

CHAPTER VIII.

Thome de Sousa appointed Governor General of Brazil.—He takes out with him the first Jesuits to America.—City of St. Salvador founded.—The Jesuits begin the attempt of converting the natives.—Obstacles to that attempt.—Cannibalism.—Language, and state of the Tupi tribes.

CHAP.
VIII.
1549.

Evils of the existing system in Brazil.

Cast. Lus. l. 1. § 18.

Half a century had now elapsed since the discovery of Brazil, and so much capital in the course of that time had been vested there, that these colonies began to be regarded as possessions of considerable importance. The evils of the present system of government were very great: the Governor of every Captaincy exercised uncontrolled authority, and consequently abused it; the property, and honour, and lives of the colonists were at the mercy of these Lords¹, and the people groaned under their intolerable oppression. Their complaints reached the king; he took into consideration the advantages which the country promised, especially from the cultivation of sugar, and the danger there was lest the

¹ This is the exact language of F. Raphael de Jesus. All the other writers either merely say the system was inconvenient, or that the King thought proper to change it.

French should succeed in establishing themselves there, and in winning the natives to their party; and he resolved to revoke the powers of the several Captains, leaving them in possession of their grants, and to appoint a Governor-General², with full authority civil and criminal. The person appointed to this high station was Thome de Sousa, a fidalgo, though a bastard, who had been tried and approved in the African and Indian wars. . . He was instructed to build a city in Bahia de Todos os Santos, strong enough not only to keep the natives in awe, but also to resist the attack of any more formidable enemy; . . a wise foresight this of European competition. It was to be called St. Salvador, and here the seat of government was to be established; the arms which were given to the new city were a white dove with three olive leaves in her bill, in a field vert. An expedition was fitted out consisting of three ships, two caravels, and one brigantine, on board of which were three hundred and twenty persons in the king's pay, four hundred *degredados*, or banished men, and colonists who made up the whole number a thousand. Pedro de Goes, the unsuccessful Donatory of Paraiba, went out as Captain of the fleet; he had, at least, the consolation of seeing a capital founded in the country which he liked so well, and in which his own fortunes had been ruined. Six Jesuits embarked in this expedition, the first who ever set foot in the New World.

Joam III. was the great benefactor of the Jesuits, their first, steadiest, and most useful friend. He had already sent out S.

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*A Governor
General ap-
pointed.
Noticias
MSS. 2. 2.*

*Andrada.
Chr. del R.
D. Joam III.
4. 32.*

*Noticias.
MSS. p. 2.
c. 5.
Do. 2. 1.
Do. 1. 44.*

*The King
desires the
conversion
of the Bra-
silians.*

* Gaspar da Madre de Deos, l. § 15. is of opinion that Martim Affonso de Sousa had borne the title of Governor of Nova Lusitania, . . because he finds him called *Governador das terras do Brazil* in one deed, and *Governador em todas estas terras do Brazil* in another, both executed at St. Vicente. The inference does not seem to be necessary, and it is certain that the several Captains exercised an authority entirely independent of each other.

CHAP. VIII. Francisco Xavier to the East, and now the souls of his Brazilian subjects became a cause of concern to him. Joam was superstitious to the lowest depth of degradation, but he was pious also; his misdirected faith occasioned in him a slavish observance of absurd forms, and a cruel intolerance towards those of a different belief; . . . but it produced good as well as evil. He was truly and righteously anxious to spread his religion, such as it was, among the Heathen; and Christianity, even when so disfigured and defiled, is still, from those moral and domestic precepts which are inseparable from it, a great and powerful engine of civilization, a great and inestimable blessing. . . . This concern he imparted to Father Simam Rodriguez, one of Loyola's earliest disciples, who had introduced the order into Portugal, and was the King's especial favourite. Father Simam had long been ambitious of becoming a missionary among the heathen; he had formerly been chosen as the companion of Xavier, but detained in Lisbon for services less splendid, though not less important to the Society; and he now hoped that as his work in Portugal was done, and the Company had taken root there, he might be permitted to devote the remainder of his life to the Savages of Brazil. The Company has had many more illustrious members, but none who have served it better, or more devotedly. The King, unwilling as he was to part with him, yielded to his pressing entreaties; Loyola assented, and it was determined that he should depart as soon as Father Martinho de S. Cruz was returned from Rome, whither he was gone upon matters of great import to the Jesuit-Province of Portugal. Martinho died, and his death left such a weight of business upon Father Simam, and made his presence in the Province so indispensable, that he was obliged to resign the hope of being the Apostle of Brazil, and appointed Father Manoel de Nobrega in his stead, chief of the mission. His companions were Father Juan

A Jesuit mission appointed.

First Jesuite in South America.

de Aspilcueta, Father Antonio Pires, Father Leonardo Nunes, and the lay brethren Vicente Rodriguez and Diogo Jacome. The Jesuits have borne so great a part in the history of South America, that the names of these first adventurers deserve to be recorded. Nobrega was a Portuguese of noble family, who being disappointed of some collegiate honour for which he was a candidate, and to which he thought he had a better claim than his successful opponent, renounced the world in a fit of disgust^a; little then aware that this renunciation would make him act a more important part in it, than could else with all his talents and fair prospects have been within his reach.

The fleet reached Bahia early in the April of 1549. Old Caramuru was, at this time, quietly settled at some little distance from Coutinho's deserted town. He was of great service to the Governor, and conciliated the minds of the natives for him. . . They assembled in great numbers to see the landing, and were made to lay down their bows before they approached; . . this being their token of peace. The Portuguese took up their abode in the old settlement, as in a sort of camp; Sousa was not satisfied with the situation: the mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated before they proceeded to chuse a better, and then a place was chosen, about half a league off, abounding with springs, and almost surrounded with water. The Tupinambas, won by Caramuru's influence, the good conduct of the Governor, and the treasures which were brought out for barter, worked willingly at the buildings. Two batteries were planted towards the sea, four towards the land; a Cathedral was begun, a College for the Jesuits, a Governor's residence, and a Custom-house; the

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Vasc. Chr.
da Comp. 1.
§ 5—7.
B. Telles.
C. da Comp.
l. 3. c. 2.

City of St.
Salvador
founded.
Noticias.
MSS. p. 2.
c. 2.

Nobrega.
Div. Avisi.
33.
Andrada.
4 32.

^a Determinou despicarse com o mundo, affrontallo e repudiallo, como o mundo o fizera com elle. *Sim. Vasc. C. C. 1. § 9.*

CHAP. King had taken the colony into his own hands, and every thing
 VIII. went on accordingly. Within⁴ four months a hundred houses were
 1549. built, and sugar plantations laid out in the vicinity. Just at this
 time one of the colonists was killed by a native, about eight leagues
 from the new city, . . . a circumstance which greatly endangered
 the settlement. The Governor could not pass over the offence
 without demanding the offender, for that would have encouraged
 the natives, and taught them to despise his power; and if the Tu-
 pinambas should happen to protect the criminal, the city was
 not yet in a state of defence. Luckily the savage had been
 manifestly the aggressor, . . . for he was delivered up; and Sousa
 had him tied to the mouth of a cannon, and blown to pieces.
 No mode of execution can be devised more humane to the suf-
 ferer, nor more awful to the beholders. It struck terror into the
 Tupinambas: the settlers also had received a useful lesson, and
 abstained from going imprudently among them. In a short
 time they ran up a mud wall, as a temporary fortification of
 sufficient strength against such enemies. Next year supplies
 of all kinds were sent them; the whole expence of both arma-
 ments was estimated at 300,000 cruzados. Another fleet came
 the third year, on board of which the Queen sent out many fe-
 male orphans of noble family, who had been educated in the
 Convent of Orphans; they were to be given in marriage to the
 officers, and portioned with negroes, kine, and brood mares
 from the royal property. Orphan boys also came out to be
 educated by the Jesuits; and ships followed every year with
 the like supplies and reinforcements. Such measures ensured suc-
 cess; the new colony prospered rapidly, and the other Captain-
 cies partook of its prosperity. The Governor visited them, saw

Nobrega Do.
Noticias.
MSS. 2.
c. 3—4.

S. Fast. C. C.
1. 5. 94.
Div. Avis.
45. 49.
Noticias.
MSS. 2.
c. 4.

⁴ Nobrega's letter is dated August 10.

to their fortifications, and regulated the administration of justice.

The Jesuits immediately began that system of beneficence toward the natives, from which they never deviated till their extinction as an order. The obstacles to the task which they had undertaken were great and numerous. They could not here, as they have politicly done in the East, accommodate what they taught to the established belief of the country, so as to persuade the people that they were rather reforming or elucidating an old religion, than introducing a new, and thus win them to conform to what they deemed the essentials of Christianity, by conforming themselves to whatever their own latitudinarian prudence could tolerate. The religion, the pride, and the joy of the Brazilian Savages were in their cannibal feasts; and it was the more difficult to abolish this custom, because the Europeans had hitherto made no attempt to check it among their allies. It has been seen how the French Interpreter advised the Tupinambas to eat Hans as a Portugueze, and the Portugueze in like manner permitted their allies to consider their enemies as beasts whom they were to destroy and devour. Nay, as these banquets made the feud more deadly, they conceived it to be good policy to encourage them, and for this policy, the common shudderings of humanity were, as usual, repressed and ridiculed, and the holiest injunctions of religion set at naught. Priests, warriors, women, and children, regarded the practice of cannibalism with equal delight and equal interest. It was the triumph of the captor, it was an expiatory sacrifice to the spirits of their brethren who had been slain; it was the public feast in which the old women displayed their domestic mysteries; and it was the day of merriment for the boys. If the Devil of Romish mythology had invented a stumbling block in the way of their conversion, he could not have devised one more effectual, . . . and ac-

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*Conduct of
the Jesuits.*

*Cannibal-
ism.*

CHAP. cordingly the Jesuits gave him the whole merit of the in-
VIII. vention.

1549.

*Ceremonies
observed
with a cap-
tive.*

The first acts of this tragedy have been represented in the history of Hans Stade; his beard and eye-brows had been shaved, and he had gone through the ceremony of the dance; the concluding scenes followed in this order.

*Stade. l. 2.
c. 29.
De Lery.
c. 14.*

While preparations were making for the feast a woman was appointed to watch the prisoner and to cohabit with him, the captor not scrupling thus to bestow his sister or his daughter. If she became pregnant, this was what they wished. It was their opinion that the child proceeded wholly from the father, receiving nutrition indeed and birth from the mother, but nothing more⁵. This opinion produced a horrible consequence; the offspring of a captive was suffered to grow up; the circumstances of his birth-place and up-growing occasioned no human feelings towards him; it was always remembered that he was of the blood and flesh of their enemies, and when they thought him in the best condition they killed and devoured him⁶; the nearest kinsman to the mother officiated as slaughterer, and the

*Consequen-
ces from
their theory
of genera-
tion.*

*Noticias.
MSS. 2. 69.*

⁵ Their language exemplifies this in a curious manner. The father called his son *Taira*, and his daughter *Tagira*; the mother called both *Membira*. The vocabulary which Marcgraff has given by the help of Manoel de Moraes, scanty as it is, discovers the etymology of these words, and explains their difference. *Tagui* signifies blood, and *Membirara* is to bring forth; . . the paternal word, therefore, means *child of my blood*; the maternal one, *child whom I have brought forth*.

⁶ These feasts were called *Cunhamembira*, which is explained to mean *son of an enemy*, in the *Noticias do Brazil*. 2. 69. Its literal meaning is *child of a woman*, which upon their system means the same thing. The dialogue which De Lery gives was given him by an interpreter who had lived seven years among the Tupinambas, and was well versed in Greek; from which language, he said, many of their words were derived. It is not a little extraordinary that a man who understood Greek should have been in that situation; . . except, however, in these words,

first mouthful was given to the mother herself. But human nature partakes too much of that goodness from which it hath proceeded, ever to become totally perverted. The women often took drugs to cause abortion, that they might be spared the misery of seeing their offspring butchered; and they often assisted these husbands to escape, laid food for them in the woods, and sometimes fled with them. This happened frequently to the Portugueze prisoners; the Brazilians held it dishonourable to fly, and could not always be persuaded to save themselves. A mother, also, was sometimes found who resolutely defended her child, till he was able to make his way to his father's tribe.

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Herrera.
4. 3. 13.

Noticias.
MSS. 2. 69.

The women prepared their earthen vessels, made the liquor for the feast, and twisted the *Mussurana*, or long cotton cord, in which the victim was to be bound. There was nothing on which they bestowed so much pains as upon these cords; some tribes made them of so beautiful a texture that it is supposed to have been the work of a year's industry; several of these were united in one noose, with an intricate nicety of which few were masters; they were then dipt in a sort of white lime, dried, rolled carefully up, and deposited in a new painted bowl. Some of the chief personages were drest for the ceremony: the body was covered with gum, upon which small feathers were stuck, and skilfully arranged according to

Anon. in
Purchas.
p. 1295.

Pedro Cor-
rea. Div.
Avis. ff. 142.
De Lery. 8.

Cimha and γωνη, I can discover no remarkable resemblance: in these the resemblance is nearer than appears to an English eye, the *nh* of the Portugueze having the sound of our *ny*.

Tarring and feathering, therefore, is one of the aboriginal fashions of the Americans. De Lery supposes that the first persons who saw some of these feathered savages at a distance, mistook the feathers for hair, and that thence arose the error of representing them as hairy. But this opinion prevailed before the discovery of America, and the savage of the old masques probably derived his skin from the Satyrs.

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Stade, l. 2.
c. 29.

Anon. in
Purchas.
p. 1295.

their colours. They made feather tassels with which they decorated the *Ywara-pemme*, the slaughter-club, adorned it with bracelets of shells, and smeared its blade with gum, over which a fine powder was laid, composed of egg-shells, the colour of ashes; on this one of the women traced some rude figures with a style, while the rest danced round her; and the head and face of the victim were then in the same manner ornamented to the pattern of the club. This weapon was then hung up. The drinking feast commenced, at which the prisoner was present, and partook of the potations. The next day was a day of rest, . . . probably the effects of drunkenness made it necessary; they erected however a sort of hut for the prisoner in the area, and there under good watch he past the last night of his life. In the morning the hut was demolished and the area levelled. The women brought out the *Mussurana* in the bowl, and set it at his feet: the old woman who presided at these devilish mysteries began a death song, in which the rest joined in, while the men put the noose round his neck and fastened it there, coiled up the ends, and laid them upon the arm of the woman who had him in charge, and who had sometimes one to assist her in bearing the weight. The song alluded to the weight of the noose: We are they, it said, who make the neck of the bird stretch; . . . and in another part it mocked him for wanting power to escape, . . . Hadst thou been a parrot injuring our fields, thou wouldst have fled. Presently several men laid hold of the ends of the *Mussurana*, and tightened them on all sides, keeping him in the middle. During all these ceremonies he, who was as willing to meet death as they were to inflict it, insulted them, telling them how bravely he had fought against them, calling out to one that he had slain his father, to another that he had buccaneered her son. They now bade him take his fill of looking at the sun, for he would see it no more. Stones and broken pottery were placed by

him, and he was told to revenge his death before he died, which, covered as the sacrificers were with their shields, and impeded as he was by the cords with which he was pulled on all sides, he not unfrequently did to their cost. This done, the fire at which his limbs were to be drest was kindled before him. A woman then came out, bringing the *Ywara-pemme*, round which there had been singing and dancing since the earliest break of day; she brought it dancing and shouting also, and sported with it before the face of the victim; one of the men took it from her, and held it straight out to him that he might behold it well. He who was to be the slaughterer came now into the area, with fourteen or fifteen chosen friends, drest for the ceremony in gum and feathers, or in gum and ashes. He himself was in feathers. He who had the club proffered it to this chief personage of the feast; but the head of the clan interposed, took it himself, and passing it with many antic gestures backward and forward between his legs, delivered it in that manner to the *Matador*; and he advanced towards the prisoner saying, Lo, here I am who am about to kill thee, because thou and thy people have killed many of our brethren and devoured them. The other made answer, It is the chance of life; my friends are many, and they will take vengeance for me. This done, the Brazilian Cannibal (far more merciful than the northern tribes of men-eaters) stunned him, or knocked his brains out with one blow.

Instantly the body was seized by the women; they dragged it to the fire, scalded it and skinned it. She who had cohabited with the prisoner, forced out a few tears over him, and thought it a point of honour to get, if possible, the first mouthful. The arms were cut off close to the shoulder, and the legs above the knee, and four women took each a limb and danced with them about the area. The trunk was then split. The intestines were left to the women, who boiled and eat them in broth; the head

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Stade. l. 2.
c. 29.
De Lery.
c. 15.

De Lery.
c. 15.

CHAP. also was their share; but the tongue and brains were allotted to
 VIII. the children, who were also smeared with the blood. The thumb
 1549. was cut off because of its use in archery, an art concerning
 which they were singularly superstitious: what was done with it
 does not appear, except that it was not eaten like the rest.
 The fleshy parts were placed upon the *Boucan*, and having been
 buccaneered, were frequently laid aside for other feasts. At
 all these operations the old women presided, and they derived
 so much importance from these occasions, that their exultation
 over a prisoner was always fiend-like. They stood by the *Boucan*,
 and caught the fat as it fell, that nothing might be lost, licking
 their fingers during this accursed employment. Every part of the
 body was devoured; the arm and thigh bones were reserved to
 be made into flutes; the teeth strung in necklaces; the skull
 set up at the entrance of the town; or it was sometimes used
 for a drinking-cup, after the manner of our Scandinavian an-
 cestors.

Div. Av. 57.

The founder of the feast took an additional name as an honourable remembrance of what had been done, and his female relations ran through the house, shouting the new title. The chief of the clan scarified the arms of the *Matador* above the elbow, so as to leave a permanent mark there; and this was the star and garter of their ambition, . . . the highest badge of honour.

De Lery. c.
7. 14.

There were some who cut gashes in their breast, arms, and thighs, on these occasions, and rubbed a black powder in, which left an indelible stain. After this he got into his hammock and remained there the whole day, practising with a little bow at a mark, from a superstitious fear lest the act of slaughtering should have deprived him of his skill in archery. Among some tribes they rubbed his pulse with one of the eyes of the dead, and hung the mouth upon his arm like a bracelet.

Stads. l. 2.
c. 29.
Anon. in
Purchas.
p. 1297.

They had learnt to consider human flesh as the most exquisite

of all dainties^a. Delicious however as these repasts were deemed, they derived their highest flavour from revenge; and it was this feeling, and the sense of honour connected with it, that the Jesuits found most difficulty in overcoming. The native Brazilians had made revenge their predominant passion, exercising it upon every trifling occasion, to feed and strengthen a propensity which is of itself too strong. They ate the vermin which molested them, not like monkeys, for sport, but professedly for the sake of vengeance. If a savage struck his foot against a stone, he raged over it and bit it like a dog; if he were wounded with an arrow, he plucked it out and gnawed the shaft. When they took a beast of prey in a pitfall, they killed it by little wounds, that it might be long in dying, and suffer as much as possible in death.

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*Nobrega.
Div. Avis.
ff. 34.
De Léry. c.
10. 13. 9.*

The native Brazilians were not all cannibals. The Tupi race seem to have brought this custom from the interior, and it is found in all the branches of that stock. It was with them that the Jesuits began; much has already been incidentally said of their customs, and it will be proper to add here whatever more can be collected concerning them.

*Customs of
the Tupi
tribes.*

The Tupis of Brazil, the Guaranis of Paraguay, and the

*Their lan-
guage.*

^a A Jesuit one day found a Brazilian woman in extreme old age, and almost at the point of death. Having catechized her, instructed her as he conceived in the nature of Christianity, and compleatly taken care of her soul, he began to enquire whether there was any kind of food which she could take. . . Grandam, said he, that being the word of courtesy by which it was usual to address old women, . . if I were to get you a little sugar now, or a mouthful of some of our nice things which we get from beyond sea, do you think you could eat it? . . Ah my grandson, said the old convert, my stomach goes against every thing. There is but one thing which I think I could touch. If I had the little hand of a little tender Tapuya boy, I think I could pick the little bones; . . but woe is me, there is nobody to go out and shoot one for me! *Vasc. Chr. da Comp. 1. § 49.*

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Hervas Int. Art. 3. § 13. Tr. 1. § 3.
Do. 6. § 17. Tr. 1. c. 5. § 47.
P. Chomé. Lett. Edif. t. 6. p. 289. Hervas. Tr. 2. c. 3. § 162.

Omaguas of Peru, (between whom and the nearest Guaranis there intervenes, as Hervas says, a chaos of nations) speak dialects of the same tongue, traces of which are found through an extent of seventy degrees⁹. The Guarani is the parent language, being the most artificial; as the Greek is more so than the Latin, the Latin than all the modern dialects which have grown out of its ruins. It bears the marks of a primitive tongue, for it abounds with monosyllables; one word, as in the Chinese, serves for various meanings as it is variously accented; and every word is said to explain itself, which probably means that many are imitative sounds, and that all composites and derivatives are regularly formed. Yet from the variety of its accentuations, it is the most difficult of all the American languages.

Tr. 1. c. 2. § 17. 10. Guerreiro. Rel. Ann. 1603. p. 111.

Hervas enumerates sixteen¹⁰ Brazilian tribes or nations speaking dialects of this tongue, and fifty-one¹¹ whose languages are

⁹ This dispersion is probably in some measure owing to the Spaniards and Portuguese. Some have fled from the Mamalucos. The Omaguas of Quito say that their stock was upon the Orellana, but that many tribes fled at sight of the vessels sent down by Gonzalo Pizarro, some to the low lands upon that river, some by the Rio dos Tocantins, others by the Rio Negro towards the Orinoco, and the New Kingdom of Granada.

Ab. Velasco, in a Letter to Hervas. Catal. de las Lenguas. T. 1. C. 5. § 87.

¹⁰ The Carios, Tamoyos, Tupiniquins, Timiminos, Tobayares, Tupinaes, Amoipiras, (their name is derived from the Guarani word *Amboipiri*, people on the other side) Ibirayares, Cahetes, Pitiguares, Tupinambas, the Apantos, Tupigoais, Arobayares, and Rarigoarais, who with other hordes on the Orellana are said to be tribes of the Tupis, and the Tocantins.

¹¹ The Goaytacazes, Aymures, Guayanas, Goanazes, and Yuguaruanas; (these tribes are supposed to speak different tongues because they were inimical to each other, an inference by no means necessary;) Cararius and Anaces, who

different; but many of these latter had not been sufficiently investigated, nor has the number of their roots been ascertained. The Tupi is spoken along the whole coast of Brazil, and far into the interior, probably extending over a wider surface than any

are about Ibiapaba; Aroas, about the mouth of the Para; Terembres, on the coast between the rivers Parnaibo and Seara; Payacus, of Seara; Grens, in the interior of the Ilheos; Kiriris, who once infested Bahia; .. from a brief vocabulary of their language, Hervas fancied he could trace some shadow only of affinity with the Tamanaco, a most corrupt dialect of the Carib tongue; Curumares, inhabitants of an island in the Araguaya, which falls into the Rio dos Tocantins, .. Aunim is their name for the Supreme Being, and they pronounce it with respect; Tapirapez and Acroas, in the same island, which is twenty leagues in length; Bacures or Guacures, about Matto Grosso, probably the Guaycurus of the Paraguay; Parasis, of the same country; Barbudos, to the North-east of Cuyaba, .. probably a Portuguese name to imply that they wear beards; Bororos, East of Cuyaba; Potentus; Maramomis; Payayas; Curatis, of Ibiapa; Cururus, bordering on the Curumares, and supposed to be of the same stock; Barbados, of Maranham; Carayas, upon the Pindare, in the same Captaincy; Yacarayabas; Arayos; Gayapas; Cavalheiros and Imares, upon the Tacuari, which falls into the Paraguay, .. one of them is supposed to be a branch of the Guaycurus, the other of the Guacheihos; Coroados, so called either from some chaplet, or from the manner in which their hair is shorn; Machacaris and Camanachos, behind and about the serra which runs parallel with the coast, between 18° and 20° South latitude; Patachos, North of these last; Guegues, Timbiras, Acroamirims, Paracatis, Jeicos, and Amapurus, inhabitants of the extensive Piagui country, in the government of Maranham; Guanares, Aranhis, and Caicaizes, belonging to the missions on the Orellana; Aturaris and Menharis, on the Rio Grande de Norte, .. these are supposed to be a branch of the Aymures.

None of these tribes speak a dialect of the Guarani or Tupi tongue, and though some of their names have a signification in that language, it is merely because the Tupis have named them. Hervas found seventy other Brazilian tribes mentioned in the papers of the Jesuit missionaries, but without any notice of their language, for which reason he could not catalogue them: he had no accounts from the missionaries of the other orders. He supposes, however, that there may be, as some writers have stated, a hundred and fifty barbarous languages spoken in Brazil.

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Anchieta,
quoted in
Maregraff.
l. 8. c. 8.

other of the native American languages. It is a remarkable peculiarity in this language, that *b* never occurs at the beginning of a word without *m* before it, and that *mb*, *nb*, *nd*, and *ng*, are the only consonants which are ever used in sequence. They have neither the *f*, *l*, nor *rr*. By the double *r* Anchieta probably meant to express a guttural sound; it frequently occurs in the Portuguese of his age, but has long become obsolete, and the sound with which it was designed to mark. This deficiency in the Tupi language has furnished the Portuguese authors with a favourite jest, which they have repeated one after another, that the Savages had neither of these letters because they had neither *Fe*, *Ley*, nor *Rey*, *faith*, *law*, nor *royalty* among them. Anchieta says they have neither *s* nor *z*, but used the *ç* instead: the Spanish Academy have discarded this character, and substituted the *z* for it: the Portuguese still retain it, but it is not to be distinguished from the *s* in their pronunciation. Anchieta would not thus have used it as the representation of a distinct sound, unless it had been so in his time, and I believe it had then the power of the soft *theta*, as is still sometimes given to the *z* in Spain. The superabundance of vowels in a language is perhaps the most decisive mark of its simple and imperfect state, for it evinces an ignorance of the extent of our powers of utterance. It explains how it is that so many languages exist among the South American tribes, manifestly cognate, yet so dissimilar that one tribe cannot understand another. Consonants are the fixtures, . . . the bones, as it were, of speech; take them away, and the slightest alteration destroys the form and texture of the fluid materials which remain. Their names for the numerals were very barbarous¹², and ex-

¹² Auge-pé, mocouein, mossaput, oioicoudie, ecoinbo. *De Lery. L. 20.* Condamine is therefore wrong in affirming that for any number beyond three they are obliged to borrow of the Portuguese. *P. 65.*

tended only as far as five; all beyond was expressed by help of the fingers. CHAP.
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Tupa is their word for Father, for the Supreme Being, and for Thunder¹²; it past by an easy process from the first of these meanings to the last, and the barbarous vanity of some tribes compounded from it a name for themselves. In these words their whole Theology is at once comprized and explained. They addressed no prayers to this Universal Parent; he was neither the object of hope nor of fear. Their diabolism was rooted deeper: dreams, shadows, the night-mare, and delirium had generated superstitions which a set of knaves systematized and increased and strengthened. The Payes¹⁴, as they were called, were at once quacks, jugglers, and priests: the ceremonial part of their priesthood was confined to making the *Maraca* and the mummery connected with it; but there is reason to believe that the secrets of the craft were of a bolder character. It is expressly asserted, by those who were most conversant with the Savages of Brazil, that they were in this life grievously tormented by the Devil¹⁵. These stories come from

Their Religion.

Payes, or Priests.

¹² I do not recollect any superstition which attributes Thunder to its Evil Spirit. It seems to be always considered as the manifestation of power, frequently of anger, but never of malignity.

¹⁴ This word, *Paye*, is found in all parts of Guiana. *Caraiba*, which is sometimes used for the Priest, means his priestly power.

Marcgraff. 8. 11. *Dobrizhoffer*. T. 2. § 81.

¹⁵ *Miserrimi nostri Barbari*, says De Lery, *in hac etiam vita misere ab Cacodæmone torquentur*. Whoever wishes to see how a true traveller may be made to look like a liar is referred to De Bry's illustration of this passage, p. 223, where several varieties of the Cacodæmon are exhibited.

Anhanga, *Juripari*, and *Kaagere*, are names for the Evil Spirit. The former of these is the *Aygnan* of De Lery.

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so many parts of the world, and are affirmed by such numerous and weighty witnesses, that nothing but that contented ignorance which contemptuously disbelieves whatever it does not readily comprehend, can reject them. The master of a dormitory used sometimes to go round early in the morning and scratch the childrens legs with the sharp tooth of a fish, passing on unseen from hammock to hammock. This was done that they might the more easily be terrified when their parents sought to quiet them by saying the bugbear was coming. Something like what they did to the children there is every reason to believe the Payes did to them; it is scarcely to be doubted that they appeared to them in hideous shapes, and beat and tormented them when a favourable opportunity occurred. There is nothing which Devils of this description would fear so much as light; and this the Savages had discovered, . . . they kept fire burning all through the night in their houses, for which their chief reason was that Evil Spirits could not come near it; nor would they, if it could be avoided, ever venture out in darkness without a firebrand, for the same reason. There is abundant proof in the history of all false religions, and especially in that of the Romish Church, that the knaves of this world delight in insulting those whom they dupe.

H. Stade.
2. 20.

Div Aoi.
39.
H. Stade.
2. 7.

Noticias.
MSS. 2. 64.
2. 66.

Each Paye lived alone in a dark hut, the door of which was very small, and into which no one dared enter. Whatever they wanted was given them. They taught that it was an abominable sin for any one to refuse them his daughter, or any thing else which they chose to ask; and few ventured to incur the sin, for if they predicted the death of one who had offended them, the wretch took to his hammock instantly in such full expectation of dying, that he would neither eat nor drink, and the prediction was a sentence which faith effectually executed. Their mode of quackery was that which is common to all

Savage conjurers; they sucked the part affected, and then produced a piece of wood, bone, or other extraneous substance, as what they had extracted by the operation.

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VIII.

The Jesuits, who found St. Thomas in the East, traced him here in the West also. The Thomas of Coromandel was a Syrian. Who was the Thomas of Brazil?

St. Thomas
the Apostle.

Nobrega learnt from the Tupinambas that two persons, one of whom they called Zome, taught them the use of the mandioc. Their forefathers, they said, quarrelled with these benefactors, and shot their arrows at them; but the arrows turned back and slew those by whom they had been aimed, and the woods made way for Zome in his flight, and the rivers opened to give him passage. They added that he had promised to visit them again, and they pointed out his miraculous footsteps imprinted upon the shore. The name may, with much probability, be traced to the Zemi of Hayti, a divinity, or divine person. In Paraguay they called him Payzume, and this compound word was the appellation of their Priests.

Div. Avist.
ff. 34. 41.

An old Tupinamba, after listening attentively to an exposition of the Christian system, told the French the same things had been preached there so many moons ago that the number could not be remembered, by a stranger appavelled as they were, and having a beard. Their fathers gave no heed to his words, and there came another soon after him who delivered them a sword as a symbol of malediction. The memory of this, he said, had been handed down from father to son. What is most worthy of notice here, is the reference to times before the age of the sword; wherever a tradition of a golden age is to be traced, it is at once an acknowledgement and proof of degradation in the race.

De Lery.
c. 16.

Thevet speaks of the Great Caraiba, whom they held in as much veneration as the Turks did Mahommed, and who taught

Thevet.
ff. 46. 51.

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them the use of fire as well as of their edible roots. He gave the mandioc to a girl, and instructed her how to cut it into slips, and set them. Had Thevet sought to indentify this person with St. Thomas, his known rascality might discredit his evidence; but he knew nothing of this hypothesis (which indeed had not then been invented), and it seems certain that such traditions were preserved among them of one who had been the greatest benefactor of their race. The ingenuity of a Catholic Priesthood would wish no better materials than the resemblance between Zome and Thomas¹⁶, especially as the history of St. Thomas was yet a chasm in ecclesiastical romance. Accordingly they mapped out his travels from Brazil to Peru, discovered baptism and the tonsure still in use among the natives from his time, invented traces of his pastoral staff, crosses, and inscriptions in Greek and Hebrew, and even brought his sandals and his mantle unconsumed out of the volcano of Arequipa. Nothing is too impudent for the audacity of such a priesthood; nothing too gross for the credulity of their besotted believers.

*Calancha.
Cr. de. St.
Augustin en
Peru.
t. 2. s.*

*The Man-
dioc.*

If Ceres deserved a place in the mythology of Greece, far more might the deification of that person be expected who in-

¹⁶ S. de Vasconcellos makes out his case logically. Christ, he says, said to his apostles, Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth it not shall be damned. Mark xvi. 15. 16. Now, says the Jesuit, with what reason could the American Indian be damned, if the Gospel had never been preached to him? He who said all the world, could not mean to leave out America, which is nearly half of it. The Gospel therefore must have been preached there by one of the apostles, in obedience to this command. But by whom was it preached?.. not by St. Peter, not by St. Paul, not by St. John, neither by St. Andrew, St. Philip, St. James, St. Matthew, St. Thaddeus, St. Simon, St. Mathias, St. James the Less, nor St. Bartholomew. It must therefore have been by St. Thomas.

structed his fellows in the use of the mandioc. This root, if eaten raw, or in any manner with the juice in it, is deadly poison; it is difficult to imagine how it should ever have been discovered by Savages that a wholesome food might be prepared from it. Their mode of preparation was by scraping it to a fine pulp with oyster-shells, or with an instrument made of small sharp stones set in a piece of bark, so as to form a rude rasp: the pulp was then rubbed or ground with a stone, the juice carefully expressed¹⁷, and the last remaining moisture evaporated by fire. The operation of preparing it was thought unwholesome, and the slaves, whose business it was, took the flowers of the *nhambi*, and the root of the *urucu* in their food to strengthen the heart and stomach. The Portugueze soon adapted mills and presses to this purpose. They usually pressed it in cellars and places where it was least likely to occasion accidental hurt; in these places, it is said, that a white insect was found, generated by this deadly juice¹⁸, and itself not less deadly, with which the native women sometimes poisoned their husbands, and slaves their masters, by putting it in their food. A poultice of mandioc, with its own juice, was considered as excellent for imposthumes; it was administered for worms, I know not in what form, and it was applied to old wounds to eat away the diseased flesh. For some poisons also, and for the bite of certain snakes, it was esteemed a sovereign antidote. The simple juice was used for cleaning iron. The poisonous quality is confined

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Noticias.
MSS. 2. 35.
De Lery.
c. 8.
Thevet.
ff. 111.

Piso. p. 49.

Piso. l. 4.
c. 2.

Noticias.
MSS. 2. 35.
Piso. p. 48.

Noticias.
MSS. 2. 35.

Monardes.
ff. 103.

¹⁷ The Indians of Guiana put it, after it is rasped, into a long tube or bag made of reeds; this they suspend from a tree and hang at the bottom a heavy weight; the bag being stretched by this weight is narrowed in proportion, and the juice is squeezed through the platted reeds. *Stedman*, vol. I. 405.

¹⁸ Piso says the liquor was kept till it became putrid, and then this worm was found in it. *Tapuru*, they called it: it was dried and given in powder.

CHAP. VIII. to the root, for the leaves of the plant are eaten, and even the juice might be made innocent by boiling, and be fermented into vinegar, or inspissated till it became sweet enough to serve for honey.

Marcgraff, who has given the fullest account of this important root, distinguishes twenty-three species, nine of which have the word *mandibi* compounded in their name, and the others all begin with *aipi*. Neither he, nor any of the writers upon Brazil, have noticed a species which is perfectly innocent in its crude state, and which is described by that most able man, and most interesting writer, Captain Philip Beaver, as cultivated in Africa, but unknown in the West Indies¹⁹. It is however indigenous in the Spanish Main; and, I believe, in Brazil also, where its existence will explain some assertions which would otherwise be contradictory. For it is said, in the *Noticias*, that cattle would eat these roots and thrive upon them, though it is presently added, that the juice is mortal to all animals; and De Lery, after giving the same terrific account of the poison as other authors, says, that the juice, which in its appearance resembled milk, coagulated in the sun, and the curd was drest in the same manner as eggs. The sediment which the juice deposits is that article of diet for invalids so well known by its native name, *Tipioca*.

*African Memo-
randa.*
p. 232.
346.
Monardes.
ff. 103.
Noticias.
MISS. 2. 35.

De Lery:
c. 9.

Piso. l. 4.
c. 2.

Piso. l. 4.
c. 2.

The crude root cannot be preserved three days by any possi-

¹⁹ Stedman speaks of both kinds in Surinam, and calls them the sweet and the bitter; yet, he says, many persons had, to his knowledge, been poisoned by using the one for the other, the distinction between them consisting chiefly in a tough ligneous fibre, or cord, running through the heart of the sweet or innocent cassava root, which the fatal or bitter has not. *Vol. 1. 406.* If these roots are actually the one sweet, the other bitter, it should seem hardly possible to mistake them.

ble care, and the slightest moisture spoils the flour. Piso observes that he had seen great ravages occasioned among the troops by eating it in this state. There were two modes of preparation by which it could more easily be kept; the roots were sliced under water, and then hardened before a fire; when wanted for use they were grated into a fine powder, which being beaten up with water, became like a cream of almonds: the other method was to macerate the root in water till it became putrid, then hang it up to be smoke-dried; and this, when pounded in a mortar, produced a flour as white as meal; . . . it was frequently prepared in this manner by the Savages. The most delicate preparation was by pressing it through a sieve, and putting the pulp immediately in an earthen vessel on the fire; it then granulated, and either hot or cold, was excellent.

Noticias.
MSS. 2. 35.

Stade. 2. 11.

Noticias.
MSS. 2. 35.

Stade.
p. 2. c. 11.

De Lery.
c. 2.

Marcgraaf.
2. 6.

Their fermented liquors.

The native mode of cultivating it was rude and summary; they cut down the trees, let them lie till they were dry enough to burn, and then planted the mandioc between the stumps. They ate the dry flour in a manner which baffled all attempts at imitation; for, taking it between their fingers, they tossed it into their mouths so neatly that not a single grain fell beside. No European ever tried to perform this feat without powdering his face or his cloaths, to the amusement of the Savages. When the mandioc failed, what they called stick-flour (in Portuguese *farinha de pao*) was made from the wood of the Urucuri-Iba, which they cut in pieces and bruised; and this being less liable to corrupt than the mandioc, is now generally used in the Brazilian ships.

The mandioc supplied them also with their banquetting drink. They prepared it by a curious process, which savage man has often been ingenious enough to invent, and never cleanly enough to reject. The roots were sliced, boiled till they became soft,

CHAP. and set aside to cool. The young women²⁰ then chewed them, after which they were returned into the vessel, which was filled with water, and once more boiled, being stirred the whole time. When this had been continued sufficiently long, the unstrained contents²¹ were poured into earthen jars of great size, which were buried up to the middle in the floor of the house; these were closely stopt, and in the course of two days fermentation took place. They had an odd superstition, that if it was made by men it would be good for nothing. When the drinking day arrived, the women kindled fires round these jars, and served out the warm potion in half-gourds, which the men came dancing and singing to receive, and always emptied at one draught. At such times they smoked an herb which they called *Petun*, some in pipes of clay, some in the shell of a fruit hollowed for the purpose; or three or four dry leaves were rolled up within a larger one, as tobacco is commonly smoked in Spain: it was a hideous sight to behold them, as the smoke issued through all the holes in their cheeks, or was forced through the nostrils. While they drank the young unmarried men danced round with rattles on their legs and the *maraca* in their hands. They never ate at these drinking parties, nor ever desisted from drink-

Stude. 2. 15.

De Lery. 9.

De Lery. 13.

Marcgraff.

87.

Claude

d'Abbeville.

ff. 304.

²⁰ The *Chicha*, or maize-drink, is prepared in the same way. But among many tribes it is only old women who are allowed to prepare it, .. *fæminas juniores quod impuris humoribus scatere videantur, honorifico mayz granu dentibus terendi munere, Barbari excludunt.* *Dobrizhoffer. T. 1. 465.*

²¹ A Moravian Missionary describes this potion, after he had "conquered his squeamishness, as being of a very pleasant refreshing taste, something like a mixture of beer, brown sugar, and crumbled rye bread, called in German *Kalte Schale*."

Periodical Accounts of the Miss. of the United Brethren. 1. 422.

ing while one drop of liquor remained; but, having exhausted all in one house, removed to the next, and so on till they had drunk out all in the town; and these meetings were commonly held about once a month. De Lery witnessed one which continued for three days and nights²². There were two kinds of this liquor, which was called *Caou-in* or *Kaawy*²³, red and white; they must have been made of different roots. In taste it is said to resemble milk.

De Lery. 9.

Wherever the mandioc is cultivated this is the drink with which the Savages usually stupify themselves at their carousals. Many of the Brazilian tribes, however, prepared a better liquor from the Acaju, the fruit of the Acayaba²⁴, the finest of all the American trees. It is beautiful, says Vasconcellos, to behold its pomp, when it is reclothing itself, in July and August, with the bright verdure of its leaves; when, during our European autumn, it is covered with white and rosy-tinged blossoms, and when, in the three following months, it is enriched with its fruit, as with pendant jewels. Its leaves have an aromatic odour, its flowers are exquisitely fragrant, its shade deep and delightful. A gum exudes from it, in nothing inferior to that of Senegal, and in such abundance as to have the appearance of rain-drops upon the tree: this is used by the Indians as a medicine, being

*Acayaba
Tree.*

²² He exclaims, *Procul estote Germani, Flandri, Helvetii, omnesque adeo qui strenue potando palmam petitis; vos enim audito Barbarorum potandi modo, sponte illis cessuros esse video.*

²³ The resemblance of this word to the *kava* of the Otaheiteans is remarkable.

