigues was engaged in coastal cabotage and transporting a variety of goods, including wine, wax, and a native canoe—each of

which Drake seized before casting off Rodrigues's vessel.[22]

Rodrigues also furnished Drake with vital information regarding the *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*, revealing that the ship sailed two days ahead of the *Golden Hind*, intelligence that prompted the corsair to set full sail without delay and give chase.[23] After capturing the vessel at sea between Cape San Francisco and Punta Gulera, the Englishmen spent six days removing the treasure.[24] The haul included a load of twenty-six tons of silver bars, fourteen chests of silver reales, and eighty pounds of gold—a stupendous amount that equaled about half of the English Crown's annual revenue.[25] Rodrigues gave a good account of his and his fellow prisoner's detention, saying they were treated well while only complaining about having to eat meat on Friday and during Lent. With an explanatory note, he said, "This was because they were Lutherans and gave them to eat what they ate themselves."[26]

On April 4, 1579, when Drake captured the ship of the Spanish nobleman Don Francisco Zarate, he was unaware of Zarate's ties to one of Spain's most prominent families, a connection established through his cousin, the Duke of Medina.[27] Intercepting Zarate's vessel off the coast of Guatemala, the English crew approached with skilled deception aboard the *Golden Hind* and Tello's bark—a *fregata* captured from Rodrigo Tello off the island of Caño on March 20, 1579.[28] They easily overtook Zarate's ship with arquebus warning shots, and the Spaniards offered no resistance as the Englishmen boarded the ship "as though they were our friends."[29] Aboard the nobleman's vessel was the Portuguese pilot João Pascoal (Spanish: Juan Pascual), who later guided Drake to his final stop in Spanish-occupied territory: a raid on the port town

of Guatulco, Mexico. Much of our knowledge of Pascoal comes from his depositions given to clerical authorities: the first, taken on March 5, 1580, in Acapulco, Mexico; the second, on May 13, 1580, in Guatulco, Mexico.[30] Pascoal was a twenty-six-year-old native of Villanova de los Algarves, likely the current city of Portimão in the southernmost province of mainland Portugal.[31] Before the close of his first day in captivity, Drake summoned Pascoal, likely suspecting his pilot's status, and under threat of hanging, coerced Pascoal aboard the *Golden Hind*, where he became Drake's tool.

When Pascoal boarded the *Golden Hind*, he and Alonso Sanchez Colchero, a pilot Drake previously captured aboard Tello's bark, immediately recognized each other. Taking initiative by embracing Pascoal, Colchero engaged the young man in conversation, calming his companion's fears of execution at the hands of the English. At the same time, Colchero shifted his allegiance, offering the Englishmen useful information about Pascoal, telling them, "This youth will lead you to where there is water and fuel, for he knows very well where they are."[32]

Unready to acquiesce, Pascoal replied, "It is true that this man knows me, but I know nothing of latitude or things about navigation, and I could but poorly guide you to where there are water and fuel."[33] Disbelieving the betrayed Pascoal, Drake declared he would hang and behead the mariner should he refuse to cooperate. Confronted with two poor options, Pascoal guided Drake to Guatulco, and Colchero was released to Zarate. Once the small town was firmly under English control, Drake had Pascoal shackled and placed aboard the fregata, and Pascoal soon informed his captors where they could

acquire water.[34] By guiding the corsairs to Guatulco, Pascoal delivered the Englishmen to a location that provided provisions including food, water, and clothing–supplies indispensable to the success of the voyage's next leg. Drake released Pascoal along with da Silva, and the following day (April 16, 1579), the crew set sail westward from the Mexican coast for 500 leagues before catching north winds and eventually making landfall after sixty-three days in what is now northern California. This leg of the journey marked the first time in 482 days that Drake had sailed without the services of at least one Portuguese pilot.