²⁴ Maregraff, or his excellent editor, (*L. 8. C. 7.*) enumerates nine kinds of fermented liquor made by the Brazilian tribes; one was from the pine-apple, which was cut for this purpose before it was quite ripe (*Noticias MSS. 2. 41.*); the juice of the green fruit was applied as a corrosive to wounds: it was also used by the Europeans to clean rusty swords, and take iron-moulds out of linen.

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pounded and dissolved in water. It is not common in the interior, but towards the coast whole tracks of country, which would else be barren, are covered with this admirable tree, and the more sandy the soil, and the drier the season, the more it seems to flourish. The possession of a spot where it grew abundantly was of such importance as often to be the cause of war. The fruit something resembles a pear in shape, but is longer; it is spungy, and full of a delicious juice; in any form it is excellent, whether in its natural state, or drest, or preserved. The kidney-shaped seed which grows at the end of the fruit is well known in England by the name of the Cashew nut, (a word less corrupted to the ear than to the eye) and was often cast up upon the Cornish shores, before the discovery of the New World. Some tribes numbered their years by the fruitage of the Acayaba, laying by a nut yearly. The gathering season was a time of joy, like the hop-gathering of this, and the vintage of happier climates. The liquor was simply extracted, either by squeezing the fruit with the hand, or bruising it in a wooden mortar; at first it is white as milk, but becomes paler in a few days; it is of an astringent taste, strong and intoxicating: in about half a year it becomes vinegar, still however retaining its vinous flavour. The pulp, after the juice was expressed, was dried, and made into a flour, which the natives preferred to any other, and reserved as their choicest dainty. The wood is hard, and has been much used for the curved timbers of large boats, . . a practice which must greatly have diminished the number of these invaluable trees. The outer bark affords a black, the inner a yellow die. The leaves have a melancholy appearance in the rainy season. What a blessing would this tree be to the deserts of Arabia and of Africa!

Sim. Vasc.
Chr. da
Comp.
Not. Ant. 2.
§ 81—84.
Piso. l. 4.
c. 6.
p. 7.
Maregraff.
2. 2.

The natives
nice in their
choice of
water.

Fond as the native Brazilians were of fermented liquors, they were as nice in the choice of water as we are respecting wine,

and wondered at the imprudence or ignorance of the Europeans in seeming to be indifferent concerning the quality of what they drank. They preferred the sweetest, lightest, and such as deposited no sediment, and they kept it in vessels of porous pottery, so that it was kept cool by constant transudation. Pure water exposed to the morning dew, and to the air, was a favourite remedy both with the native and Portuguese empiricks; the air and dew were supposed to temper it, and to separate its terrestrial from its aerial parts: . . . the philosophy of this quackery cannot have been of Savage growth.

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Piso. p. 11.

Piso. p. 18.

Strange tales are related of their exquisite knowledge of poison; with respect to simple poisons they probably possessed this knowledge, for they must have discovered many in the course of those long experiments upon herbs to which savage man is compelled by hunger, even if he were not excited by natural curiosity, and the instinctive desire of finding remedies for sickness. But compound or recondite forms of poison cannot have been known to them, for to what purpose should they have been sought for? These are the devices of a people highly civilized and highly vicious: Savages do the work of death in a shorter way. It is said they were as obstinate in keeping these deadly receipts secret, as they were officious in pointing out antidotes: there is reason to suspect that this knowledge was like witchcraft²⁵, a tremendous power, claimed by the

Their knowledge of poison.

Piso. p. 40.

²⁵ This may fairly be inferred from a passage in Piso, *L. 3. P. 46.* *Supplicium quidam Brasiliiani venefici subituri, mihi obnixè roganti, ut me horum arcanorum priusquam è vitâ discederent, participem facerent, inviti pauciora quadam revelarunt, fassique sunt, impune non solum se hæc et similia veneficia exercere, sed et regium esse, laudemque mereri inter suos, ingenii solertia excellere, novasque veneni miscelas excogitasse. Illi namque sagittas, aquam, aërem, vestes, cibos et fructus crescentes inficiunt, ut tardius et pedetentim, non statim homines extinguant.*

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crafty, because it was previously believed by the credulous. If they had known compound poisons, they would have known compound remedies; but all their remedies were simple. The Dutch physician, Piso, perceived this essential difference between their pharmacy and his own; that able observer perceived also the superiority of their principle of practice, and strenuously recommended it.

Piso. p. 18.

*Ceremonies
at the birth
of a child.*

*Noticias.
MSS. 2. 57.*

*De Lery.
c. 6.
Noticias.
MSS. 2. 57.*

*De Lery.
c. 16.*

*Anon. in
Purchas.
p. 1291.*

The dreadful consequence which they deduced from their theory of generation has before been stated: this theory led also to a ridiculous custom which prevails over great part of South America, and was formerly found among the savages of Europe and of Asia. Immediately upon a woman's delivery the father takes to his hammock, covers himself up, and is nursed there till the navel-string of the infant has dried away; the union between him and his progeny is regarded as so intimate that the utmost care must be taken of him lest the child should suffer²⁶. The first operation upon the child is to flatten the nose by crushing it with the thumb; the lip is then bored if it is a boy; the father paints him black and red, and lays by him in the hammock a little *macana* and a little bow and arrow, saying, My son, when thou growest up be strong and take vengeance upon thine enemies. Sometimes a bundle of herbs was added, as a symbol of those whom he was to kill and devour. The European method of swaddling and cramping infants, which continued even in this country till within our own remembrance, ap-

²⁶ Their notion is, that whatever they do affects the infant. Dobrizhoffer relates a story of a Spaniard who offered a pinch of snuff to a lying-in Caziue, and asking why he refused that of which he was so fond at other times, was answered, Do you not know that my wife was delivered yesterday, . . . how then can I possibly take snuff, when it would be so dangerous to my child if I were to sneeze!

peared to them monstrous. They washed them frequently in cold water, not merely for the love of cleanliness, but for the purpose of making them robust and strong. A singular superstition was, that no Savage would kill any female animal while his wife was pregnant, for if it happened to be with young, he believed his own offspring would be cut off, as a punishment for the sin which he had committed against the mystery of life. Akin to this feeling was the abhorrence with which they regarded the eating of eggs; it was not to be borne, they said, that the bird should be eaten before it was hatched; the women, in particular, would never suffer it to be done in their presence. A more ridiculous notion was, that man is entitled to a tail, and would be born with one if the father of the bridegroom did not perform the ceremony of chopping sticks at his marriage, in order thereby to cut off this appendage from his future grandchildren.

CHAP.
VIII.*Piso. p. 6.**Knivett in
Purchas.
p. 1226.
De Lery,
c. 11.
Thevet.
ff. 83.**Anon. in
Purchas.
p. 1290.**Their names.*

The child was named as soon as born. Hans Stade was present on one of these occasions; the father convoked his next neighbours in the dormitory, and asked them to tell him a name for his son which would be at once manly and terrible; none of those which were proposed happened to please his humour: he then said he would call him after one of his four immediate ancestors, for that would be lucky for the boy; and repeating the four names aloud he chose one of them. Another name was given when a youth was of age to go to war, and he added one to his titles for every enemy whom he brought home to the slaughter. The wife also took an additional name when her husband gave a man-feast. They selected their appellations from visible objects²⁷, pride or

*Stade. p. 2.
c. 18.**p. 2. c. 22.**p. 2. c. 17.*

²⁷ De Lery's name happened to have a meaning in their language. The Interpreter who introduced him to the Tupinambas, knowing this, bade him, when

CHAP. VIII. ferocity influencing their choice. The epithet great was frequently compounded with the word.

Harmony in which they lived. Anon. in Purchas. p. 1290.

It is worthy of notice, that although no other principles were inculcated than those of revenge and hatred, the boys rarely or never quarrelled among themselves. Savages are never quarrelsome when they are sober; and in the Tupinambas the feeling of good-will towards each other was so habitual, that they seem not to have lost it even when they were drunk. De Lery lived among them a year, and witnessed only two quarrels: the bye-standers looked quietly on without in any way interfering; but if on these rare occasions any injury was inflicted, the law of retaliation was rigorously executed by the kinsmen of the sufferer. There was a word in their language to express a friend who was loved like a brother; it is written *Atourassap*²⁸. They who called each other by this name had all things in common; the tie was held to be as sacred as that of consanguinity, and one could not marry the daughter or sister of the other.

De Lery. c. 18.

De Lery. c. 20.

Marriages. Anon. in Purchas. p. 1290.

Stade. p. 2. c. 20.

Noticias. MSS. 2. 59.

No man married till he had taken an enemy, nor was suffered to partake of the drinking-feast while he remained single. As soon as a girl became marriageable, her hair was cut off and her back scarified, and she wore a necklace of the teeth of beasts till the hair had grown again. The scars thus made were considered honourable ornaments. Cotton cords were tied round her waist and round the fleshy part of both arms; they denoted

he was asked his name, say that it was Lery-oussou, the Great Oyster. They liked him the better for it, saying it was an excellent name, and they had never known a Frenchman with such a one before. C. 11.

²⁸ Erroneously, beyond a doubt, because their speech is without the *r*.

a state of maidenhood, and if any but a maiden wore them they were persuaded that the *Anhanga* would fetch her away. This seems to have been a gratuitous superstition; it cannot have been invented for the purpose of keeping the women chaste till marriage, for these bands were broken without fear, and incontinence was not regarded as an offence. Chastity, like compassion, is one of the virtues of civilization; the seeds are in us, but will not grow up without culture. Their custom of herding together in large and undivided dormitories produced an obvious and pernicious effect²⁹: all decency was destroyed by it; universal lewdness was the consequence, and this in its turn led to the most loathsome of all outrages against human nature. If a man was tired of a wife he gave her away, and he took as many as he pleased. The first had some privileges; she had a separate birth in the dormitory, and a field which she cultivated for her own use. These privileges however did not prevent her from being envious of those who supplanted her; and the wives who found themselves neglected, consoled themselves by initiating the boys in debauchery. The husbands seem to have known nothing of jealousy; it cannot, perhaps, exist without love; and love also is a refinement. There prevailed among them the Jewish custom that the brother, or nearest kinsman of the deceased, took his widow to wife.

Noticias.
MSS. 2. 55.
Stade. p. 2.
c. 19.

Noticias.
MSS. 2. 59.
2. 58.

Some tribes were distinguished by the fashion in which their heads were shorn. The women were proud of long hair, and fond of combing it. They used the shell of a certain fruit for this purpose, till combs were shown them by the Portugueze and

Anon. in
Purchas.
p. 1291.
Fashion of
the women.

²⁹ D. Francisco Requena, who was Governor of the Maynas in 1793, particularly advises the Missionaries that they should make their converts dwell in separate habitations. *Mercurio Peruano*, No. 279.

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Stade. p. 2.
c. 17.
Noticias.
MSS. 2. 44.

French, and were then eagerly demanded. Sometimes they let it flow loose, more frequently tied it close to the root in one or two huge tails, like a French postilion's. They painted their cheeks in red, blue, and yellow, beginning with a spot in the middle, and drawing a spiral line till the whole side of the face was covered: this however was less splendid than the skin and bright orange-coloured plumage of the Toucan's breast, which the men fastened on their cheeks in two broad patches. They painted also the places of the eye-brows³⁰ and eye-lashes, which had been so absurdly eradicated. The necklace was an ornament which they were not permitted to wear, that, as well as the cheek and lip-stones, being among the privileges of the men; but they were indulged with bracelets, and the common address to a Frenchman was, *Mair*³¹, you are a good man; give me some beads.

De Lery.
c. 8.

Condition of
women
among them.

The more brutal the tribe, the worse always is the treatment of the women. The Tupinambas were in many respects an improved race; their wives had something more than their due share of labour, but they were not treated with brutality, and their condition was on the whole happy. They set and dug the mandioc; they sowed and gathered the maize. An odd superstition prevailed, that if a sort of earth-almond, which the Portuguese call *amendoens*, was planted by men, it would not grow. The Tupinambas were fond of acting upon a physical theory, and it is probable that in this allotment of agricultural la-

Noticias.
MSS. 2. 36.

³⁰ *Ainsi qu'on dit que font semblablement en France quelques impudiques*, says De Lery. It is not unlikely that the Eastern fashion of blackening the inside of the eye-lid should have travelled from Greece to Italy, and thence into France.

³¹ Probably their way of pronouncing *Maistre*, . . . the corruption is not greater than that of the French from *Magister*.

bours they proceeded upon the same hypothesis as the more barbarous Savages of the Orinoco, who explained it to Gumilla, when he remonstrated against it. Father, said they, you do not understand our custom, and that is the reason why you do not like it. Women know how to bring forth, which is a thing that we do not know. When they sow and plant, the stalk of maize produces two or three heads, the root of mandioc two or three baskets full, and every thing multiplies in like manner from their hands. Why?.. because women know how to bring forth, and to make the seeds and roots bring forth also.

Gumilla.
c. 45.

Spinning and weaving, for they had a sort of loom, were properly the women's work. Having taken the cotton from the pod, they pulled it abroad; no distaff was used; the spindle was about a foot long and a finger thick; it was passed through a little ball, and the thread fastened to the top; this they twirled between the hands and sent spinning into the air: they could do it as they walked. In this manner they made cords strong enough for their hammocks, and likewise so fine a thread, that a waistcoat woven of it, which De Lery took to France, was mistaken there for silk. When their hammock was dirty, as it must soon have been soiled by the smoke of their everlasting fires, they bleached it by means of a sort of gourd, which, when cut in pieces, boiled, and stirred, raised a lather, and being used as soap, made the cotton white as snow.

De Lery, in
Lat. edit.
c. 18.

De Lery.
c. 18.

The women were skilful potters. They dried their vessels in the sun, then inverted them, and covered them with dry bark, to which they set fire, and thus baked them sufficiently. Many of the American tribes carried this art to great perfection; there are some who bury their dead in jars large enough to receive them erect. The Tupinambas, by means of some white liquid, glazed the inside of their utensils so well, that it is said the potters in France could not do it better. The outside was ge-

Their pottery.
Stade. l. 2
c. 14.
Noticias.
MSS. do
Lago de
Xarayes.
Dobriz-
hoffen.

CHAP.
VIII.

nerally finished with less care; those however in which they kept their food were frequently painted in scrolls and flourishes, intricately interwisted and nicely executed, but after no pattern; nor could they copy what they had once produced. This earthenware was in common use, and De Lery observes, that in this respect the Savages were better furnished than those persons in his own country who fed from trenchers and wooden bowls. They made baskets both of wicker-work and of straw.

De Lery.
c. 18.

Noticias.
MSS. 2. 37.

The men were not deficient in ingenuity. They cut the trunk of the Goayambira, a tree which is about the girth of a man's leg, in lengths of ten or twelve palms, and split the bark off whole; this served them as a case for their bows and arrows. Bark canoes they made whole. The tree which was used for this purpose is called by Stade *Yga-ywera*; they took off the bark in one piece, then keeping the middle straight and stretched by means of thwarts, they curved and contracted the two ends by fire, and the boat was made. The bark was about an inch in thickness; the canoe commonly four feet wide, and some forty in length; some would carry thirty persons. They seldom went more than half a league from the coast, and if the weather was bad, they landed and carried the canoe on shore.

Stade. p. 2.
c. 25.

Noticias.
MSS. 2. 63.
Stade. 2. 8.
De Lery. 12.

Their modes of fishing evinced much dexterity; yet it is remarkable that they had not applied the net to this purpose, as their hammocks were of net-work. They pierced the fish with arrows, and if a larger one carried the arrow down, would dive to the depth of six fathom in pursuit. . . Such was their power in the water that they caught fish by the hand, and did not fear to attack the great water-snake in its own element. Another method was by beating the water, while some of the party were ready with gourds, scooped like a bowl, to slip under the smaller fry, as they rose, stunned or stupified, to the surface. For angling they used a thorn, till hooks were introduced among

Damiam de
Goes. 1. 56.

them; these were what the children were particularly desirous of obtaining from the Europeans. You are a good man, give me some fishing-hooks, was their usual salutation, and if they did not obtain what they asked for, the little Savages would say, You are good for nothing, you must be killed. When they went on the water to angle, it was upon a raft composed of five or six lengths of wood about arm thick, fastened together with withes, just long and wide enough to support them; on this they sate with their legs extended, and paddled out to sea. Sometimes they dammed a stream and poisoned the water. This art, though generally known among the American Indians, seems no where to have been generally used; partly perhaps because they had discovered that it was destructive to the young fry; and also because it requires no exertion of skill, and affords none of the pleasure and uncertainty of pursuit. They preserved fish by drying it on the *boucan*³², and then reducing it to powder.

In catching monkeys for their European customers they were less ingenious; they had no better device than to bring the animal down with an arrow, and then heal the wound. They were fond of taming birds and of teaching parrots to talk. Some of these birds were at perfect liberty, and flew whither they would, yet were so familiar with those who fed and fondled them, that they would come from the woods at a call. Lizards were suffered to live in their houses; so, also, was a large species of harmless snake. Dogs were soon obtained from the Portuguese, and in less than half a century after the discovery of the New World, European poultry were domesticated among half the tribes of South America. The Tupinambas had a method of dying their feathers with Brazil wood: they kept them in

CHAP.
VIII.
De Lery, 12.

De Lery.
Lat. ed. 11.
Noticias.
MSS. 2. 62.

Period. Ac.
of the Mora-
vian Miss.
v. 3. p. 36.
Stude. 2. 26.

Their do-
mestic ani-
mals.
De Lery, 11.
Noticias.
MSS. 2. 45.
Thevet.
ff. 91.
Noticias.
MSS. 2. 46.

De Lery, 9.

³² This method preserves it from becoming putrid, and from worms, . . . but not from a species of mite which is very destructive. *Moravian Missions*, 3. 56.

CHAP.
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large hollow canes which were closed with wax, to preserve them from a mischievous species of moth called *Arauers*: these insects made quick work with leather; cuirasses and bucklers were soon skinned by them; and if the carcase of a beast was left uncovered for a single night, they would make the bones clean by the morning.

De Lery. 11.

Their treatment of strangers.

As soon as a guest arrived at one of their villages, he went, if he was a stranger, to the dwelling of the Chief, at the entrance of whose birth a hammock was swung for him. The Chief then came and questioned him, while the others sat round and listened in silence. The Elders afterwards consulted apart concerning him, whether he were an enemy who was come to spy out their weakness: an enemy had little chance of escaping their penetration, and if he were detected he was put to death. But if the new comer had formerly been a guest, he went to the same family which he had before visited, and whose privilege it was to exercise the rights of hospitality towards him for ever after: if he betook himself to another host, it was an affront to them. The master of the family resigned to him his own hammock, and the wife brought him food before they asked any questions. Then the women came round, and seated themselves on the floor, hid their faces with their hands, and began to lament, he also joining in the lamentation, and not unfrequently shedding real tears. This custom prevails extensively among the Indians, and is more natural than may perhaps immediately be perceived: for the feeling which first rises is of the lapse of time since their last meeting, of the friends whom they have lost during that interval, and of the changes and chances of human life. When this condolence was ended ³³,

Noticias. MSS. 2. 65.

³³ De Lery relates one instance when they washed his feet, (C. 18.) but this does not appear to have been usually practised.

they began to praise their guest: "You have taken the pains to come and see us! you are a good man! you are a brave man!" If he was a European, "You have brought many good things for us of which we were in want."

CHAP.
VIII.

De Lery.
c. 18.

"Our forefathers," said the Tupinambas, "left us nothing good: whatever they left us we have thrown away, because the things which you bring us are so much better. How much better is our condition than theirs! . . . now our plantations are larger! now the children do not cry when they are sheared!" Scissars for trimming the hair, and tweezers for plucking out the beard and eye-lashes, were eagerly requested, and with looking-glasses they were delighted beyond measure. It is remarkable, that they had no propensity to thieving. On De Lery's first visit to them, one took his hat and put it on; another girded on his sword to his naked side; a third drest himself in his doublet. He was a little alarmed at being thus undressed, but it was their custom, and every thing was soon restored. They were a grateful race, and remembered that they had received gifts, after the giver had forgotten it. They were liberal, . . . as ready to bestow as to ask; whatever the house contained was at the guest's service, and any one might partake their food³⁴. They were willing, and even watchful to oblige; if a European whom they liked was weary when travelling in their company, they would cheerfully carry him.

De Lery's
Dialoguc.
De Lery.
c. 18.
Marcgraff.
8. 6.

De Lery.
c. 18.

c. 12.

Noticias
MSS. 2. 63.
De Lery. 18.

It is among the worst parts of their character, that they were unfeeling to the sick, and when they thought the case hopeless, neglected to give them food, so that many died rather of want than of disease. It is even said that they carried them some-

Treatment
of the sick.

Noticias
MSS.
2. 69.

* An excellent people for the Franciscans, says the author of the *Noticias*.

CHAP. times to be buried before they were actually dead; and that
 VIII. persons have recovered after they had been taken down in their
 hammocks for interment. The sight of the grave would occasion
 a salutary effort of nature, when recovery was possible; but
 this fact also implies that there were some who felt compassion,
 and endeavoured to preserve them. The corpse had all its
 limbs tied fast, that the dead man might not be able to get up,
 and infest his friends with his visits; and whoever happened to
 have any thing which had belonged to the dead produced it, that
 it might be buried with him, lest he should come and claim it.
 The nearest relation dug the grave: when the wife died it was
 the husband's office, and he assisted to lay her there; it was in
 the dwelling, and in the very birth of the deceased, . . . a round
 pit, wherein the body was placed in a clean hammock, and in a
 sitting posture, with food before it: for there were some who be-
 lieved that the spirit went to sport among the mountains, and
 returned there to eat and to take rest. A Chief was interred
 with greater ceremony. His corpse was anointed with honey,
 and then coated with feathers. The sides of the grave were
 staked, so as to form a vault, and it was capacious enough for
 the hammock to be slung there: his *maraca* and his weapons
 were placed by his side, food also and water, and his pipe; a
 fire was made below, as if he were living; the vault was then
 roofed and covered up, and the family lived upon the grave as
 before. It was their belief that the *Anhanga* would come and
 devour the dead, unless provisions were laid upon the grave for
 him; and this superstition was confirmed by the French inter-
 preters, who used to steal the food. These offerings were con-
 tinued till it was supposed the body had decayed, and was
 therefore no longer in danger. There is a night-bird, about the
 size of a pigeon, of dusky plumage and mournful voice, which
 the Tupinambas never hurt, nor will suffer any one else to injure,

Their mode
of burial.

Thevet.
ff. 70.
Noticias
MSS. 2. 69.

Nobrega.
Div. Avis.
ff. 34. 40.

Burial of a
Chief.

Noticias
MSS. 2. 69.

DeLevy, 19.

for they believe that it is sent by their dead kinsmen and friends, to condole with them, and give them comfort. De Lery happened to speak sportively one evening to one of his countrymen, as they were standing by while a horde of these Brazilians were listening intently to the melancholy cry of the sacred bird. An old man reproved him, saying, Hold thy peace, and disturb us not while we are hearkening to the happy messengers of our forefathers; for as often as we hear them our hearts rejoice and are strengthened. The women cut off their hair in mourning, and stained the whole body black; when the hair had grown till it reached the eyes they cut it again, to show the mourning was at an end: a widower, on the contrary, suffered his hair to grow. All the relations blackened themselves, and every one, when his term of mourning expired, made a feast, at which songs were sung in praise of the dead.

CHAP.
VIII.

Thevet.
ff. 91.

De Lery,
c. 11.
Their
mourning.

Noticias.
MSS. 2.
69.

“They are a stronger race than we,” says De Lery, “robuster, healthier, and less liable to diseases. There are few lame persons among them, few that are one-eyed, scarcely any who are deformed; and though there are many who live to six score years of age (for they keep account by moons) yet few become grey. This shows the temperature of that region, which is neither afflicted with cold nor with heat, and hath its trees and herbage always green; and they themselves, being free from all care, seem as if they had dipt their lips in the Fountain of Youth.” In this account of the longevity to which they often attain, and the green and vigorous old age which they enjoy, all testimonies; ancient and modern, accord³⁵. Living almost like animals in a

De Lery.
c. 8.

³⁵ The *Mercurio Peruano*, No. 159, notices these instances of longevity among the Indians; one of 117, one of 121, 135, 141, 147, 151, all living, and in strong health.

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state of nature, their senses had that acuteness which the habits of civilized life destroy³⁰. If a Tupinamba were lost in the woods, he laid down and snuffed for fire, which it is said they could scent half a mile off, then climbed the highest tree to look for smoke, which they could perceive at a distance where it was invisible to the keenest European eye. But where they had once been before, they knew their path again by a sort of dog-like faculty. Such faculties are generally possessed in greatest perfection by the rudest tribes; but among them the Tupi race is certainly not to be classed.

Noticias.
MSS. 2.
67.

Noticias.
MSS. 2. 54

De Lery.
16.

One cause which retarded their improvement was the practice of frequently removing their habitations. They never remained longer in one place than the palm-thatch of their houses lasted; as soon as that rotted and let in the rain, instead of repairing it, they migrated. This was not because the adjoining soil had been exhausted, but from a persuasion that change of abode was essential to health; and a superstition, that if they departed from the custom of their forefathers they should be destroyed. When they removed, the women were the beasts of burthen, and carried the hammocks, pots, wooden pestles and mortars, and all their other household stock. The husband only took his weapons, and the wife, says Marcgraff, is loaded like a mule. She swings a great basket behind her by a band which passes over the forehead, carries another on her head, and has several empty gourds, which are for drinking vessels, hanging at her side; one of these serves as a saddle for the child, who

³⁰ Claude d'Abbeville says that they could distinguish two persons of different tribes by the smell. *f.* 311. Those who went with him to France perceived land long before any of the other persons on board, . . . and frequently when the French fancied they saw it, told them it was only the dark sky. *f.* 312.

sits astride it, and holds on. Being thus equipped, she carries the parrot in one hand, and leads the dog with the other. If it rained while they were on their way, they fixed two stakes in the ground, and made a thatch with palm-leaves, sufficient against wind and weather for the service of the night.

CHAP.
VIII.

Marrégraf.
8. 7.

The main cause why the Tupis were not farther advanced was the state of their *Payes*. The Catholics, who see nothing but the work of the Devil in all religions except their own; and the Philosophists, who see nothing but error and deception in any religion whatsoever, have vied with each other in representing the horrible effects of priestcraft. Yet when man has been degraded to the savage state, it is only by priestcraft that he has ever yet been reclaimed. When America was discovered, the civilization of its different nations was precisely in proportion to the degree of power and respectability which their priests possessed; and this authority of the priesthood was not the consequence of an improved state of society, but the cause of it. As long as the Priest continues a mere juggler, the people continue Savages; his triumph is but the ascendancy of vulgar cunning over bodily strength, and though he is feared he is not respected. But when a more commanding spirit arises, who, connecting old fables and dimly-remembered truths with the devices of his own imagination, lays the foundation of a mythological system, from that moment the improvement of his tribe begins. A ritual worship creates arts for its embellishment and support; habits of settled life take root as soon as a temple is founded, and the city grows round the altar. The men who are set apart for the service of the Gods, and who are exempted from all ordinary occupations, being considered as superior to other men, soon learn to consider themselves so, and in reality become so. They have leisure to acquire knowledge, and to think for the people: it is among them in all

CHAP. countries that the rudiments of science have sprung up, and no
 VIII. nation has ever yet emerged from a savage state till it had a
 1549. regular priesthood.

*Conduct of
 the Jesuits.*

These were the people whom the Jesuits went to convert. They began by winning the affections of the children, giving them store of trifling presents ; by this sort of intercourse they acquired some use of the language themselves, and soon qualified these little ones for interpreters. They visited the sick, and while they believed that every one whom they sprinkled at the hour of death was a soul rescued from the Devil, the charitable services which accompanied such conversions were not lost upon the living. The Portugueze, on their arrival in Brazil, had been welcomed by the natives as friends ; but when the original possessors of the land perceived that their guests were becoming their masters, they took up arms, suspended their internal quarrels, and attempted to expel them. European fire-arms repulsed them, and European policy soon broke their short-lived union. But even peace with the Portugueze settlers afforded them no security ; when it is permitted to reduce enemies to slavery, no friends can be secure. It was in vain that humane edicts were enacted in Portugal ; while the atrocious principle is acknowledged, that man can by any circumstances lawfully be considered as the slave of man, all edicts and all formalities will be ineffectual protections against violence and avarice. Many tribes were in arms against this oppression when the Jesuits arrived ; won first by the report that men were come who were the Friends and Protectors of the Indians, and afterwards by experiencing their good offices, they brought their bows to the Governor, and solicited to be received as allies.

These missionaries were every way qualified for their office. They were zealous for the salvation of souls ; they had disen-

gaged themselves from all the ties which attach us to life, and were therefore not merely fearless of martyrdom, but ambitious of it; they believed the idolatry which they taught, and were themselves persuaded that by sprinkling a dying Savage, and repeating over him a form of words which he did not understand, they redeemed him from everlasting torments, to which he was otherwise inevitably, and according to their notions of Divine justice, justly destined. Nor can it be doubted that they sometimes worked miracles upon the sick; for when they believed that the patient might be miraculously cured, and he himself expected that he should be so, faith would supply the virtue in which it trusted.

Nobrega and his companions began their work with those hordes who were sojourning in the vicinity of St. Salvador; they persuaded them to live in peace, they reconciled old enemies, they succeeded in preventing drunkenness, and in making them promise to be contented with one wife; but the cannibalism they could not overcome: the delight of feasting upon the flesh of their enemies was too great to be relinquished. All efforts at abolishing this accursed custom were in vain. One day they heard the uproar and rejoicing of the Savages at one of these sacrifices; they made way into the area, just when the prisoner had been felled, and the old women were dragging his body to the fire; they forced the body from them, and in the presence of the whole clan, who stood astonished at their courage, carried it off. The women soon roused the warriors to revenge this insult, and by the time the Fathers had secretly interred the corpse, the Savages were in search of them. The Governor received timely intelligence, and sent in haste to call the Jesuits from the mud hovel which they inhabited, upon the spot whereon their magnificent College was afterwards erected. When the Savages had searched here in vain, they were on the

CHAP. point of attacking the city; the Governor was obliged to call
 VIII. out his whole force, and partly by the display of fire-arms, and
 1549. partly by fair words, he induced them to retire. This danger
 over, the Portugueze themselves began an outcry against the
 Jesuits, saying, that their frantic zeal had endangered the city,
 and would soon make all the natives their enemies. Thome de
 Sousa, however, was not to be deterred by any such short-sighted
 policy from protecting and encouraging Nobrega: and it was
 not long before these very Savages, remembering the true kind-
 ness which they had alway experienced from the Jesuits, and
 that those Fathers were indeed the friends of the Indians, came to
 solicit their forgiveness, and beseech the Governor that he would
 command the Fathers to forgive them, and visit them as before;
 . . and they promised not to repeat these feasts. But the prac-
 tice was too delightful to be laid aside at once, and they con-
 tinued it secretly. When the Fathers had obtained sufficient
 authority over them to make themselves feared, they employed
 the children as spies to inform against offenders.

*Sim. de Vasc.
 Chr. da Com.
 1. § 51—53.*

*Thome de
 Sousa.
 Div. Avisi.
 f. 156.*

One of the Jesuits succeeded in effectually abolishing it among
 some clans by going through them and flogging himself before
 their doors till he was covered with blood, telling them he thus
 tormented himself to avert the punishment which God would
 otherwise inflict upon them for this crying sin. They could
 not bear this, confessed what they had done was wrong,
 and enacted heavy punishments against any person who
 should again be guilty. With other hordes the Fathers thought
 themselves fortunate in obtaining permission to visit the
 prisoners and instruct them in the saving faith, before they
 were put to death. But the Savages soon took a conceit
 that the water of baptism spoilt the taste of the meat, and
 therefore would not let them baptize any more. The Jesuits
 then carried with them wet handkerchiefs, or contrived to wet

*Pedro Cor-
 rea.
 Div. Avisi.
 f. 240.*

the skirt or sleeve of their habit, that out of it they might squeeze water enough upon the victim's head to fulfil the condition of salvation, without which they were persuaded that eternal fire must have been his portion. What will not man believe, if he can believe this of his Maker!

If the Missionaries, overcoming all difficulties, succeeded in converting a clan at last, that conversion was so little the effect of reason or feeling, that any slight circumstance would induce the proselytes to relapse into their old paganism. An epidemic disorder appeared among them; they said it was occasioned by the water of baptism, and all the converts whom Nobrega and his fellow labourers had with such difficulty collected, would have deserted them and fled into the woods, if he had not pledged his word that the malady should cease. Luckily for him it was effectually cured by bleeding, a remedy to which they were unaccustomed. Some time afterwards a cough and catarrh cut off many of them: this also was attributed to baptism. The Jesuits themselves did not ascribe greater powers to this ceremony than they did; whatever calamity befel them was readily accounted for by these drops of mysterious water. Many tribes have supposed it fatal to children, . . . the eagerness with which the Missionaries baptize the dying, and especially new-born infants who are not likely to live, has occasioned this notion. The neighbouring hordes now began to regard the Jesuits with horror, as men who carried pestilence with them: if one was seen approaching, the whole clan assembled, and burnt pepper and salt in his way; . . . a fumigation which they believed good against plagues and evil spirits, and to keep death from entering among them. Some, when they saw them coming, carried away all their goods, and forsook their habitations; others came out trembling, say the Fathers, like the leaves of a tree which is shaken by the wind, intreating them to pass on, and hurt them

CHAP.
VIII.
1549.

*Sim. de l'asc.
Ch. da Comp.*
1. § 54.
1. § 137.

S. Fasc. C. C.
1. § 37.

S. Fasc. C. C.
1. § 115.

Div. Av.
ff. 152.

CHAP. not, and showing them the way forward. The *Payes*, as
 VIII. may be well supposed, used every effort against these persons
 1549. who were come to spoil their trade, and they persuaded the
 Ant. Pires. Indians that they put knives, scissars, and such things in their
 Div. Av. insides, and so destroyed them; . . . a belief in this kind of witch-
 ff. 40. 44. craft seems to have prevailed every where. The farther the
 Jesuits advanced into the country, the stronger did they find this
 impression of fear. But it yielded to their perseverance, and
 the superstition of the natives led them into the opposite ex-
 treme; they brought out their provisions to be blest, and
 waited to receive their benediction wherever they were expect-
 ed to pass.

Thome de
 Sousa.
 Div. Avis.
 ff. 158.

S. Vasc. C. C.
 1. § 91.

Nobrega.
 Div. Av.
 ff. 34.

S. Vasc. C. C.
 1. § 48.
 1 §. 90.

When the Jesuits succeeded, they made the converts erect a church in the village, which, however rude, fixed them to the spot; and they established a school for the children, whom they catechised in their own language, and instructed to repeat the Pater-noster over the sick: every recovery which happened after this had been done, both they and the patient accounted a miracle. They taught them also to read and write, using, says Nobrega, the same persuasion as that wherewith the enemy overcame man; . . . ye shall be as Gods, knowing good and evil, . . . for this knowledge appeared wonderful to them, and they eagerly desired to attain it; . . . good proof how easily such a race might have been civilized. Aspilcueta was the aptest scholar among the Missionaries; he was the first who made a catechism in the Tupi tongue, and translated prayers into it. When he became sufficiently master of the language to express himself in it with fluency and full power, he then adopted the manner of the *Payes*, and sung out the mysteries of the faith, running round the auditors, stamping his feet, clapping his hands, and copying all the tones and gesticulations by which they were wont to be affected. Nobrega had a school near the city, where he in-

structed the native children, the orphans from Portugal, and the Mestizos or mixed breed, here called *Mamaluços*. Reading, writing, and arithmetic were taught them; they were trained to assist at mass, and to sing the church service, and frequently led in procession through the town. This had a great effect, for the natives were passionately fond of music, so passionately that Nobrega began to hope the fable of Orpheus was a type of his mission, and that by songs he was to convert the Pagans of Brazil. He usually took with him four or five of these little choristers on his preaching expeditions; when they approached an inhabited place, one carried the crucifix before them, and they began singing the Litany. The Savages, like snakes, were won by the voice of the charmer; they received him joyfully, and when he departed with the same ceremony, the children followed the music. He set the catechism, creed, and ordinary prayers to *sol, fa*; and the pleasure of learning to sing was such a temptation, that the little Tupis sometimes ran away from their parents to put themselves under the care of the Jesuits.

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S. Vasc. C.C.
1. § 93.
1. § 118.

P. Correa.
Div. Avis.
ff. 239.

Ant. Pires.
Div. Avis.
ff. 44.

The Fathers had greater difficulties to encounter in the conduct of their own countrymen than in the customs and disposition of the natives. During the half century that the colonization of Brazil had been left to chance, the colonists were almost without law and without religion. Many settlers had never either confessed or communicated since they entered the country, . . . the ordinances of the Church were neglected for want of a Clergy to celebrate them, and the moral precepts had been forgotten with the ceremonies. Crimes which might easily at first have been prevented, had thus become habitual, and the habit was now too strong to be overcome. There were indeed individuals in whom the moral sense could be recovered; but in the majority it had been utterly destroyed; they were of that description of

S. Vasc. C.C.
1. § 65.

CHAP.
 VIII.
 1549.

men over whom the fear of the gallows may have some effect; the fear of God has none. A system of concubinage was practised among them worse than the loose polygamy of the Savages; the Savage had as many women as consented to become his wives, . . . the Colonist³⁷ as many as he could enslave. There is an ineffaceable stigma upon the Europeans in their intercourse with those whom they treat as inferior races; there is a perpetual contradiction between their lust and their avarice. The Planter will one day take a slave for his harlot, and sell her the next as a being of some lower species, . . . a beast of labour. If she be indeed an inferior animal, what shall be said of the one action? If she be equally with himself a human being, and an immortal soul, what shall be said of the other? . . . Either way there is a crime committed against human nature. Nobrega and his companions refused to administer the sacraments of the Church to those persons who retained native women as concubines, or men as slaves. Many were reclaimed by this resolute and Christian conduct; some because their consciences had not been dead, but sleeping; others for worldly fear, because they believed the Jesuits were armed with secular as well as spiritual authority. The good effect which was produced upon such persons was, therefore, only for a season. Mighty as the Catholic religion is, avarice is mightier; and in spite of all the efforts of some of the best and ablest men that ever the Jesuit order, so fertile of great men, has had to glory in, the practice of enslaving the natives continued.

Div. Avis.
ff. 47.

³⁷ Some of the Portuguese thought to lessen the sin by immediately having the women baptized. A question upon this arose for the Casuists. The Jesuits thought that to set these women at liberty and let them return to their hordes would be an offence against the sacrament of baptism; and on the other hand, if they let them remain, both parties were in a state of mortal sin.

Div. Avisi. ff. 47.

The number of Jesuits soon began to increase; a few lay CHAP. VIII. 1550. coadjutors they admitted in the country, who being men that were thoroughly conversant with the language and manners of the Indians, and who bitterly repented of the sins which they had committed against them, had the best qualifications of knowledge and zeal. The fleet which came out the year after their arrival brought four Fathers, and the title of Vice Provincial of Brazil for Nobrega, subject to the Province of Portugal. Two years afterwards D. Pedro Fernandes Sardinha arrived as Bishop of Brazil, bringing with him Priests, Canons, and Dignitaries, and Church ornaments of every kind for his Cathedral; he had studied and graduated at Paris, had held the office of Vicar-General in India, and, unhappily for himself, was now sent to Bahia. At this time no better colonists could be sent out than the Clergy, for none were employed upon this mission except such as were selected for their peculiar fitness for the service. The cells had not yet been built, nor the honey deposited for the drones of superstition. Nobrega had anxiously expected the Bishop's arrival. No Devil, he said, had persecuted him and his brethren so greatly as some of the Priests had done whom they found in the country. These wretches encouraged the Colonists in all their abominations, and openly maintained that it was lawful to enslave the natives because they were beasts, and then lawful to use the women as concubines because they were slaves. This was their public doctrine! well might Nobrega say they did the work of the Devil. They opposed the Jesuits with the utmost virulence; . . . their interest was at stake; they could not bear the presence of men who said mass and performed all the ceremonies of religion gratuitously.

1552.

Div. Avis.
ff. 49. 50.

During Thome de Sousa's government four settlers went, without his permission, to trade at one of the islands in the

CHAP. VIII. 1552. Bay, where they had formed connections with some of the native women. These Islanders had formerly been at war with the Portugueze, but peace had been made: a mood of revenge however came upon them, probably not without provocation, and they killed and eat all four. This circumstance was discovered, a party of Portugueze attacked them, and carried off one woman, and two old men who were uncles to the chief offenders, and these men were put to death. The inhabitants forsook the island, but they had left store of food there, and returned, with a body of allies from the mountains, thinking by their help to defend it. The Governor sent against them all the force he could muster, remaining with only a sufficient guard for the city. Nobrega accompanied the expedition, carrying a crucifix, which dismayed the Savages as much as it encouraged his own people. They fled without attempting resistance, and two settlements on this and an adjoining island were burnt. This struck terror into the natives, and they would have submitted to any terms, if they could have believed that any terms would be kept.

*Ant. Pires.
Div. Avis.
f. 45.*

*S. Fasc. C. C.
1. § 120.
122.*

During the same government search was made for mines; Vasconcellos conjectures that it was in the interior of Porto Seguro, or Espirito Santo. The adventurers endured great difficulties, and returned without success.

CHAPTER IX.

D. Duarte da Costa Governor.—Anchieta comes out.—Brazil erected into a Jesuit Province.—School established at Piratininga.—Death of Joam III.—Mem de Sa Governor.—Expedition of the French under Villegagnon to Rio de Janeiro.—Their island is attacked and the works destroyed.—War with the Tamoyos.—Nobrega and Anchieta effect a peace with them.—The French finally defeated at Rio de Janeiro, and the City of St. Sebastian founded.

When Thome de Sousa had been Governor four years, he petitioned to be recalled, and D. Duarte da Costa was sent out to succeed him. Seven Jesuits accompanied the new Governor; among them were Luis da Gram, who had been Rector of the College at Coimbra, and Joseph de Anchieta, then only a Temporal Coadjutor, but destined to be celebrated in Jesuitical history as the Thaumaturgos¹ of the New World. Loyola, the Patriarch, as he is called, of the Company, or more probably Laynez, by whose master-hand the whole machine was set in motion, had already perceived the importance of this mission,

CHAP.
IX.

1553.

*D. da Costa
Governor.
Noticias.
MSS. 2. 3.
Anchieta.
arrives in
Brasil.*

¹ The reader will find the history of Anchieta here. The mythology of his life is touched upon in the account of the biography of this wonder-worker, by Simam de Vasconcellos.

CHAP.

IX.

1553.

Brazil made
a Jesuit
Province.S. Vasc. C. C.
1. § 147.Establish-
ment at Pi-
ratininga.

and delegated new powers to Nobrega, erecting Brazil into an independant Province, and appointing him and Luis de Gram joint Provincials. As neither of these Fathers had yet taken the fourth vow, which is the last and highest degree in the order, they were instructed now to take it before the Ordinary; and they were directed to chuse out *Consultores*, or Advisers, from their companions, one of whom was to go with them upon all their journeys.

Nobrega's first act, after this accession of power, was to establish a College in the plains of Piratininga². Such an establishment was necessary because the Society was now numerous; they had very many children of both colours to support, and the alms upon which they subsisted were not sufficient to maintain them all in one place. The spot chosen was ten leagues from the sea, and about thirteen from St. Vicente, upon the great Cordillera which stretches along the coast of Brazil. The way was by a steep and difficult ascent³, broken with shelves of

² The residence of Tabyrega was so called, . . . that Royalet who was the father-in-law of Joam Ramalho, and who made an alliance with Martim Affonso de Sousa, and was baptized by his name. Piratinim, or Piratininga, was the name of a stream which falls into the Tyete, formerly the Rio Grande; . . . hence the settlement upon its bank was so called, . . . and then the whole district.

F. Gasparda Madre de Dios. Memor. para a Hist. da St. Vicente. p. 106.

³ A century afterwards, when a road had been made in the best direction, Vasconcellos thus describes it: The greater part of the way you have not to travel, but to get on with hands and feet by the roots of trees, and this among such crags and precipices, that I confess, the first time I went there, my flesh trembled when I looked down. The depth of the vallies is tremendous; and the number of mountains, one above another, seem to leave no hope of reaching the end, . . . when you fancy you are at the summit of one, you find yourself at the foot of another of no less magnitude, . . . and this in the beaten and chosen way! True it is that from time to time the labour of the ascent is recompensed; for when I seated myself

level ground, and continuing about eight leagues, when a track of delightful country appeared in that temperate region of the air. Here were lakes, rivers, and springs, with rocks and mountains still rising above, and the earth as fertile as a rich soil and the happiest of all climates could render it. The best fruits of Europe thrive there, the grape, the apple, the peach, fig, cherry, mulberry, melon, and water-melon, and the woods abound with game.

CHAP.
IX.
1553.

Vasc. C. C.
1. § 148.

Thirteen of the Company, under Manoel de Paiva, were sent to colonize here, where Nóbrega had previously stationed some of his converts. Anchieta went with them as schoolmaster. Their first mass was celebrated on the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, and from this, as from a good omen, they named their College after the Saint, . . . a name which extended to the town that arose there, and has become famous in the history of South America. The plains of Piratininga had not yet been improved by European culture: nature indeed had fitted them for an earthly Paradise, but they were as nature left them, unassisted by human art. "Here we are," says Anchieta, in a letter written to Loyola, "sometimes more than twenty of us in a little hut of wicker work and mud, roofed with straw, fourteen paces long and ten wide. This is the school, this is the infirmary, dormitory, refectory, kitchen, and store-room. Yet we covet

1554.
August.

upon one of those rocks and cast my eyes below, it seemed as though I were looking down from the heaven of the Moon, and that the whole globe of earth lay beneath my feet, . . . a sight of rare beauty, for the diversity of prospect both of sea and land, plains, forest and mountain tracks, all various and beyond measure delightful. This ascent, broken with shelves of level, continues till you reach the plains of Piratininga, in the second region of the air, where it is so thin, that it seems as if they who newly arrive there could never breathe their fill.

Vasc. Chr. da Comp. 1. § 148.

CHAP. not the more spacious dwellings which our brethren inhabit in
 IX. other parts, for our Lord Jesus Christ was in a straiter place
 1554. when it was his pleasure to be born among beasts in a manger ;
 and in a far straiter when he deigned to die for us upon the
 Cross." It was not however for want of room that Anchieta
 and his brethren and pupils were thus crowded. They herded
 together in this way to keep themselves warm, for against the
 cold they were miserably provided. Fire indeed they had, but
 they had smoke with it, not having contrived a chimney ; and
 sometimes cold was thought the more endurable evil of the two,
 and they studied in the open air. They slept in hammocks, and
 had no bed-clothes : for door there was a mat hung up at the
 entrance : their dress was calculated for a lower region ; what
 little clothing it consisted of was of cotton ; they were bare-
 footed, and without breeches. Banana-leaves served them for a
 table, and napkins, says Anchieta, may well be excused when
 there is nothing to eat, .. for they had no other food than
 what the Indians gave them, sometimes alms of mandioc flour,
 and less frequently fish from the brooks, and game from the
 forest.

Fasc. C. C.
 1. § 153.
Do. Vida de
Anchieta.
 1. 5. 1.

Labours of
Anchieta.

Many scholars, both Creoles and Mamalucos, came here
 from the nearest settlements. Anchieta taught them Latin,
 and learnt from them the Tupinamban, of which he composed
 a grammar and vocabulary, the first which were made.
 Day and night did this indefatigable man, whose life, without
 the machinery of miracles, is sufficiently honourable to himself
 and to his order, labour in discharging the duties of his office.
 There were no books for the pupils ; he wrote for every one his
 lesson on a separate leaf, after the business of the day was done,
 and it was sometimes day-light before this task was completed.
 The profane songs which were in use he parodied into hymns in
 Portugueze, Castillian, Latin, and Tupinamban ; the ballads of

the natives underwent the same travesty in their own tongue; .. how greatly should we have been indebted to Anchieta had he preserved them! In this language also he drew up forms of interrogations for the use of Confessors, suitable to all occasions, and wrote dialogues for the Cathecumens, expounding the whole Christian, or rather Catholic faith. "I serve," says he, "as physician and barber, physicking and bleeding the Indians, and some of them have recovered under my hands when their lives were not expected, because others had died of the same diseases. Besides these employments, I have learnt another trade which necessity taught me, that is, to make *alpergatas*; I am now a good workman at this, and have made many for the brethren, for it is not possible to travel with leathern shoes among these wilds." The *alpergata* is a sort of shoe, of which the upper part is made of hemp, or any such substance, .. here they were of cordage from a species of wild thistle, which it was necessary to prepare for the purpose, and which served also for disciplines, the poor boys being, according to the frantic folly of Catholicism, taught to consider self-tormenting as a Christian virtue, and made to flog themselves on Fridays. For bleeding he had no other instrument than a penknife; there was a scruple about this branch of his profession, because the clergy are forbidden to shed blood⁴; they sent to ask Loyola's opinion, and his answer was, that charity extended to all things.

*Vasc. V. de
Anch. l. 1.
c. 10.
Vasc. C. C.
1. § 38.
1. § 161.*

*Attack upon
Piratininga.*

About three leagues from Piratininga, was a settlement called St. Andre, inhabited chiefly by Mamalucos. This breed, so

⁴ It is for this reason that when the Romish clergy delivered up a heretick to be punished, they requested that no blood might be shed, .. and then sung *Te Deum* with a safe conscience while they saw him burnt alive!

CHAP. far from being a link which should bind together the two races
 IX. in friendly intercourse, was more desperately inimical to the na-
 1554. tives than even the Portuguese themselves were. They hated
 the Jesuits for opposing the custom, as they termed it, of the
 land, and for interfering with what they called the liberty of
 making slaves. The conversion and civilization of the Indians
 were regarded by these wretches as measures necessarily de-
 structive to their interests, and they devised an ingenious mode
 of prejudicing them against Christianity. Cowardice, they said,
 was the motive which induced them to be baptized; they were
 afraid to meet their enemies in battle, and so took shelter under
 the protection of the Church. Of all reproaches, this was the
 most cutting which could be made to a Savage; . . . they added,
 that the Jesuits were a set of fellows turned out of their own
 country as idle vagabonds, and that it was disgraceful for men
 who could use the bow to be under their control. Some of the
 adjoining tribes, instigated by these ruffians^s, advanced to attack
 Piratininga, but were met and defeated by the converts. Du-
 ring the night they returned to the field to carry off the dead
 bodies of their enemies, and feast upon them. They found
 fresh heaps of earth, and concluding that the bodies which they
 sought were buried there, dug them up and carried them away
 in the darkness. At daylight, when they reached their settle-
 ments, they recognized the features of their own dead, and their
 expected feast was changed into lamentation.

Fasc. C. C.
 1. § 163—
 166.

*Dispute be-
 tween the
 Governor
 and Bishop.*

D. Duarte was not so well disposed to cooperate with the
 Clergy in their benevolent views as his predecessor had been.
 The Bishop had proceeded against the offending Colonists with
 rigour, which the Governor would have seconded had he under-

^s Or by the Devil, says Vasconcellos; . . . it is not certainly known which.

stood the real interests of the colony ; but on the contrary, he opposed him upon a plea that he was intruding upon the authority of the crown. Little can be traced concerning this dispute ; it is stated that the Bishop was at the head of one party, and the Governor and his son of another, which became the occasion of much enmity and many tumults. F. Antonio Pires reconciled them, and persuaded the son to ask pardon of the Bishop, a difficult thing to effect, because the young man stood upon his point of honour. This submission proves him to have been in fault. The reconciliation however was of little avail, for in the ensuing year the Prelate embarked for Portugal, meaning to lay the matter before the King. He was wrecked upon the *Baixos de D. Francisco*, . . . shoals close in shore, in a bay between the rivers St. Francisco and Currupe. The crew got to land, but they fell into the hands of the Cahetes, and men, women, and children, an hundred white persons in all, with all their slaves, were massacred and devoured by these merciless cannibals. Only two Indians and one Portugueze who understood their language, escaped to bear the tidings. It is a common tradition, says the Jesuit historian, that from that day no beauty or natural ornament has been produced upon the place where the Bishop was murdered ; . . . till then it was adorned with herbs, and trees, and flowers ; now it is bare and blasted, like the mountains of Gilboa, after David had cursed them in his lamentation. Such a tale was easily invented, and would be readily as well as usefully believed any where in Brazil, except upon the spot. The vengeance which was taken upon the Cahetes removes our indignation from them to their unrelenting persecutors. The whole people and all their posterity were condemned to slavery, and this iniquitous decree not only involved the innocent with the guilty, but afforded a pretext for enslaving any Indian whatsoever. It was but to affirm that he belonged to this tribe,

CHAP.
IX.
1554.

Ant. Pires.
Div. Avis.
247.

RochaPitta.
3. § 8.

Noticias.
MSS. I. 18.
The Bishop
killed by the
Cahetes.

S. Vasc. C. C.
2. § 18.

CHAP. and the accuser was judge in his own cause! When these
 IX. consequences were perceived, the sentence was mitigated,
 1554. and all who should be converted were exempted from its rigour:
 this proved of no avail, and it was at length entirely revoked;
 but before this act of tardy justice, the tribe was almost ex-
 tirpated.

S. Vasc. C. C.
 3. § 48.

1557.
Death of
Joam III.

During the government of D. Duarte da Costa, Joam III. died. The Queen Regent pursued awhile his plans for the improvement of Brazil, and his loss was not immediately perceived.

1558.
Mem de Sa
Governor.

In the ensuing year Mem de Sa came out to supersede D. Duarte. He had been appointed in the King's lifetime, and it was said in his commission, that he was to hold the government not merely for the ordinary term of three years, but as much longer as his Majesty might think good. On his landing he shut himself up with the Jesuits, and, according to their account, spent eight days in studying the Spiritual Exercises of Loyola, under Nobrega. They libel Mem de Sa, and they libel themselves, in supposing that this retirement was not employed in obtaining information of the state of the country from the best politician in it.

S. Vasc. C. C.
 3. § 49.

Outcry
against his
attempts in
behalf of the
natives.

The first acts of the Governor were to prohibit the allied natives from eating human flesh and from making war, except upon such grounds as he and his Council should previously approve; and to collect them together in settled habitations, where they should build churches for those who were already converted, and houses for their Jesuit instructors. A great outcry was raised against these measures, not by the natives themselves, but by the settlers, who could not bear to see the Savages considered as human and reasonable beings. . . They inveighed against his proceedings as violations of the liberty of the Indians, . . said it was absurd to dream of forbidding tygers to eat human flesh; that the more they warred with each other, the better it was for

the Portugueze ; and that to collect them in large settlements, was to form armies with which they should ere long have to contend. To such arguments it was easy to reply, and for any danger which might be apprehended the Jesuits rightly said, that they who were to live among the natives would be most exposed to it, but they had no fears. One Chief resisted the decree ; his name was Cururupebe, the Swelling Toad ; he boldly declared, that in spite of the Portugueze he would eat his enemies, . . . and them too if they attempted to prevent him. Mem de Sa sent a force against him ; they fell upon him in the night, routed his people, and brought him prisoner to the city, where the Toad was kept in confinement.

CHAP.
IX.
1558.

S. Vasc. C. C.
2. § 50—53.

2. § 54.

At the time when these laws were enacted, orders were issued also that all Indians who had been wrongfully enslaved should be set at liberty. One powerful Colonist refused obedience : Mem de Sa gave command to surround his house and level it to the ground if he did not instantly obey. This summary justice, followed up as it was by every where enforcing the observance of the edict, convinced the allies of his good intentions towards them. They had soon another proof. Three friendly Indians were seized, when fishing, by their enemies, carried off, and devoured. The Governor sent to the offending tribe, commanding them to give up the criminals that they might be put to death. The Chiefs would have consented, but the persons implicated were powerful ; the adjoining clans made a common cause with them ; two hundred hordes who dwelt upon the banks of the Paraguazu united in defence of their favourite custom, and the answer returned was, that if the Governor wanted the offenders he must come and take them. This, in despite of the opposition made by the settlers, he resolved to do. The allied natives took the field with him, with a Jesuit at their head, and a cross

*Vigorous
measures
against the
refractory
natives.*

CHAP. for their standard. They found the enemy well posted and in
 IX. considerable strength, but they put them to flight. After the
 1558. battle it was discovered that an arm had been cut off from one
 of the dead; . . as this was evidently taken by one of the allies
 to eat in secret, proclamation was made that that arm must be
 laid by the body, before the army took food, or rested after the
 battle. The next morning the enemy were pursued, and suffered
 a second and more severe defeat, after which they delivered up
 the criminals, and petitioned to be received as allies upon the
 same terms as the other tribes.

S. Vasc. C. C.
 2. § 55—59.

Villegagnon's expedition to Brazil.

Mem de Sa had now to turn his arms against a more formidable enemy. From the time of its earliest discovery the French had frequented the coast of Brazil; they were now attempting to establish themselves in Rio de Janeiro, under Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon, a native of Provence, and Knight of Malta. This adventurer was a bold and skilful seaman; . . when the Scotch determined to send their young Queen Mary into France, and it was justly feared that the English might intercept her, Villegagnon, having the command of a French squadron of Gallies at Leith, feigned to depart for his own country; instead of which, he sailed round Scotland, a navigation which was thought impracticable for such vessels, took her on board on the Western coast, and thus eluding the English, conveyed her safe to Bretagne. On many occasions he had given equal proof of ability and courage; and he had the rare merit, for a soldier, of possessing no inconsiderable share of learning. He, through Coligny, represented to Henri II. that it was for the honour and interest of France to undertake an expedition to America; that such an attempt would distract the attention and weaken the strength of the Spaniards, who derived so large a portion of their wealth from thence; that the natives groaned under their intolerable yoke,

Thuanus.
 l. 4. t. 1.
 p. 144.

and that it would be for their good and the good of the world to deliver them, and open the commerce of America to Europe. I know not by what logic this could apply to Brazil, a country not possessed by the Spaniards; and to the Portugueze, a people not at war with France. This however was the public plea, and Coligny was induced to lend all his influence to the project, by secret assurances from Villegagnon that he would establish an asylum for the Protestants in this new colony.

CHAP.
IX.
1558.

Thuanus.
16. l. 460.

1556.
Brito Freyre.
§ 61.

Villegagnon had previously made a voyage to Brazil, established an intercourse with the natives, and chosen a spot to his settlement. Henri II. gave him, at the Admiral's request, two vessels of two hundred tons, and a storeship of half that burthen. A good company of artificers, soldiers, and noble adventurers was raised, and they sailed from Havre de Grace, then called Franciscople, in honour of its founder Francis I. Villegagnon's ship sprung a leak in a gale, and was obliged to put into Dieppe; there was great difficulty in entering, the port having scarcely depth for vessels of such draught, and the gale continuing; but the inhabitants, who had obtained an honourable character for their activity on such occasions, came off to their assistance and warped them in. By this time many of the artificers, soldiers, and noble adventurers had become sick of the sea, and they abandoned the expedition as soon as they got on shore: to this desertion its ultimate failure may in great measure be imputed.

After a long and miserable voyage Villegagnon entered Rio de Janeiro: his expedition was wisely planned, the place well chosen, and the native tribes were hostile to the Portugueze, and

N. Barré in
De Bry.
Rio de Janeiro.

^r *Pro solito et laudabili ipsorum more.* Nic. Barré.

CHAP. had long traded with the French. Rio de Janeiro, like Bahia,
 IX. seems to have been formerly a great fresh-water lake, which has
 1556. broken down its barrier. The water almost touches the foot of
 the Organ mountains, so called from some resemblance which
 has been fancied in their form, and the whole bay is surrounded
 by one of the highest and most rugged parts of the Cordillera.
 The entrance is between two high rocks, through a strait about
 half a mile wide, . . . by so narrow a pass is this harbour defended,
 which is seventeen leagues in circumference. Just in the middle
 of the strait is a rock about an hundred feet long and sixty
 wide, of which Villegagnon took possession, and erected a
 wooden fort there. Could he have maintained this post, the
 French would probably have kept their footing in Brazil; but
 the rock was not sufficiently elevated above the surface of the
 sea, and the waves drove him away. Some hundreds of the
 natives assembled on his arrival, kindled bonfires in token of
 their joy, and offered every thing which they possessed to
 these allies, who were come to protect them against the Por-
 tugeze.

*Vasc. Vid.
 de Anchieta.
 l. 2. c. 1. § 2.
 Pimentel.
 305.*

*Arrival of
 the French
 there.*

FRANCE
 ANTARCTIQUE.

The French, with their usual arrogance, looked upon the
 whole continent as already their own, and gave it the name of
 Antarctic France*. At the time when they thus in imagination
 took possession of South America, their force consisted of four-
 score men; their leader was too prudent to trust himself upon
 the main land, and the whole territory of Antarctic France was

* Nic. Barré dates his letter *Ad flumen Genabara, in Brasiliâ, Franciæ Antarcticæ Provinciâ*, . . . and Thevet entitles his book, *Les Singularités de la France Antarctique, autrement nommée Amérique*, . . . so called, he says, *pour estre partie peuplée, partie decouverte par noz pilottes*.

confined to an island about a mile in circumference, whither he had removed when the rock was found untenable. This island lies near the entrance of the harbour, and has only one landing place, being surrounded with rocks. On each side of its port are two little eminences commanding it; these he fortified, and in the centre of the island fixed his own residence upon a rock about fifty feet high, in which he excavated a magazine. This strong hold he named Fort Coligny, in honour of his patron. As soon as he had thus established himself he dispatched advices to the Admiral^o of his arrival, the riches of the country, and the friendly disposition of the natives; requested reinforcements, and also some good theologians from Geneva.

CHAP.
IX.
1556.

N. Barré.
De Lery.
c. 6.
Thuanus.
1. 461.
S. Fasc. C.C.
2. § 77.

How convenient soever the island might be for a settlement in other respects, it had the great disadvantage of wanting water. The expedition had been sparingly stored and victualled; immediately on their arrival the allowance of liquor was stopt; Villegagnon stopt the allowance of biscuit also, and made his men subsist wholly upon the food of the country, before they had accustomed themselves to it, or perceived the necessity of the change. The consequence was, that the artificers became discontented. The Commander had brought out with him as Interpreter, a wretch from Normandy, who had acquired the ferociousness as well as the language of the Savages, among whom he had lived seven years. This man cohabited with a native woman: the law of the Colony permitted intermarriages with the Brazilian women, but all illicit intercourse with them was prohibited; and in conformity with this decree, the Interpreter was ordered either to marry her, or put her away. It might have been thought that as such a man would pay no

Conspiracy
against Vil-
legagnon.

* The salted tongue of a whale was sent him as a delicacy. *De Lery, C. 6.*

CHAP. regard to the restrictions of marriage, he would not object to the
 IX. ceremony. He was however so offended, that he began to plot
 1556. against Villegagnon, and easily seduced all the artificers and
 mercenaries, thirty in number. The first proposal of this villain
 to his associates was, that they should poison all the rest ; but to
 this some of the conspirators would not consent. He then pro-
 posed to blow them up, for they slept over the magazine : the
 objection was, that all the stores of every kind which they had
 brought out would by this means be destroyed, and they should
 be left without any thing wherewith to conciliate the favour of the
 Savages, and to barter with them. It was therefore determined
 to massacre them in the night. There were three Scotchmen in
 the expedition, whom Villegagnon reserved for his own guard,
 knowing their fidelity ; the conspirators endeavoured to corrupt
 them, but they revealed the treason to Barre, and four of the
 ringleaders were immediately seized and put in irons. One of
 them contrived to crawl to the edge of the shore and throw him-
 self into the sea, . . . the other three were hung, and the rest of
 the culprits kept to hard labour, like slaves. The Interpreter
 escaped ; all the other Interpreters in that part of the country,
 who were about a score, leagued with him, and endeavoured to
 prejudice the natives against the French, hoping thus to make
 them leave the country. With this intent they asserted that a
 contagious fever which raged among them was sent by Villegag-
 non : . . it had been brought by him¹⁰, and he returned thanks to
 the Lord for it in one of his public prayers, as a providential dis-
 pensation, which had weakened the Savages and thereby tended
 to his preservation. This artifice of the Interpreters succeeded
 at first, and it was well for the colonists that they had taken their

N. Barré.

De Lery, 6.

¹⁰ Barré elsewhere mentions that Villegagnon's ship was infected.

post upon an island. But the wise conduct of the Commander soon reestablished peace.

CHAP.

IX.

1556.

In his intercourse with the Savages, Villegagnon did what he could to prevent them from devouring their prisoners; but these endeavours were of little avail, and the French made no scruple to supply them with iron chains for the purpose of securing their victims beyond all possibility of escape. Among their articles of traffic were clothes of the brightest colours, red, green, and yellow, and made according to the most approved fancy of their customers. The male Savage is generally a coxcomb; sometimes they were seen strutting about in breeches of enormous circumference, or in a jerkin of which the sleeves were of different colours, and which left all below the waist bare. But they were soon weary of such confinement, and threw off these incumbrances that their limbs might be again at liberty. The women never could be persuaded to wear any garment whatsoever, though store had been taken out as baits for female vanity; delighting as they did to bathe their heads, and plunge into the water, which they would do ten times a day, they could not endure the custom of wearing clothes, because it was inconvenient for their frequent ablutions. Even the female slaves whom Villegagnon purchased, and whom he and his Calvinists, in their zeal for the suppression of immorality, flogged till they submitted to be drest, would throw off all at night that they might enjoy the comfort of walking about the island naked, and feeling the free air, before they laid down to sleep.

De Lery. 8.

Coligny, meantime, was indefatigable in providing supplies for all the wants of his colony, ghostly or bodily. Calvin himself, with his elders in convocation, appointed Pierre Richier and Guillaume Chartier to this mission; many respectable adventurers were induced to accompany these famous ministers of their own persuasion; among them was Jean De Lery, to whom we are

De Lery goes to Brazil.

CHAP. IX. indebted for an excellent account of that Brazilian tribe which he had thus an opportunity of observing. Three ships were fitted out at the expence of the crown, on board of which were embarked two hundred and ninety men, six boys who were to learn the language of the natives, and five young women under a matron's orders; these, it is said, were greatly admired by the Tupinambas. Bois le Conte, the nephew of Villegagnon, commanded the expedition. Whatever ships they met with on their way, whether belonging to friend or foe, they plundered, if they were strong enough. Off Teneriffè they took a Portugueze vessel, and promised the Captain to restore it to him if he would contrive to put them in possession of another; the man, with selfishness more to be expected than excused, put himself into a boat, with twenty of these pirates, and captured a Spanish ship laden with salt. The French then turned all the prisoners, Spanish and Portugueze, into the first prize, out of which they had taken the boat and all the provisions of every kind, tore their sails to pieces, and in this manner exposed them to the mercy of the sea. It should be said, to De Lery's honour, that he relates this with due abhorrence, and that many of his companions remonstrated in vain against it. The mode of maritime warfare, in those days, was even more atrocious than that of the old Vikingr: the conqueror usually put his prisoners to death, and in most cases with circumstances of heinous cruelty. De Lery accuses the Spaniards and Portugueze of having flead alive some of the French whom they had taken trading to America; . . if this be true, the wickedness was perpetrated upon the dreadful principle of retaliation. The French have always been a cruel people, and it is certain that, in 1526, when some of their pirates had captured a Portugueze ship, homeward-bound from India, and almost within sight of her own coast, they plundered her and set fire to her with all her crew on

De Lery. 1.
Thuanus.
16. 461.

De Lery. 2.

Andrada.
Chr. del R.
D. Joam III.
1. 67.

board, . . . above one thousand persons, . . . not one of whom escaped ¹¹.

CHAP.

IX.

1557.

*Treachery of
Villegagnon.**Thuanus.*

Villegagnon had deceived Coligny. . . The zeal which he had manifested for the reformed religion was feigned for the purpose of obtaining the Admiral's influence and his money; having effected this, and thinking it more for his own interest to take the other side, won over as is believed by Cardinal Guise, he threw off the mask, quarrelled with the Genevan ministers, and demeaned himself so tyrannically and intolerantly, that they who had gone to Antarctic France to enjoy liberty of conscience, found themselves under a worse yoke than that from which they had fled. They therefore demanded leave to return, and he gave written permission to the master of a ship to carry them to France. When they got on board, the vessel was found to be in such a state, that five of the party went again ashore, rather than put to sea in her; De Lery was one of the others, who thought death better than this man's cruelty, and pursued their voyage. After having endured the utmost misery of famine, they reached Hennebonne. Villegagnon had given them a box of letters wrapt in sere-cloth, as was then the custom; among them was one directed to the chief magistrates of whatever port they might arrive at, in which this worthy friend of the Guises denounced the men whom he had invited out to Brazil to enjoy the peaceable exercise of the reformed religion, as heretics worthy of the stake. The magistrates of Hennebonne happened to favour the reformation, and thus the devilish malignity of Villegagnon was frus-

¹¹ A Portuguese pilot, who had been one of the pirates, confessed this at his death, and left six thousand crowns, being his share of the plunder, to the King of Portugal, as some restitution. The brother of the French Captain was afterwards taken off the coast of Portugal, and in like manner burnt with his whole crew!

CHAP. IX. 1557. trated, and his treachery exposed. Of the five who had feared to trust themselves in a vessel so badly stored, and so unfit for the voyage, three were put to death by this persecutor. Others of the Hugonots fled from him to the Portugueze, where they were compelled to apostatize, and profess a religion which they despised as much as they hated.

De Lery. 21.

*Inattention
of the Por-
tuguese go-
vernment.*

Though the Portugueze were so jealous of the Brazilian trade that they treated all interlopers as pirates, yet they permitted this French colony to remain four years unmolested; and had it not been for the treachery of Villegagnon to his own party, Rio de Janeiro would probably have been, at this day, the capital of a French colony. A body of Flemish adventurers were ready to embark for Brazil, waiting only for the report of the ship-captain who carried De Lery home, and ten thousand Frenchmen would have emigrated, if the object of Coligny in founding his colony had not thus wickedly been betrayed. The Jesuits were well aware of the danger, and Nobrega at length succeeded in rousing the Court of Lisbon. Duarte da Costa received orders to discover the state of the French fortifications, . . . when his orders should have been to destroy them; . . . and in consequence of his report, it was part of Mem de Sa's instructions to attack, and expel the French. But when he proposed to carry these instructions into effect, men were found weak enough to raise an opposition; they urged that it would be wiser to suffer the aggression yet awhile longer, than to risk the shame of a defeat, which there was reason to apprehend when the strength of the French fortress, the stores which they received from vessels of their own nation frequenting that harbour, and the number of their allies, were compared with their own deficiency, both of ships, men, and means. These timid councils were over-ruled by Nobrega. Two ships of war and eight or nine merchantmen were fitted out for the service. The Governor took the com-

De Lery. 20.

*Noticias.
MSS. 1. 55.*

mand in person, though he was solicited not to expose himself, and Nobrega accompanied him; for Mem de Sa, giving the best proof of his own good sense by this deference to superior ability and experience, undertook nothing without his advice. Another motive or plea for his attendance in an expedition so little accordant with his missionary duties was given by the physicians, who recommended his removal to the colder climate of St. Vicente for a spitting of blood with which he was then afflicted.

CHAP.
IX.
1560.

S. Vasc. C.C.
2. 74. 76.
Vid. de
Anch. 2. 2.
5 9. 10.

Expedition
against the
French.

Early in January they reached Rio de Janeiro. The Governor's intention was to enter in the dead of the night, and surprize the island; they were espied by the centinels, and obliged to anchor off the bar. The French immediately made ready for defence, forsook their ships, and with eight hundred native archers retired to their forts. Mem de Sa now discovered that he was in want of canoes and small craft, and of men who knew the harbour. Nobrega was sent to St. Vicente to solicit this aid from the inhabitants; he performed his commission with his usual skill, and soon dispatched a good brigantine, canoes, and boats, laden with stores, and manned by Portugueze, Mamelucos, and natives; men who knew the coast, and were inured to warfare with the Tupinambas and Tamoyos. Two Jesuits conducted the reinforcement. With this succour Mem de Sa entered the port, and won the landing-place of the island. Two days and nights they vainly battered fortresses whose walls and bulwarks were of solid rock; thus uselessly they expended all their powder and ball, many of their people were wounded, and they were about to reimbark their artillery, and retreat. But though they had hitherto displayed little skill in directing their attacks, there was no lack of courage in the Portugueze, and the shame of returning from a bootless expedition provoked them to one desperate exertion. They assaulted and won the largest of

CHAP. IX.
 1560. the outworks which commanded the landing, then they stormed the rock in which the magazine had been excavated, and carried that also. This so intimidated the French, that in the ensuing night they and the Tamoyos abandoned the other posts, and got into their boats and fled, some to the ships, some to the main land. A converted Brazilian whose baptismal name was Martim Affonso, signalized himself so honourably in this expedition, that he was rewarded with a pension, and the Order of Christ. The Portugueze were not strong enough to keep the island which they had taken; they demolished all the works of the French, carried off all their artillery and stores, and sailed to the port of Santos, where every thing needful for the sick and wounded, and provisions for all, had been provided by the indefatigable exertions of Nobrega.

S. Vasc. G.C.
 2. 5 77.
P. de Anch.
 l. 2. c. 3.

*The French
 works de-
 molished.*

July 17,
 1560.

Villegagnon was at this time in France, where he was gone with the avowed intention of bringing back a squadron of seven ships to intercept the Indian fleet, and take or destroy all the Portugueze settlements in Brazil. The disturbances in France happily prevented this; the Catholics were too busy to attend to his representations, and he had betrayed the Hugonots, who would else have enabled him to effect his plan. He vaunted that neither all the power of Spain nor of the Grand Turk could dislodge him, and Mem de Sa, in a letter to his Court, expressed a fear that if the French returned to occupy their island, the boast would be true. Villegagnon, said he, deals not with the Gentiles as we do. He is liberal with them to excess, and observes strict justice; if one of his people commit any fault he is hung up without ceremony, so that he is feared by them, and loved by the natives. He has given orders to instruct them in the use of arms; they are very numerous, and one of the bravest tribes, so that he may soon make himself exceeding strong.

*Annaes do
 Rio Janeiro.*
 MSS. c. 7.

While Mem de Sa remained at Santos he gave order, by advice of his great counsellor, to remove the town of St. Andre to Piratininga. Being situated at the edge of the woods, it was exposed to the hostile tribes who inhabited the banks of the Paraiiba; but in its new site it flourished so greatly as soon to become the most considerable town in that part of the country. The College of Piratininga was at the same time removed to St. Vicente; and as the road to Piratininga, or rather St. Paul's, was infested by the Tamoyos, a new one was with very great labour made in a safe direction by the Jesuits.

CHAP.
IX.
1560.

S. Fasc. C.C.
2. § 84—5.

Naufr. da
Nao. S. Ped.
Hist. Mar.
t. 1. p. 273.

The Aymores.

Rel. Ann.
1603.
ff. 120.

The Governor's return to St. Salvador was celebrated with bull-feasts, the favourite but inhuman sport of the Portuguese and Spaniards, which had seldom or never before been exhibited in Brazil. Mem de Sa however had but a short respite from war. The Captaincies of the Ilheos and of Porto Seguro, were dreadfully infested by the Aymores, a new enemy, of all the Brazilian tribes the most savage, and the most terrible. It is said that these people were originally a branch of the Tapuyas, who had formerly possessed a line of country in the interior, running parallel with the coast from the River St. Francisco to Cape Frio, and that the Tupiniquins and Tupinambas had driven them still farther inland, where they multiplied, while the maritime tribes were thinned by the Portuguese. According to this traditional account, they had so long been separated from their kindred nations, that their language was no longer understood by them. Such was the received opinion of the origin of the Aymores; but no language could undergo so great a change without having incorporated some radically different one: and as they were of greater stature than their neighbours, it seems more reasonable to infer that they were a tribe from the South, where the natives are a taller race, and of ruder habits. Their speech is described as unusually harsh and guttural, having so

CHAP. deep a sound as if it were pronounced from the breast. They
 IX. had the custom common to most of the Americans, but not, as it
 1560. appears, to the Brazilians, of eradicating the hair every where
 except upon the head; there they kept it short, with a kind of
 razor made of cane, and sharpened to an edge almost as keen
 as steel. They had neither garments nor habitation. Naked as
 beasts, they laid down like beasts in the woods, and like beasts
 could run upon hands and feet through thickets, where it was
 not possible to follow them. During the rainy season they slept
 under the trees, and had just skill enough to form a roofing with
 the boughs. They lived upon wild fruits, upon what they killed
 with their arrows, from which, says Vasconcellos, not a fly could
 escape, and upon their enemies, whom they slew not like the
 other tribes at a triumphant feast, but habitually for food, re-
 garding them merely as animals on whom they were to prey. If
 they had a fire they half-roasted their meat; at other times ate it
 as willingly raw. Their mode of warfare was as savage as their
 habits of life; they had no chief or leader; they never went in
 large companies, they never stood up to an enemy face to face,
 but laid in wait like wild beasts, and took their deadly aim from
 the thickets. In one point they were greatly inferior to the
 other tribes, for being an inland people they could not swim, and
 such was their ignorance or dread of the water, that any stream
 which they could not ford was considered a sufficient defence
 against them. It may well be supposed that such men would
 be impatient of slavery; some who were taken by the Portu-
 guese refused to eat, and died by that slowest and most resolute
 mode of suicide.

Rel. Ann.
 1603.
 p. 120.

Noticias
MSS. 1.32.
S. Fasc. C.C.
 2. § 93.

Unable to withstand such assailants, the Tupiniquins fled before them, and the Ilheos and Porto Seguro were exposed by their flight. Mem de Sa was called upon by the inhabitants of these Captaincies for protection; he embarked in person with an

adequate force, sailed to the port of Ilheos, and from thence marched towards the place to which the enemy were said to have retreated. On the way there was a marsh or labyrinth of waters to be past; it was discovered that the Aymores had crost it by a bridge of single trees, laid the whole length, which exceeded a mile; and over this the army proceeded. In the night they reached the Savages, fell upon them, slew men, women, and children, sparing none; and, to render their victory complete, set fire to the woods. Mem de Sa was returning in triumph and had reached the coast, when a body of Aymores rose up from ambush, but they were driven into the sea. The allies, who were as active in the water as on land, followed them, and drowned all whom they did not chuse to take prisoners. After this second victory the Governor entered Ilheos, and went straight to the Church of the Virgin to return thanks for his success. Many days had not elapsed before the shore was covered with Savages. The Aymores had collected a great force both of their own nation and of the mountaineers, and were come to take vengeance: they were again defeated, and then humbled themselves, and asked for peace, which was conceded on the usual terms. It is added, that in this expedition Mem de Sa destroyed and burnt three hundred villages of the Savages, and forced those who would not submit to the yoke of the Church to retire above sixty leagues inland; and even at that distance they did not feel themselves safe from the fire and sword of the Portugueze. There is, beyond a doubt, much exaggeration in this account, and probably some falshood: these villages cannot have belonged to the Aymores, nor is it by any means probable that they were the persons conquered, . . . for before they could meet the Portugueze in the field they must have essentially changed those habits of warfare which are uniformly ascribed to them; and no lasting advantage was obtained by these victories, but

CHAP.

IX.

1560.

*Expedition
against them**S. Vasc. C. C.
2. § 95—7.*

CHAP. in a very few years the Captaincy of the Ilheos was almost
 IX. destroyed.

1561.

S. Pasc. C. C.
 2. § 106.

The Tamoyos

The Jesuits, aided as they now were by a zealous and able Governor, carried on their labours with success: they had already formed five settlements or towns of converted natives, and in the course of this year added six to the number. But while they were thus successful in one part, the Savages became more formidable than ever in another. Mem de Sa had done but half his work at Rio Janeiro. The French whom he had driven from Villegagnon's island had escaped to the main land, and the Tamoyos, assisted by them, and in some degree disciplined by them, were now inflicting cruel retaliation upon the Portugueze for the wrongs which they had endured at their hands. They were a branch of the great Tupi stock, but claimed affinity with none except the Tupinambas, and were enemies to all other tribes, . . . especially to the Goayzacares and Goaynazes, with whom they were at deadly war on the side of St. Vicente. Their dwellings were well fortified with palisades, and stronger than those of the Tupinambas, whom they resembled in most of their habits. That which made them most remarkable was their skill in delivering extemporaneous poetry, for which, wherever they went, they were held in high estimation. From the mountains they infested those who dwelt about Piratininga, and from the coast all who were within reach of their canoes. In this bloody visitation the Jesuits confessed the righteous vengeance of Heaven, for the Portugueze had deserved all which they now suffered. The Tamoyos would have been faithful friends could they have been safe from the slave-hunters; made enemies by injustice, they were the most terrible of enemies; they ate all whom they took prisoners, except such women as they reserved for concubines; . . . one who was pregnant they spared till her delivery, and then devoured mother and child. Not con-

Noticias.
MSS. 1. 58.

tented with vengeance, they now aimed at rooting out the Portuguese from the country, and it can scarcely be doubted that if the ten thousand Hugonots, or a tenth of that number, who would have colonized in Brazil could they have enjoyed their religion there, had actually emigrated, this object might have been accomplished, harrassed as the Colonists were on the other side by the dreadful Aymores. The Portuguese raised all the force they could to attack them, and were miserably defeated: upon this the tribes who had hitherto remained neutral joined the conquerors, and the Tupis of the interior, who had been in alliance with the Portuguese, renounced their friendship and did the same.