Promising to "state the truth" in his deposition to the Inquisitor examining him, Pascoal had some final words to offer regarding the Englishman, noting "that he did not see Francis Drake do any harm to anyone, on the contrary, he made them [prisoners] eat at his table."[35] When pressed by the Inquisitor as to why he helped Drake find water, Pascoal—apparently sensing a subtle accusation of disloyalty—responded simply and effectively: Drake would have beheaded him, and "he had killed many others, and that it would be nothing to kill them all."[36] Pascoal continued to embellish his testimony, saying that all of Drake's "men trembled before him… with hats in hand, bowing to the ground," further contradicting his previous descriptions of Drake's decent behavior.[37] To reinforce this loyalty to the Spanish crown, Pascoal immediately related his part in misinforming Drake about Acapulco, information that prompted the corsair to avoid the port.[38] Overall, Pascoal's commitment to honesty appears conditional, influenced more by captivity and survival realities than strictly factual accuracy.

The contributions of Portuguese pilots are revealed

by Spain's Ambassador to England, Bernardino Mendoza, who reported that Drake publicly stated "that had it not been for Portuguese pilots… he could never have made the journey," and their experiences demonstrate how individually coerced acts became catalysts for larger historical dynamics, as these mariners inadvertently accelerated England's emergence as a formidable maritime power while simultaneously exposing vulnerabilities of Spain's colonial empire.[39] While driven by imperial ambitions, the geopolitical shifts of the late sixteenth century were also shaped in significant ways by the lived experiences of sailors who grappled with vexed circumstances impacting their loyalty, faith, captivity, and survival.

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30 Juan Pascual, "Deposition of Juan Pascual," in *New Light on Drake*, edited by Zelia Nuttall (1914; repr., Kraus, 1967), 332.
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33 Ibid.
34 Pascual, "Deposition of Juan Pascual," 337.
35 Ibid, 332, 338.
36 Ibid, 338.
37 Ibid, 339.
38 Nuttall, *New Light on Drake*, 339.
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PORTUGUESE MEN IN THOMAS CAVENDISH'S CIRCUMNAVIGATION VOYAGE (1586–1588)

LOURDES DE ITA

During the fifteenth century, Portugal gained knowledge, prestige, and commercial opportunities navigating the islands and coastline of western Africa. Prince Henry of Portugal, nicknamed Henry the Navigator (1394–1460), was a visionary who would invest time and resources in cartography and navigation projects. By the end of his life, the Portuguese had already reached the south of Sierra Leone. His legacy would continue in successive generations. Twenty-eight years after Prince Henry's death, Bartolomeu Dias crossed the Cape of Good Hope for the first time in history and navigated the Indian Ocean. Only four years after that, in a Castilian mission, Christopher Columbus arrived on the Island of Guanahaní in the Caribbean Sea, starting the European colonization of the American continent.[1]

The Spanish and Portuguese voyages of the end of the fifteenth century led to the *Inter Caetera* papal bull from 1493 and the Treaty of Tordesillas signed by the Kingdom of Portugal and the Crown of Castille in 1494, establishing a virtual "line of demarcation" at 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde islands off the west coast of Africa.[2] The lands

(Opposite page) Thomas Cavendish at the age of twenty-eight, when he set sail for his circumnavigation voyage (1586–1588). Engraving by Jodocus Hondius. Courtesy of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

east of the line were assigned to Portugal and those to the west to Castile, allowing each to claim territories not ruled by Christians in order to "Christianize" their inhabitants.

The Treaty of Tordesillas was not well received by the other monarchs of Atlantic Europe, particularly the kingdoms of France and England. To destabilize the Iberians, navigators from those realms would seize ships and ports of Spain and Portugal in the Americas.

THE FIRST CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF THE EARTH BY FERNÃO DE MAGALHÃES AND SEBASTIAN ELCANO (1519–1522)

In 1518, the young Spanish king Charles I accepted from Fernão de Magalhães (Ferdinand Magellan) the interesting proposal to undertake a circumnavigation voyage, venturing to cross the unknown straits of the South of the so-called "New World." Only five years before, the Spanish conquerors had learned from the native population of Panama that there was an ocean beyond the mainland of the Indies. In 1513, they showed that sea to Vasco Nunez de Balboa, who called that ocean "The South Sea."[3] Balboa had explored it near the Central American isthmus before his father-in-law had him arrested and killed in January 1519. By then, King Charles had become very interested in the exploration of that ocean.