A great body of the confederated tribes assembled to attack St. Paul's: they hoped to surprize it, but one who had formerly been baptized by the Jesuits, fled from them, and revealed the design. All the converted Indians of the neighbourhood were immediately collected within the town, under Martim Affonso Tebyreza, who was the Chief in those parts. His brother, and his nephew Iagoanharo, the Fierce Dog, were with the confederates. The Dog was one of their leaders, and sent to his uncle beseeching him not to expose himself to certain destruction, but to forsake the Portuguese, and bring away all who belonged to him. So confident were they of success, that the old women took with them their seething pots for their cannibal feasts of victory. The Jesuits saved Piratininga; their disciples marched out under the banners of the Church, and fighting like the first Saracens, in full belief that Paradise was to be their reward, their zeal was invincible. The Dog was killed in attempting to force a Church into which the women had retired. His uncle, Martim Affonso, demeaned himself with his usual valour, and with a ferocity which his conversion had not abated; . . . two

CHAP.

IX.

1561.

S. Vasc. C. C.
2. § 113.

1562.

Da. § 130.

CHAP. IX.
 1562. of the vanquished cried out that they were Catechumens, and called for their spiritual fathers to protect them; but he exclaimed that their crime was too great for forgiveness, and knocked out the brains of both. This Chieftain soon died of a dysentery brought at this time to Piratininga by the slaves of the Portugueze from the adjoining towns. The Jesuits mention him with due honour and gratitude as the person who first received them there, gave them land, assisted them all his life, and finally preserved them in this last and most imminent danger.

S. Vasc. C. C.
 2. § 132—
 139.

Espirito Santo ravaged by the Tamoyos.

Noticias.
MSS. 1. 52.

In other parts the Savages were victorious. The Tamoyos, in their long canoes of twenty oars, baffled all pursuit, and ravaged the coasts with impunity. Coutinho returning from Portugal to his Captaincy of Espirito Santo, which he had left in a state of prosperity, found it almost destroyed. It had been attacked by the Tupinambas on one side, and the Goaynazes on the other; they burnt the sugar-works and besieged the town. Menezes, who had been left with the command, was killed; his successor, D. Simam de Castello-Branco, shared the same fate. Coutinho with his new forces struggled during some years to make head against the enemy, till the solicitations of the Colonists, and the sense of his own inability longer to resist without aid, induced him to request the Governor's assistance. Mem de Sa sent his own son Fernam with a flotilla of coasting vessels. They landed at the mouth of the River Quiricare, where they were joined by the forces of the Captaincy, fell upon the Savages, and made some slaughter among them. Before the conquerors could reembark, the enemy rallied, attacked them, threw them into confusion, and routed them with great loss, Fernam de Sa himself being among the slain. One calamity followed another. The small-pox was carried to the Island of Itaparica, and from thence to St. Salva-

The Portugese defeated.

S. Vasc. C. C.
 2. § 144.
 1563.

S. Vasc. C. C.
 3. § 1.

dor; it spread along the coast northward, and above thirty thousand of the Indians whom the Jesuits had reclaimed were cut off by the contagion.

CHAP.
IX.
1563.

During the long war with the Tamoyos, Nobrega repeatedly preached aloud, both from the pulpit and in the market-place, that they were prosperous because the right was on their side, and therefore God was with them. The Portugueze, he said, had, in contempt of treaties, fallen upon them, enslaved some, and suffered their allies to devour others; and this vengeance was the allotment of Divine Justice. At length he and Anchieta, having consulted with the Governor, resolved to put themselves into the hands of these Savages, with the hope of effecting a peace. A more perilous embassy was never undertaken. Francesco Adorno, a noble Genoese, one of the rich men of Brazil, took them in one of his own vessels, .. as soon as it approached the shore, a shoal of canoes came off to attack it. But when the Tamoyos saw the dress of the Jesuits, they knew that these were the men whose lives were innocent, who were the friends of God, and the protectors of the Indians: this, though it is Jesuit's language, is here also the language of truth. Anchieta addressed them in their own tongue; and in spite of all the treachery which they had experienced from the Portugueze, their confidence in the character of the Company was such, that some of them came on board, listened to what was proposed, and carried the vessel safely into port.

*Nobrega and
Anchieta go
to treat for
peace.*

The next day the Chiefs of two settlements came to treat with these Ambassadors, sent twelve youths to St. Vicente as hostages, and took Nobrega and Anchieta on shore to a place called Iperoyg, where Caoquira, an old Chief, received them for his guests. They erected a church here, such as they could, thatched with palm leaves, and daily performed mass. They awed the Savages by these ceremonies, and by the mysteries

CHAP. IX. 1563. which they preached; they excited their admiration and respect by the decency and holiness of their deportment, and they won their love by manifesting a disinterested good-will towards them, of which all their conduct in Brazil bore testimony. It is more than probable that this embassy was the salvation of the Portuguese colonies. Their hosts told them that a new and more terrible attack had been intended; that two hundred canoes were ready to lay waste the coasts, and that all the archers who inhabited the banks of the Paraiba had leagued together, and bound themselves never to cease from war till they had destroyed the Captaincy and made themselves lords of the land once more. This danger was still to be averted. Many of the confederated clans heard with great displeasure that these advances for peace had been received, and one Chief, by name Aimbere, set out with ten canoes to break off the treaty. He had given his daughter to a Frenchman, and beside this alliance with their enemies, had a stronger motive for hating the Portuguese, for in one of their slaving parties he had fallen into their hands; they put him in irons, and forced him on board their vessel, but he leaped overboard fettered as he was, and escaped by swimming¹². On the day after his arrival a conference was held to determine whether the proffered peace should be accepted. Aimbere demanded, as a preliminary, that three

¹² The Jesuits say this Aimbere was so ferocious that when one of his twenty wives had offended him he ripped her open. They say, also, that he came to Iperoyg with an intent to kill Nobrega and Anchieta, and all the Portuguese who manned the bark which brought them. His subsequent conduct seems to disprove this charge; and the former crime, barbarous as the Brazilian savages were, would have been more credible if related of a Portuguese, .. for among that people the murder of a wife is even now scarcely regarded as an offence against the law.

CHAP.

IX.

1563.

Chiefs who had seceded from the alliance and taken part with the Portugueze against the allies, should be delivered up, that they might be killed and eaten. The Jesuits replied, it was not possible to comply with such a demand. The Chiefs in question were members of the Church of God, and friends of the Portugueze; the first duty which his countrymen regarded, was to keep inviolate their promised faith, and the resoluteness with which they should do so, in the present instance, ought to be regarded favourably by the Tamoyos, as proof of their fidelity; for were it otherwise, reasonably might they conclude that men who broke their faith with their friends, would not keep it with their enemies. Aimbere's answer was, that if the Portugueze would not give up these men who had slain and devoured so many of his friends, there should be no peace; and as he spoke for a large part of the hordes of Rio de Janeiro, the conference seemed to be at an end. But old Pindobuzu, the Great Palm, chief of the village wherein the meeting was held, took him by the hand, and using the authority to which his age entitled him, prevented him from committing any act of violence, to which he seemed inclined. Nobrega found it best to procrastinate; he agreed that the demand should be made to the Governor of St. Vicente, and Aimbere chose to go and make it in person; his intention was, if he did not succeed in his immediate object, to promote a quarrel and break off the negociations. Nobrega, on his part, wanted an opportunity to communicate what he had learnt, and his injunction to the Government was, that on no account should they accede to so impious a proposal, whatever the consequences of the refusal might be to himself and his companion.

Meantime the Great Palm's son, Parapuzu, the Great Sea, who was absent when the Jesuits arrived, heard of their arrival and the influence which they had obtained over his father, and

S. Vasc. C. C.
3. § 7—12.
V. de Anch.
2. 5.

CHAP. he hastened home with a determination to kill them, . . . saying
 IX. his father was an old man, and would not put him to death for
 1563. it. Nobrega and Anchieta saw his canoe coming, and soon perceived they were aimed at; they fled as fast as they could, got into the house of the Great Palm, who was unluckily from home, and there, on their knees, began the service of the Eve of the Holy Sacrament, the next day being the festival of the Body of God. To the efficacy of these prayers, and to the eloquence of Anchieta, they ascribed their preservation; for the Savage plainly told them he came to kill them, but that seeing what manner of men they were he had altered his mind.

*S. Pasc. C. C.
 s. § 13. 14.*

*Nobrega
 goes to St.
 Vicente.*

When they had been two months at Iperoyg, the Provincial Government of St. Vicente wished to consult with them, before peace was finally concluded: the Tamoyos did not think it prudent to part with both hostages, and it was agreed that Anchieta should remain. The continence of these fathers, when women, according to custom, were offered them, had occasioned great admiration in their hosts, and they asked Nobrega how it was that he seemed to abhor what other men so ardently desired. He took a scourge out of his pocket, and said that by tormenting the flesh, he kept it in subjection. Nobrega was now an old man, and well nigh worn out with indefatigable exertions, but Anchieta was in the prime of manhood, and being thus left alone, without any one to stay him if his foot should slip, he made a vow to the Virgin that he would compose a poem upon her life, trusting to preserve his own purity by thus fixing his thoughts upon the Most Pure. It was no easy matter to sing the Song of Zion in a strange land; he had neither paper, pen, nor ink; so he composed his verses while walking on the shore, then traced them in the sand, and day by day committed them to memory.

*Anchieta's
 vow.*

*S. Pasc. C. C.
 s. § 19—22.*

*s. § 18.
 1. § 68.*

Nobrega on his arrival at St. Vicente found that the fortress

had been taken by assault, the Captain killed, and all his family carried away by the Savages. One of the Jesuits had obtained from the natives the name of Abare Bebe, the Flying Father, because of the rapidity with which he hastened from one place to another, wherever his services were needed. Nobrega deserved the same appellation. He rested not till he had carried the deputies of the Tamoyos to Itanhaem, and reconciled them with the reduced natives there; then to Piratininga, where in like manner a solemn reconciliation was effected in the Church, and peace established between all the various hordes in the adjoining country. This was the work of three months, during which time Anchieta was in a perilous state among the Savages. Those who were inimical to peace were eager to break off the treaty, and even fixed a day for eating him, if by that time their deputation did not return. One party, impatient of longer inactivity, undertook a hostile expedition, and brought back some Portuguese prisoners. Anchieta agreed for their ransom; it did not arrive as soon as the captors expected, and they determined to devour them. The Jesuit had now no other resource but prophecy, and he boldly averred that the ransom would come on the morrow, before a certain hour. The boat arrived accordingly. He had given a lucky, and as it should seem no difficult guess, at the persons who would come in it, and the nature of the ransom, . . . of which he could not well be ignorant, having made the bargain himself, . . . such however as the prophecy is, it is registered among his miracles. A bolder prediction was, that he should not be eaten, when he was threatened with that fate; nothing was risked by the assertion, and it probably contributed to his preservation.

That Anchieta could work miracles was undoubtedly believed both by the Portuguese and by the natives, each according to their own superstitions. The former sent volumes of attestations

CHAP.
IX.
1563.

*Sim. de Fasc.
Chr. da Com.
S. § 24—25.*

CHAP. IX.
1563.
 to Rome after his death, surnamed him the Thaumaturgos of the New World, and endeavoured to get him canonized ; but never did he derive so substantial a benefit from his miraculous character as now, when he was in the hands of the Tamoyos. They called him the Great Paye of the Christians, and said there was a power in him which withheld the hands of men ; and this opinion saved his life. Those persons who had gone to St. Vicente with Nobrega, came back suddenly, disgusted and alarmed ; they had been told by a slave that there was a design of murdering them, and upon this fear they fled, fully believing the false intelligence ; in which belief they were confirmed because one of Aimberé's companions, they said, had been slain by a certain Domingos de Braga¹³. The men of Rio de Janeiro hearing this, concluded that the treaty was broken, as they wished, and returned to their own villages. They would have taken Anchieta with them, if he had not been protected by the Great Palm. Another party were restrained from killing him only by their persuasion that he was a Conjurer, an argument which the Great Palm urged with excellent effect, enforcing it with all his authority, and a threat of vengeance. There was one Antonio Dias with him, who was come to ransom his wife and children ; he happened to be a mason, and the plea which preserved his life was, that he built the houses of the Christian Payes, and of their God, and therefore that God would protect him. Anchieta had won the affections of those with whom he had now thus long been domesticated, for, besides his prophecies and conjurations, he healed their diseases both by the lancet and the not

S. Vasc. C. C.
s. 5. 29, 30.

¹³ This is probably the person mentioned by Hans Stade, as one of the prisoners whom he directed how to steer their course in case they could fly, and who, he afterwards heard, had fled.

less effectual instrument of faith. His earnest zeal for their salvation must also have procured the respect of those who could not but perceive its evident sincerity. A child was born misshapen, . . . the mother instantly buried it, . . . Anchieta hastened to open the grave and sprinkle it before it was quite dead. In another instance the same zeal was more usefully directed. A woman was delivered who had changed husbands during her pregnancy; a child born under such circumstances was called *Maraba*, signifying of a mixed or doubtful breed, and it was the custom to bury all such children alive: he was in time to save this after it had been laid in the earth, and to make the mother nurse it; the awe with which he was regarded prevailing over this cruel practice.

CHAP.
IX.
1563.

S. Vasc. C. C.
3. § 27.

At length the very Tamoyo made his appearance who was said to have been killed by Domingos, and the origin of a report which had so greatly endangered the Missionary was found to be that, being afraid of this Mamaluco, he had fled into the woods. Shortly afterwards the terms of peace were concluded, and Anchieta left Iperoyg, after a residence there of five months. His first leisure was devoted to the fulfilment of his vow, and he wrote down the poem which he had composed on the sand, comprizing the whole history of the Virgin¹⁴ in more than five thousand Latin verses.

*Peace with
the Tamoyos.*

S. Vasc. C. C.
5. § 31.
3. § 35.

¹⁴ *En tibi quæ vovi, Mater sanctissima, quondam
Carmina, cum sævo cingerer hoste latus;
Dum mea Tamuyas præsentia mitigat hostes,
Tractoque tranquillum pacis inermis opus.
Hic tua materno me gratia fovit amore,
Te corpus tutum mensque regente fuit.*

This poem is not without some gleams of passion and poetry, though he praises and prays to the Virgin through the whole A.B.C.

CHAP.

IX.

1564.

*Pestilence
and famine.**S. Vase. C. C.
3. § 38.**Board of
Conscience.*

The small-pox had now carried off three-fourths of the natives of the Reconcave. Pestilence was followed by famine, nor was the famine in this instance the effect of plague, but it seemed as if there was some prevailing principle in the atmosphere¹⁵, destructive alike to animal and vegetable life; the fruits withered and fell before they ripened. A second mortality took place, six of the eleven settlements which the Jesuits had formed were destroyed, so many of their inhabitants died, and so many fled into the interior. The Portugueze, in the true spirit of a people who permit the traffic in human flesh, profited by the misery of their neighbours, and purchased slaves with food. Some sold themselves, some their children, and some the stolen children of others. The validity of this purchase was made a case of conscience, and there was at this time a Board of Conscience¹⁶ at Lisbon, to which the question was referred. The use of such a tribunal was to find out excuses for things plainly in defiance of that law which is the revealed will of God, and that moral sense, which, if unperverted, is its infallible expounder: the decision was, that in extreme distress a man might lawfully sell himself or his children for food. The right of purchasing was never questioned; though it seems the purchasers were not without some scruples upon this score, and some wholesome anticipations of death-bed remorse. The Governor, the Bishop, the Ouvidor Geral, and Luis de Gram, now sole Provincial, (for Nobrega because of his years and infirmities had been relieved from the office) met together when this answer was

¹⁵ A like remark is found in the *Lettres Edif. T. 9. P. 379. La peste ayant cessé d'affliger nos Neophytes, s'étoit repandue dans les campagnes; le bled qui étoit déjà en fleurs, se trouva tout corrompu par l'infection de l'air.*

¹⁶ *Tribunal da Mesa da Consciencia.*

received, and promulgated it to quiet those conscientious slave-dealers, who did not think that a mess of pottage was a sufficient price to pay for the best birth right of man, till the casuists had approved the bargain. There arose however another difficulty: a great proportion of these slaves had been sold neither by themselves nor their parents, consequently they could not be retained under this sentence; but their owners were not willing to part with them; it was thought dangerous to let them join the unreclaimed hordes, and a convenient scruple was started concerning the probability of their apostatizing if they were set free. The result was a compromise between conscience and knavery; these slaves were told that they were actually free, but that they must serve their possessors for life, receiving yearly wages; and if they fled, they were to be pursued, brought back, punished, and forfeit one year's hire: the masters, on the other hand, were neither to sell, give, nor exchange them, nor take them out of Brazil. These regulations produced no relief to the oppressed; the only effect was, that the slave-holders added perjury to their other crimes, and when they registered a slave, made him swear whatever they pleased to dictate. After the famine had ceased, many of the converts returned to the Jesuit settlements, and those who could not find their wives, would fain have taken others; but as it could not be ascertained whether the former were dead or astray, they were not permitted to marry again till a considerable time had elapsed; a circumstance which dissatisfied them and greatly embarrassed the Missionaries.

The Queen Regent and her Council were not pleased that Mem de Sa had not retained possession of Villegagnon's island; and when intelligence arrived of the peace which Nobrega and Anchieta had concluded with the Tamoyos, they resolved not to let slip the opportunity of establishing themselves at Rio de Janeiro, and finally excluding the French. Estacio de Sa, the Go-

CHAP.
IX.
1564.

S. Franc. C. C.
3. § 41. 42.

CHAP. vernor's nephew, was sent out with two galeons to Bahia, and
 IX. carried with him orders for his uncle to supply him with the
 1564. force of the colony for this service. Mem de Sa collected all
 the vessels he could, and instructed Estacio to enter the bar of
 Rio de Janeiro, observe the force of the enemy and the number
 of their ships, and, if there were good hope of victory, decoy
 them out into the open sea; but by all means to preserve peace
 with the Tamoyos, and if it was possible to have Nobrega's ad-
 vice, to do nothing of importance without it.

S. Fasc. C. C.
s. § 56. 57.
Do. Vida de
Anch. 2. 10.
§ 1. 2.

Expedition
of Estacio de
Sa against
the French.

Estacio reached his place of destination in February, and im-
 mediately dispatched a bark to St. Vicente, requesting Nobrega
 to come to him as speedily as he could. He then began to
 reconnoitre the coast. They took a Frenchman, and learnt
 from him that the Tamoyos in that part of the country had
 broken the peace, and were again in alliance with his country-
 men. This intelligence was not generally credited; a party of
 boats went over the bar to water, and it was confirmed, for
 one which had advanced beyond the others up a fresh-water
 stream, was attacked by seven canoes, and lost four of its men
 before it could escape. Every place where the French vessels
 could be attacked was protected by the Tamoyos, and the beach
 was covered with them. Estacio tried some slight skirmishes with
 little success; he found that the enemies ships would not put out
 to sea, that he could not land for want of small craft, and indeed
 that his force was not sufficient for the enterprize; and having
 learnt from a prisoner who escaped to him, that St. Vicente was
 at war also with the Savages, he thought it most prudent to pro-
 ceed there, strengthen that Captaincy, consult with Nobrega
 (whose delay he attributed to the hostilities in that quarter) and
 there reinforce himself. In the month of April therefore he set
 sail. On the midnight of the following day Nobrega entered the
 harbour in a gale of wind, and cast anchor, glad to have escaped

the storm. He thought the fleet were here; but when day broke the enemies canoes were seen on all sides; . . . the wind which had driven him in still continued; it was impossible to fly; his people gave themselves up for lost, and commended their souls to God; when presently sails appeared in the offing, and Estacio, driven back by the same gale, came up and anchored with the fleet beside them. The next day, which was Easter, the whole expedition landed upon Villegagnon's island, and there Nobrega preached a thanksgiving sermon for his providential deliverance. Estacio now consulted with him, and the result was a confirmation of the resolution he had before taken, to refit at St. Vicente, lay in stores, and provide row-boats, without which many posts which it would be necessary to conquer could not be attacked.

CHAP.
IX.
1564.

S. Vasc. C. C.
3. § 58—60.
V. de Anch.
2. 10.

Nobrega prevents him from abandoning the attempt.

They set sail accordingly and reached Santos. Here it was found that the Tamoyos of Iperoyg, with whom Nobrega and Anchieta had been left, were true to their engagements, that many of them had come to aid the Portugueze; and that Cunhambeba¹⁷, who had an especial friendship for Anchieta, had taken post with all his people upon the frontier of the Tupis to defend his friends. But the Colonists here were unwilling to make any farther exertions than were necessary for their own immediate preservation: they magnified the strength of the French and their allies, and dwelt upon the difficulty of the enterprize with such effect that Estacio himself was staggered, and said to Nobrega, What account, Father, could I give to God and the King if this armament should be lost! Sir, replied the Jesuit, I will render account to God for all, and if it be necessary,

¹⁷ This is the same word as the Konyan Bebe of Hans Stade, and not probably the same person, though he now appears as the friend of the Portugueze.

CHAP. I will go to the King and answer for you before him. Having

IX.

1564.*Vasc. C. C.*
3. § 60—63.*They reach*
Rio de Ja-
neiro.

1565.

persuaded him, it was necessary to encourage the soldiers also; them he influenced by his spiritual authority, and won by his policy: he took them to Piratininga, where they were encouraged by seeing so many converted Indians disciplined and ready for war, and where their own appearance contributed to reduce others, who during this visit brought their bows, made peace, supplied provisions, and offered their aid for the expedition.

Great part of the necessary force and stores was collected here: he then descended to the coast, and went from place to place, preaching to the people upon the necessity of bringing this expedition to the end desired, and promising, in the name of the Governor, forgiveness of temporal sins to all who should embark in it: in a colony which was continually supplied with convicts this pardon was no inefficient bounty. Mamalucos and Indians were raised, canoes made ready, and stores provided: others came from Bahia and Espirito Santo, forming altogether a more considerable force than those persons who opposed the expedition had thought it possible to raise. These preparations lasted till the end of the year. In January they were ready with six ships of war, a proportionate number of small craft, and nine canoes of Mamalucos and Indians, with whom Nobrega sent Anchieta and another Jesuit, being the best commanders that could be appointed over these people. They sailed from Bertioga on the twentieth of January, St. Sebastian's day, and taking this for a good omen, they chose that saint for their patron in the expedition, thereby complimenting their young King, and thus at once gratifying loyalty and superstition. The weather was against them; the canoes and light vessels did not reach the bar of Rio de Janeiro till the beginning of March, and then they had to wait for the Commander and the storeships, who came on

slowly, beating against unfavourable winds. This delay exhausted the patience of the Indians, especially as their provisions began to fail, and they told Anchieta that they would not stay there to die for hunger. Upon this he had recourse once more to those bold promises which Catholic historians so willingly record as miracles; the storeships, he said, would arrive before such an hour, and the Captain soon after them. There is good reason to suspect that he had been upon the look-out, for he was absent when these allies formed their determination of withdrawing, and had hardly finished his prophecy before the vessels hove in sight.

CHAP.
IX.
1565.

Vasc. C. C.
3. §64—73.

As soon as the fleet had joined they entered the bar, and the troops were landed at the place afterwards called Villa Velha, near the Sugar Loaf Rock, which with another rock protected them on two sides. Here they entrenched themselves. After they had cleared the ground it was discovered that there was nothing but standing water at hand, and that thick and bad, so as to be judged unwholesome; but Giuseppe Adorno, one of the Genoese settlers, and Pedro Martins Namorado, undertook with their people the additional labour of digging a pit in the sand, which supplied them. Hardly had they intrenched themselves before the Tamoyos attacked them. One Indian convert fell into their hands, and instead of carrying him away, they tied him to a tree and made him a butt for their archers. By this they thought to intimidate his companions, but it exasperated them; they sallied, put them to flight, and won their canoes. Six days afterwards intelligence was received that the Tamoyos lay in ambush with seven and twenty canoes, in a place where the Portuguese must necessarily pass them: they went prepared for this attack, and routed them a second time. These trifling successes encouraged them, and they sung in triumphant hope a verse from the scriptures, saying, "The bows of the mighty

March 6.

1 Sam. 2. 4.

CHAP.

IX.

1565.

Vasc. C. C.
s. § 74.

men are broken, and they that stumbled are girded with strength." Well might they speak of the bows of the mighty, for an arrow sent by a Tamoyo, would fasten the shield to the arm which held it, and sometimes it has past through the body, and continued its way with such force as to pierce a tree and hang quivering in the trunk.

The war was carried on with little vigour. After more than a year had been wasted in idleness or petty skirmishes¹⁸, Nobrega came to the camp, and dispatched Anchieta to Bahia there to be ordained, for as yet he was only a temporal coadjutor, and to look after the affairs of the Company. He had more important business to transact with the Governor. To him he represented that nothing could be effected with so small a force, and that either one effort more must be made to strengthen it, or the attempt must be abandoned. Mem de Sa raised all the succours he could, and arrived with them in person on the eighteenth of January in the ensuing year, two years, saving two days, since the expedition had sailed from St. Vicente. As St. Sebastian's day was so near, it was determined to defer the

1567.

¹⁸ It was observed in all the skirmishes which took place that the balls of the French frequently made no wound where they struck. This miracle is easily explained, . . . the gunpowder was what they brought out for traffic; . . . and had it been good at first, it must have been materially injured, if it had remained any length of time in that damp climate; . . . an effect frequently experienced by English ships of war in the West-Indies. To make the wonder complete Anchieta remarks, and Vasconcellos after him, how easily shot-wounds, when made, were healed. A surgeon, Ambrosio Fernandes, took the credit of this to himself, and he was killed in the very next engagement, as if to show that the whole merit belonged to the Virgin and St. Sebastian. *Vasc. C. C. s. § 80.*

There was an intention about twenty years ago of forming a public establishment either at Barbadoes or Jamaica for re-making gunpowder. I do not know if the plan was effected.

attack till that auspicious morning, and then assault Uraçumiri, the strong hold of the French. The place was stormed: not one of the Tamoyos escaped; two Frenchmen were killed, and five being made prisoners, were hung, according to the ferocious system of warfare which was then pursued by the Europeans in America. Immediately the victors proceeded to Parana-pucuy, the other fortress of the enemy, which was in Cat Island, and here they were obliged to cannonade the fortifications, which were remarkably strong. This also was carried. But Estacio de Sa received in the first action an arrow in his face, of which wound, after lingering a month, he died. His kinsman, Salvador Correa de Sa, was appointed Chief Captain in his stead. Few of the French fell in these conflicts; they had four ships in the harbour, and in these, after their allies were thus totally defeated, they sailed to Pernambuco, and took possession of Recife, meaning to establish themselves there. This choice of place proves how well they had surveyed the coast; and how wisely their plans were laid, had they possessed strength to support them. But Olinda, then one of the most flourishing towns in Brazil, was too near; the commander of that settlement attacked them, and once more compelled them to fly. One of them, before he embarked, expressed his despondency at the hopeless state of their affairs, by graving these words upon a rock, *Le munde va de pis ampi*¹⁹, .. things get from bad to worse.

CHAP.
IX.
1567.

Victory of
the Portu-
guese.

Death of
Estacio de
Sa.
Vasc. C. C.
3,574—105.

RochaPitta.
2. § 63.

Never was a war in which so little exertion had been made, and so little force employed on either side, attended by consequences so important. The French Court was too busy in

¹⁹ This is probably his own kakography rather than Rocha Pitta's, because it has evidently been written *by ear*.

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IX.

1567.

burning and massacring Hugonots to think of Brazil; and Coligny, after his generous plans had been ruined by the villainous treachery of Villegagnon, regarded the Colony no longer: the day for emigration from his country was over, and they who should have colonized Rio de Janeiro were bearing arms against a bloody and implacable enemy, in defence of every thing dear to man. Portugal was almost as inattentive as France. The death of Joam was to Brazil an irreparable loss; for though the Queen Regent had pursued his plans awhile, it was with diminished zeal, and diminished power: and when she was compelled to resign the administration into the hands of Cardinal Henrique, he discovered the same utter lack of resolution and activity, which was afterwards manifested during his short and wretched reign. Had Mem de Sa been less earnest in his duty, or Nobrega less able and less indefatigable, this country, which now contains the capital of Brazil and of the Braganzas, would have been at this day French.

*S. Sebastians
founded.*

*Rel. Ann.
1608.p.114.*

Immediately after his victory, the Governor, conformably to his instructions, traced out a new city, which he named St. Sebastians, in honour of the Saint under whose patronage they had taken the field, and of the King. He began also to fortify both sides of the bar. The whole of the works were completed by the Indians under the Jesuits, without any expence whatever to the state. In the midst of the city he assigned the Company ground for a College, and in the King's name endowed it for the support of fifty brethren, a donation which they had well deserved, and which was ratified at Lisbon the ensuing year. The Alcaide Mor of the new city was put in possession of his office with all the usual formalities. The Governor gave him the keys of the gates, upon which he went in, locked them, and the two wickets also, and bolted them, the Governor remaining without. Then the Alcaide called out to him, asking if he wished to enter, and

who he was; to which he replied, that he was the Commander of that city of St. Sebastian, in the King's name, and would come in. The gates were then opened, in acknowledgment that he was the Capitam Mor of that city and fortress of the King of Portugal.

CHAP.
IX.
1567.

*An. do Rio
de Jan.
MSS. c. 8.*

*A Protestant
put to death.*

Mem de Sa stained the foundations of his city with innocent blood. Among the Hugonots who had been compelled to fly from Villegagnon's persecution, was one whose name looks more like that of an English than of a Frenchman; the Portuguese write it Joam Boles. He was a man of considerable learning, being well versed both in Greek and Hebrew. Luis da Gram caused him to be apprehended, with three of his comrades, one of whom feigned to become a Catholic; the others were cast into prison, and there Boles had remained eight years, when he was now sent for to be martyred at Rio de Janeiro, for the sake of terrifying his countrymen, if any should yet be lurking in those parts. The Jesuits boast that Anchieta convinced him of his errors, and reconciled him to the Holy Catholic Church; but the story which they themselves relate, seems to show that he had been tempted to apostatize by a promise that his life should be spared, or at least that his death should be made less cruel; for when he was brought out to the place of execution, and the executioner bungled in his bloody office, Anchieta hastily interfered, and instructed him how to dispatch the heretic as speedily as possible, fearing, it is said, lest he should become impatient, being an obstinate man and newly reclaimed, and that thus his soul would be lost. The priest who in any manner accelerates the execution of death, is thereby suspended from his office, and therefore this is enumerated by his biographer among the virtuous actions of Anchieta.

*S. Vasc. C. C.
3. § 116.
V. de Anch.
2. 14. § 67.*

The Indian converts who had assisted in the conquest were settled near the city upon the lands of the Jesuits; the settlement

CHAP.
IX.
1568.

prospered, and became a good advanced post against the Tamoyos, and the French and English interlopers. The Indian Chief, Martim Affonso²⁰, was stationed with his people about a league from the city, at a place now called St. Lourenço. The Tamoyos cherished a deadly hatred toward this Chief, and eagerly desired to take him alive and devour him. It happened that four French vessels arrived at Cape Frio, perhaps those which had been successively expelled from Rio de Janeiro and Recife: the Savages asked them to assist in attacking their common enemy. Mem de Sa had returned to St. Salvadors; there was no force at St. Sebastians of which they could stand in fear, and it was no new thing for the French to deliver up prisoners to their cannibal allies. They entered the bar without opposition, for the forts were incomplete, and not yet provided with artillery. The Governor, Salvador Correa, sent to St. Vicente for assistance, and learning what was the main object of the enemy, dispatched what succour he could to Martim Affonso, and prepared himself to defend the city, which was not yet walled.

Martim Affonso was not easily dismayed. He had time to send away the women and children before the French and the Tamoyos landed; and fortunately for him, after they had landed, they delayed the attack till the following morning. During the night, the little succour which Salvador Correa could spare, arrived, and they resolved to sally and surprise the enemy; this attempt was completely successful. The ships meantime had been left by the tide, and heeled so that their guns could not be brought to bear; the Portuguese therefore fired at them at pleasure from a falcon²¹, which was their only piece of artillery; and

²⁰ Perhaps the son of Tebyreça, whose death is before related.

²¹ *Falcam pedreiro*. The falcon peterero, or falconet, carried a bullet of one pound five ounces.

when the tide returned, the French made off, having sustained considerable loss. This was the last alarm which they gave to Rio de Janeiro. When the reinforcements arrived from St. Vicente, Salvador pursued them to Cape Frio; they were gone, but another ship of two hundred tons had arrived there, well manned, and mounting so many guns, that the crew thought themselves in no danger from a flotilla of canoes. They made a brave defence. Salvador himself, in attempting to board, was three times beaten down into the sea, and every time his Indians saved him, though he was heavily armed. The French Captain maintained the deck in complete armour, and with a sword in each hand. One of the allies, provoked at seeing the arrows glance off him, asked if there was no place to be aimed at, and was told, the visor; his next arrow pierced him in the eye, and slew him. The ship soon yielded; and its guns were planted to fortify the bar. When Sebastian was informed of Martim Affonso's gallant conduct, he sent him presents, among which was one of his own garments, as a token of particular esteem.

Another party of French attempted to establish themselves at Paraiba, where for some time they carried on a profitable trade, and became formidable by their alliance with the natives. Martim Leytam was sent to reduce these allies: he took with him some Jesuits, the best volunteers on such a service. The enemy were found too well entrenched to be forced, . . . one of the Fathers however leapt over their palisado into the midst of them, safer in his habit than he would have been in the completest panoply. They listened to his persuasions, laid down their arms, and expelled the French. Paraiba was colonized, the Indians were brought together in settlements, and eight or nine sugar works soon established. A new Captain came of the slave-hunters faction; he expelled the Fathers; their converts were harrassed and dispersed, and the colony declined as rapidly as it had prospered.

S. Vac. C. C.
3. 5 129—
136.

Rel. Ann.
1603. f
113.

CHAPTER X.

Luiz de Vasconcellos appointed Governor.—Martyrdom of the forty Jesuits.—Vasconcellos killed.—Death of Nobrega and of Mem de Sa.—Luiz de Brito, Governor.—The Colonies neglected.—Division of Brazil into two Governments, and re-union.—Final Defeat of the Tamoyos.—Expedition in search of Mines.—Portugal usurped by Felipe II.—State of Brazil at that time.

CHAP.
X.
1569.

Luiz de Vasconcellos appointed Governor.

Rocha Pitta. 3. § 46.

Azevedo is appointed Provincial.

S. Fasc. C. C. 42 § 5.

Sebastian had now, at the age of fourteen, assumed the government. He prolonged yet for two years the administration of Mem de Sa, which had been so long and so successful, and then sent out D. Luiz de Vasconcellos to succeed him. A great reinforcement of Jesuits went out with the new Governor, under F. Ignacio de Azevedo, who had once before been in Brazil as Visitor, and was now appointed Provincial. Azevedo was the eldest son of an honourable family; he entered the order in 1547, and had held sundry offices in it before he was nominated to this high and important station, by the famous Francisco de Borja, then General. Pius V. granted a plenary indulgence to all who should accompany him, gave him some valuable relics, among which was a head of one of the eleven thousand Virgins; and, as an especial favour, permission to have a copy taken of St. Luke's portrait of the Virgin, which had never been permitted to any

one before. The General authorized him to take as many Missionaries from Portugal as the province could spare, and three volunteers from every other which he should pass through.

CHAP.
X.
1570.

Azevedo embarked with nine and thirty brethren in the Santiago; Pedro Diaz, with twenty in the Governor's ship, and Francisco de Castro, with ten others, in the ship of the Orphans, so called, because she carried out a number of girls, whose parents had died of the plague, and who were therefore sent by the Court to marry and settle in Brazil. Besides these, there were several aspirants on board, who were to be upon trial during the voyage, and then, if they were found worthy, to be admitted into the Society. The fleet consisted of seven ships and one caravel. They reached Madeira, and there the Governor resolved to wait for a favourable season, because he dreaded the calms of Guinea. Azevedo had freighted half the Santiago for himself and his comrades; unhappily for them the other half her cargo was to be disposed of at the Isle of Palma (one of the Canaries), and a fresh lading taken in there for Brazil. The Master therefore, conformably to his owners instructions, asked and obtained permission to run for the island. Short as the passage was, it was known to be dangerous, because French pirates were always cruizing in those parts; the Brethren besought Azevedo to remove into another ship, and not expose himself thus unnecessarily; this he would not consent to do, but he gave permission to any of his comrades to take the precaution if they pleased, and four novices accepted it. Their places were supplied by four others, who were ambitious of martyrdom, and that ambition was soon gratified.

S. Fasc. C. C.
4. § 18—25.

The day after they had departed, five sail of the French appeared off Madeira. D. Luiz put to sea, and endeavoured to bring them to action; their business was to plunder, and never to fight when they could avoid it; and they stood off towards the

Azevedo and his companions massacred by the French.

CHAP. X.
 1570. Canaries. It was a squadron from Rochelle, under Jacques Soria, a Hugonot, a man as little disposed to show mercy towards any Catholic priests, as they would have been to show it towards him. The Santiago had the start of these enemies, and reached the island in seven days; but the wind was fresh and unfavourable; they could not make the city, and were obliged to put into a port by Terça-corte. From hence to Palma was only three leagues by land; by sea the distance was considerably greater. A French colonist who had been a playfellow of Azevedo's at Porto, earnestly advised him and his companions not to trust themselves in the ship, but to go by land, because it was not improbable that some pirate might fall in with them. His advice was given in vain, and they re-embarked. The Santiago sailed with a bad wind in the morning of one day, and at day-break on the following was off Palma, three leagues out at sea, with the French in sight. The Portugueze made an unavailing resistance, and Jacques Soria did by the Jesuits as they would have done by him and all of his sect, . . . put them to death. One of the novices escaped, being in a lay-habit; the rest were thrown overboard, some living, some dying, some dead.

S. Fasc. C.C.
 4. § 25—
 111.
Telles. C.C.
 4. 9.

*Fate of the
 other Mis-
 sionaries.*

These tidings soon reached Madeira, and the remaining Missionaries celebrated the triumph of their comrades; . . . a triumph which many of them were yet to partake. The fleet, notwithstanding they had waited for the healthy season, suffered dreadfully from the pestilential climate of the Cape de Verds; and when, after a long and deplorable voyage, they came in sight of Brazil, the wind blew so violently along shore, that they could neither weather Cape St. Augustines, nor make the land, but were driven as far as New Spain, where they were dispersed. One vessel got into Hispaniola, one into Cuba; what became of the others is not mentioned: it only appears that, after another ineffectual attempt to reach their destination, the fleet drifted to

the Azores. By this time the ships were disabled, and the men so reduced in number, that when D. Luiz once more tried his evil fortune, one vessel was sufficient for the miserable remains of his force. Fourteen Jesuits were with him, under Pedro Diaz. They had not left Tercera a week, when they fell in with one English and four French cruizers, under Jean de Capdeville. Hopeless as resistance was, the Portuguezé fought; the Governor¹ fell in the action, and Pedro Diaz, with his brethren, suffered for the intolerance and cruelty of their merciless church. Of sixty-nine Missionaries whom Azevedo took out from Lisbon, only one who was left behind at one of the ports where they touched, arrived at Brazil. The Company never, either before or since, sustained at one time so severe a loss; in their own language they never obtained so glorious a triumph; and this was as much the language of policy as of fanaticism. The machinery of miracles was soon added to a story, which surely needed not the aid of falsehood to render it impressive. It was first said, then sworn to, that after Azevedo was killed, the heretics could not force out of his hand the picture of the Virgin, . . . a copy more miraculous than its miraculous original: that when his body was thrown overboard, it stretched out its dead arms, and placed itself in the posture of one crucified; that they took the body on board, bent the limbs by main force out of that hated attitude, and cast it again into the sea; . . . it then stood upright upon the waves, extended its arms again in the same manner, holding out the picture as a banner, and so continued till the

CHAP.
X.
1570.

S. Vasc. C. C.
4. § 112—
114.
Cien-Fuegos. Vida del S. Fr. de Borja, l. 5. c. 12.

Miracles attending this great martyrdom.

¹ Rocha Pitta says, that D. Luiz died at sea of disease. This carelessness is surprising, because it implies ignorance of the martyrdom of Pedro Diaz and his comrades, . . . the only kind of facts of which such writers may be supposed not to be ignorant.

CHAP. heretic squadron were out of sight, when the prisoners in the
 X. Santiago saw it sink plumb down. Shortly afterwards, as a Ca-
 1570. tholic ship was sailing over the place of martyrdom, the body
 rose in the same posture, put the picture on board, and de-
 scended again; and this picture, with the print of Azevedo's
 bloody fingers upon it, was shown by the Jesuits at St. Salvador
 with heroic impudence, and venerated by the people with im-
 plicit faith. There is this wide difference between civil and ec-
 clesiastical historians; . . the former narrate those events most
 fully which have passed in their own times, and later writers al-
 ways have to condense the materials left them by their predeces-
 sors; . . the latter enlarge as they go on, and the last writer is
 uniformly the most copious, because every one adds his lie to
 the heap.

*Cien. Pue-
gos. l. 5.
c. 11.*

*Death of
Nobrega.*

Nobrega did not live to hear the fate of Azevedo and his com-
 panions. He died four months after their murder, in the fifty-
 third year of his age, worn out with a life of incessant fatigue.
 It was his happy fortune to be stationed in a country, where
 none but the good principles of his order were called into action.
 There is no individual to whose talents Brazil is so greatly and
 permanently indebted, and he must be regarded as the founder
 of that system so successfully pursued by the Jesuits in Para-
 guay; . . a system productive of as much good as is compatible
 with pious fraud. The day before his death, he went abroad,
 and took leave of all his friends, as if he were about to under-
 take a journey; they asked him whither he was going, and his
 reply was, Home, . . to my own country. No life could be more
 actively, more piously, or more usefully employed, and the
 triumphant hope with which it terminated was not the less sure
 and certain, because of the errors of his belief.

*S. Asc. C. C.
4. § 115.*

*Death of
Mem de Sa.
Luiz de Brito
Governor.*

When the death of D. Luiz was known at Lisbon, Luiz de Brito
 de Almeida was appointed to succeed him. Mem de Sa just lived

to see his successor arrive, and then died, after an able and prosperous administration of fourteen years. He had the mortification in his latter days of seeing the country neglected. No sooner had the Queen Dowager been compelled to make way for Cardinal Henrique, than every thing began to decline under his imbecil government. Had Joam III. lived ten years longer, such measures were in his time pursued, that towns, fortresses, and cities, would have been built in every direction; . . . now, instead of new establishments rising, the old were falling to decay. The annual fleets which used to bring out young, and healthy, and industrious settlers, were discontinued, and the mother country seemed to have become indifferent to the fate of these colonies. Not only were no means taken to forward their progress, and ensure their prosperity, but they were treated with ingratitude as well as neglect, and past services were unrewarded and unremembered. Nothing was done for the children of those colonists who had fallen in expelling the French, . . . an event of the utmost importance to the very existence of the Portuguese in America, and which had been chiefly effected by volunteers serving at their own cost. Their descendants, whose property was impaired, and whose claims were disregarded, were of course disgusted, and little likely to make such sacrifices themselves, in case of similar necessity.

Luiz de Brito did not succeed to the whole authority of his predecessor. The growth of the colony had been so rapid under the able administration of Mem de Sa, and the favour of Joam III. and his Queen after him, that it was now thought advisable to divide it into two governments; St. Sebastians being the seat of the new one, which began with the Captaincy of Porto Seguro, and included every thing south of it. This division was assigned to Doctor Antonio Salema, who was promoted here from Pernambuco. The French still continued to trade at

CHAP.
X.
1572.

*Noticias.
MSS. Pro-
loga.*

*Noticias.
MSS. 2, 5.*

*Brazil di-
vided into
two Govern-
ments.*

CHAP. Cape Frio, and the Tamoyos were faithful to their alliance with them. Salema determined to rid his district of these enemies.

X.
1572.

*Final defeat
of the Ta-
moyos.*

He collected a force of four hundred Portugueze, and seven hundred Indians, and with Christovam de Barros, who had signalized himself in the expulsion of the French from Rio de Janeiro, attacked the Tamoyos and their European allies. Their villages were strongly palisadoed; they made a brave resistance with arrows and harquebusses, and the victory would probably have been doubtful, if Salema had refused quarter to the French, according to the usual system of cruelty upon which they carried on their war. He promised them their lives, and they submitted. Of the Tamoyos a dreadful carnage was made; their loss in killed and in captives is said to have amounted to eight or ten thousand; it was so severe, that the remains of this formidable tribe forsook the coast, and retired to the mountains².

*Noticias.
MSS. 1. 55.*

*Tourinho's
expedition in
search of
mines.*

The Governor of Bahia meantime directed his attention towards making discoveries inland. An opinion prevailed that there were mines of precious stones in the interior of the Captaincy of Porto Seguro, where it bordered upon Espirito Santo. Sebastian Fernandes Tourinho was sent with a party of adventurers to ascertain this. They went up the river Doce, and having travelled westward for about three months³, sometimes by

² Salema wrote an account of this expedition, to which the author of the *Noticias* refers, saying, he may be excused from treating upon it more at large. But neither his work nor Salema's has ever been printed; and of the latter, if it be still in existence, I have seen no manuscript. Rocha Pitta, negligent and ignorant as usual, neither mentions this final defeat of the Tamoyos, important as the fact is, nor the division of the government. And Vasconcellos does not carry on his Chronicle farther than the death of Nobrega.

³ Their course is thus described in the manuscript *Noticias*. From the Doce they entered the Mandij; there they disembarked, and having travelled twenty leagues W. S. W. came to a great lake, called by the natives the mouth of Mando

land, sometimes by water, found rocks, in which were stones of a colour between green and blue, which they supposed to be turquoises: the natives told them, that on the top of these rocks others were found of brighter colour; and some, which it was thought, from their description, must have contained gold. At the foot of a woody mountain, they found an emerald and a sapphire, each perfect in its kind; and seventy leagues farther, they came to other serras which yielded green stones. Five leagues farther were mountains, in which, according to the report of the natives, there were larger stones, red and green; and beyond them a serra consisting wholly of fine crystal (such is the story) in which they were assured that blue and green stones were found, exceedingly hard and brilliant. With this account Tourinho returned. Antonio Diaz Adorno was then sent upon a second expedition; he had with him one hundred and fifty white men, with four hundred slaves and allied Indians, and he went up the Rio das Caravelas. His people seem to have separated on their return, for some of them came down the Rio Grande in bark-canoes. He brought back a confirmation of Tourinho's account, adding only that on the east side of the serra of crystal there were emeralds, and on the west sapphires. The samples

CHAP.
X.

1572.

Noticias.
MSS. 1. 40.

Adorno's expedition upon the same secret.

Noticias.
MSS. 1. 37.
S. Fasc. C. C.
3. § 51.

Mandij; or, according to another account, the Mouth of the Sea, because of its magnitude. From hence a river ran to the Doce; its course was West; and forty leagues from the lake was a cataract. They went thirty leagues along this river, then left it, and struck Westward for forty days, during which they travelled about seventy more, and then reached the place where the river fell into the Doce. Here they constructed boats of bark, each capable of containing about twenty men, and went up the river as far as its junction with the Aceci, up which they went four leagues, then left their boats, and held a N. W. course for eleven days, crost the Aceci, and proceeded along its banks fifty leagues, when they found the rocks with the supposed turquoises. This was written so soon after the expedition, that the geography is likely to be as accurate as can be expected.

CHAP. X.
 1572.
 RochaPitta. 3. § 78—79.
 Vasc. Not. Ant. 1. § 51—55.
 Noticias. MSS. 2. 75.

which he had collected were imperfect. Brito sent them, together with what Tourinho had brought, to the King; but the information was not attended to at the time, and the evil day of Portugal was drawing on. A third expedition was performed by Diogo Martins Cam, whose appellation of Matante-Negro, or Kill-Negro, marks him for a wicked and cruel man, however enterprising he may have been. After him Marcos de Azevedo Coutinho went, and brought back a considerable number of stones. Their descendents, and many other persons also, attempted to reach these mines, but the paths which they had opened were over-grown, and the way could no longer be found. Brito began also to search for copper, but soon desisted. The Bahians marvelled at his desisting, for they said that sixty leagues inland, there was a serra where the ore lay in large lumps upon the surface; . . . and only at half the distance, they affirmed there were other mountains in which iron was to be found, of finer quality than Milan steel.

Settlement made at Rio Real, and abandoned.

Noticias. MSS. 1. 25—26.

The French, driven from the ports which they formerly frequented, now traded to Rio Real, and orders were sent from Portugal to form a settlement there for the purpose of excluding them. Garcia de Avila was sent upon this service; he was of Bahia, and his wealth consisted in great herds of cattle, which fed upon the low lands about Fatuapara Bay, and the Rio de Jacoipe. He had ten folds of kine and horses, and had built in the Recon-cave⁴ a considerable settlement, with a stone church of the Virgin, where he maintained a chaplain, and where his name is

* His stock-farm there was infested by two prodigious snakes, one of whom carried off a bull in his presence. His herdsman killed one, and found in its belly ninety-three young pigs, weighing altogether eight *arrobas*, . . . two hundred and fifty-six pounds. *Noticias. MSS. 2. 46.*

still preserved. A good body of adventurers was raised in Bahia and the Ilheos, and they colonized three leagues within the bar. The spot was ill chosen, . . . no vessel of more than sixty tons could enter; and the land, as far as the tide reached, which was six or seven leagues, was fit for little but cattle: higher up it was very good. Brito was soon obliged to come to their assistance against the Savages: he gave them a severe overthrow, but the situation of the Colony did not please him, and he broke up the settlement. It was not possible to maintain it without a fortress, and he did not build one because the term of his administration was now at an end. Good sugar canes had been found in the plantations of the natives; and, at any other time, the place would not have been so lightly abandoned.

The division of Brazil into two governments had been found inconvenient, and two years before the expiration of Brito's term, that of Rio de Janeiro was again made subordinate to Bahia. Diogo Lourenço da Veiga was the new Governor⁵. The year of his arrival was that fatal year for Portugal, in which Sebastian and the whole flower of the kingdom were cut off. This event might have been productive of extraordinary consequences to Brazil. Felipe II. of Spain, while he and the different claimants, were harrassing the last miserable days of Henrique's life, by urging him to decide the question of succession, offered all these colonies in absolute sovereignty, with the title of King, to Braganza, if he would waive his claims upon Portugal. Neither he when he made the offer, nor Braganza when he rejected it, was sensible of its importance. The French made a politic

CHAP.
X.

1572.

Noticias.
MSS. 1. 24.
R. Pitto. 3.
§ 61—62.The two Go-
vernments
reunited.Noticias.
MSS. 1. 56.Diogo Lou-
renço da
Veiga, Go-
vernor.

1 178.

Ereçeyra.
Port. Rest.
t. 1. p. 16.Brazil offer-
ed to the
Duke of
Braganza.

⁵ *Que não volio neste negocio por respeito que aqui se não devem declarar*, says the author of the *Noticias*, speaking of the settlement at Rio Real, . . . who did not move in the business, for reasons which must not here be spoken of.

CHAP. trial to profit by the disturbances which followed; they dis-
 X. patched three ships to Rio de Janeiro, and sent in to inform
 1578. Salvador Correa de Sa, the Governor, that they came with let-
 ters from Antonio, the Prior of Crato, whom they called King.
 He would neither receive the letters, nor permit them to enter,
 and the bar was too well fortified for them to force their way.
 Thus ended Antonio's attempt upon Brazil, less disastrously
 than any of his other enterprizes.

Attempt of
 Antonio the
 Prior, upon
 Brazil.

Noticias,
 MSS. 1. 56.

Introduc-
 tion of the
 Carmelites,

1580.

and of the
 Benedic-
 tines.

1581.

R. Pitta. 3.
 § 63. 81—
 82.

State of Bra-
 zil at this
 time.

Veiga's administration is distinguished by the introduction of
 the Carmelites into Brazil, who founded their first convent in the
 town of Santos. Fr. Domingos Freire led this swarm of drones,
 whose cells were soon stored for them with honey. Fr. Antonio
 Ventura led a swarm of Benedictines the following year, who set-
 tled at St. Salvador. Veiga died the same year. No provision
 had been made for such a contingency, though he was at a very
 advanced age; he, therefore, when he found himself dying, vested
 his authority with the approbation of the Nobles and People, in
 the *Senado da Camera*, . . the Chamber of the City, . . and in the
Ouvidor Geral, . . the Auditor General, Cosme Rangel de Ma-
 cedo. They held the government two years, and Manoel Telles
 Barreto then came out to supersede them.

It was at this time that that account of Brazil was written, which
 has so often been referred to in this history as the best, oldest,
 and sometimes the single authority for many of its leading facts.
 The author had resided seventeen years in that country, and was
 owner of some sugar-works in Bahia. His materials were written
 upon the spot, and were arranged at Madrid, to be laid before
 D. Christovam de Moura, the Portugueze Minister, for the ex-
 press purpose of informing him of the actual state of these co-
 lonies, their infinite importance, and their alarming insecurity.
 From this very curious and hitherto unprinted memorial, it will
 here be expedient to describe the state of Brazil as it then was,

adding thereto such particulars as can be collected from other sources. CHAP. X.

The city of St. Salvador contained at this time eight hundred inhabitants; the whole Reconcave something more than two thousand; but neither Negroes nor Indians are⁶ included in this enumeration: for it is added, that between them five hundred horse and two thousand foot could be brought into the field. There were forty pieces of small artillery for the defence of the town, and as many larger ones; some of these were planted by the bar, where the channel was so wide, that they could be of no use. If the King's service required it, more than fourteen hundred boats of different sizes could be collected, among which were an hundred capable of carrying artillery, and above three hundred large caravels⁷: there was not a man in the Reconcave but had his boat or his canoe, and no sugar-work had less than four. Had Joam III. lived, who is now in glory, says the Memorialist, he was so fond of this country, and especially of Bahia, that he would have made Brazil one of the finest kingdoms in the world, and St. Salvador, one of the noblest cities in all his dominions. The cathedral church had a pompous but poor establishment, consisting of five Dignitaries, six Canons, two Minor Canons, four Chaplains, one *Cura* and Coadjutor, four Choristers, and a Master of the Choir; but few of these ministers were in full orders, and it cost the Bishop a considerable portion of his revenue to provide priests for the regular service. The reason of this deficiency was, that the Canons had only thirty milreis a year, the Dignitaries thirty-five, and the Dean forty; and it was a better thing to be chaplain to the Misericordia, or to a sugar-

1581.

St. Salvador.

Noticias.
MSS. 2. 8.Noticias.
MSS. 2. 13.Force of the
Reconcave.

⁶ Unless there is an error in the manuscript, of two thousand for twenty thousand.

⁷ *Caraveloens*. Square-sail shipping, *i. e.* not galleys, which had triangular sails.

CHAP. work, where sixty milreis were given, and the priest was boarded
 X. also. The cathedral was in great want of ornaments; of which,
 1581. says the author, his Majesty ought to be informed, for he takes

Noticias.
MSS. 2. 8.

the tithes with this charge, and it becomes him to remedy the want. There were sixty-two churches in the city and Recon-
 cave, of which sixteen were *freguezias*, . . . parish churches; nine
 were vicarages paid by the King; the rest cures, at the expence
 of the parishioners. The greater part of these had their chap-
 lains and fraternities as at Lisbon. There were also three mo-
 nasteries. What a church-establishment for such a population!

Noticias.
MSS. 2. 30.

Sugar works
in the Re-
concave.

The country, for two leagues round St. Salvador, was covered
 with good plantations, like the farms^s in Portugal. The number
 of sugar-works in the Reconcave was thirty-six without water-
 mills, with them twenty-one, fifteen which were worked by oxen,
 and four at that time erecting: there were also eight establishments
 for making treacle, which were very profitable concerns. The
 quantity of sugar annually exported amounted to more than one
 hundred and twenty thousand arrobas, . . . about two thousand four
 hundred hogsheads, besides what went in sweet-meats, an article
 in great request among the Portugueze. Kine, which had been
 carried there from the Cape de Verds, multiplied prodigiously;
 butter and cheese were made there, and milk used in every way
 that it was in the mother country, the climate occasioning no
 material difference. Horses also had been imported from the
 Cape de Verds, and though they bred fast, the importation was
 still kept up: there were persons who had forty or fifty brood
 mares in their stock: their price was from ten to twelve milreis;
 but if carried to Pernambuco, they sold there for thirty ducats,
 or sixty cruzados. Sheep and goats had been brought both from

Noticias.
MSS. 2. 30.

Live Stock.

Noticias
MSS. 2. 31.

Cazaes.

the Cape de Verds and from Europe; butter and cheese were made from their milk.

Oranges and lemons had been introduced by the Portugueze, and were become plentiful, especially the lemons; the climate enlarged the fruit. It was a proverb, that the physician did not enter that house before which plenty of orange-peel was to be seen in the morning. The palm was produced from date stones, brought from Portugal. The cocoa, which had come from the Cape de Verds, bore well for a few years, then began to wither; this, it is said, was caused by an insect; the tree however was little valued, because it was not wanted, in a country already abounding with the choicest fruits. The pomegranates and melons, which would otherwise have thriven, were almost destroyed by the ants; so also was the vine, . . . fruit and leaf would be stript clean in one night by them; and wine, as well as flour, for sacramental uses, was brought from Portugal. So numerous were the ants, and so great was the mischief which they committed, that the Portugueze called this insect the King of Brazil; but it is said by Piso, that an active husbandman easily drove them away, either by means of fire or of water; and the evil which they did was more than counterbalanced by the incessant war which they waged against all other vermin. In some parts of South America they march periodically in armies, such myriads together, that the sound of their coming over the fallen leaves may be heard at some distance. The inhabitants, knowing the season, are on the watch, and quit their houses, which these tremendous but welcome visitors clear of centipes, forty-legs, scorpion, snake, every living thing; and, having done their work, proceed upon their way. Another remarkable plague, was an insect called *broca*, which is described as a flea, that fled without visible wings: it bored all wooden vessels which contained any liquor except oil; and in this manner did great mischief,

CHAP.
X.
1581.

Fruits.
De Lery. 13.
Piso. p. 10.

Noticias.
MSS. 2. 32.

Noticias.
MSS. 2. 31.

Noticias.
MSS. 2. 32.
Vasc. V. de
Anch. 5. 13.
§ 5.

Marcgraff.
l. 7. c. 6.

A. de Ulloa.
Not. Amer.
7. § 39.

Noticias.
MSS. 2. 45.
2. 31.

CHAP. especially in lands that were newly settled. Snakes were parti-
 X. cularly destructive in the pigeon-houses, eating both eggs and
 1581. young.

*Tea and Coffee indige-
 nous in Brazil*

*Noticias.
 MSS. 2. 44.*

*Culture of
 Ginger prohibited.*

*Noticias.
 MSS. 2. 32.*

*Noticias.
 MSS. 2. 31.*

Tea^o had lately been discovered in Bahia, of which, says the author of this manuscript, great profit might be made. Coffee also grew there. The mention of these commodities, at a time when both were so little known in Europe, that they had not perhaps been heard of beyond the limits of Portugal, is remarkable; and it shows how early the Portuguese had acquired Oriental customs. Ginger had been brought from their Island of St. Thomas, and throve so well, that in the year 1573, four thousand *arrobas* were cured; it was better than what came from India, though the art of drying it was not so well understood: great use was made of this root in preserves, . . . but it was prohibited, as interfering with the Indian trade, in that wretched spirit of policy which regards immediate revenue as its main object. The sugar-cane had been brought to Bahia from the Ilheos, but it was

* Tea is also indigenous in Hayti; it grows abundantly in and about the city of St. Domingo, where it is known by the name of *Muniga*, and considered as a pectoral. It is also found on the North of the Island, near Monte Christi, and it is said that the French exported it between twenty and thirty years ago from Guarico.

Idea del Valor de la Isla Española, por D. Antonio Sanchez Valverde. C. 8. P. 49.

In Paraguay and in Peru it is called *Paico*; Monardes attributes to it the same virtue for which it is still used there, that the leaves "being made into powder, and taken in wine, take away the griefe of the stone in the kidneys, which cometh of windiness or colde causes; and being sodden and made into a plaister, and layde upon the griefe, they take it away also." (*English translation, ff. 92.*) The identity of this shrub with the Tea of China, is not known in that country, but was recognized by our countryman, Falkner the Jesuit, and by some of the Ex-Jesuits of Paraguay, when they reared the tea-tree at Faenza from seed.

Jolis. L. 2. Art. 4.

indigenous in Brazil, and grew plentifully about Rio de Janeiro. The French, who were ignorant of its culture, and knew not how to extract sugar, made a pleasant beverage, by steeping the cane in water; and they were greatly astonished to find, that if this infusion was kept long enough, it served them for vinegar also.

No hemp grew in the country. The wild palm afforded one substitute; and the bark of the *embira*, supplied cordage and cables, and answered better for oakum, because it lasted longer under water. Gun-matches also were made of this bark. The seeds of the *embira* were chewed fasting as a corroborant; were applied, when bruised, to the bite of a serpent; and were used instead of pepper for culinary purposes. The leafless parasite plants, which are all comprehended under the general name of *timbo*, served for basket-work, and were beaten into tow. Their juice was used in tanning; being bruised and cast into the lakes or rivers, they stain the water with a dark colour, and intoxicate or poison the fish. These plants form a singular feature in the scenery of Brazil. They twist round the trees, climb up them, grow downward to the ground, take root there, and springing up again, cross from bough to bough, and tree to tree, wherever the wind carries their limber shoots, till the whole woods are hung with their garlanding, and rendered almost impervious. The monkeys travel along this wild rigging, swing from it by the tail, and perform antics which might make the best rope-dancer envious. This vegetable cordage is sometimes so closely interwoven, that it has the appearance of a net, and neither birds nor beasts can get through it. Some are thick as a man's leg, their shape three sided, or square, or round; they grow in knots and screws, and every possible form of contortion; any way they may be bent, but to break them is impossible. Frequently they kill the tree which supports them, for which reason the Spaniards call them *Matapalos*; and sometimes they remain

CHAP.

X.

1582.

*The sugar-cane indigenous.**De Levy. c. 13.**Nauf. da N.S. Paul. Hist. Trag. Mar. 1. p. 373.**Piso. l. 4. c. 20.**Leafless parasite.**Stedman. l. 175. 1. 242.**Piso. 4. 80.**Condamine. p. 75.*

CHAP. standing erect like a twisted column, after the trunk, which they
 X. have strangled, has mouldered within their involutions. There
 1582. are some which, being wounded, give forth a cool, pure, and
 wholesome water, and these grow in the stinking marshes of the
 Orinoco country, or in sandy places, where without such a re-
 source the traveller would perish for thirst. The ivy also creeps
 to the summit of the highest trees, and covers the forest with a
 canopy of brighter green. When a path has been opened, this
 shade is beyond measure delightful.

Gumilla.
c. 47.
Stedman.
1. 277.

Piso. p. 6.

Noticias.
MSS. 2. 75.

Noticias.
MSS. 2. 48.

Produce of
the fishery.

Roch. Pitta.
1. § 71.

Ambergris.

Roch. Pitta.
1. § 68.

S. de Vasc.
Not. Ant. 2.
§ 97.

There were large tracks of ground in the Reconcave which produced saltpetre; the author of the manuscript says, shiploads might be sent to Spain, instead of bringing it from Germany at so great an expence. They had no lime there but what was made from oyster shells, as at St. Vicente; these however were in such abundance, that boats might be filled with them at all times. To no part of the world has the sea been more bountiful than to Bahia. The principal diet used at the sugar works consisted in crabs, sharks, and a fish called the *chareo*; the roe of this latter is salted, prest, and dried for a sea store, in which state it is much esteemed. Oil was extracted in considerable quantities from the shark-liver. Whales were not uncommon; and ambergris was frequently cast up. One of the first settlers here, received four arrobas of it in dowry with his wife¹⁰. It was still more abundant at Seara. The natives believed it to be the food of the whale, which had been received into the stomach, and afterwards vomited; and this opinion, which approaches so nearly to the truth, was believed by the Portugueze, because sixteen arrobas of this substance, part of which was perfect, and

¹⁰ About 1660 the whale fishery here was let by the crown at forty three thousand cruzados, for three years. *Sim. de Vasc. Not. Ant. 2. § 97.*

part in a corrupt, that is, in an imperfect state, were found in the stomach of a large fish which was cast ashore near Bahia. All birds are voracious after ambergris; and during a storm they frequently devoured it before the people could get down to the beach. If mermen, that is, as De Lery sensibly observes, sea-apes, exist any where, they are to be found here. I see no sufficient reason for discrediting positive testimony of their existence, since the analogy of nature renders it probable. The natives call them *Upupiara*, and represent them as mischievous animals, who go up the rivers in summer, and if they find a man swimming, or fishing on one of those rafts, upon which he sits half in the water, drag him down, in sport it appears, just as men would catch them, rather than for food, for the bodies have been afterwards found, greatly mangled.

CHAP.

X.

1582.

*Piso. p. 10.**Mermen.
De Lery.
a. 11.**Noticias.
MSS. 2. 47.**Rumours of
emerald
mines.*

The rivers of the Reconcave brought down pieces of crystal after rain, and stones which resembled diamonds. Here also there were rumours of emerald and sapphire mines, which arose from the reports of Mamalucos and Indians. They were said to be found far inland, at the foot of a serra, on its eastern side, embedded in crystal; on its western, other stones were found embedded in the same manner, but of a dark purple, and it was supposed that these also were precious; and the natives affirmed that there was another serra near, where small stones were found which were bright red, and of singular lustre.

*Noticias.
MSS. 2. 75.**People of
Bahia.*

There were above an hundred persons in Bahia whose income was from three to five thousand cruzados, and whose property from twenty to sixty thousand. Their wives would wear nothing but silk. The people were generally characterized by extravagance in their apparel; even men of inferior rank walked the streets in breeches of satin damask: their wives wore kirtles¹¹ and

¹¹ *Vasquinhas e giboens.*

CHAP. gipeons of the same, and were trinketed with gold. Their
 X. houses were as prodigally ornamented as themselves. There were
 1582. some settlers who possessed plate and gold to the amount of two
 and three thousand cruzados. The market at St. Salvador was
 never without bread made of Portugueze flour, and varieties of
 good wine from Madeira and the Canaries.

Noticias.
MSS. 2. 13.

Noticias
MSS. 2. 12.

Pernambuco

Pernambuco was not less flourishing than Bahia. After the death of the first Donatory, a general confederacy was formed by the natives against the Portugueze. The Queen Regent, upon receiving intelligence of this, ordered Duarte Coelho de Albuquerque, who had succeeded to his father's right, to go immediately and succour the Captaincy in person; and he besought her to order his brother Jorge de Albuquerque Coelho to accompany him. They reached Olinda in 1560; the Jesuits in that city were called to council with the chief men of the place, and though the younger brother was only twenty years of age, he was elected General, and *Conquistador da Terra*. This election to be conqueror of the land he made good by five years of continual warfare: when he and his brother reached Olinda, the inhabitants durst not venture two leagues from the town; at the five years end, the whole extent of coast was safe, and the whole country for fifteen or twenty leagues inland. This advantage having been once gained, was kept. It is said in the *Noticias*, that the Cahetes had been driven fifty leagues into the interior, that is, that they had abandoned the country; and that though Duarte Coelho had expended many thousand cruzados upon his Captaincy, the money had been well bestowed, for his son had at that time a revenue of ten thousand cruzados arising from what the fisheries and sugar-works paid him. There were fifty sugar-works in Pernambuco, the tenths of which were leased for nineteen thousand cruzados. Olinda contained about seven hundred inhabitants; the single houses in its vicinity, and the sugar-works,

Bento
Texeira.
Pinto. Hist.
Trag. Mar.
 t. 2. p. 8.

The Cahetes
driven into
the interior.

Olinda.

each of which had from twenty to thirty residents, were not included in this amount. Three thousand men could be brought into the field, of whom four hundred were horsemen. From four to five thousand African slaves, besides native ones, were employed in this Captaincy. It had more than an hundred colonists, whose incomes were from one to five thousand cruzados, and some from eight to ten. Men, says the author, return from hence to Portugal full rich, who came out here full poor. About five and forty ships came annually to load with sugar and brazil, which was of the best quality, and was rented of the crown at twenty thousand cruzados. Yet this important Captaincy was almost without any works of defence; and the author of the manuscript concludes his account of it, by expressing his apprehension of the danger to which it was exposed, and enforcing upon the Government the necessity of well securing it.

CHAP.
X.
1582.

Noticias.
MSS. 1. 16.

It was supposed at this time that no trade could be carried on between Bahia and Pernambuco, on account of the regular winds. Such an exchange however of rogues and murderers went on by land between St. Salvador and Olinda, that when the author of the *Noticias* recommended the formation of a settlement upon the river Seregippe, one of the reasons which he assigned was, that it would tend materially to check this passage of criminals from one Captaincy to another.

Noticias.
MSS. 1. 23.
1. 21.

St. Vicente also continued to flourish. This Captaincy was far enough to the South for wheat and barley to grow, but they were little cultivated, because the settlers were satisfied with the food of the country; a little wheat only was raised for the wafer and for delicacies. Marmalade was made here, and sold to the other parts of Brazil. In these colder Captaincies they were free from the plague of ants, and could produce wine: there were some settlers here who made three or four pipes yearly, which they boiled to prevent it from turning sour. They were

St. Vicente.

CHAP. beginning to have some vineyards at St. Paul's also; and in this
 X. province and in St. Amaro, says the manuscript, there is another
 1582. better fruit, which is gold and silver, if the mines were searched
 for.

Noticias.
MSS. 1. 62.
 2. 82.

Espirito
Santo.

Espirito Santo was reestablished after the defeat of Fernam de Sa, but not till Coutinho had been utterly ruined in the contest. He expended the whole of his hereditary fortune, as well as all that he had acquired in India, and was reduced to such extreme poverty as to be dependant upon alms for food. I know not, says the author, whether he was worth a winding-sheet when he died. The Captaincy, with all its rights and titles, descended to

Noticias.
MSS. 1. 52.

Porto Seguro.
 o.

Noticias.
 1. 26.

his son, and these were his only inheritance. Porto Seguro was in a worse state. After the death of Tourinho, every thing declined under the mismanagement of his son; that son left a daughter, who never married, and sold her right to the first Duke of Aveiro, for an yearly charge of an hundred milreis. The capital and influence which the new proprietor was able to employ, restored the colony; to which also the establishment of a Jesuit convent greatly contributed; for wherever these Fathers went, they collected the natives. But then the Aymores began their ravages, and when the *Noticias* were written, only one sugar work was left, and the Captaincy was almost depopulated. Twice also in one year a fire broke out in the chief town, the second consuming all that had escaped the first. Perfumed waters of the finest quality were made here, and sold at St. Salvador.

B. Tellex.
C. C. 3. 1.
 § 6.

The first settlers suffered terribly from the *chiguas*, or jiggers. This insect, which seems to have been more formidable here than in the sugar islands, got under the nails of both hands and feet, and even attacked all the joints. De Lery says, that notwithstanding he took the greatest care to guard against them, above twenty were extracted from him in one day. Many persons, before they knew the remedy, lost their feet in the most

dreadful manner. The natives anointed the parts which were most exposed to this plague, with a thick red oil¹², expressed from the *couroq*, a fruit which resembles a chesnut in its husk; the French were glad to learn this preservative. For wounds and bruises the same oil was a sovereign unguent.

Wholesome as the air of Brazil is, it proved hurtful to many persons whose habits both of life and living had been formed in a different temperature; even, says Piso, as plants will frequently die in transplantation, though their removal may have been to a richer soil and happier climate. Whosoever, he adds, would attain to a happy old age in this country, let him, whether he be a new-comeling, or Brazilian born, abstain from the daily use of meat and wine. This very able man observes, that the mixture and intermixture of three different races, the European, American, and African, had produced new diseases, or at least new constitutions, by which old diseases were so modified, that the skilfullest physicians were puzzled by new symptoms. A liver complaint was endemic among the lower classes, and as peculiarly their disease, as gout is that of the rich. It was particularly frequent during the wet months; the sufferers were tormented with a craving for food, and their countenances were meagre and death-like. Affections of the sight were also prevalent, chiefly among the soldiers and the poor; the most frequent was that evening blindness which our own men sometimes experience between the tropics; the remedies were tobacco smoke, charcoal

CHAP.
X.
1582.

Noticias.
MSS. 2. 46
Stude. 2. 33.
De Lery,
c. 11.
Diseases.
Piso. p. 8.

Piso. p. 1.

Piso. 2. 8.

¹² This oil, says De Lery, is in as great estimation among them, as that confection which we call the Holy Oil, is with us. Our Surgeon, when he was about to return to France, took with him twelve large jars of it, and as many more of human grease, which he had collected when the Brazilians were broiling their prisoners! C. 11.

CHAP. X.
 1582. made from the bark of the Guabiraba, or white lead in human milk, which was often in those days exhibited as a medicine. Another common disease, was what the Portugueze called *ar*, the air, as supposing that to be its cause, and which Piso denominates *stupor*: it seems to have been a general listlessness, a universal sense of weight and relaxation: a bath was used for this, or rather a hot-bed of horse-dung, frankincense, and myrrh. Friction and unction were good preventatives, and good remedies, adopted from the natives. But the most tremendous disease in Brazil was a malignant ulcer of the *anus*: opium was the best medicine, but unless the ulcer was speedily stopt in its progress, it proved fatal, and no form of death was ever more loathsome or more painful¹⁵.

Piso. 2. 2.

Piso. 2. 4.

Piso. 2. 16.

Piso. 2. 20.

Piso. p. 43.

Piso. 2. 18.

¹⁵ *Lues quædam ex coitu non tantum per contagium vel parentum hereditario malo in liberos, sed ex leviori tactu atque per se contrahitur, orta potissimum ex alimento fatido et salso, potu rancido et corrupto. Inter Afros non solum atque Indos, sed Lusitanos et Belgas quoque sævit, tumoribusque schirrosis et virulentis ulceribus, totum corpus infestat. Quæ quidem lues huic regioni est endemia, et Bubas ab Hispanis et Brasilianis appellatur. Et sicuti citius sanatur a solis remediis indigenis; ita citius contaminat, quam illa quæ lues gallica vulgo vocatur et ad incolas huc defertur.—Gonorrhæa simplex, sicut haud difficilis habetur curationis, ita facile acquiritur, modo a sola equitatione sub sole meridiano. Piso. 2. 19.*

This curious passage seems to imply, that Siphilis is originally an American disease, modified by transplantation to the European constitution; . . . an opinion which agrees with his remarks upon the physical effects produced by the mixture of different races.

doses of powdered horse dung given in any liquid. Physicians who exhibited such medicines, would neither kill nor cure. The empirics frequently did both; they used the cold water affusion in incipient fever, and Piso¹⁴ gives them credit for their knowledge of efficacious drugs. At first the Portuguese women reared very few of their children, not one in three; but they learnt at last from the Savages to throw aside the load of swaddling clothes, to leave the head bare, and use cold affusion freely, and the climate was then no longer complained of as destructive to infant life. In these things, and in the knowledge of herbs, which are all that they can teach us, we have yet learnt little from our intercourse with Savages.

Piso. 2. 17.

These were the diseases which prevailed among the settlers in Brazil during the first century after the discovery; in no other instance have white men suffered so little in their physical nature by transplantation beyond those limits which have been assigned them. Their moral nature suffered more; this deterioration however arose from causes, some of which were temporary, and all removable, as indeed there exists no cause of moral evil which may not be removed. The same crimes which were frequent in Portugal became more frequent in Brazil, because colonies receive the runaways as well as the outcasts of the mother country; fraudulent debtors fled there, and men who deserted their own wives, or eloped with the wives of others. Murder was here as it is in Portugal, and wherever the Catholic religion flourishes in all its privileges, . . . a mode of revenge commonly practised, seldom punished, and regarded without horror, because the guilt might easily be wiped away by confession and absolution.

Anchieta's
Miracles.
Passim.

¹⁴ *Semper enim condonandum est Empiricis, utpote exquisitoribus in exhibendis medicamentis quam in distinguendis morborum causis.* 2. 19.

CHAP.

X.

1582.*Dobrizhoffer*

Meantime a race of men were growing up, fierce indeed and intractable, but who acquired from the mixture of native blood, a constitutional and indefatigable activity. While the Spaniards on the Paraguay remained where Yrala left them, . . . neglected the discoveries which the first conquerors made, . . . suffered the paths which they had opened to be overgrown, . . . and almost laid aside the manners and even the language of Spain, the Brazilians continued for two centuries to explore the country; months and years would these persevering adventurers continue among the woods and mountains, hunting slaves, or seeking for gold and jewels after the reports of the natives; and ultimately they succeeded in securing for themselves and for the House of Braganza, the richest mines, and largest portion of South America, the finest region of the whole habitable earth.

CHAPTER XI.

Disputes on the frontier of Brazil.—Asumpcion made a Bishopric.—Expedition of Chaves.—The Chiquitos.—Death of Yrala.—March of Vergara to Peru, and his Deposition.—Death of Chaves.—The Itatines.—Caceres sent home Prisoner.—Zarate sails from Spain to take the Government: misconduct and sufferings of his Armament.—Deposition and Death of his successor Mendieta.—Buenos Ayres founded for the third and last time.

The progress of Paraguay did not keep pace with that of Brazil; but it is rather to be wondered at that this colony should have continued to exist, than that it did not flourish, remote as it was from the sea, and from every other Spanish settlement. Happy would it have been for Paraguay had it been equally remote from the Portugueze. The Guaranies on the Parana were infested by the Tapuyas of the Brazilian frontier, whom the slave-hunters of that country headed in their expeditions. They called upon Yrala for protection; he went to their assistance, drove back the assailants, and made them promise to leave the subjects of the King of Spain in peace. He judged it however expedient to found a town there, for the purpose of securing the frontier, and opening a readier communication with the sea; and as soon as he had returned to Asumpcion, he dispatched Garcia Rodriguez de Vergara, with eighty men, upon this service. The site

CHAP.
XI.
Paraguay.

Disputes on the frontier of Brazil.

A settlement formed in Guayra.

1554.

CHAP. chosen for the new settlement was on the Parana, above the
 XI. great falls. Vergara called it Ontiveros, after his own birth-place
 1557. in Castille; but it obtained the name of Guayra, from the pro-
 vince in which it stood. After a few years Ruy Diaz Melgarejo
 removed it three leagues higher, and to the opposite bank, near
 the place where the Pequeri falls into the Parana, and from that
 time it was called Ciudad Real.

Charlevoix.
 t. 1. p. 118.

Charlevoix.
 1. 123.

Asumpcion
made a
Bishopric.

Asumpcion was, soon after its establishment, considered to be a place of such importance, that in 1547, Paul III. erected it into a Bishopric, under the name of the Town of the River Plata; a name however which even this authority could not impose. The first Bishop never set foot in his diocese, and being translated to the Nuevo Reyno, seven years after his first consecration, Pedro de la Torre, a Franciscan like himself, was appointed to succeed him. It is a proof of the good order which Yrala had established, that when the ships which brought out the Bishop arrived in the Plata, the intelligence was communicated to Asumpcion by a chain of beacon fires. By this fleet Yrala received a legal appointment to that authority which he had so long exercised. He received at the same time instructions to distribute the Indians among the conquerors, after the manner practised in the other conquests. This destructive system he had already begun; more claimants were now found than could be satisfied; it was expedient therefore to form new settlements, and for this purpose Melgarejo was sent into Guayra; and Chaves, with two hundred and twenty soldiers, and three thousand five hundred Indians, to colonize among the Xarayes.

Charlevoix.
 t. 1. p. 122.

Chaves en-
ters the
Province of
the Chiqui-
tos.

Chaves was an adventurer of Yrala's own stamp. He received his orders without any intention of obeying them; went to the Xarayes, and not finding an eligible situation in those parts, because he was determined not to find one, struck westward towards Peru, and entered what is now called the country

of the Chiquitos. This province extends from East to West, about one hundred and forty leagues, between the low lands of the Xarayes and the province of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. To the North the mountains of the Tapacuras divide it from the country of the Moxos; to the South it reaches the mountains of the Zamucos, and of the old town of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. It is watered by two rivers, the Guapaix, which rises in the mountains of Chuquisaca, bends round the existing town of Santa Cruz, then turning to the N. W. winds over the plains, and is received into the Mamore; . . . the Ubai, or St. Miguel, is the other: its sources are in the mountains of Peru; from thence flowing through the land of the Chiriguanos, where it is called the Parapituy, it passes the site of old Santa Cruz, and having encreased to a considerable stream falls into the Apore, which then joins the Mamore, and with it forms the great river Madeira. From December till May the low lands are inundated, and then the natives store themselves with fish, having the art of drugging the waters; . . . but the greater part of the country is hilly. The name Chiquitos, signifying Little Ones, was given by the Spaniards to the inhabitants, because the doors of their huts were so low, that a man could not enter unless he crept in on all-fours. For this strange custom they assigned two reasons; that their enemies could not shoot arrows at them in the night, and that it preserved them from the mosquitos, and all those kindred plagues with which South America is infested. The appellation is singularly improper, inasmuch as these Indians are rather above the middle stature. The men go naked, except the Chiefs, who wear a half-sleeved frock of cotton, like the women, the only difference being that the womens is the longest. They adorn themselves with strings of coloured stones round the neck and legs, and with a girdle, if so it may be called, of feathers, the colours of which are beautifully arranged. Feathers are also stuck in their ears, and a lump of tin in the under

CHAP.
XI.
1557.

Coleti.

Fernandez.
c. 2.
Muratori.
t. 2. p. 172.

The Chiquitos.

CHAP.
 XI.
 1557.

lip. They who are proud of their archery, bedeck themselves with the tails of the beasts whom they have killed. Their Chiefs, whom they call Iriabos, are their Physicians also; a gainful practice, because, during the continuance of the disease, they are feasted at the patient's expence. The common mode of cure is by sucking the part affected, to extract the malignant humour. They also ask the sufferer if he has spilt any liquor on the ground; if he has given to the dogs the feet of a tortoise, deer, or any other animal, for in that case the soul of the offended creature is supposed to have entered his body in revenge, and therefore they beat the earth round about him, to drive it away. Sometimes a crueller superstition prevails; they pronounce that a woman¹ has caused the malady, and she upon whom suspicion falls is beaten to death.