Thus, the Portuguese Fernão de Magalhães departed from Seville on August 10, 1519 and set sail from Sanlúcar de Barrameda in Spain on September 20, 1519 with five ships and around 250 men. They reached the South American strait that bears Magellan's name (which he had called the *Strait of All Saints*) on October 21, 1520, passed

it in thirty-eight days, and managed to navigate the South Sea. Calling it the *Pacific Ocean*, after about three and a half months of sailing they arrived at Cebu Island in April 1521 and became the first Europeans to cross it.

On April 27, some days after their arrival, Magellan died in a battle on the island of Mactan. The Basque mariner Sebastián Elcano took command of the expedition from there, sailing the Indian Ocean westwards, passing by the Cape of Good Hope, and arriving back in Sanlúcar and Seville in September 1522 with only one vessel and eighteen survivors.[4] Magellan's enterprise was a milestone in the history of navigation that was recorded not only by Pigafetta's relation, but celebrated in several iconic maps even decades after the 1520s.[5]

NUNO DA SILVA AND THE CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF THE GLOBE BY FRANCIS DRAKE (1577–1580)

The second circumnavigation of the globe did not occur for another fifty-eight years in a tense European political context. Anglo-Spanish relations had deteriorated throughout the sixteenth century due to the English Reformation and English attacks and intrusions on ships and ports in Spanish America. Captains John Hawkins and Francis Drake had conducted several illegal slave trade voyages to the Caribbean and had learned about Spanish naval defenses in ports and vessels.[6]

This second circumnavigation voyage was an enterprise backed by the English Crown. It was achieved by Francis Drake, who had been sent by high officials and privy councilors of the English Crown, and Queen Elizabeth I herself, in order to explore the northwest coast of the American continent and determine if there was a

passage that would connect the Atlantic Ocean with the Pacific through North America. Drake had been sailing and raiding Spanish coastal settlements in the Atlantic for several years already, and this time he would try to emulate Magellan's voyage, departing from Plymouth with five vessels and 164 men.

In December 1577, in the Islands of Cape Verde, Drake captured the Portuguese pilot Nuno da Silva, who became key for Drake's success crossing the Pacific.[8] After arriving in the Straits, Drake and his company managed to pass the Strait of Magellan in the amazing record of sixteen days. Afterwards, the company sailed northward along the Pacific coast of South and Central America, surprising the Spaniards who were not prepared to resist Drake's entrances and attacks on the ports and vessels in the so-called "Spanish Lake."[9] After ransacking the port of Huatulco in New Spain, they sailed north looking for the alleged Northwest passage. Not finding it, they returned to the latitude of California and took possession of the land in the name of Queen Elizabeth I, calling it *Nova Albion*. Finally, and thanks to the expertise of Nuno da Silva, they crossed the Pacific and returned to England on September 26, 1580.[10] Like Magellan's, Drake's circumnavigation voyage became a milestone in sixteenth-century travels.

PORTUGUESE MEN IN THOMAS CAVENDISH CIRCUMNAVIGATION VOYAGE

Drake's "famous voyage" set the tone for the third circumnavigation of the world, executed by another Englishman, Thomas Cavendish, who departed from Plymouth on July 21, 1586—five years and ten months after

Drake's arrival in London from his "famous voyage," with 123 men and three ships: *The Desire* (the admiral), of 120 tons capacity; *The Content* (the vice-admiral), of sixty tons; and *The Hugh Gallant* (the rear admiral), a barge of forty tons.

The company passed by the Canary and the Cape Verde Islands. In Sierra Leone, they attempted but failed to apprehend a Portuguese ship, most likely hoping to seize an experienced pilot as Drake had done. However, on August 28, 1586, they found another Portuguese man hiding in the bushes. They took him to their ship where Cavendish proceeded to question him. The writer of the account, one of the members of the expedition, mentioned that in order to make the captive talk, and to "talk the truth," they "bound him and made him fast." He does not say for how long, but they stayed in Sierra Leone one more week. At the end, the prisoner told them that his name was Emmanuel and that he was a caulker and had been part of a shipwreck. He warned them that it was very dangerous to go up with their boats to seek another ship that was in the town.[11] The account does not say it, but it seems they took Emmanuel with them across the Atlantic. Kidnapping skilled tradesmen was a formula that Cavendish practiced during his voyage, even more than Drake.[12]