Polygamy is the privilege of the Chiefs; other men are restricted to one wife at a time, but permitted to change her as often as they please. The best recommendation of a suitor is skill in the chase: he lays his game at the door of the maiden whom he woos, and the parents estimating from its quantity his qualifications, give or refuse their daughter. The male youth are sooner at their own disposal. From the age of fourteen they quit their father's hut, and dwell together under a great shed, which is open on all sides. This is the place where strangers are received and feasted. On such occasions the whole horde assemble. They begin by issuing out and striking the ground with their *macanas*, uttering at the same time loud cries, to drive away the evil spirits; but in spite of this precaution, their drunken meetings commonly end in quarrels, blood, and death.

¹ It may be, says the Jesuit Juan Patricio Fernandez, that their ancestors had some light how, through a woman, death entered the world.

At day-break they rise, breakfast, and play upon a kind of flute, till the dews have disappeared, before which they hold it unwholesome to be abroad; then they go afield till noon, and cultivate the ground, using instruments of a wood so hard, that it is almost as effectual as iron for their purpose. The rest of the day is devoted to feasting and merry-making. Their favourite sport is a game at ball, which must require great skill and great exertion, for they strike it with the head. At sun-set they eat again, and retire to bed; but those who are unmarried dance by night, forming a great circle round two persons who play upon flutes, while the rest wheel round and round; the maidens form an outer ring round the young men, and thus they continue till they are weary. The women, who are always well treated in proportion as the system of sexual intercourse approaches to monogamy, lead here an easy life: their business is to provide the hut with wood and water, to manage their simple cookery, and to manufacture the frock and the hammock.

They call the moon Mother; during an eclipse, they shoot arrows upward, and cry aloud to drive away the dogs, who, they believe, hunt her through heaven; and when they overtake her, the darkness of the orb is caused by the blood which runs from her wounds. Thunder and lightning they hold to be produced by some of the departed, who dwell in the stars, and thus manifest their anger. They bury food and arrows with the dead, that hunger may not force the spirit to return among them. Earth and Heaven are full of signs and tokens to their superstitious imaginations; a dream, or an evil omen, will make a whole horde forsake their place of sojourn, and even induce an individual to abandon his wife and family. Witchcraft is held in as much abhorrence as it is by the Negroes, and the wretch who is suspected of possessing this baleful power, meets with no mercy.

J. P. Fern-
nandes, c. 2.

By this nation Chaves was opposed; he wished to spare his

CHAP. men, his object being to settle in the land, and therefore he
 XI. turned aside. This prudence did not avail him; repeated con-
 1557. flicts ensued; some of the tribes used poisoned arrows, and the
 Spaniards disheartened by their loss, and by the hardships which
 they suffered, called upon him to return and colonize among the
 Xarayas, according to the original plan of the expedition. Mean-
 time Yrala died, having enjoyed his lawful authority not quite a
 year. The people assembled in the church to appoint his suc-
 cessor, till a new Governor should arrive. They delegated
 twelve Cavaliers, who then nominated four persons, among
 whom the people were to chuse; their election fell upon Fran-
 cisco Ortiz de Vergara, Yrala's son-in-law. He was desirous to
 pursue the plans of his predecessor, and having probably learnt
 that Chaves was following his own projects instead of obeying
 the instructions which had been given him, sent after him to
 bid him execute what he had in charge. These messengers
 reached him when his men were clamouring to return; but his
 resolution was taken to advance with as many as would share
 his fortune. Eighty Spaniards and two thousand Indians left
 him and returned to Asumpcion; while he, with fifty Europeans
 and the remainder of the allies, or servants, proceeded. It so
 happened that Andres Manso was at the same time advancing
 from Peru, with a commission from the Marquis de Cañete, then
 Viceroy, to conquer and colonize in these parts. Wide as the land
 was, it was not sufficient for the ambition of both; but they were
 moderate enough to refer their dispute to the Viceroy, to whom
 Chaves himself went, . . . presuming perhaps upon his favour, be-
 cause his own wife was of the Mendoza family, the daughter of
 that D. Francisco who was beheaded at Asumpcion. His influence
 prevailed; the Viceroy appointing his own son, D. Garcia, to the
 Government of the Moxos, nominated Chaves to be Lieutenant
 Governor, and sent him back with full powers to settle there.

*Death of
Yrala.*

*Charlevoix.
t. 1. p. 124.*

*Foundation
of Santa
Cruz de la
Sierra.*

Accordingly he returned to his people, and built a town to the East of Chuquisaca, at the foot of the mountains, and on the side of a pleasant rivulet. He named it Santa Cruz de la Sierra, in memory of a village near Truxillo, where he had been bred up, . . . a place so beautifully situated under a high mountain, where corn-fields and olive-groves are interspersed among the rocks, that he might well love to remember in a foreign land the lovely scenes of his childhood. Forty years afterwards the town was removed to its present situation, fifty leagues to the North, upon the river Guapay, and it was then made a Bishopric.

CHAP.
XI.
1557.

Herrera.
8. 5. 2.
Coleti.

Insurrection
of the Gua-
ranics.

1560.

The Guaranies who forsook Chaves to return to Asumpcion, having seen the effect of the poisoned arrows of the Chiquitos, gathered up all they could find, and thinking that these deadly weapons would give them an advantage over their oppressors, raised an insurrection against them. This hope was baffled, because the poison, being now a year old, had lost its efficacy; yet Vergara was obliged to exert his whole force before he could reduce them, and then found it expedient to affect clemency, rather than attempt to punish the revolt with the usual rigour. On his return he found an Indian from Guayra, whom Melgarejo had sent from Ciudad Real, where he was hard prest by the Guaranies, to request succour. The messenger past through the middle of the enemy's force, stark naked, and bearing only his bow, where the letter was inserted in a slit. Having dispatched troops and relieved him, Vergara recalled him to Asumpcion, meaning to send him to Spain, as a person on whom he could rely, to solicit a confirmation of his appointment. The caravel in which he was to embark, and which was the finest vessel that had yet been built in Paraguay, was ready to depart, when it took fire and was consumed: some enemy of Vergara, it was supposed, had set it on fire. That Governor then took the hasty resolution of going to Peru, to obtain powers from the

Vergara
marches to
Peru.

CHAP. Viceroy; the Bishop, and fourteen of his Clergy, thought proper
 XI. in like manner to forsake their duty and attend him, and they
 1561. set out with a considerable force. Chaves, who had come to
 Asumpcion for his wife and children, set out in their company.
 When they came among the Itatines, he persuaded three thousand of that tribe to follow him and settle in his province. As soon as he entered it, he insisted upon his rank, asserting that the Governor of the province of the River Plata had no authority there. This occasioned much confusion; there was no longer any order observed, nor any precautions taken, because no person knew whom he was to obey: provisions ceased to be regularly provided, and a great mortality took place, especially among the Indians. Such of the Itatines as survived, halted and settled themselves in a fertile country. The rest of the expedition proceeded with difficulty to Santa Cruz, where there were no means of subsisting such a multitude, and famine and sickness continued to reduce them. The natives, seeing their country ransacked for food, rose in despair. When Chaves marched against them, he left instructions with his Lieutenant to disarm Vergara and his people, and prevent them from proceeding to Peru; but Vergara found means of sending a messenger to Chuquisaca to complain of this violence, and orders were sent to Chaves not to detain him.

*Vergara
 accused and
 superseded.*

He had soon reason to repent of this most imprudent journey. No sooner had he arrived at Chuquisaca, than above an hundred articles of accusation against him were presented to the Royal Court of Audience of that city, among which the dereliction of his post, the danger to which he exposed Asumpcion by withdrawing so large a part of its force, and the waste of life upon his march, were included. The Court would not pronounce upon these charges, but referred them to Garcia de Castro, then Governor of Peru, and President of the Court at Lima. There

Vergara appeared; he was declared to have forfeited his Government, and sent home to Spain to answer for himself before the Council of the Indies. Juan Ortez de Zarate was appointed to succeed him, if it should please the King to confirm the appointment. Zarate embarked for Panama on his way to Europe to solicit this confirmation, having named Felipe de Caceres to be his Lieutenant meantime at Asumpcion, and ordered him to return there with the remains of Vergara's unfortunate expedition.

CHAP.
XI.
1561.

Caceres, the Bishop, and their retinue, were welcomed on their way back by Chaves with apparent cordiality, and he escorted them as far as the settlement of the Itatines, under pretext of doing them honour, but in reality for the purpose of tempting their people to remain with him. Shortly after his return to Santa Cruz, the Chiriguanos rose upon the Spaniards, slew Manso², and destroyed Nueva Rioja, and Barranca. Chaves marched to chastise them, as it was called; then went back with miners and tools to explore some mines which he had discovered among the Itatines. Leaving these men at work, he continued his endeavours to pacificate the country; and while he was haranguing some Chiriguano Chiefs, one of them came behind him, and with a single blow of his *macana*, brought him dead to the ground. Such a death Nuflo de Chaves had righteously deserved; for under his government hunting parties were made to catch the Indians, that they might be carried to Peru for sale, and they were sold in the public market-place of his city, mother and child, like ewe and lamb together.

1565.

Chaves
killed.

Herrera.
S. 5. 2.

Dobrichoff-
fer. 1. 185.

The Itatines.

Caceres, after Chaves left him, had to fight his way through

²It is from him that the wide plains between the Pilcomayo and the Rio Bermejo, are still called *Llanos de Manso*. Charlevoix. 1. 161.

CHAP. XI. 1568. the Itatines^s, a nation of the great Tupi or Guarani stock. The men let their hair grow in a circle on the crown, and shear the rest of the head; their ornament is a reed stuck through the lip, which is pierced to receive it when the boy is seven years of age: the women tattoo themselves in streaks; and both sexes wear a triangular shell in their ears. The men have no other clothing than a short apron: the women wear a complete dress of cloth made from the bark of the *pino*; it is white, takes any dye easily, and retains it long, being in all these respects far superior to what other tribes manufacture from the *caraquata*. Their coronals are of parrots feathers. Their arrows are unnecessarily armed with many barbs; with these they bring down birds; and they decoy the anta within reach of their weapons by imitating its cry. They cultivate maize, and have sometimes a hedge of tobacco round their habitations, which are of palm boughs thatched with grass, having eight doors and sixty inhabitants. Each family, as usual with the gregarious tribes, has its separate fire, with pots, gourds, and pitchers in abundance about it. Before they lie down at night the pot is put on, that food may be ready as soon as they rise. The women carry their infants over the shoulder in a sort of basket, or rather frail. They bury the dead in large jars, and at their funerals the kindred of the deceased throw themselves from high places, to the hazard, and sometimes the loss of life. The mode in which they vie with each other is, by racing with a heavy log upon the

Dobrizhoffer. 1. 71.

Techo in Churchill. 46.

^s This is the name which they give themselves, and by which they are mentioned in all the old writers. Latterly the Spaniards more frequently call them *To-batines*. "The rebounding balls of Itatina," says Techo, "made of the gum of trees, are famous all the world over, and being toasted are used for curing the flux." P. 86. It was probably, therefore, from this tribe that we first received the gum-elastic.

shoulder. The most remarkable circumstance relating to this tribe is, that they had a mode of communicating at a considerable distance by means of trumpets or pipes; this was not upon the common principle of the speaking trumpet, because no person could understand these signals however versed in their language, unless he had previously been instructed in the system⁴. The Itatines are now greatly reduced in number; they have been driven from the open country, and have remained in the woods so long that they are afraid of broad sun-light, and their skins are blanched by being in perpetual shade. They will poison guests whom they fear, and therefore food which they offer is never to be received without suspicion.

When Caceres was on his march they were a formidable nation: he fought his way through them⁵ till he came within fifty leagues of Asumpcion; there he found friendly tribes, and

CHAP.
XI.
1568.

Muratori:
1. 4.

Dobrishoffer
1. 65. 71.

Dobrishoffer
1. 83.

⁴ *Tubis, tibiisque certâ inflatis ratione, ita quod volunt significant, ut et longe audiantur, et perinde ac si expressis vocibus loquerentur, intelligantur. Neque tamen ab iis, qui eorum linguam norunt quæ significantur, percipiuntur, nisi apud eos versati sint.* These are the words which Muratori quotes from a Missionary's letter written in 1591, . . . and he understands them to describe a speaking trumpet, which was in his time a new invention of the English. To me the passage seems rather to imply a system of musical signals, . . . just as the Mexicans gave orders in battle by whistling, and the Peruvians had their love-language of the flute, . . . *de manera*, says Garcilasso, *que se puede dezir que hablavan por la flauta.*

P. 1. L. 2. C. 16.

⁵ This he accomplished by the help either of Santiago or St. Blaise, . . . it is not ascertained which. *Les Histoires d'Espagne*, says Charlevoix, *sont remplies de semblables merveilles, et la piete de cette nation doit, ce semble, former un préjugé plus fort en faveur de ce qu' elle publie des graces, qu' elle croit avoir reçues d'en haut, que contre sa trop grand credulité; a quoi il faut ajoûter, que dans toutes ces occasions, elle combattoit contre des Infideles, et que le Ciel etoit interessé, ce semble, a soutenir sa querelle.*

CHAP. was enabled to rest and refresh his weary men. He reached the
 XI. city early in 1569, and a year afterwards went with his brigantines to the Plata, there to meet the reinforcements from Spain
 1570. which Zarate had appointed to send him by that time. He waited till his hopes and patience were exhausted; then erected a cross on Isle St. Gabriel, from which he suspended a letter in a bottle, and reascended the river to Asumpcion. There had long been ill-will between Caceres and the Bishop; it daily became more violent, parties were made, and personal feelings prevailed over political, for the clergy sided with the Governor, and the chief civil officers with his adversary. Caceres himself, or his father, had been one of the main movers of the sedition against Cabeza de Vaca, and he now thought to triumph by the same violent means, which would indeed be less lawless in appearance, because the legal authority was now in his hands. He seized the Provisor, Segovia, and put him in irons, beheaded Pedro de Esquivel and exposed his head upon the pillory like a traitor's, deprived the Bishop of all his Indians, rents, and rations, so that no one dared give him even a draught of water, arrested him in the church, and confined him to his own house, where he was proceeding to block up the windows, till the Bishop gave sureties for his quiet continuance there. But the fear of being sent prisoner to Europe, which Caceres threatened, made him break his promise and attempt to conceal himself: he was discovered, and Caceres prepared to put the threat in execution. This Governor had not attended to the state of popular feeling: the women were clamorous in behalf of their pastor, and began to talk of Judith and Holofernes; the Clergy themselves took alarm at the violence which had been offered to their order, and an insurrection was planned at the house of Segovia, who had now been liberated; it was well concerted and boldly executed; they seized Caceres in the name of the

Charlevoix.
 1. 133.
Disputes between the Governor and Bishop.

Inquisition, and embarked him for Spain, for which country the Bishop embarked also, not as prisoner, but as accuser. The vessel touched at St. Vicente, and there the Bishop died in full odour of sanctity⁶. The deposed Governor attempted to make his escape; but here also the people were against him, he was again apprehended, and sent to Spain in irons, and he never returned to Paraguay.

Argentina.
7.

*Zarate sails
from Spain.*

Zarate meantime had been delayed by a series of misfortunes. He set off from Peru with a property of eighty thousand pieces of gold, the collected rapine of many years⁷; a French cruizer fell in with him on his passage from Nombre de Dios to Carthagena, and he lost the whole. He made his way however to Spain; his appointment was confirmed, and the title of Adelantado granted him; and, notwithstanding the lamentable fortune of so many expeditions to the Plata, he found adventurers enough, married and single, of both sexes, to fill three ships and two smaller vessels. In this armament D. Martin del Barco went out, the only contemporary historian of these parts for this half century. One of the smaller vessels was lucky enough to lose the fleet and reach St. Vicente. The others, after various sufferings, occasioned by bad weather and by want of skill, got into St. Catalina. Here the adventurers were landed, and here

Argentina.
6.

1572.

⁶ Anchieta was present at his death, and he told me, says D. Martin del Barco, that his body, and his feet, and his hands, and his grave, gave out a great fragrance. It is laid down by Morales as one of the axioms on which he proceeds in his history, that whatever one saint relates of another is implicitly to be believed.

⁷ *Que sabe Dios qual el las ha juntado.* *Argentina, C. 6.*

God knows how he had collected them, .. is the significant expression of D. Martin.

CHAP. Zarate left them, to suffer all the miseries of short allowance, while
 XI. he went to a settlement called Ybiaça, which was not far dis-
 1572. tant on the main land, and there supplied himself plentifully by
 plundering the Indians. No man could have behaved worse
 under such circumstances than this Adelantado; there he re-
 mained, leaving his people to endure horrors little less dreadful
 than those which had destroyed so great a part of Mendoza's
 expedition. The daily ratio was only six ounces of flour^o.
 Many endeavoured to escape from this misery: some, after
 wandering three or four weeks on the main land, returned in a
 dying state of hunger; others were pursued and forcibly brought
 back, and death was the punishment of their desertion, though
 the famine was so grievous, that the intestines were secretly
 taken from one of their starved bodies as it hung upon the
 gibbet. At length, after an unaccountable tarriance here of
 many weeks^o, the remains of this unhappy expedition were
 once more embarked, and they made sail for the Plata, without
 any pilot among them who knew the navigation of that most
 dangerous river. Zarate, however, more fortunate in this re-
 spect than he deserved, reached St. Gabriel's; he was blown off
 in the night by a gale from the South, and two of his ships were
 driven ashore; but the people were saved.

Argentina.
9.

Argentina.
10.

^o A poor lad, the drummer of the expedition, was caught by two women in the act of stealing from their hoard, and they cut off one of his ears and nailed it over the door. He obtained damages against them, but they managed so well with Zarate's deputy, that their fine amounted to only six ratios of flour, . . . not quite four pounds. The drummer recovered his ear, and used to pawn it for food. *Argentina. C. 10.*

^o Some of the runaways had wandered thirty days before they returned, . . . there is no other intimation of the length of time which was past here.

This bank of the river was possessed by the Charruas¹⁰, a wandering tribe, who exercised no kind of agriculture. They were so fleet that they could run down their prey, and such marksmen with the thong and ball that nothing escaped their aim. They flayed the faces of those whom they slew, and preserved the skins as trophies; but they only enslaved their prisoners. At the death of a kinsman they had the custom, which is found in so many parts of the world, of cutting off a finger. Zarate, instead of conciliating these people, seized the nephew of their Chief, a young man who came unsuspectingly to visit the Spaniards in the huts which they had erected for shelter. Twenty of his tribe came in search of him, and brought a Guarani to be their interpreter, and this Guarani was seized also. Having taken these base precautions for the sake of having a good hostage in his hands, Zarate was weak enough to set him free at his uncle's solicitation, . . . not with a show of generosity, but in exchange for a runaway sailor and a canoe. What was well deserved, and might have been foreseen, ensued; as soon as Capicano, the Chief, had got his nephew out of the Spaniards power, he took the first opportunity of falling upon them. A party of foragers were surprized, forty were slain, one was made prisoner, and only two escaped to give the alarm; it had scarcely been given before the Savages attacked the camp. Zarate, from that jealousy of his own people which no good commander can ever feel, had thought proper to keep their weapons, instead of trusting them in their own hands; . . . in consequence of this wretched suspicion the guns now, when they were wanted,

CHAP.

XI.

1572.

The Char-
ruas.Argentina.
10.

¹⁰ Or Charuabas, . . . who are now with the Yaros, Bohanes, Miuoanes, and Costeros, collectively called Quenoas. *Dobrizhoffer*. 1. 143. They have become equestrian tribes.

CHAP. were found rusty, and the powder was damp; they had nothing
 XI. but the sword and lance to trust to, and their defensive armour
 1572. stood them in little stead, for a common helmet was no defence
 against the stone balls of the Charruas. Night came on soon
 enough to save them from destruction; . . . in the morning, before
 the attack could be renewed, they fled to one of the ships which
 was aground near the shore, and from thence got over in a boat
 to the Island of St. Gabriel.

Argentina.
11.

Here they must inevitably have been famished had it not
 been for a supply which they had no reason to expect. Mel-
 garejo, who had carried the Bishop and Caceres to St. Vicente,
 was still in that port when the vessel which had parted company
 from Zarate's fleet arrived there: . . . supposing that they would
 need provisions, though far from anticipating the misery which
 he should witness and afterwards partake, he set sail with a
 cargo for their relief. He touched at St. Catalina, where the
 fresh graves and the standing gibbet told their tale of the hor-
 rors which had been endured there: from thence he proceeded
 to the Plata, and reached St. Gabriel's in time to save them.
 This supply however would only have protracted their fate, if
 the Spaniards had not at this time begun to settle in Tucuman;
 Juan de Garay, having been sent from Asumpcion to colonize
 in that direction, had founded the City of Santa Fe; he heard
 that a party of his countrymen were in the river, and came down
 to their succour.

Argentina.
10.

Repeated calamities had neither cured Zarate of insolence to-
 ward his people, nor of injustice toward the natives. The son of a
 Chief, called Cayu, was seized by one of his parties; Cayu came
 to intreat that his son might be restored; he besought it pas-
 sionately and with tears, and brought, besides a present of fish,
 a girl, whose beauty he extolled, to be given in exchange for the
 boy; thinking thus to influence the bad feelings of a man who

Argentina.
15.

seems to have had no good ones. Zarate took the girl, . . . and refused to give him his son. His own people meantime groaned under his insolent cruelty; . . . when the ratio of six ounces of stinking flour was weighed out daily with a niggard hand, he used to stand by, cursing them while they took the wretched dole for a set of hungry and helpless wretches, and cursing himself for having brought them from Spain to be obliged to feed them here. The famine still continued, till Garay reached Asumpcion, and sent down such supplies that the wreck of the expedition was enabled to ascend the stream, and proceed to its place of destination. When Zarate left the Plata he thought himself entitled to new name that river, and ordered that it should from thenceforth be called *Vizcaya*, the Biscay, he himself being a Biscayan.

CHAP.
XI.
1573.

Argentina.
18.

Argentina.
15.

Death of
Zarate.

Soon after his arrival at the seat of government he died, regretted by nobody, till the vices of Diego Mendieta, his nephew, whom he appointed Governor as long as his daughter should remain unmarried, made even Zarate regretted. The insolence and cruelty of this young successor soon became insupportable. He was seized at Santa Fe and embarked on board a caravel to be sent prisoner to Spain. The Pilot was his partizan, and made for Rio de Janeiro; there he found friends, and was encouraged to return in the same vessel and recover his authority. But this man's vices were proof against adversity: the moment he acquired power he became a tyrant; the caravel, in consequence of the disturbances which his tyranny occasioned, put into Ybiaça, a port near St. Catalina, and there Mendieta consummated his crimes and his own perdition. A soldier who fled from him was persuaded by fair promises to return; no sooner had he returned, than this wretch split him down from the shoulder to the fork, and hung up one half by the neck, the other by the arm. At this atrocious

Argentina.
19.

CHAP. XI. sight the Pilot and crew hoisted sail and left him with seven others, probably his agents in blood, among the Savages, and at the instigation of a Mamaluco, whose wife he had taken away, they were all put to death.

1573.

Argentina.
24.

Re-establishment of Buenos Ayres.

1580.

The history of this part of South America differs from that of any other colony in one remarkable circumstance; the first permanent settlement was formed in the heart of the country, and the Spaniards colonized from the interior towards the sea. The ill effects of thus reversing the natural order of things had been so grievously experienced by Zarate's armament, that an attempt was once more made to people Buenos Ayres. Garay had the conduct of this expedition; his success was facilitated by the previous establishment at Santa Fe, and the town was a third time founded upon the spot which Mendoza had chosen. Its former name had been Nuestra Señora de Buenos Ayres; . . . Garay, with a strange disrespect to the Magna Mater of Catholic mythology, altered its invocation and called it La Trinidad de Buenos Ayres: long titles, whether of place or person, are always curtailed by the common sense, and for the common convenience of mankind; the one invocation is now as little remembered as the other, and Buenos Ayres is the name of the city. The natives remembering that they had twice demolished the works of the Spaniards upon that ground, and twice compelled them to abandon their purpose of settling there, once more attacked it; they burnt the tents and temporary huts with fire-arrows, but their leader was slain, and they were routed. Success made Garay too confident. Going up the river in a brigantine he chose to pass the night ashore, and neglected to set a guard: the Manuas, a tribe so inconsiderable as hardly to be named upon any other occasion, killed him in his sleep, and cut off with him forty persons of both sexes, who were of the best settlers in Pa-

Garay slain.

raguay. Elated by this victory, as it was deemed, they called upon the neighbouring tribes to join them in a general attack upon the new settlement. One of their councils was held and distinguished by a remarkable single combat. Two women, by name Tupaayqua and Tabolia, quarrelled because the former asserted that her husband was a better drinker than Tabolia's. They were proceeding to take their bows and arrows when the bye-standers interfered, and it was agreed upon, probably to prevent the quarrel from spreading, that they should determine their dispute by a regular duel. The lists were surrounded with a palisade, and they fought naked with the *macana*, till the husbands, seeing them both covered with blood, cried out to them to hold, and their anger being somewhat reduced by bleeding, they submitted to be parted and became good friends at a drinking bout. The result of the council was a confederacy against Buenos Ayres; but it was now well garrisoned, and sufficiently fortified against such enemies: their leader was slain, and they were totally defeated. The city immediately began to prosper, and the ship which sailed for Castille with tidings of its re-foundation, took home a cargo of sugar, and the first hides with which Europe was supplied from the wild cattle which now began to overspread the open country, and soon produced a total change in the manners of all the adjoining tribes.

CHAP.
XI.
1580.

Argentina,
24.

21.

CHAP.
XII.
1581

CHAPTER XII.

The French driven from Paraiba.—The Pitagoares.—Intercourse of the English with Brazil.—Fenton's Expedition.—Commencement of hostilities.—Withrington ravages the Reconcave.—Death of Barreto.—D. Francisco de Sousa Governor.—Search after Silver Mines.—Expedition of Cavendish. He takes Santos, burns St. Vicente, is repulsed at Espirito Santo, and dies of a broken heart.—Lancaster takes Recife.—Raleigh diverts adventurers towards Guiana.—El Dorado.

CHAP.

XII.

1583.

*French at
Paraiba.*

*The Pitago-
ares.*

The French, driven as they had repeatedly been from Brazil whenever they attempted to form even a factory there, would not abandon the trade of that country. They now made the Paraiba their port, where they allied themselves with the Pitagoares, who possessed the country between that river and the Rio Grande. On the one side they were always at war with the Cahetes, whom they regarded as their natural enemies, though they spake the same language; on the other, sometimes at war sometimes at peace with the Tapuyas, who were however leagued with them in the interior against their borderers the Tabarajas. They were of the great Tupi race, and some of the cruellest of that race; for they never spared a prisoner. These Savages, assisted by the French, committed dreadful devastation upon the adjoining settlements, burning the sugar works, and massacring

and devouring all on whom they could lay hands. The people of Pernambuco and Itamaraca applied to Government for protection, and orders were given to colonize upon the Paraiba and fortify it. Forces for the expedition were raised in the neighbouring Captaincies. Fructuoso Barbosa had the command, and great expectations were indulged of its success. The Pita-goares and French decoyed him into an ambushade, and cut off great part of his men ; the others became discontented, they complained of his misconduct, and many forsook him. After this desertion and the loss which he had sustained, his force was no longer adequate to the service ; the enemy, elated at having driven him out, renewed their ravages, and the people of Pernambuco and Itamaraca earnestly implored the Governor to send them succours.

CHAP.
XII.
1583.

*Barbosa de-
feated.*

Barreto was too old to attempt any thing in person, neither indeed could he leave St. Salvador's ; for it was only six months since he had arrived, and business which had probably accumulated under the provisional government, made his presence necessary. There chanced however to be at Bahia a part of that formidable and most disastrous expedition sent out under Diego Flores de Valdes, by Felipe II. to secure the Straits of Magalhaens, after Drake had alarmed him for the safety of Peru. Twenty-three ships sailed from Seville, and after repeated attempts to reach the Straits, Diego Flores had finally put back to Bahia with only six. Barreto requested him to expel the French from Paraiba ; two ships under Diogo Vaz da Veiga were also lying at Bahia, on their way home from Goa ; with these in addition to his own fleet Flores sailed to Pernambuco ; and troops were collected there who advanced by land while the maritime force proceeded. There were four French vessels in the river. Flores entered to attack them with his own ship, that of Diogo Vaz, and all the boats ; the French abandoned

*Noticias.
MSS. v. 11.*

*Flores wins
the landing
and builds a
fort.*

CHAP.
XII.
1583.

their ships, having set fire to them, and then joined the Savages on shore, with whom they made a show of defending the landing; but it was only a show. The troops landed without opposition, the land forces arrived, they constructed a wooden fortress, and Flores left an hundred and fifty men in it, under Francisco Castrejon. Barbosa and this Captain could not agree; the former expected to be Governor of the new settlement by virtue of his former appointment; and finding that his claim was not acknowledged, he retired to Pernambuco and from thence sent a memorial to the King. Castrejon maintained his authority better than he did his post: the Pitagoares, as soon as Barbosa was gone, besieged him: war with these fierce Savages was what he had not been accustomed to, and having once or twice repulsed them, he made a hasty retreat to Itamaraca, losing some of his people by the way. When this was known at Pernambuco another force was raised, and Barbosa again took possession of the fort: succours were speedily sent him, and a horde of Tupinambas pitched their villages near, to assist and be assisted against the common enemy.

The post abandoned by Castrejon, and again occupied by Barbosa. Noticias. MSS. 1. 12. Herrera. His. Gen. 2. 14. 16. RochaPitta 3. § 84—86.

Intercourse of the English with Brazil.

The unhappy subjection of Portugal to Spain had now involved Brazil in hostilities with the English, who till now had never appeared there as enemies, though they had traded with the Indians before the foundation of St. Salvador¹. In later

¹ The first Englishman who is mentioned as having traded to this country is Master William Hawkins of Plymouth, father of Sir John Hawkins, "a man much esteemed by King Henry VIII, as a principal Sea Captain. He armed a ship of his own of two hundred and fifty tons, called the Paul of Plymouth, wherewith he made two voyages to Brazil, one in the year 1580, and the other in 1532; in the first of which he brought a Brazilian King, as they termed him, to present him in his wild accoutrements to King Henry, . . . at the sight of whom the King and all the nobility did not a little marvel, and not without cause." One Martin Coc-

years a circumstance had happened which promised to bring on a regular intercourse between England and these colonies. An Englishman, by name John Whithall, married and settled at Santos; and having, by means of his father-in-law, obtained license for an English ship to bring out goods, he wrote to his friends, sent them a list of commodities which would produce three for one upon sale², and undertook to load the vessel back with fine dry sugar. The *Minion* of London was sent out upon this adventure. These traders were well received: the utmost confidence existed on both sides. There was an alarm that four French ships which had been driven from Rio de Janeiro were about to attack Santos, and the English lent guns and ammunition for its defence. Even bigotry did not interrupt this good understanding; an Englishman was buried in the church, and when orders came from St. Sebastians that the English were not to be permitted to enter the church because they were heretics, the Clergy of Santos, in communicating this prohibition, expressed their sorrow for the edict as well as for its cause, and besought the English not to have an ill

Hakluyt. 3.
701—706.

keram, of Plymouth, was left behind in pledge for him. The Brazilian remained nearly twelve months in England, and died on his passage home, which was feared would turn to the loss of the life of Martin Cockeram his pledge. Nevertheless the Savages being fully persuaded of the honest dealing of our men towards their Prince, restored him without any harm.

Hakluyt. Vol. 3. P. 700. Purchas. L. 6. C. 4. P. 1179.

About 1540 the commodious and gainful voyage to Brazil was ordinarily and usually frequented by M. Robert Reniger, M. Thomas Borey, and divers other substantial and wealthy merchants of Southampton. One Pudsey of the same place is said to have made a voyage to Bahia in 1542, and to have built a fort not far distant from it. *Hakluyt. V. 3. 701.*

* This curious document will be found among the additional notes.

CHAP.
XII.
1581.

*Expedition
of Fenton.*
1582.

opinion of them in consequence. But these fair beginnings were blasted; the usurpation of Felipe took place at this time, and Brazil soon had its share of those calamities which England, in the worst spirit of predatory warfare, had now begun to inflict upon South America.

An expedition destined for the East Indies and China, under Edward Fenton, stood for the coast of Brazil. They were in want of refreshment, and having learnt from a Spanish vessel which they took and released off the mouth of the Plata, that though provisions were to be had in that river, wine was not, they then made for St. Vicente^s, without any hostile intentions. Giuseppe Doria, the father-in-law of Whithall, came off to them with two of the principal inhabitants, and after this friendly visit Fenton went ashore to look out a place where the smith might erect a forge, and the portable ovens might be set up to bake their biscuit. The next day Whithall came on board, told them the Portugueze had sent their women away, and had been fortifying the town, and advised them to come up without loss of time and anchor before it. Doria and a Portugueze came off soon after him; they said that the Governor would meet Fenton in a few days and talk with him, and that meantime the English might proceed with their business of cooperage, carpentering, fishing, and such necessary work, but advised them not to erect forge or oven till they had seen the Governor. Fenton entertained these guests at dinner, left them in the cabin, and went on deck to consult with his officers

* D. Martin del Barco (*Argentina. C. 2.*) rejoices that Fenton (whom he calls Fontano . . . perhaps for the sake of making it rhyme to Lutherano,) did not know of the foundation of Buenos Ayres, where he might have done much mischief. But it is certain both that he knew there were settlements in the river, and that he did not design to commit any hostility.

whether he should detain them as prisoners. In reply to this proposal it was represented by Ward, the Vice-Admiral, that their instructions forbade them to use violence except in their own defence; the Minion, he said, had opened a trade here, which such proceedings would destroy, and indeed would render the English nation hated; and more was to be gained by friendly dealing than by force. This opinion prevailed, . . . and a present which had before been prepared was offered accordingly; it consisted of fine black cloth for Doria and their two former visitors, three yards to each for a cloak, and the same quantity to the Governor in scarlet and in murrey.

CHAP.
XII.
1582.

But the evil which Ward anticipated from hostile proceedings had already been produced by Drake; our nation was hated, and by all the Spaniards in America Englishmen were considered as pirates. The vessel which Fenton had taken and released fell in with Flores, and gave information that there were enemies in those seas. He cruised in pursuit of them without success; three of his ships however put into Santa Catalina, and there received intelligence from St. Vicente. It was said that the English meant to settle there and fortify themselves; that Whithall had invited them for that purpose; that they were spreading about news how Felipe was dead, and Antonio in possession of Portugal; and that they were making great promises in the name of their Queen to induce the people to receive them. A little of this story may have been true, and Whithall's enemies invented more; but the fresh recollection of Drake's exploits made the whole credible, and therefore it was easily credited. Two hours after Doria had left Fenton's ship, the Spanish squadron came bearing in, anchored upon the bar, and made preparations to attack him. He had only two ships, but they were in better trim. The action began in the evening, and continued as long as the moon gave them light; by that time

Commence-
ment of hos-
tilities.

Argentina.
24.

Herrera.
Hist. Gen.
2. 14. 17.

Luke Ward
in Hakluyt.
3. 757—760
Lopez Vas.
De. 794.

CHAP.

XII.

1582.

*Withring-
ton's expe-
dition*

1586.

one of the Spaniards was sunk⁴: and in the course of the following day the English warped out and put to sea.

This was the first act of hostility which the English committed in Brazil, and in this they were not the aggressors; but Brazil was now become a Spanish colony, and therefore exposed to the depredations of every freebooter. Three years after Fenton's return another expedition was destined for the South Sea, and its instructions were not equally pacific. The Earl of Cumberland was at the charge of this adventure, of which Robert Withrington had the command; it was joined by two other privateers, one of which was fitted out by Raleigh. They captured two small Portugueze vessels off the Plata, bound for Santa Fe⁵; the information which they collected from the prisoners

* "By reason," says Lopez Vaz, "that these three ships were weakened with former tempests, and were manned with the refuse of all the Spanish fleet, (the sicke men and women being embarked therein) the Englishmen easily put them to the worst, and sunk one of them, and might also have sunk another if they had been so minded; but they desired not the destruction of any man: and doubtless it is the greatest valour that any man can show, that when he may do hurt, he will not." This part of the "Discourse" is previously inserted by Hakluyt, who probably, when he printed the extract, had no intention of afterwards inserting the whole. As the original has never been published, this oversight occasions one advantage, . . the translation is not the same, and as this compliment to the English occurs in both, a fair presumption arises that it has not been interpolated by the translator. It is gratifying to meet with such an acknowledgment of English generosity in the age of Drake and Cavendish. Herrera underrates Fenton's force, and relates this action with remarkable fairness, . . good proof how well this invaluable author may be relied on.

* "From thence," says Sarracoll, "by horse and carts, the marchants and part of their goods were to be transported into Peru. This ship had for master or pilot an Englishman called Abraham Cooke, borne in Lee, who had been left by the Minion of London. We examined him and the rest concerning the

made them suppose they could take St. Salvador, and accordingly the Commander, who had more inclination for plunder than for the passage of the Straits, over-ruled the opinion of his Vice-Admiral, and made for Bahia. No sooner was the approach of the enemy perceived, than Christovam de Gouvea, the Jesuit visitor, sent for all the converted Indians in the adjoining country, and these formidable archers preserved the city and its immediate vicinity; but the English remained six weeks in the Bay, ravaging the Reconcave, and committing great havoc with little profit to themselves.

These unfortunate events happened under Barreto's government. He died after an administration of four years, and the sealed succession-papers which had been sent out with him to be opened in case of his death, were found to nominate D. Antonio Barreiros the Bishop, and Christovam de Barros the *Provedor Mor da Fazenda*, joint Governors. Francisco Giraldes was appointed to supersede them; he was Lord of the Captaincy of the Ilheos, which his father, Lucas Giraldes, had purchased from the son of the original Donatory. This higher

CHAP.
XII.
1586.

Rel. Ann.
p. 114.

Sarracoll in
Hakluyt. 2.
769—778.

Death of
Barreto.
1587.

Rocha Pitta.
3. § 87. 88.

state of the river, and they told us that there were in the river five towns, some of seventy household, and some of more. In these towns is great store of corn, cattle, wine, and sundry fruits, but no money of gold or silver; they make a certain kind of slight cloth which they give in truck of sugar, rice, marmalade, and sucket, which were the commodities that this ship had. They had aboard also forty-five negroes, whereof every one in Peru yieldeth four hundred duckets a piece. Concerning this voyage of the Portugals, they told me it was the third voyage that was made into the River of Plate these thirty years.—At Santa Fe their ships do discharge all their goods into small barks which come and tow up the river to another town called Ascension (Asumpcion). In the towns of Ascension and Tucaman (Cordova I suppose) a rapier of twenty rials of plate is worth thirty duckets, a box of marmalade twenty duckets, a looking-glass a foot over is worth thirty *li*, pictures in tables of fourteen inches thirty and forty *li* a piece."

CHAP. XII. 1587. honour was one of which he was not ambitious, and having twice embarked from Lisbon, and twice been driven back, he requested permission to resign; the resignation was accepted, and D. Francisco de Sousa chosen to succeed him.

*D. Francisco
de Sousa
Governor.*

*Rumour of
Silver Mines.*

The new Governor set out with higher expectations than any of his predecessors. A descendant of Caramuru, by name Roberio Diaz, was at this time one of the richest and most powerful men in Bahia. He had services of plate for his chapel and his table, and it was confidently reported that the silver of which they were made had been dug from mines which he had discovered in his own lands. This rumour became so general that he thought it no longer prudent to keep his knowledge secret; and accordingly he went to Madrid and offered the King to find for him more silver in Brazil than there was iron in Biscay, provided he would give him for his reward the title of Marquis of the Mines. This demand was thought too high; the office of *Administrador* of the Mines was granted him, and other advantages held out with which he might perhaps have been contented, if Felipe had not, somewhat unjustly, promised the new Governor the title which he refused Roberio. The promise could only be effected if the mines were found; this depended upon Roberio, and he was determined not to put another in possession of the honours to which he conceived himself entitled. He returned with Sousa to Brazil, and immediately obtained permission to go to his estates and prepare for the expedition. This time he employed, as is supposed, in destroying all vestiges which might lead to the discovery, and when Sousa set out upon his search of the mines*, in full expectation of finding them, not a

* J. de Laet, in his additions to Marcgraff, (3. 2.) has inserted a brief and unsatisfactory account of a nine months expedition in search of silver mines, un-

trace was to be found. Roberio had manifestly deceived the King, either in his promise, or in his non-performance, and Sousa, provoked at the disappointment and at the loss of his expected Marquisate, dissembled his anger, but sent home complaints against him. Before orders for his punishment arrived he died, and the secret with him, even his heirs being left ignorant of it.