On September 6, 1586 the company left Sierra Leone and returned to Cape Verde. Four days later they headed towards Brazil, arriving on the last day of October. On November 1, they landed on the island of Saint Sebastian, where they stayed until November 23, repairing their ships and building a pinnace to get to the shallow waters. A canoe arrived with some natives

from Brazil and a Portuguese man who knew one of the English, the master of the admiral, who had been at Saint Vincent five years before. According to the account, they "suffered the Portugal to go with a letter unto him" asking for fresh victuals. This leads me to conclude they took Emmanuel with them across the Atlantic, assuming he was the Portuguese that was sent to the other Brazilian-Portuguese. In any case, they were not helped by the Portuguese of Saint Sebastián, so they advanced southward. Twenty-three days later they entered a harbor that Cavendish named "Port Desire."[13] It is interesting that some of the names that they proposed in those days, such as Port Desire, are still in use: "Puerto Deseado," in the Argentinian Patagonia.

The company kept sailing southward, and on January 6, 1587 they entered the Strait of Magellan. They spent forty-nine days crossing the Strait, and they could only fulfill the crossing thanks to the help of a famished former guardian soldier of the Strait, Tomé Hernandez, whom they took with them.

On February 24, 1587 they entered the Pacific Ocean and coasted northward, looting places such as the island called Santa Maria (present day Chile), where they encountered an indigenous village. They stole from some Natives, who had treated them well, a large quantity of grain, chickens, pigs, and vegetables that Natives had stored and prepared to hand over as tribute.[14]

In the Bay of Quintero (Chile), Tomé Hernandez managed to escape from Cavendish and his crew when he fled with the three Spanish horsemen they had sent him to talk with. In revenge they tried to burn the city, but could not find it.

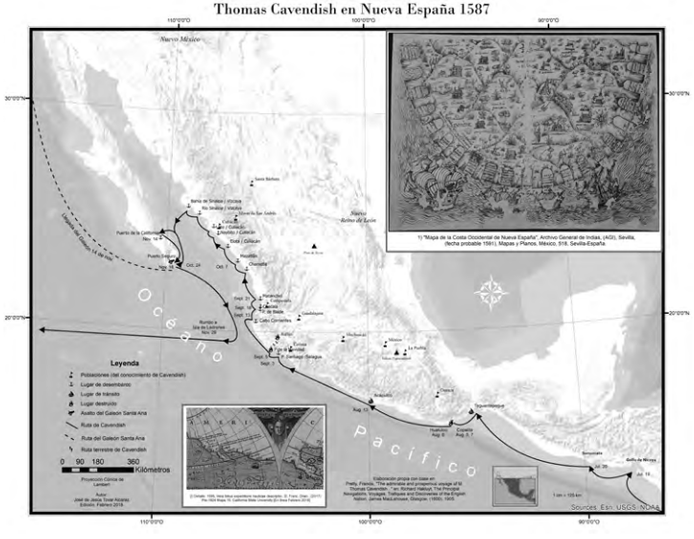
Cavendish's fleet kept raiding several ships and towns and lost twenty-four men in the process. The company captured an "Indian Captain" from Puna Island and tortured him for three weeks, tying him very tightly until he told them that in Guayaquil two ships were being built for the King of Spain. The Cavendish expedition was impressed by Guayaquil, but burned it to the ground nonetheless. The members of the expedition were also surprised to learn that the Puna Indian captain was a very rich man married to a Spanish woman.

Near Puna, in early June 1587, as there were only ninety-nine men left in the company, they sank their rear admiral ship, the *Hugh Gallant*, and made their way northward. On July 1, they "had a sight of the coast of Nueva Espanna."[15]

ON THE COAST OF NEW SPAIN

On July 26, 1587, Cavendish's men came to the Copalita River, where they stocked up on water and then rowed to Huatulco in the pinnace. Huatulco had once been an important port for commerce between New Spain and Peru but now functioned as a regional trading center. The next day they found in Huatulco a bark of fifty tons coming from Sonsonate, Guatemala, loaded with the expensive products of cacao and Añile. The crew of the bark and the population of the port escaped to the woods as they used to do when "pirates" reached the coast.

Francis Pretty, who wrote the report of this Cavendish voyage, recorded that on July 27, 1587 the company landed in Huatulco and burnt the town, "where there were some hundred houses…[and] a church and custom-house which was very fair and large." In the warehouse, there were 600 bags of anile to dye cloths (each bag



Cavendish in the west coast of New Spain, 1587. Map design by Jesus Tovar with information from Lourdes de Ita.

worth forty crowns), and 400 bags of cacao (each bag being worth ten crowns), totaling 28,000 crowns. They also found a basket "full of boxes of balme." They burnt all those goods and departed to their ships.[16]

Two days later Cavendish landed near Huatulco and with thirty men went on shore two miles into the woods where they found a customs officer, a *mestizo* named Miguel de Trujillo. With him they found "two chambers full of his stuffe" and brought him aboard with his things. They kept Miguel de Trujillo for five days, "examining the said mestizo" while they stocked up on water for the ships. Ultimately, they let him go without his belongings. Knowing the Manilla galleon had not arrived yet, they sailed past Acapulco without landing. But on August 24, Cavendish took thirty men of the crew in the pinnace and

landed in Puerto de Navidad. They found "a mulato in his bedde" who possessed letters containing information about Cavendish's activities along the coast of Nueva Galicia. They killed his horse and took the letters but left him behind. They burned the houses and two big ships that were being built there. Two days later, they landed in the Bay of Santiago where they watered at the river and took plantains and fish.

On September 3, 1587, they arrived in Malacca Bay and at noon, for the third time, Cavendish took thirty men and went inland about two leagues to an indigenous village called Acatlán, where there were twenty or thirty houses and a church, which they vandalized. All the villagers fled when they saw the intruders.

On September 8, 1587, they arrived in Chacala:

> The 9 in the morning our Generall sent up Captaine Havers with fortie men of us before day, and Michael Sancius being our guide, wee went unto a place about two leagues up into the country in a most villainous desart path through the woods and wildernesse: and in the ende we came to a place where we tooke three householders with their wives and children and some Indians, one carpenter which was a Spainard, and a Portugall, wee bound them all and made to come to the sea-side with us. Our generall made their wives to fetch us Plantans, Lymmons, and Oranges, Pine-aples and other fruites whereof they had abundance, and so let their husbandes depart, except...the Spanish Carpenter, and Diego the Portugal.[17]

This is the third Portuguese to be taken by Cavendish and his men. After this episode they passed Mazatlán and, nearby to the north, took fruits and watered their ships. One of their Spanish prisoners escaped, and on October 9, 1587, they departed for Cape Saint Lucas, where they would arrive five days later.

In San Lucas they waited for the *Santa Anna* galleon until November 4, when they finally saw it. After a fight that lasted almost a whole day, they took the galleon and put the passengers on shore, picking up all the things they could take with them before they set fire to the ship and its remaining contents.

Cavendish took with him two young Japanese, who were twenty and seventeen years old and could read and write their own language, and three young Filipinos (about fifteen, thirteen, and nine years old).[18] Another Portuguese arrived with the passengers from Manila: Nicolas Rodrigo, possibly a merchant. Cavendish took him as well. "He also tooke from them, one Nicholas Roderigo, a Portugall, who hath not only bene in Canton and other parts of China, but also in the islands of Japon being a countrey most rich in silver mynes and hath also beene in the Philippinas."[19]

EPILOGUE

Reviewing the chronicle of Thomas Cavendish's circumnavigation voyage, we recognize that he was capturing and taking with him all the persons he thought might be of any use for his plans. Regarding the Portuguese, he was interested in counting on them, on the one hand, because they were the people who could legally navigate the Indian Ocean and beyond, traveling from east to west. On the other hand, he wanted to bring them on board because they knew the language that could be understood in that part of the world.