While the Portuguese were thus searching for mines, Cavendish came to annoy their coast. This adventurer having wasted his paternal substance, thought to repair a ruined fortune by privateering; and during a former voyage, in which he sailed round the world, the ravages which he committed were such as long left a stain upon the character of the English nation. The plunder which he then made tempted him to a second expedition, and he had so squandered it that he set out without a sufficient stock of provisions, and sent two of his squadron forward to attack the town of Santos, for the sake of storing himself there. The people were surprized at mass, . . . only one man attempted resistance, and was slain; . . . the rest were kept prisoners in the church during the remainder of the day. But instead of bargaining for a supply as their ransom, Cocke, the Vice-Admiral, contented himself with making good cheer upon what he found; they took the opportunity not merely to escape, but to carry away whatever was portable, and when Cavendish arrived, eight or ten days after the place was taken, he found a

CHAP.
XII.
1591.

Rocha Pitta.
3. § 89—99.

*Expedition
of Cavendish.*
*Sir W. Mon-
son in
Churchill.*
v. 3, 212.

Dec. 16.
Argentina.
16.

Santos taken.

*Jane in Hak-
luyt.* 3. 842.

dertaken by this Governor's orders. It is related by Wilhelm Glimmer, a Dutchman, who was one of the persons employed. Whether this expedition be the same which Roberio Diaz frustrated I know not; but there is nothing to be extracted from the Dutchman's narration. This Glimmer throws no light upon the subject.

CHAP. town without either inhabitants or provisions. Many Indians
 XII. came to him and offered him their alliance if he would destroy
 1591. the Portugueze, and keep the country for himself; these how-
 ever were not views for a freebooter; and the natives would not
 expose themselves to the vengeance of their former oppressors
 by making any exertions to befriend a people from whom they
 perceived that it was in vain to expect protection. An un-
 availing attempt was made to allure the settlers by inviting them
 in Antonio's name; that cry was too old, and his cause too
 hopeless; yet with improvidence deserving the fate which it
 occasioned, the squadron remained here several weeks⁷, and
 departed at last worse furnished in every respect than they
 came.

*Knivett in
 Purchas.
 Argentina.
 19.*

*Jan. 842.
 1592.*

*St. Vicente
 burnt by Ca-
 vendish.*

They burnt St. Vicente on their way, proceeded to the Straits,
 failed in their attempt to pass, and were separated by stress of
 weather. Cavendish put back alone to the coast of Brazil, and
 landed five and twenty men about three leagues from Santos,
 with instructions to seize some provisions as speedily as they
 could and bring them on board for the relief of their sick and
 starving comrades. Of this party, which consisted of the prin-
 cipal persons in the ship, not a man returned. The Indians
 collected, attacked them as they were preparing to re-embark,

⁷ There was a clay image of St. Catharine, which Luiz, the brother of the Donatory Pedro de Goes, jointly with his wife, had given to the town of Santos; it stood in a little chapel at the foot of a hill, which was called after her name. This idol the English tost into the sea. Many years afterwards the drag-net brought it out unbroken: a new chapel was built for its reception, and the oyster-shells which adhered to it were suffered to remain in remembrance of its long immersion in the deep. There it is worshipped at this day, and they who show the image, remark that the greatest wonder in its history is, that the English Iconoclasts did not break it before they threw it into the sea.

and cut off the whole^s, sparing only two, whom they carried prisoners to Santos, and entered the town in triumph with the heads of the slain. Shortly afterward Cavendish was joined by the Roebuck, one of his unfortunate squadron; they continued to coast along, ravaging in their progress houses and plantations, till a Portugueze prisoner undertook to carry both ships over the

CHAP.

XII.

1592.

Argentina.
28.

* Cavendish seems to have cast an imputation upon these unfortunate adventurers which they did not deserve. "They were all such," he says, "as neither respected me, nor any thing that I commanded. Instead of seizing provisions as hastily as possible to relieve their comrades on board, they did nothing but eat hens and hogs, which they had there in abundance, till the Portugueze collected and cut them all off." *Purchas. L. 6. C. 6. P. 1195.* The author of the *Argentina* seems to have been at Santos at the time, and was well acquainted with both the prisoners. One of them, he says, was a Surgeon, a very great Philosopher and Latinist, and very Christian-like in all his actions.

El uno de ellos era Cirujano,

Grandissimo Filosofo y Latino,

Mostraba ser en obras muy Christiano

Que yo trate con el muy de continuo.

Argentina. C. 28.

One of the slain, he says, was the son of an English Count, and Cavendish could not return without him, for if he did he would be put to death, and he therefore sent a letter on shore to recover him if he were living. A finger with a valuable ring was cut from one of the bodies by an Indian. Don Martin adds, that this 'pleasant affair,' as he calls it, happened on the Eve of Peter.

Vispera de San Pedro ha sucedido

El successo jocundo y placentero.

Who can doubt, he says, that St. Peter called upon Christ to revenge him on these heretics? they treated with scorn a head of one of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, .. who can doubt that the Virgin to whom it belonged cried for vengeance? They broke the Crucifix, .. who can doubt that the Incarnate Word, benignant Lamb as he is, cried out to the Father, and exclaimed, Let this malignant Spirit perish? He describes the ravages which the English committed at Santos on their former visit, as an eye witness, having arrived there a few days after their departure; and his account, (which is followed in the text) of their loss in the adjoining country, seems to acquit the sufferers of the imprudence which Cavendish imputes to them.

CHAP. bar at Espirito Santo, a place which they especially desired to
 XII. win, thinking that they should there find abundance of every
 1592. thing. The Commander not deeming it prudent to rely im-
 plicitly upon the assurances of his prisoner, anchored and sent
 a boat to sound the bar. The depth which they found was judged
 to be insufficient; the poor Portugueze in vain protested that he
 had never sounded it, but that he had taken in ships of an hun-
 dred tons: he deserved hanging, either from the English for de-
 signing to wreck them, or from his own countrymen for under-
 taking to pilot their enemies, and Cavendish without ceremony
 or farther examination hung him.

*Cavendish
 in Purchas.
 1195.
 Knivet in
 Purchas.*

*Attempt
 upon Espi-
 rito Santo.*

The boats rowed in and discovered three ships at anchor near the town. The Commander, without loss of time, would have sent to cut them out, but night was drawing on, and his men refused to go till the morning. Every hour's delay was dangerous; the roadstead was very bad; . . . never ships, says Cavendish, rid in worse; to cross the bar was impossible, and the country was fired round about. Yet there was no remedy for their disobedience, and, provoked as he was, he was compelled to wait the pleasure of his crew. In the morning they offered to go, and the boats departed with eighty men under Captain Morgan. His orders were not to land, on pain of his life, whatever opportunity might be offered; little danger was apprehended from the ships^o, but if he saw any he was to return; and if, on the other hand, he should discover good open landing near the town, even then he was to put back, that the Commander himself might make the attempt with as many men as he had boats to

^o "I knew," says Cavendish, "that no ships use Brazil that be able to defend themselves from a cock-boat, . . . much less that they should be of force to offend those boats wherein there were so many musketeers as could sit one by another."

carry. With these instructions Morgan departed. During the night the Portugueze had haled their vessels up before the town, where the river was not above a bird-bolt-shot across: half a mile below they had thrown up two small trenches, each commanded by overhanging rocks and woods. That on the western side fired at them, and Morgan, in obedience to his orders, would have returned. Some of the sailors swore that they always thought him a coward, and now he had proved himself to be so: upon this he was greatly moved, and declared that whatever might be the consequences he would land.

CHAP.
XII.
1592.

Upon this they continued to advance; the sconse on the eastern side, which hitherto they had not seen, opened upon them, and with one shot killed one man and wounded two. . . They then determined that the smaller boat should attack the west battery, and the larger one make for the other. The small boat landed first, and finding little resistance carried the post without loss. The other, which drew much water, got aground, . . the men however waded above their knees to shore. The sconse was built with stones, about ten feet high. Morgan and ten of his comrades scaled it; the Indians and Portugueze then showed themselves, rolled down stones from above, and killed him and five others. The rest, most of them sorely wounded, fled towards the boat, which was by this time quilled with arrows. Of the five and forty men who were on board, not one escaped unhurt, and some had three arrows in them. Unable to stand this desperate discharge they pushed off, and left some of their fellows on shore, a prey to the Savages. Having thus got off they called to those on the opposite side to come and help them. This party hastily embarked for that purpose; their boat grounded and could not be set afloat till ten of her crew got out. By that time the Indians returned to the forsaken battery, and began to shoot at them. The ten Englishmen,

Cavendish is repulsed and dies of a broken heart.

CHAP. seeing the arrows fly about them, ran up to the battery, and
 XII. poured their shot in through the lower hold; but while they were
 1592. thus employed, the Master of the Roebuck, a most cowardly
 villain, says Cavendish, that ever was born of a woman, made
 the boat row off, and left these brave men a spoil for the enemy.
 They waded up to their necks to be taken in, but their rascally
 comrades had no compassion, and "thus vilely were these men
 lost." After this unfortunate attempt Cavendish left the coast
 of Brazil, and died on his way home, as much of a broken heart
 as of disease.

Purchas.
6. 6.

Lancaster's
expedition.
1594.

This expedition had no plan and was miserably miscondacted :
 that which followed seems to have been designed and executed
 with greater ability than any other of these privateering adven-
 tures. Certain Aldermen and Citizens of London victualled
 three ships, of which the largest was computed at two hundred
 and forty tons, the smallest at only sixty, and the other at
 one hundred and seventy. James Lancaster, a Gentleman of
 London, was appointed their Admiral. He had by his own
 account been brought up among the Portugueze, lived among
 them as a gentleman, served with them as a soldier, and dwelt
 among them as a merchant; there was therefore what may be
 called moral treason in bearing arms against a people with whom
 he had so long been domesticated. Pernambuco was the place
 which he determined to attack; he procured two Frenchmen
 from Dieppe who were well versed in the language of the In-
 dians, and set sail with a company of two hundred and seventy-
 five men and boys. One of his ships, twice upon the voyage,
 sprung a mast, and having therefore put back to refit, the men
 in the other vessels would fain have persuaded Lancaster to give
 up his project, saying they were now too weak to accomplish it;
 but he replied that Barker, his Vice-Admiral, was too resolute a
 man not to join them at the place appointed as soon as his damage
 was repaired, and that nothing should make him go any other

course than that on which he had determined; for it was by such changes of purpose that most expeditions were frustrated. He was not deceived in his confidence. Barker joined them off Cape Blanco, where with his little vessel he had already captured four and twenty sail of Spaniards and Portuguese. From one of the prisoners they learnt that a carrack richly laden from India, had been wrecked on the coast of Pernambuco, and that all her cargo was stowed at Recife, the port of Olinda. Elated by this intelligence, they took with them five of their prizes, to be employed as occasion might require, plied for the Isle of Mayo, and there put together a galley-frigate, having fourteen banks¹⁰ on a side, which was designed for landing, and of which they had brought out the frame. Here they fell in with another squadron of privateers under Captain Venner, consisting of two ships, a pinnace, and a Biscayan prize. Venner readily consorted with Lancaster, and their bills, according to the manner of the sea, were made and signed on either part; Lancaster to have three shares, and he the fourth of all that should be taken.

From thence they stood for Recife, and arrived before the harbour one midnight towards the end of March. There were three large Dutch ships lying at the entrance, from whom some resistance was apprehended. Lancaster manned his five prizes, which were each about sixty tons, and ordered his men, if the Hollanders offered any opposition, to run aboard them, set their own ships afire, and take to their boats, that thus they might win the entrance. His intention was to land with the boats as soon as it was day, leaving his ships off the harbour till he had won the forts and the town. The men were embarked for this purpose, and he himself took the command of the galley, which

*They arrive
at Recife.
Mar. 29.*

¹⁰ *Bank*, a bench; *Bancus Regis*, the Court of King's Bench. This Galley-frigate had consequently twenty-eight oars.

CHAP. he manned with eighty of his own ship's company. But when
 XII. morning was come, they found that the boats had drifted some
 1595. half a mile to the north of the entrance; before they could get up
 the ebb came, and they were forced thus to remain off the port
 in full sight of the town: they had however the satisfaction of
 seeing the Hollanders lay out haulsers and wind themselves out
 of the way, thus removing their main cause of apprehension.
 About noon the Governor sent off a messenger to know what
 this fleet would have. Lancaster made answer, he wanted the
 goods of the carrack, for them he came, and them he would
 have, as the Governor should shortly see. Meantime the Portu-
 guese garrisoned the fort or platform at the mouth of the
 harbour, and mustered all the force that was at hand, consisting
 of about six hundred men. Lancaster ordered his men to
 run their boats ashore with such violence as to cast them all
 away, that they might have nothing to trust to but God and
 their weapons. These privateers were exceedingly religious in
 their profession, .. the name of God was always in their mouth,
 and they had great hope of his blessing them in the perform-
 ance of their voyage, .. a voyage of which the whole and sole
 purpose was plunder.

*He wins the
 town.*

About two in the afternoon the tide served. Lancaster led
 the way; they past the Hollanders, the fort began to play upon
 them, and struck away great part of the ensign of the galley.
 They ran her aground right under the battery within a coit's
 cast of it; her back was broken with the shock, the sea made a
 breach over her, and she sunk instantly; the other boats did the
 like. There were seven brass guns in the fort, which the Portu-
 guese pointed so steep downwards that their shot was spent in
 the sand, only one man being wounded. Lancaster exulting at
 this, for a well-aimed discharge must have been murtherous, ex-
 claimed, Upon them! Upon them! all by God's help is ours!

They ran forward to storm the place; the Portugueze lost heart, retired into some near bushes, and being pursued, fled by a way which was still dry, the tide not having reached it. Lancaster then made signal for the ships to enter. He left a garrison in the fort, planted its guns against Olinda, from which quarter he apprehended most danger, and marched to the base-town, as he calls Recife, which contained at that time rather more than an hundred houses. The people, at his approach, embarked in caravels and boats and abandoned the place¹¹, leaving the rich lading of the carrack, and great store of country produce, to the conquerors.

The Admiral displayed as much prudence in the management of his conquest as valour in winning it. Not the slightest disorder was committed, nor any private pillage; perhaps no freebooters ever before or since behaved with such strict order and regularity. So great a booty could not hastily be removed, and it was necessary to keep possession of the town for some time. The isthmus upon which Recife stands was immediately fortified with a palisado about nine feet high, for which materials were found in the town, and a fort was constructed there to which five pieces of artillery were removed from that at the mouth of the harbour. This done Lancaster opened a treaty with the Hollanders, and offered to freight them to England upon terms which they found advantageous, and therefore joined heartily with the English. Within a few days three ships and two pinnaces hove in sight; they proved to be a squadron of French privateers, and it happened that one of their Captains,

CHAP.
XII.
1595.

*He engages
the Dutch in
his service,*

*and is join-
ed by a
squadron of
French*

¹¹ "The day of our arrival," says the narrator of this "well governed and prosperous voyage," "was their Good Friday, when by custom they usually whip themselves; but God sent us now for a general scourge to them all, whereby that labour among them might be well spared."

CHAP. no longer ago than the preceding year, had taken Lancaster on
XII. board from the Island of Mona, in the West Indies, on which
1595. he had been wrecked. Lancaster now requited this service by giving him a cargo of Brazil-wood for his ship and pinnace, and a caravel of fifty tons laden with the same commodity. The other Frenchmen were glad to take their share of duty for a share of the spoil, and thus Lancaster obtained a large body of auxiliaries, whom he amply gratified by paying them with what he could not have taken away himself, and would therefore otherwise have destroyed.

The third day after their coming, three or four of the chief persons of Olinda came down, and proposed to treat with the Admiral. Immediately upon hearing this, he said he must go aboard the Hollanders; and there he went and remained in spite of repeated messages, till the patience of the Portugueze was exhausted, and they went away. When Lancaster was asked by his own men the reason of this extraordinary conduct, his reply was, that he knew these people well, having been brought up among them. "When they cannot prevail with the sword, said he, then they deal with their deceivable tongues, for faith and truth they have none. And what shall we gain by parley? by the help of God we have gotten that for which we came, and there were no wisdom in letting them try to win back by policy what we have won by force." He therefore informed the Portugueze that he would receive no proposals from them, and would hang the first person that attempted to bring any. Meantime the work of lading his convoy went on. In an attack which was made upon the invaders they took five of the little carts of the country, a greater prize to them than the artillery and ammunition which they won in the same action, for without these carts they could not have shipped many of the bulkiest commodities. The following morning a ship, unsuspecting of what had happened,

entered the harbour, having on board forty Portugueze and about three score negroes. Lancaster let the negroes go whither they would, and kept the Portugueze to draw the carts; by this insolent usage of the prisoners relieving his own men, who were incapable of hard labour in that hot climate.

CHAP.
XII.
1595.

They had now been twenty days in possession of Recife, and though they had sustained repeated attacks, and were always obliged to fight for their water, they had received little hurt. The Portugueze however were not idle; they set five caravels on fire and sent them down the stream. This attempt Lancaster had expected, and had accordingly stationed six boats about half a mile above the ships, provided with grapnels and iron chains; with these they grappled the caravels, towed some aground, and brought others to anchor, where they burnt out. Six days afterwards, about an hour before midnight, three huge rafts, blazing furiously, came down the stream; long poles were fastened to their sides to keep the English from grappling them, and there were also projecting tubes, charged with fire-works, which the men dared not approach, lest their own powder should be kindled by the shower of sparks. But unless these rafts were towed aside, the ships must inevitably be burnt. They therefore laid wet cloths upon their flasks and bandelers, and ventured upon them; succeeded in grappling them, blazing as they were, and towed them aground, where they continued burning till day. The Portugueze now tried to cut the cables of the enemy, and in this also they were baffled, such excellent watch was kept. A third attempt, by means of fire, was prepared, and Lancaster was well assured it would not be possible to prevent its success; but by this time he had shipped his plunder, and was ready to depart. It so happened that the tide would not serve till evening. Lancaster observed a bank of sand newly thrown up opposite the place where the ships lay, and he per-

*Attempts to
burn his
ships.*

CHAP. XII.
 1595.

ceived some people upon it. Immediately he went to the town, called his Captains together, and telling them what he had seen, consulted whether they should sally and see what the enemy were about: his own opinion was, that as they were to set sail that night it was but folly to seek war when there was no necessity. There were however others who argued reasonably enough, that the wind might possibly prevent them from clearing out so soon as they intended, and therefore it was best to take every precaution. To this argument Lancaster assented; he had been indisposed for the last two days, and could not go in person, not being able to march upon those heavy sands. But though he apprehended little danger, for the place was so near the ships that forty pieces of cannon could have been brought to play upon the enemy had they attacked them there, he said they should go out strong, for fear of the worst; and accordingly three hundred men, French and English, went upon this service. Their orders were to destroy whatever works they might find, and then to return. A few shot were fired as they approached, and the post was then abandoned. They found the beginning of a platform which was designed for a battery, and their whole business was to burn the planks; but seeing some ensigns about a mile off, out of reach of the ships, where Lancaster himself was in readiness to assist, these rash men pushed forward; they thought they were hastening to certain victory, and in their eagerness to be among the enemy some outran the rest. The Portugueze decoyed them on till they found themselves in the midst of the whole force of the country. Five¹² and thirty of the foremost

¹² The only notice of Lancaster's expedition which I have found in the Portugueze writers is an incidental mention of this circumstance in the *Relaçam Annual* for 1601—2. It is there erroneously said that the English were about to

were slain, a greater loss than had been sustained in ten former skirmishes; among those who fell were the Vice-Admiral Barker, and his Lieutenant, and two of the French Captains; . . . the others were closely pursued till they came under protection of the ships. That evening they weighed anchor and sailed out, eleven ships in company, all richly laden, and all reached their ports safely. Freebooters when they have enriched themselves have rarely been contented, that passion for plunder which is first their crime being righteously appointed to be their punishment. There is however reason to believe that Lancaster was satisfied with his fortune, for no farther mention is made of him; and the good sense with which he conducted the whole expedition renders it probable that he knew how to profit wisely by what he had won.

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XII.
1595.

Hakluyt.
vol. 3. p. 708
—715.

El Dorado.

The success of this undertaking would probably have occasioned others, had not a more tempting lure been held out to the English adventurers by Raleigh, and the fable of El Dorado, which has cost Spain a greater expence of life and treasure than all her conquests in the New World, now served to draw off these enemies from Brazil. The scene of Raleigh's expedition is not within the limits of this history; but the fabulous land of gold which he professed to seek was sought with equal credulity on the side of Brazil, and the origin of a fiction which produced such remarkable effects may fitly be here explained. There were along the whole coast of the Spanish Main rumours of an inland country which abounded with gold. These rumours undoubtedly related to the kingdoms of Bogota and Tunja, now the Nuevo Reyno de Granada. Belalcazar, who was in quest of this country from Quito,

attack Olinda when they received this repulse, . . . and, rightly perhaps, that the Portuguese were indebted to the native converts for their victory. ff. 114.

CHAP. Federman, who came from Venezuela, and Gonzalo Ximenez de
 XII. Quesada, who sought it by way of the River Madalena, and
 1595. who effected its conquest, met here. But in these countries
 also there were rumours of a rich land at a distance; similar
 accounts prevailed in Peru; in Peru they related to the Nuevo
 Reyno, there they related to Peru; and thus adventurers from
 both sides were allured to continue the pursuit after the game
 was taken. An imaginary kingdom was soon shaped out as the
 object of their quest, and stories concerning it were not more
 easily invented than believed. It was said, that a younger bro-
 ther of Atabalipa fled, after the destruction of the Incas¹⁵, took
 with him the main part of their treasures, and founded a
 greater empire than that of which his family had been deprived.
 Sometimes this imaginary Emperor was called the Great Paytiti,
 sometimes the Great Moxo, sometimes the Enim or Great
 Paru. An impostor, at Lima, affirmed that he had been in his
 capital, the city of Manoa, where not fewer than three thousand
 workmen were employed in the silversmiths street: he even
 produced a map of the country, in which he had marked a
 hill of gold, another of silver, and a third of salt. The columns
 of the palace were described as of porphyry and alabaster, the
 galleries of ebony and cedar; the throne was of ivory, and
 the ascent to it was by steps of gold. When D. Martin del
 Barco was writing his *Argentina*, which was about the time of
 Raleigh's first expedition, a report was current in Paraguay, that
 the court of the Great Moxo had been discovered; D. Martin

Feyjoo.
Supplement.
 p. 124.

Merc. Per.
 N. 78.

¹⁵ The Great Quivira was to Mexico what the Enim was to Peru, the imaginary successor of the fallen Dynasty. Feyjoo (*Th. Crit. T. 4. 10. § 15.*) attributes the origin of this fable, with some probability, to accounts of the French settlements in Canada, given by the Indians.

communicates it as certain intelligence, and expresses his regret that Cabeza de Vaca had turned back from the Xarayes, for, had he proceeded in that direction, he would have been the fortunate discoverer. This palace, he says, stood in a lake island. It was built of white stone; at the entrance were two towers, and between them a column five and twenty feet in height; on its top was a large silver moon, and two living lions were fastened to its base with chains of gold. Having past by these keepers you came into a quadrangle planted with trees and watered by a silver fountain, which spouted through four golden pipes. The gate of the palace was of copper; it was very small, and its bolt was received in the solid rock. Within, a golden sun was placed upon an altar of silver, and four lamps were kept burning before it day and night. Manifestly as such fictions were borrowed from the romances of Amadis and Palmerin, they were not too gross for the greedy avarice of those to whom they were addressed.

CHAP.
XII.
1595.

Argentina.
C. 5.

This imaginary kingdom obtained the name of El Dorado, from the fashion of its Lord, which has the merit of being in savage costume. His body was anointed every morning with a certain fragrant gum of great price, and gold dust was then blown upon him, through a tube, till he was covered with it: the whole was washed off at night. This the Barbarian thought a more magnificent and costlier attire than could be afforded by any other potentate in the world, and hence the Spaniards called him El Dorado, or the Gilded One. A history of all the expeditions which were undertaken for the conquest of his kingdom would form a volume not less interesting than extraordinary. It is not possible that Raleigh could have believed the existence of such a kingdom, ... credulity was not the vice of his nature; but having formed the project of colonizing Guiana, he employed these fables as baits for vulgar cupidity. By thus

Oviedo's
Letter to
Bembo, in
Ramusio, 3.
f. 416.

CHAP. XII. 1595. attempting to cheat the nation into an enterprize which was undoubtedly of considerable national importance, he ruined himself; his accounts were received with discredit, his misfortunes were imputed to him as crimes; and in spite of his great and unquestionable talents, and even of that iniquitous death which would else have made his name venerable, there is a stain upon his memory. But his followers would have been buccaneering in some other direction if he had not led them to the Orinoco, and he was the means of procuring a long respite for Brazil, for his projects diverted adventurers elsewhere, and finally his fate deterred them.

CHAPTER XIII.

Attempts on the side of Maranham.—The Tapuyas.—Success of the Jesuits, and diminution of the natives.—The Aymores pacified.—Settlement formed at Seara.—French expedition to the Isle of Maranham.—They are expelled by Jeronimo de Albuquerque.—Foundation of the Captaincy of Para, and the City of Belem.—Settlements of the Dutch and other nations at the mouth of the Orellana destroyed.

While the English were seeking for El Dorado in Guiana, an attempt at the same discovery was made from Brazil by Gabriel Soares; he reached the head of the river San Francisco, and advanced almost to the province of Charcas; but he had endured such hardships, and the number of men whom he had lost was so great, that he was compelled to return. Pedro Coelho de Sousa, a settler at Paraiba, then attempted it by water; it is not said in what direction, . . . probably by the Orellana. In this fruitless enterprize he expended a great sum, but ill success did not deter him from making a second expedition. Sousa, after having administered the government eleven years, was now superseded by Pedro Botelho; the new Governor encouraged Pedro Coelho, and gave him a commission to conquer and colonize, with the title of Capitam Mor. About eighty adventurers were found, who embarked their property and per-

CHAP.
XIII.
1603.

*Attempts on
the side of
Maranhm.*

*Berredo.
2. § 93.*

CHAP. sons in this discovery ; many of them were versed in the native
 XIII. languages, and eight hundred Indians accompanied them as
 1603. allies. Part of this force coasted along in two large caravels,
 under the direction of a French pilot who knew the coast well :
 the main body advanced by land towards Seara ; there their
 leader increased his force by taking with him some of the more
 civilized Indians, and they proceeded towards the Serra de Ibia-
 paba. The natives opposed them. Mel-Redondo, one of the
 Chiefs, was assisted by a few Frenchmen under M. de Mom-
 bille ; they could not prevent the Portugueze from winning
 three of his strong holds, but they obtained favourable terms for
 him, and he submitted with more than thirty settlements. Ano-
 ther Chief of the Serra, by name Juripari, or the Devil, was more
 fortunate in his resistance, and after a month's warfare against
 him the invaders were glad to receive orders for abandoning
 their fruitless enterprize.

*Villainy of
 Pedro Coelho.*

Pedro Coelho retired to Jaguaribe, which was in the jurisdic-
 tion of Pernambuco. Not yet disheartened, he removed his
 family to this place, and began a new colony which he called
 Nova Lusitania, and a town which he named New Lisbon.
 But he proceeded with great injustice ; the Tapuyas whom
 he took in war he sold as slaves, and adding ingratitude to
 injustice, he exercised the same tyranny over those who had
 faithfully served him as allies. This conduct was in defiance
 of the existing laws. The laws respecting slavery had been
 mitigated, in consequence of the excesses which were perpe-
 trated under cover of the general sentence against the Cahetes ;
 and it was then enacted, that no Indians should be made slaves,
 unless they were taken prisoners in lawful war ; and that those
 who were ransomed from their enemies should recover their
 freedom after a term of service, equivalent to the price paid
 for them. Such provisions were easily evaded : kidnapping was

called lawful war, hordes were instigated to hostilities against each other that they might make prisoners for the purpose of selling them, and if the ransomed captive was not worked to death before his term of servitude expired, how was he to obtain the benefit of law, being ignorant of its existence, and at the mercy of his master? Felipe II. being informed of these practices, annulled all former laws upon the subject, and enacted that no Indians should be made slaves except those who were taken in lawful war, and that no war should be deemed lawful, till orders for it were issued by the Crown, and signed by the King. Coelho had acted in open defiance of this law; complaints were made against him at Madrid, which though they did not provoke the Court to punish him, made them withhold all succour, and he soon suffered for his crimes. His friends deserted him; he had offended the Tapuyas, and was at last so utterly abandoned, that he set out to return to his former dwelling in Paraiba, on foot, with his wife and children, who were of such tender years, that two of them died of fatigue upon the way. Orders came from Madrid to set at liberty the natives whom he had wrongfully enslaved, and to recompense them for what they had endured:.. such orders have been more frequently issued by the Court of Spain, than obeyed by its Governors.

The Jesuits, who had anxiously beheld Coelho's attempt upon the Serra de Ibiapaba, now prepared a peaceable expedition in hopes of reducing and civilizing its inhabitants. These mountains extend about eighty leagues in length, and twenty in breadth; they rise in waves, one towering above another; their sides are in some places rocky, and in others clothed with verdure. To ascend them is the hard labour of four hours, in which hands and knees, as well as feet, must frequently be exerted: but having gained the summit, the traveller is in a region which is diversified with every kind of beauty; he beholds rocks,

CHAP.
XIII.
1595.

Vasc. C.C.
3. § 44.

Berredo 2.
§ 97.—104.

The Serra de
Ibiapaba.

CHAP.
XIII.

peaks, hills, and vallies, woods, and wide savannahs, clouds below hanging over the flat country, and ocean in the distance. The days there are short, morning being always cloudy, and evening hastened by the mountains on the western side, which overtop the others. The nights are cold, and in winter could not be borne without fire. It is remarkable that there is little water here, but what there is is excellent. To this circumstance the Tapuyas and Tobajaras, who inhabited this region, imputed the scarcity of all kinds of game; they did not consider that tribes who live by hunting must find their food fail, unless they frequently shift their ground.

Vieyra,
quoted in
his Life.
l. 2. § 211
—214.

The Tapuy-
as.

The Tapuyas were the oldest race in Brazil, and had possessed the whole coast from the Orellana to the Plata, till they were driven from it by the Tupis, at a time which could not be far remote, because it was within the memory of savage man. They were supposed still to spread in the interior, along a line from one river to the other, and to be more numerous¹ than any

¹ Vasconcellos says, some persons believed them to be more numerous than all the other tribes. This writer divides all the Brazilians into two sweeping classes, . . . the tame Indians and the wild ones. All who spake the Tupi tongue he includes under the former denomination, and calls all the others Tapuyas. Later writers appear to use the name still more loosely, instead of the old generic appellation of Indians. Vasconcellos says they have above an hundred different languages among them, and he specifies the Aymores among their subdivisions; in this last assertion he is evidently erroneous; the Aymores first appeared in the Southern provinces, and not till threescore years after the discovery of America; they came from the South, . . . of this their stature is some presumption, and their complexion proof, . . . and they spoke a language which had never before been heard in Brazil. It appears therefore, according to all the facts which have been recorded, that three great tribes or nations, successively migrated from the interior towards the coast, . . . the Tapuyas first, then the Tupis, lastly the Aymores.

other tribe. Their name signifies The Enemies, so called from the everlasting warfare in which they were engaged against all the other natives, and even among themselves. Yet of all the Brazilians they were the least cruel; the Portugueze traded with them for slaves, for they put no prisoner to death; and the enemy who could take shelter in one of their dwelling houses was safe; no Tapuya ever violated that sanctuary, however strong his anger, or however great his provocation. Cannibals they were, but their cannibalism was of a peculiar kind: the Tupis devoured their enemies as the strongest mark of hatred, the Tapuyas ate their own dead as the last demonstration of love. When an infant died ^a it was eaten by the parents; when an adult, all the kindred were partakers; the bones were reserved for marriage feasts, when they were pounded, and taken as the most precious thing which could be offered. The Royalet of a horde was distinguished by his crown or tuft of hair, and by his thumb nails; long nails were in high estimation, and worn by his relations, and by those who had signalized themselves in war; but their privilege extended only to finger nails, . . . to let those of the thumb grow, was exclusively the Chief's prerogative. In some respects he seems to have encroached upon the practice of the Conjurer. A great gourd was kept upon a mat in the middle of his tent, and covered over, no person but himself being permitted to behold it; the people fumigated it when they smoked, and laid before it the game and honey which they brought from the woods, till he gave permission that these offerings might be removed. There were pebbles in the gourd, and from this the *maraca* worship seems to have

CHAP.
XIII.

Noticias.
MSS. 2. 73.

Jacob Rabbi
in Marc-
graff. t. 8.
c. 12.

Elias Herck-
mann in Marc-
graff. 8. 13.
S. Fasc.
Not. An. 1.
§ 149.

Jacob Rabbi.

^a *Feminae, ubi pepererunt, secedunt in silvam, & infanti umbilicum concha præcidunt, et una cum secundinis coctum, devorant.*

Jacob Rabbi ut supra.

CHAP. XIII.
 XIII.

been borrowed and improved. The Chief pretended to heal diseases by friction and tobacco-spittle; and when a maiden being of marriageable years had no suitor, the mother marked her with red under the eyes, and led her to him, that he might lay a charm upon her. They celebrated the rising of the Pleiades with songs and dances, seeming to consider them as divinities.

Jacob Rabbi.

The Tapuyas shifted their dwelling place more frequently than any other tribe. On the evening before a removal, the Chief assembled the Conjurers to know in what direction they should journey, and where they should halt. Before they set out they bathed, rubbed their bodies with fine sand, and bathed again; then cracked their joints, and scratched themselves before the fire with the teeth of certain small fish, so as in many places to draw blood; this operation was believed both to prevent and remedy fatigue³. As soon as they reached the appointed place, the young men cut down boughs, and erected with them their bowers or hovels⁴: that done, the men went out to hunt, to fish, and to seek for honey; the elder women to gather fruit and search for roots, and the younger prepared the food as it was brought in. Hunting was with them sure work, carried on for the prey not for the sport. Their conjurers advised them in what direction to look for game; they who were most expert in the science undertook this office, and when they had detected lair or den, the place was surrounded, and if the animal escaped

*S. Vasc.
 Nat. An. 1.
 § 144.*

³ Rabbi Jacob, who lived many years among the Tapuyas, often tried this remedy, and was convinced of its efficacy.

⁴ These, according to Vasconcellos, are called Tapuyas, like themselves; . . . therefore it is not in their own language that this word has the signification of enemies.

their arrows, which was almost impossible, the dogs surely seized it. When the chase was ended they carried home their game, dancing and singing as they went, and the rest of the horde came out to meet them with the like demonstrations of joy. Their meat was laid in a pit, or earth-oven, which was lined with leaves; it was then covered with leaves and earth, and a fire kindled above, . . . an excellent and not unusual mode of baking. The ground served them for table, and leaves were their only napery, but it was not always that they used them. All that was before them was usually consumed, savage appetite continuing as long as the food lasted: the rest of the day was past in sport; the youths went about singing, the maids dancing and singing behind them, each behind him whom she loved. A trial of strength took place when they were on their march; the trunks of two young trees, of equal length and girth, were used for this purpose; . . . the horde divided into two parties, and one from each took up one of the beams, and bore it as far as he could; they were relieved whenever they began to fail, and whichever party first reached the place where they were to take up their quarters, exulted over the other. The beams were then deposited beside the Chief's hut, to be again used upon the next removal.

CHAP.
XIII.

S. Vasc.
Not. An. 1.
§ 144—6.

Rabbi Ja-
cob.

Noticias.
MSS. 2. 73.
S. Vasc.
Marcgrag.
8. 10.

Their agriculture was left to the women, . . . another circumstance in which they differed from the other Brazilians; but there were some tribes who removed their habitations every day, and therefore never cultivated the ground. Some hordes used the throwing-stick instead of the bow. There was a tribe called Maragues, whose haunts were in the interior of Bahia, about eighty leagues inland, among whom the women wore a sort of apron; all the others were naked. These people fished with the net, of which the Tupinambas were ignorant; they made it of a long lithe creeper; and while one party dragged the stream,

CHAP.
XIII.

Noticias.
MSS. 2. 74.

S. Vasc.
Not. An. 1.
§ 148.

Rabbi Ja-
cob.
S. Vasc.
Not. An. 1.
§ 147.

Jesuits at
the Serra de
Ibiapaba.

another beat the water. There was a serra containing saltpetre in their territories; they used to burn the earth, boil the ashes, and then collect the crystallized salts. The Tapuyas are said to have been longer lived than the other nations, though longevity is attributed to all; their children were able to walk surprisingly soon, and could swim almost as early as they walked. It was the privilege of the male sex to be beautified; their ears were bored, and the under-lip cut through longitudinally to form a supplementary mouth^s, when they were boys. When this operation was to be performed the boys were led to a place where all the people were assembled to witness it, dancing and singing as at a religious ceremony. One conjurer laid the patient on the ground, and tied his hands and feet, and another made the incision with a wooden instrument, the mother meantime weeping aloud. The cheeks were not bored till the youth was about to marry.

The Tapuyas who possessed the Serra de Ibiapaba are described as the most indolent and improvident of all the Brazilian tribes. They seem however to have known the value of their mountain situation, and instead of migrating to the flat country in quest of more abundant game, cultivated mandioc, maize, and some species of pulse, . . . little indeed of either, but enough to prevent absolute want. Their Jugglers had invented for them a curious opinion, that the world would one day be turned upside-down, so that the sky would be lowermost, and then the

^s This custom is as filthy as it is hideous. When they travel through the wilderness, says Knivett (*Purchas. L. 6. C. 7. P. 1226,*) they do carry great store of tobacco with them; and continually they have a leaf laid along their mouth, between the lip and the teeth, and as they go, the rume runneth out of the hole that they have in their lips.

Indians were to be masters over the white men. They had devised also an ingenious objection to Christianity: the Incarnation, they said, was for the sake of the white men only; when it should please God to redeem the Indians, he would be incarnate of an Indian virgin, and then they would willingly receive baptism. These were the people whom the Jesuits Francisco Pinto, and Luiz Figueira set out to reclaim, having seventy Indians to accompany them. The minds of the Tapuyas had been fortified against them by these new superstitions; Pinto and most of the party were slain, the rest fled into the woods, and effected their escape to Seara. Yet the very people who had murdered Pinto, placed his spirit in their Paradise. Their Chiefs, they believed, had each a great village under the earth, where all his subjects went after death, and there they supposed this Father was gone, to be their friend and teacher.

*Vida de
Vicyra. 2.
§ 240.*

*Do. 2. § 239.
Berredo. 2.
§ 105—8.*

In other parts of Brazil the Company were more successful. The Aymores were ravaging Bahia, and Botelho besought the Captain of Pernambuco to provide a force of Pitagoares against them. None but a Jesuit could raise this force: F. Diogo Nunes went among them, and eight hundred chosen warriors put themselves under his guidance, upon his promise, that as soon as the war was ended, they should return to their families. When they reached St. Salvador, the pressing danger was over: but the Commanding Officer, instead of recompensing these allies and dismissing them, resolved to quarter part of them in Bahia, and send the others to Ilheos, for the protection of those Captaincies, . . . not forgetting to assign them a portion of labour. The Pitagoares waited patiently a few days, and then seeing the war was at a stand and yet no preparations making for their dismissal, they demanded permission to return, saying that if it was not given they would take it. The Commander, accompanied by some of the chief persons of the city, . . . men who

The Pitagoares brought against the Aymores.

pieces in injustice for the sake of preventing immediate evil

CHAP.
XIII.
1602.

expected to make these poor savages cultivate their estates, .. went out to them, and made a long harangue to persuade them to remain; but they, who had the fear of slavery before their eyes, replied, "they came there upon condition of returning as soon as the war was ended." The man who had conceived so unjust an intention, was not likely to be dissuaded from it by any remonstrance against its injustice; he could not cajole the savages and he determined therefore to effect his purpose by force; the soldiers were called out, and the Pitagoares made ready for battle. The city was now in confusion; two councils were held during the night, in both which it was decreed, that these injured men should be declared rebels, and as such immediately attacked and reduced to slavery. Success, however, was not quite so certain as to remove all apprehension concerning the event from the Commander, and he sent to the Jesuits in the adjoining villages, calling upon them to hasten to his assistance with all the archers they could muster, for the service of God and his Majesty. The Jesuits came, .. they knew the nature of the men in power too well to have a hope of influencing them by motives of justice and sound policy, and for the sake of preventing greater immediate evil, they intreated the Pitagoares to consent to remain. Their instant reply was, that they would do whatever the Fathers desired. Shortly afterwards the Commander thought it prudent to send for the greater number of their Chiefs into the city, as hostages; they refused to go, saying they understood his meaning, and that it did not behove them to forsake their companions. Again the Jesuits were called in, and again their influence prevailed; the Pitagoares said they would do what was desired for their sake, and not for the Commander's. In this whole transaction the power which the Missionaries had gained over the Indians is more to be admired than the use to which it was applied. They became accomplices in injustice for the sake of preventing immediate evil.