The chronicle does not tell us what happened with the three Portuguese that Cavendish took with him. We do not know what happened with Emmanuel, who was taken in Africa, nor with Diego, taken near Chacala; we do not know if he ever returned to his family in New Spain, or if Nicolas Rodrigo returned safely to Portugal.

What we do know is that Portuguese navigators—such as Ferdinand Magellan and Nuno da Silva—were extremely competent pilots in the first world system of the sixteenth century and that their knowledge enabled memorable voyages; that Portuguese merchants were active all along the sophisticated commercial circuits of the sixteenth-century Spanish empire; and that other Portuguese were ordinary people living in places as simple and remote as the small rural villages of New Spain.

LOURDES DE ITA (INSTITUTO DE INVESTIGACIONES HISTÓRICAS, UMSNH, MÉXICO) IS A MEXICAN HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL GEOGRAPHER INTERESTED IN COLONIAL LATIN AMERICA AND ITS IMPORTANCE IN TRANSOCEANIC NAVIGATION, TRADE, AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE IN THE SO-CALLED FIRST WORLD SYSTEM.

NOTES

1 The expression "discovery" has been the subject of debate, particularly from 1992 on. At present the term "discovery" is mostly not accepted in academia for being considered Eurocentric and implying the lands in question were uninhabited.

2 The line of demarcation was about halfway between the Portuguese Cape Verde islands and the islands visited by Columbus in his first voyage to the West Indies: Guanahaní (San Salvador), La Hispaniola (present day Dominican Republic), and Cuba (baptized as "Juana" by Columbus).

3 Being in the Panama Isthmus, which stands in a west-east position, Balboa had the Atlantic to the north and the Pacific to the south, which is why the Spanish called that ocean "The South Sea."

4 They arrived in Seville two days later, on September 8, 1522.

5 Antonio de Pigafetta, *Relación del primer viaje alrrededor del mundo* (Monterrey, Minerva Editorial/UANL, 2022), 307.

6 The English slave trade was illegal not because slavery was forbidden then, but because the English did not have a license to practice it and they did not pay the taxes due to the House of Trade in Seville. Irene A. Wright, *Spanish Documents Concerning English Voyages to the Caribbean* (The Hakluyt Society, no. LXII, London, 1929), 8; Lourdes de Ita Rubio, *Viajeros Isabelinos en Nueva España* (México, UMSNH, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2001), 114–116.

7 Hellen Wallis, "England Search for the Northern Passages in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries," *Arctic* 37, no. 4 (1964): 453–472.

8 "Nunho da Silva, Declaracion del estrecho de Magallanes. Relacion del viage del corsario yngles que dio el piloto Nuño de Silva ante su excelencia del Virrey de Mexico a 20 de Mayo de [15]79," 17–20. https://www.loc.gov/resource/rbcdrake.d001?sp=20&r=0.173,0.591,0.619,0.246,0, accessed September 17, 2024.

9 One of Drake's ships, the *Elizabeth*, under the command of John Winter, was separated from the other ships in the Straits, got lost, and returned to England in June 1579.

10 "Apresamiento de Nuño de Silva por Drake: Costa de Brasil," Archivo General de Indias, Patronato, 266 R 17, Portal de Archivos Españoles (PARES), https://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/127397, accessed September 16, 2024.

11 Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations* VII (J. M. Dent & Sons, London,1907), 208.

12 *Principal Navigations* XI, 290–347.

13 *Principal Navigations* VII, 211.

14 During the sixteenth, seventeenth, and the first half of the eighteenth century, England kept using the Julian Calendar, whereas Spain started using the Gregorian calendar on October 15, 1582. That is why from that date and up to September 14, 1752 (when England adopted the Gregorian calendar), there is a discrepancy of ten days between the documents produced in England and those written in Spain.

15 *Principal Navigations*, VII, 231.

16 *Principal Navigations*, XI, 320.

17 *Principal Navigations*, XI, 322.

18 The chronicler mentions the names of the two older Filipino children and says that "the third remaineth with the right honourable the Countesse of Essex" who by 1590 was Frances Walsingham, the daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, Elizabeth I's secretary of state.

19 *Principal Navigations*, XI, 327.

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