By whatever circumstances the state of tranquillity was produced, which rendered the immediate service of the Pitagoares unnecessary, it neither extended far, nor continued long. The Southern Captaincies were overrun by the Aymores. In St. Amaro properties to the amount of thirty, forty, fifty thousand cruzados were deserted:.. the labourers had been devoured by these savages, and the owners fled. Their strength was not less marvellous than their desperate ferocity,.. a handful would attack sugarworks where there were not fewer than an hundred persons:.. one of them has been seen to catch up a man, and defend himself with the living body, which he wielded and shifted as manageably as though it had been a shield. The Captaincy of Ilheos was almost destroyed. Porto Seguro had been well defended, as long as the friendly Indians were left to the Jesuits. Under their wise government, they were collected in settlements strong enough to protect themselves and the Portugueze of the colony. A new captain destroyed this system; in his blind rapacity he broke up the villages, and divided these poor Indians among the settlers, who made them work, and left them to provide themselves with food. Thus were they obliged to expose themselves alone or in small parties, and those who were not consumed by hard labour, were cut off by the Aymores. The Jesuits being deprived of their flock, and unable to subsist without it, abandoned their establishments; all who had the means of removing fled also, till at length there were scarcely twenty families left in the Captaincy; poor wretches who could not fly, who had no slaves to work for them, and who lived only upon herbs and roots. The Aymores were thus masters of this whole part of the country, and Bahia itself was not safe from their assaults.

Some twelve leagues South of Bahia, a wealthy Portugueze, by name Alvaro Rodriguez, dwelt on his estate, and made vigor-

CHAP.
XIII.

1602.

*Ravages of
the Aymores.*

*Rel. Ann.
121.*

*Knivet in
Purchas.
1227.*

*Rel. Ann.
121.*

*Alvaro Ro-
driguez con-
ciliatethem.*

CHAP. ous war upon these perilous borderers. In one of his expedi-
 XIII. tions against them he captured two women, whom he brought
 1602. home to his house. One died; gentle usage tamed the other,
 she learnt the Portugueze language, and liked her new way of
 life so well, that when Alvaro would have let her return to her tribe,
 she refused to go. It then occurred to him that this woman
 might be employed to bring about peace: she entered readily
 into his views, and going to a place where it was likely that her
 countrymen in the woods might hear her, she called out to
 them with a loud voice, relating the kind treatment which she
 had experienced, praising the Portugueze, and affirming that
 they wished to be the friends of the Aymores, and to make
 them partakers of the good things which they enjoyed: then
 would she lay food upon the ground, iron tools, and such trin-
 kets as would be most acceptable, and return. This was repeat-
 ed till some of them acquired confidence enough to visit Alvaro,
 who meantime had informed the Captain of Bahia of the hope
 he entertained, and requested the prayers of all good people
 for its happy accomplishment. Some of the woman's relations
 were at length persuaded to go to St. Salvador; the presents
 which they received there, and the wonders which they related
 on their return, induced fifty others to visit the Commander;
 and their peaceable appearance in that city was considered
 as an event so little to have been expected, and so important to
 the welfare of the state, that one of the spectacles with which
 they were entertained was a thanksgiving procession for this visit,
 concluded by a thanksgiving sermon.

*The Ayme-
 res stationed
 in the island
 of Itaparica.*

The Aymores were now so well pleased, that they came in
 hordes to quarter themselves upon Alvaro, and he called upon
 the Governor to relieve him speedily from these ravenous friends.
 Easily persuaded when they had no suspicion, the savages
 agreed to go anywhere where they could enjoy the comforts of

their new mode of life, and they were removed to the Island of Itaparica, and placed under the care of three Jesuits, . . . an island was chosen because no danger could then be to be dreaded if they should relapse into their former habits. But the change was too sudden: an endemic disease broke out among them, and the Jesuits could scarcely find time to baptize the dying, and dig graves for the dead. After they had continued these pious toils for ten weeks, they informed the Governor that unless their flock was removed they must all perish. Some were sent back to Alvaro, the rest dispersed among the civilized Indians, whose villages were stationed as so many outposts against the Aymores themselves. From thence, as had been apprehended, they went into the woods and rejoined their kindred; but such were the comforts of domestication, that they frequently returned, bringing others with them; and thus some going, some coming, a continual succession of guests was to be found there. Some of them learnt the Tupi language, to serve as interpreters, and this frontier was delivered from the dreadful warfare to which during so many years it had been exposed.

CHAP.
XIII.
1603.

Rel. Ann.
ff. 121—2.

There was at this time in the College of St. Salvador, a Jesuit, by name Domingos Rodriguez, newly arrived from Portugal; he attached himself to the Aymores, learnt their language, and requested, in obedience to the inward impulse which he felt, that his superior would send him to Ilheos, where he hoped in like manner to effect a peace. Accordingly he was removed to the convent there. The people ridiculed his project, thinking it impossible that the Aymores, fleshed as they were with human meat, could be reclaimed from their habits of cannibalism: or that they would ever consent to forego the hopes and the pleasures of revenge for the losses which they had sustained. Domingos was not to be dissuaded by such reasonings. The first

*Domingos
Rodriguez
pacifies
them at Il-
heos.*

CHAP. time a party of Aymores was seen, he got into a canoe with the
XIII. Superior of the convent, the Captain of Ilheos, and two rowers ;
1603. other canoes followed, keeping fearfully at a distance. When
they arrived within hearing of the place where the savages were
concealed, Domingos called out to them, telling them he came
in peace, and as their friend. After awhile they came out from
the thicket with their bows ready, told him that he, but no
other person, might come out to them, and pointed out where
the canoes were to stop. He therefore putting his companions
into the other boats, advanced in his canoe alone, and the
Aymores then laid down their bows ; he paddled up to the
bank, told them for what purpose he was come, and gave them
flour, and they thankfully received it. Then he asked some
of them to go with him to the town, promising that he would
bring them back on the morrow with a greater quantity of pro-
vision for their friends. Four persons readily embarked with
him, being all that his canoe could hold. On the morrow he
and the superior returned with them ; about two hundred Ay-
mores with their families, were assembled on the banks of
the river, expecting them. One of the visitors began as soon
as he landed to take the arrows from his countrymen, and break
them, saying, The war was over, . . the fathers were good men
who had neither bows or arrows, nor ever did wrong to any one,
and that nothing which they requested was to be denied. Thirty
savages now accompanied them to the town, where such was
the joy of the inhabitants, that they took the two Jesuits out
of their canoe, and carried them in triumph to the convent.
Peace was now easily made, and the new allies were desired
to bring others of their nation from the interior, that they in
like manner might be benefited by the friendship of the fa-
thers. It was not long before a horde containing two hundred
and fifty archers, allured by this invitation, appeared near a

village of converted Pitagoares; the men were of great stature, and many of both sexes were of as fair complexion as the Germans; they were therefore from the South; for these people were too numerous and too warlike to have been blanched by living perpetually under cover of the woods. The Pitagoares fled at the sight, but presently two of the former clan, who had been the messengers to these their countrymen, hastened forward to say they were come in friendship: the Jesuits were sent for and came out to meet them, bringing from the town store of iron tools and of food, and receiving in welcome exchange the bows of the Aymores. They were led to their fellows, whom they embraced with a warm feeling of national love. The effect produced upon them by seeing and experiencing the comforts of settled life was as great as the Jesuits expected: they spread the tidings, and two villages were soon formed, the one containing twelve hundred Aymores, the other four; and the Captaincy which had hitherto with difficulty been preserved from utter destruction by the help of frequent succours from Bahia, was effectually delivered from its enemies.

So well had Nobrega's system been followed by Anchieta and his disciples, that in the course of half a century all the natives along the coast of Brazil, as far as the Portugueze settlements extended, were collected in villages, under their superintendance. Their work indeed had been facilitated by the slave-holders, who consumed their victims so fast, that in many parts of the country they left little for the missionaries to do. Every artifice which could inflame the animosity of one horde against another was practised by these wretches, that the natives might have no breathing time of peace in which to gather strength and combine against their common enemies; and also, that being thus perpetually at war, they might always have slaves for the market. In pursuance of this policy, they taught the Tupinambas of the Re-

CHAP.
XIII.
1603.

Rel. Ann.
ff. 123—5.

*Success of
the Jesuits.*

Noticias.
MSS.

CHAP. concave and Itaparica to dig up the skulls of their dead enemies,
 XIII. break them in pieces, and burn them at a feast with the same
 1603. ceremonies as if they had gained a victory. By these arts they
 had so wasted the population, that now when they wanted
 slaves, it was necessary to make long expeditions into the coun-
 try to procure them, and the Jesuits in like manner had to pene-
 trate into the interior in search of converts. In one of these
 missions a Father was not a little surprised at finding that the
 Chief of a horde had formed a system of Christianity for himself,
 founded upon such instruction as the Indians who had fled from
 the coast could give him. He had christened all the males
 Jesus, all the women Mary, and had composed a sort of Litur-
 gy, of which all that the Jesuit could understand, was an invo-
 cation to Mary the Wife of God. He had instituted an order
 of Priests, who were bound to chastity, on pain of dismissal from
 their office; the cross was used among them, though they re-
 garded it with little reverence; but the only image which was
 discovered was a waxen one of a fox. He wanted power or
 cunning to spread the system which he had devised, and his my-
 thology probably died with him.

Rel. Ann.
113.

1608.
D. Diogo de
Menezes
Governor.

Botelho held the government five years, and was then suc-
 ceeded by D. Diogo de Menezes, who directed his thoughts
 towards the Orellana. That part of the coast was frequented
 both by the French and Dutch, and it needed little foresight to
 perceive that if Portugal did not speedily possess herself of
 those countries to which she laid claim in virtue of the line of
 demarcation, possession would be taken against her. Some
 information of a design to this effect on the part of the French,
 which he learnt from a pirate-ship of that nation, was of such
 importance that he dispatched a pressing memorial to Madrid.
 The reply which he received empowered him to pursue his own
 plans of prevention; but both men and means were wanting.

His first measure was to ascertain the disposition of those Indians at Jaguaribe, whom Coelho had so villainously oppressed, and who had so well revenged themselves. Martim Soares Moreno, who had served in the expedition to the Serra de Ibiapaba, had demeaned himself so wisely towards these Tapuyas, that Jacauna, one of the Chiefs, still called him Son; in consequence of this, and of his known ability, Menezes appointed him Captain of Seara. He set out to establish this new Captaincy with only two soldiers, expecting that men and supplies would follow him as soon as they could be raised, and trusting in the interim to his influence over the natives. Jacauna provided labourers, and he began a church in honour of *Nossa Senhora do Amparo*, Our Lady of Protection, and a fort under the same invocation. He soon greatly increased his reputation, by surprising a Dutch ship with a body of Tapuyas so disguised and disciplined as to be mistaken by the enemy for Portuguese. But when the Governor left Pernambuco for Bahia, the inferior officers, to whom he deputed the charge of sending succours to Martim Soares, neglected him; nor was this his only danger; attempts were made to alienate the Tapuyas, by a Portuguese who preferred them to his countrymen, perhaps because the frequent sight of oppression had produced in him a hatred of his own nation, . . . perhaps because the society of savages was better suited to his own wild habits. This man warned them to be on their guard, or the tyranny which Coelho had exercised would be renewed; and his representations were so successful, that the destruction of Martim Soares was frequently attempted, and any one less intimately versed in the language and disposition of the natives, and less able to deal with them, must have perished. Menezes had proceeded no farther in his plan of colonizing these parts, when the French once more appeared, to try their fortune in Brazil.

CHAP.
XIII.
1608.

Settlement
formed at
Seara.

Berredo,
109—119.

CHAP.

XIII.

1611.

French expedition to Maranham.

Some years back a French adventurer, by name Rifault, had pirated upon this coast, and so far ingratiated himself with the natives, that Ovyrapive, one of their most powerful Royalets, advised him to attempt discoveries, and make a settlement in the country, in which enterprize he offered to accompany and assist him. Rifault eagerly caught at the project; he went to France, and there, with the amount of his spoils, and the help of others, who were easily persuaded to join in the adventure, he fitted out three vessels, and returned to Brazil in 1594. His men were refractory, he suffered from bad weather, and having lost his best ship, was obliged to put into the Isle of Maranham. This island extends seven leagues ⁶ from North-east to South-west, and four from North-west to South-east. A great bay separates it on two sides from the continent, from which it is two leagues distant on the East, three on the West. On the South it is insulated by the *Rio dos Mosquitos*, or Mosquito River, which is not a musket shot across. The eastern entrance, through the *Boca do Piria* has a dangerous bar, though vessels have frequently crost it; there is no danger in the Western entrance, for though the water there is low at the ebb, ships of the greatest burthen may enter safely with the tide.

Berredo.
20—22.

Here Rifault was well received by the inhabitants, who were Tupinambas; after awhile he returned to Europe, leaving part of his people under the command of Charles Sieur des Vaux. What became of Rifault does not appear, . . Des Vaux won the good will of the islanders, and persuaded them to submit themselves to the French, promising to protect them, and to instruct them in the true religion, and in the customs of Europe. Hav-

⁶ Other accounts make it much larger; but Berredo writes from his own undoubted knowledge, having been Governor of Maranham.

ing thus prepared the way for obtaining possession of the island, he went to France and communicated his project to Henri IV. The great Henri listened to the fair prospects which were thus held out, but not chusing to rely implicitly upon the account given by an adventurer, he sent Daniel de la Touche, Sieur de la Ravardiere, back with Des Vaux, to ascertain the truth of his representations, and promised, that if things were as he reported them, he would plant a good colony there. They reached Maranham, and remained there six months: all that Des Vaux had said appeared to be fully warranted, and they returned to France. Henri had been assassinated during their absence, and the Queen was too much occupied in affairs of nearer interest, to have leisure for attending to them. Ravardiere however obtained permission to form a company for the purpose of colonizing the island. Nicolas de Harlai, Sieur de Sancy and Baron de Molle and Gros-Bois, and Francis, Sieur de Rasily and des Aumelles, were the persons who associated with him. The Queen appointed them by patent Lieutenants General for the most Christian King, in the West Indies and territories of Brazil. She gave them a splendid flag, having the arms of France upon a ground of celestial blue, with a ship for a device, herself standing at the helm, and her son at the prow, with an olive branch which he had received from her hand; the motto *Tanti Dux femina facti*: and at Rasily's desire, who was induced to embark in this adventure more by motives of piety than of ambition, she ordered the Parisian Provincial of the Capuchins to chuse out four missionaries for this service. Claude D'Abbeville, who wrote the history of the expedition, went out as Chief of the mission. Ravardiere was a Huguenot, and many of his followers were of the same persuasion; but this difference of religion seems not to have occasioned any dissention.

CHAP.
XIII.
1611.

Berredo.
§ 117.

Berredo.
§ 111—113.
Do § 120—
125.

CHAP.
XIII.
1612.

The expedition was fitted out at Cancele in Bretagne, where the Bishop of St. Maloes went to give it his blessing. On the 25th of January 1612, he consecrated four crosses, and delivered them to the four missionaries, then blest the banners, and lastly the arms of Rasily. His main intention had been to bless the ships; but this it was feared would tempt the patience of the Huguenots too far, and bad weather afforded an excuse for leaving the ceremony to the Capuchins. Before they set sail all the adventurers made a solemn protestation of obedience to their officers, which was written and signed by each individual. The squadron consisted of three ships, *La Regente*, on board of which were the two Lieutenants General, Rasily, and Ravardiere; *La Charlotte*, under Baron de Sancy, son or brother of the third associate, and the *St. Anne*, which a brother of Rasily commanded. The whole force consisted of something less than five hundred men. They sailed on the 19th of March; a gale came on immediately after they had quitted their port, and drove one ship into Falmouth, one into Plymouth, and the third into Dartmouth; each thought its companions had been lost; the news of their safety however was soon communicated, and the other two ships joined the Admiral at Plymouth, where they received such willing assistance from the Governor, that in a few days they were enabled to proceed upon their destination.

Berredo.
§ 126—
133.

The French
reach Ma-
ranham.

June 23.

South of the line they fell in with three large Portuguese ships, homeward bound from India; neither party thought it prudent to come to action after looking at the other, and so each continued its way. A few days afterwards the French anchored off the Island of Fernam de Noronha, where they found a Portuguese, with a few Tapuyas of both sexes. By their own account they had been banished there from Pernambuco; it is however more probable that they were fugitives; the Friars

Berredo.

found them easy converts, baptized them all, and married a couple of them. As soon as they learnt what was the object of the expedition, they besought the French to take them off the island⁷; a proposal too useful to be refused, for they gave information respecting the state of Maranham. They left this island on the evening of the eighth of June, and on the morning of the eleventh saw the coast of Brazil; then having lingered many days upon the coast to refresh themselves after so long a voyage, they entered the bar of Peria, and anchored twelve leagues from Maranham, off the Island of Upaonmery, since called St. Anna; that name being given it by Rasily, because he arrived there upon St. Anne's day. Two ships from Dieppe were in the same roadstead; they learnt nothing from these ships which indicated any change in the disposition of the Maranham Tupinambas, nevertheless it was thought prudent that Des Vaux should go forward to his old friends before the expedition advanced. There were three and twenty hordes or villages upon the island; Des Vaux entered the largest; he was received with as glad a welcome as he could have wished, and went back to the quadrons with tidings that their coming was joyfully expected.

CHAP.
XIII.
1612.

Berreto.
§ 137—
147.

Rasily and the Friars had meantime made a great cross, which this commander and the chief persons of the fleet carried nearly a mile upon their shoulders, to a little rising ground in St. Anna's, and there blessed it and erected it; then blessed the island, and dedicated it to the Virgin Mary. The Capuchins

⁷ It appears in the *Tratado do Successo do Galeam Santiago*, that in 1602, (ten years before this time) a Portugueze resided upon this island as factor, with thirteen or fourteen negro slaves. There were wild cattle there, and a great number of rats (as they are called), whose legs are so short, that they move by leaps. Can this be the Jerboa? *Cap. 10. Historia Tragico Maritima. T. 2.*

CHAP.
XIII.
1612.

were well aware how expedient it was to impress the natives with reverence for their character; they therefore remained on St. Anna's, while Rasily and Des Vaux proceeded with the greater part of their men to Maranham, and informed the Tupinambas that the Fathers who came from France, for the purpose of instructing them in the true religion, would not land among them unless they were assured of being received with that profound veneration which was their due. In reply to this, Iapy-Wasu the Chief^a Royalet of the island, who was about an hundred years old, but still in full vigour, thanked Rasily for bringing the French *Payes*; For, said he, when the accursed *Peros* committed so many cruelties upon us, they brought no other accusation against us than that we did not worship God, . . . how should we worship him if we are not taught to know him^o?

Berredo.
§ 148—
150.

^a Claude d'Abbeville calls him Chief of Juniparan, and Great Bourouichau. of the Island.

^o What follows is too suspicious to be inserted in the text: "We know as well as the *Peros* that there is one who has created all things, who is all good, and that it is he who hath given us the soul which is immortal. We believe also that because of the wickedness of men God sent a deluge over all the world, to punish them, and he preserved only one good father and one good mother, from whom we are all descended, and we and you were then one. But some time after the deluge God sent his bearded Prophets to instruct us in his law. These Prophets offered to our father two swords, the one of wood, the other of iron, and bade him chuse one of the two; he found the iron sword too heavy, and chose that of wood. But the father from whom ye are sprung took the iron sword, being wiser. And afterwards we became wretched, for the Prophets seeing that our nation would not believe them, fled to Heaven, leaving the marks of their persons and of their feet, and crosses, all cut in the rock near Potyiou. After that time the difference of tongues began among us, for till then there was but one; and from thenceforward, not understanding each others speech, we have always massacred and devoured one another, the Devil Ieropy

He and his people, he said, had been weary of expecting help from France, and had resolved, because of the fear of their mortal enemies the *Peros*, to retire so far into the country, that no Christian should ever see them more, and there to pass the remainder of their lives, caring no farther for bells, hatchets, knives, and what else they used to receive from the French; but contenting themselves with the old miserable ways of their forefathers, who tilled the earth and cut down trees with stone tools. Then addressing himself to Rasily, he said, "Thou wilt acquire great renown for having left so good a country as France, and forsaken thy wife, and thy children, and all thy kin, to come and inhabit this land; and though it be not so fair a land as thine own, and thou canst not have all the good things to which thou hast been accustomed, nevertheless when thou considerest its goodness, how full it is of birds, and venison, and fruits, its sea, and fair rivers which abound with fish, and the brave people who will obey thee, and make thee conquer all the neighbouring nations, thou wilt be content. As for our manner of food, thou wilt soon use thyself to it, and find that our flour is not a whit worse than thy bread, which I have often eaten."

*Claude
d'Abbeville,
ff. 68.*

The Capuchins were now sent for. A French Pirate who used to deposit his plunder here, assisted with the crews of three other Dieppe ships at the ceremony of their landing,

*Foundation
of St. Luiz.*

mocking us. And to fulfil our miseries, the cursed race of the *Peros* came to take our country, and have wasted our great and ancient nation, and reduced us to the few we are."

This whole part of the speech is probably of French invention. It is manifest that the *Tupinambas* could have no tradition about an iron sword, before they had seen iron, . . . and the tradition is clumsily forged for them, because the wooden sword is considerably the heaviest.

CHAP.
XIII.
1612.

and gave them so splendid an entertainment at night, after the French fashion, that they had no reason to wish for the delicacies of Europe. A fort was presently begun, and mounted with twenty great pieces of cannon: close to this a warehouse for the goods which the French had brought out, and at a little distance a house for the missionaries, which in their joyful expectation they called the Convent of St. Francesco. They blessed the earth in order to purify it from the pestiferous paganism by which it had been so long defiled; a cross was planted, and Rasilly contrived to combine courtliness and devotion, by naming the fort St. Louis, in honour of the King and of his canonized ancestor; the bay he called St. Marie, by which he complimented the Queen Regent through the Virgin Mary.

Berredo.
§ 151—8.

*Disposition
of the na-
tives.*

A main object of the French was to encourage the natives in their enmity to the Portuguese. It needed no exasperation. The wars of Coelho in the Serra de Ibiapaba, and his infamous slave-dealing at Jaguaribe, were still fresh in their memory. Des Vaux and Rasilly went from horde to horde, haranguing upon their cruelties, and exaggerating the blessings which were to arise from French protection. In one of the villages an old man, by name Mombore-Wasu, made a sensible reply, in which he recounted what he remembered of the Portuguese. They began, he said, by trading, and they freely lay with the daughters of our brethren at Pernambuco, who thought it a great honour to have children by them. Next they seemed to grow scrupulous, said they must have a Paye to marry them; and then they asked for slaves to cultivate the ground for them and for the Paye. Having thus clearly set before their eyes that the Portuguese had begun just as the French were now beginning, and drawing the irrefragable inference, that the French would proceed just as the Portuguese had proceeded, he warned his countrymen to profit by experience, and distrust all such strangers.

*Claude
d'Abbeville.*
ff. 149.

Rasily perceived that no sophistry could overcome the immediate effect which this old man produced, and he prudently devised some excuse for retiring; but the effect was transient, as he expected. Savages are retentive only of their affections, whether good or evil; they are too little accustomed to reasoning to be long mindful of it. Mombore-Wasu having delivered his opinion, was too old to feel any ardour for its prevalence: it was soon forgotten; all the Tupinambas on the Island put themselves under the protection of France, and their example was followed by two tribes on the main land; one at Tapuitapera, consisting of ten villages, one at Cuma of eleven. By way of legalizing their right to the country, which, under the plea of protecting it, they came to take possession of for themselves, Ravardiere and Rasily prevailed upon six of the Chiefs to plant the French flag beside the Cross.

Berrédo.
§ 159—
171.

*Conduct of
the French*

*Claude
d'Abbeville.*
ff. 61.

Do. ff. 314.

*Rasily re-
turns to
France.*

Iapy-Wasu complained that the Portugueze killed his countrymen because they slit their lips and wore long hair, and that they made all whom they subdued be shorn, in sign of ignominy. The Capuchins dealt with them more wisely concerning their fashions. If, said they, you choose to bore your faces, bore them as much as you please, and if you choose to paint your skins, we will bring you finer colours from France than any which you possess. But why do you do these things which are so troublesome? Had it been necessary that there should be a slit in the lip, God would have made one there; and if holes in the ears were of any use, holes there would have been, as well as in the nose; and just so if it had been better to have no beard, none would have grown. The Tupinambas of Maranham perceived the common sense of this language, and are said to have listened to it. Things went on well, and the joint Commanders, who proceeded with the utmost unanimity, now agreed that Rasily should go to France to transact what business was

CHAP. immediately requisite for the colony; which done, he was to
 XIII. return and take upon himself the sole management, and Ravar-
 1612. diere was then to reside in France. The latter pledged himself
 to maintain all things as they were left, during the absence of his
 colleague, and also to farther with his best endeavours the pro-
 gress of the Catholic faith. Claude d'Abbeville went to Europe
 with Rasily, taking with him six Tupinambas, unbaptised, that
 the Parisians might make a raree show of their christening.
 This part of the plan succeeded admirably; three of them indeed
 died soon after their landing, but the other three occasioned a
 holyday wherever they appeared, and the King and Queen
 Regent stood sponsors at their baptism.

Berredo.
 § 175—
 186.

1613.
Gaspar de
Sousa, or-
dered to co-
lonize to-
wards the
Orellana.

First expe-
dition of Je-
ronymo de
Albuquer-
que.

Unfortunately for the French, the Brazilian Government had
 turned its attention towards the side of Maranham, and long
 before any tidings of these interlopers reached Madrid, orders
 had been dispatched to Gaspar de Sousa, the new Governor,
 instructing him to prosecute the discovery and conquest of the
 River Orellana and the parts adjoining, and holding out pro-
 mises of especial favour to all who should go upon this service.
 The Governor was enjoined to fix his residence at Olinda, that
 he might accelerate the expedition, and Jeronymo de Albu-
 querque was nominated to the command. In the whole history
 of Spanish and Portugueze America nothing appears so remark-
 able as the apparent inadequacy of the exertions made and
 means employed to the objects in view, and the effects which
 were attained. This expedition, for facilitating which the Go-
 vernor General of Brazil was ordered to change his residence,
 and to which a man of the first rank and importance in the
 country was appointed, consisted of only a hundred men in four
 armed vessels. Jeronymo sailed from Recife, took Martim
 Soares from Seara on the way, leaving Estevam de Campos in
 his stead, and proceeded to the Buraco das Tartarugas, which

CHAP.
XIII.

1613.

empties itself into the Shoals or Parcel de Jericoácoára; there at the mouth of the river he made a palisadoed fortress which he called N. Senhora do Rosario, and from thence he dispatched Martim Soares in one of the vessels to reconnoitre the Island of Maranham. Having waited a long time in expectation of his return or of receiving intelligence from him, Jeronymo grew weary, and leaving forty soldiers under his nephew in the new fort, he marched back to Pernambuco by land, about ten weeks after he had left it, to the great displeasure of the Governor, who expected from him more zeal and better service.

Berredo.
§ 198—
198.

The Dutch were at this time fitting out an armament which was supposed to be intended for these coasts. Diogo de Campos Moreno, the *Sargento Mor* of Brazil, (a near kinsman to Martim Soares) was then at Madrid, soliciting the reward of long services; as was usual for men who had nothing but services to plead, nothing but promises could he obtain; the Court, however, did not scruple to require fresh services from him, though they withheld the recompense of the former, and he was requested to return and cooperate in the plans for settling Maranham. Four hundred soldiers were promised him as soon as he should reach Lisbon; after waiting for them in that city some months, he departed with all he could get, which amounted not to a fourth part of the number. He arrived at Recife in May 1614, and found another expedition preparing, under the same commander, and for the same purpose as the last.

Diogo de Campos sent out.

1614.
Berredo.
§ 194—6.

The new fort meantime had been neglected, . . for three months the garrison had had no provisions except what they could provide for themselves. They had however repelled a formidable attack of the natives, and compelled them to sue for peace. These good tidings quickened the Governor, and he presently sent off a large caravel to their assistance, with three hundred soldiers and supplies of all kinds. Never did reinforcement come more oppor-

The Presidio do Rosario attacked.

CHAP. tunely. Three days after their arrival, a French ship commanded
 XIII. by the Sieur de Pratz came up, having on board twelve Capu-
 1614. chins and three hundred men for the colony in Isle Maranham.
 June 9. They had heard of the reduced state of the garrison, and expect-
 ing that these wooden works were defended by only five and
 twenty half-starved Portugueze, landed two hundred men, and
 set up their shouts of victory before the battle was begun. The
 Portugueze took possession of a pass, and beat them back to
 their ship.

Berreto.
 § 197--200.

*Martim So-
 ares driven
 to Europe.*

More than a year had now elapsed since Martim Soares was sent to reconnoitre the Island of Maranham, and nothing had yet been heard of him; nor does it appear that the government of Brazil was apprized of the settlement which the French had formed there, till his tidings at last arrived. That officer, after discovering the colony and acquainting himself well with its strength, endeavoured to beat back against the regular winds. It is almost impossible to effect this; the winds set in so constantly the other way, that a wind from Maranham to Pernambuco is regarded as almost miraculous. He carried away one of his masts in the attempt, was driven to the Spanish Main, and from thence sailed for Spain, as the most expeditious way home: from thence he immediately dispatched his Pilot to Brazil with the news, and went himself to lay the account before the Ministers at Madrid. Upon this intelligence fresh dispatches were sent off to Sousa, with positive orders that he should direct his whole attention towards the Conquest of Maranham. The preparations had long been going on; Jeronymo de Albuquerque was at Paraiba, raising a body of Indians, and Diogo de Campos seeking in vain for transports to convey the troops, of whom there were three hundred beside Indians, and for stores to supply them. Diogo, from his greater age and experience, felt a becoming reluctance at being under Jeronymo's command; for

Berreto.
 § 210.

Berreto.
 § 201--8.

this the Governor devised a salvo by appointing him Collateral CHAP
Commander, a title which gave him rank without authority, but XIII.
with which he was satisfied. 1614.

New difficulties occurred ; it was only from the *dizimas*, or Second ex-
pedition of
Jeronymo
de Albu-
querque. tenths, that the funds for the expedition could be raised, and just at this time an order arrived for the remission of that impost. It was impossible to obey the order, and the Governor expedited the departure of the forces. Two *Caraveloens* were immediately sent off to join Jeronymo, whom it was supposed they would find at Rio Grande. With these, new instructions were sent ; . . the Governor began to fear that his projects had extended too far, and therefore limited Jeronymo's attempts between the river Titoya, and the Island of Peria ; there he was directed to fortify himself, and not to advance farther without orders either from him or from the Court. Great things were expected from an expedition in which so much more activity than usual had been displayed. The Capuchins of St. Antonio sent two Missionaries to accompany it. Gregorio Fragoso de Albuquerque, the Commander's nephew, set the honourable example of taking a Captain's commission, with only a private's pay, and it was followed by all the other officers. Four companies were formed consisting of sixty men each ; the volunteers were in a separate corps. Just as they were embarking, some ships from Rio de Janeiro, laden with flour, came into the port : Diogo de Campos immediately made pressing application for additional supplies, urging that the armament required stores for six months, and it would ill do to rely for subsistence upon the most earnest promises of supply. In consequence of this application he obtained six thousand *alquieres* ¹⁰, and the expedition set sail in better spirits.

Aug. 23.
Berredo.
§ 208—14.

¹⁰ Three hundred quarters. Two and a half alquieres are equal to our bushel.

CHAP.

XIII.

1614.

*Function of
Jeronymo
and Diogo.*

They met on their way the ship which had succoured the Fort das Tartarugas, and which had been seventy five days endeavouring to beat up to Pernambuco. On the third day they reached Rio Grande, crossed its dangerous bar safely, and anchored within the river. Here the Commanders reviewed their collected force; it consisted of two ships, one caravel, and five *caraveloens*; the united troops did not exceed three hundred; of Indians there were only two hundred and thirty four, under twelve Chiefs, though it was known that there were not less than five hundred archers in the dependancy of the fort at Rio Grande. Camaram¹¹, a native Chief whose name will often appear hereafter, was to join them with about forty more, marching by land. The women and children of the allies were above three hundred. When they were ready to embark, it suddenly occurred to Jeronymo that the vessels were too small, that there would be great danger of their sinking, and that if they should fall in with any of the Pirates who continually infested the coast, their destruction was certain; because the ships were not fitted for battle, and the three small pieces of cannon which were all they had, could not be got at. For these reasons he resolved to march by land, with the greater part of the troops. Diogo de Campos admitted the force of his reasons, but he observed, that as the most important objection related to the incapacity of the vessels, proof ought to be made of that, by embarking the men; for otherwise a satisfactory account could not be rendered to the Governor. He observed also, that by this new arrangement, Jeronymo would make himself responsible for the safety of both parts of the expedition, each exposed to danger; the land party liable to suffer the want both of food

arredo.
§ 215—25.

¹¹ I know not whether this be his Tupi name, or a translation of it, meaning the Prawn; or, which is more probable, a nickname given him by the Portuguese.

and water before they could reach the fort at Seara, which was the place appointed for their junction; and they who went by sea, sure to become a prey to the pirates, if they fell in with them, being deprived of their main force.

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1614.

The Commander yielded to these reasons, after two days had been lost in vacillation. Two days after their departure from Rio Grande, they put into Bahia do Iguape; by that time, sea-sickness had come in aid of Jeronymo's opinion: he and the Indians landed, and after two days march joined the fleet at N. Senhora do Amparo; from thence a vessel was dispatched to the Fort das Tartarugas, with news of their arrival. The Captain of the Presidio do Seara had been fourteen months expecting them; he and some of his best men joined the expedition, and their places were supplied by others who were glad to be released from crowded ships. Camaram also arrived, having marched from Rio Grande, and suffered so much upon the way, that he made it a pretext for obtaining leave to remain there with his brother Jacauna, the friend of Martim Soares. But all Jacauna's persuasions could not make him send more than twenty Indians under one of his sons, . . . a poor supply for forty deserters, who had taken refuge in his territories. This was found a bad station; the neighbourhood of Indian villages occasioned a relaxation of discipline, the place was unhealthy, and the cables were gnawn by rats. Diogo de Campos therefore removed to Bahia de Paramirim, three degrees South of the Line, and there landed his men, and waited for the Commander. Five days were expended after Jeronymo himself arrived, before the allies could be again collected; they then doubled the great point of the Parcel de Jericoácoára, (which is of the finest jasper of many colours) and landed at the Fort, or Presidio das Tartarugas. This was a bad place for the ships, though the French frequented it, for there was no shelter. Jeronymo thought the river

*They reach
the Presidio
das Tartarugas.*

*Berreto.
§ 226—34.*

CHAP. Camussy might be a safer station ; but on examination, the
 XIII. entrance was found so difficult, and the land so poor, that
 1614. it was judged better to remain where they were.

*Disappoint-
 ed of the
 Great De-
 vil's aid.*

Before they advanced farther, it was expedient to secure the good will of the Tapuyas of the Serra de Ibiapaba, with whom a friendly communication had again been opened, . . . and the Taramambezes of Titoya, whom Martim Soares had conciliated, when he went to inspect the state of Isle Maranham. Much was not expected from their friendship, but their enmity would be highly dangerous in case the Portugueze should be obliged to proceed by land. The powerful Chief, Juripariguazu, the Great Devil, was sent for, Jeronymo thinking to persuade him that this enterprize was equally for the interest of both, and to obtain from him the succours which he had already offered, . . . when he did not expect they would be required. But they who had been in garrison there, assured the Commander, that such hopes were altogether vain, and that the Great Devil had not chosen a worse appellation than was fit for him. It was not long since he had by pressing intreaties, obtained from them two soldiers, to assist him against some other Tapuyas ; and, after he had won the victory by their help, and eaten the prisoners, he would have eaten them also, if the supplications of his wife had not, by good hap, been persuasive enough to save their lives. When Jeronymo heard this, he was prepared to receive an evasive answer, and to be satisfied with it. Accordingly, when two of the Great Devil's Ambassadors came to say that a contagious sickness prevailed among his people, but whenever it should cease, he would immediately fulfil his promise, the Commander thought it politick to appear well pleased, and dismiss them with presents.

*Berredo.
 § 335—7.*

*They reach
 the island
 of Peria.*

The failure of this succour made the expedition much weaker than had been calculated : the Indians in the vicinity of Maranham would doubtless be in alliance with the French, and no

cooperation could be expected as they advanced. If, on the other hand, they retired, it would be with loss of reputation, and the forts would be exposed. They held a council, and the unanimous determination was, to take possession of, and fortify, the river Titoya, the first place marked in their instructions. The Pilots were called in, and it was discovered that not one among them knew the entrance of this river. This had never been thought of. One Sebastian Martins affirmed that he knew the port of Peria, a little island which was also named in their instructions, and to Peria therefore they resolved to proceed. Early in the morning after their departure, Sebastian Martins said the land which they saw was three leagues from Peria; the other Pilots declared they did not know it, and he himself, after awhile, acknowledged that he had been mistaken; but had the wind been fresh, that mistake would probably have occasioned the destruction of the fleet. They stood off the coast again, making all sail, for he now supposed the port to be more than sixteen leagues off. They could not possibly reach it till an hour after night; still nothing could be done but to stand for it, and enter in the dark, for he knew no other roadstead where they could lie to and wait for day: the coast was a labyrinth of shoals, and if they stood out, their vessels were too heavily laden to live in a rough sea, and indeed too crazy, even if their lading had been taken out. The wind was favourable; they hit the channel in the dark, and entered it safely¹², though often

CHAP.
XIII.
1614.

Oct. 12.

Berredo.
§ 238—42.

¹² Their good fortune may be estimated from the directions given by Pimentel for this perilous navigation. "With all hands on deck and aloft, enter from N. E. to S. W. between reef and reef, avoiding every thing you see, and as soon as you are within the reefs, have your lead in hand, and fear not, but steer for the *Cabedelo*, (a spit of sand) and drop your anchor opposite it." *Brazil Pilot*, P. 32.

CHAP. touching upon sand banks, and at ten o'clock they anchored
 XIII. about three leagues up.

1614.

*Irresolution
 of Jeronymo.*

The two Commanders landed immediately with part of the troops, to secure a landing for the rest, on the morrow, in case they should meet with any opposition. When day broke, it appeared that the Island was uninhabited; they took possession of it with the customary forms, and Francisco de Frias, the Chief Engineer, began to search for a spot on which to erect a fort. He found many good situations, except that they all wanted water. This might be obtained, by digging pits in the beach; but the soldiers who had been in garrison at N. Senhora do Rosario, attributed all the sickness which they had suffered there to the use of such water: the account which they now gave of their sufferings spread from man to man; this island of Peria became immediately hateful to them: they looked upon it as a place that must needs be deadly, and qualifying their fear with a show of bravery, they raised a cry, that some other situation ought to be looked for nearer the enemy, .. here they had no enemies to combat, except wild beasts, and nothing to do but to die for thirst. The Alferes, Sebastian Pereira, was at the head of these clamourers, emboldened perhaps by perceiving that Jeronymo inclined to the same opinion. That Commander had persuaded himself that he could soon win over the Tupinambas of Maranham from the French interest; and being undecided what to do, he took no measures whatever for defending his present position. Diogo de Campos, an older soldier, and taught by experience always to provide against danger, besought him to let the lines which were already drawn, be compleated. To this Jeronymo replied, that there was no enemy to guard against; for, as for the French of Maranham, either the whole story was only an invention of the Tapuyas, to deceive Martim Soares, or if there were any there, they were so

few, that they did not dare stir out of their forts. It was utterly impossible, he said, that a people skilled in war, like the French, should have left this port open, so near them, and so important as it was, if they had strength to take possession of it. He was resolved therefore, to make at once for Maranham, that being the ultimate object of the Governor, and of the Court of Madrid; and if the navigation was thought too dangerous for the ships, he would go with only the *caraveloens*.

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1614.

Berredo,
§ 243—6.

Diogo advises that they fortify themselves on the Island.

This language was as unexpected by Diogo de Campos, as it was unwelcome to him. He replied, that the project of attempting Isle Maranham was rash, if they abandoned their present station, which secured them free access to it. At all events, whether the intelligence which had been received from Martim Soares were accurate or not, it would not be losing time to fortify this place, which, even according to his own arguments, was essential to the security of Maranham. It ought to be remembered, that the large ship which had attempted the *Presidio* or Station of Tartarugas, would be at this time anchored by the French settlement, with many other vessels of more or less force, and that their own fleet, not being fitted out for action, was in ill plight for encountering them. The best thing which could be done, was to fortify themselves where they were, and dispatch advices both to Portugal and to the Governor. The French, however powerful, could not prevent them from receiving reinforcements while they held this post; and the Tupinambas in the French interest, hearing that they were allied with their mortal and terrible enemies, the Taramambazes, would be dismayed at that alliance, even more than at their force.

Berredo
§ 247.

Rangel sent to reconnoitre.

This remonstrance seemed to produce some effect upon Jeronymo, and he sent six soldiers in a six-oared boat, to reconnoitre Isle Maranham, examine its bar, and if possible bring off a

—222—
322

CHAP. prisoner. Belchior Rangel had the command of this party, a
XIII. native of Rio de Janeiro, who was a young man of great pro-
1614. mise, and excellently versed in many of the Brazilian languages.
On the following morning the Commander began to look out a
place for his encampment, taking Diogo with him; but Diogo's
patience was well nigh exhausted, when four days were wasted
in these unavailing and frivolous delays, and not a spade set to
the trenches. His exclamations against this utter imprudence
were of no avail, till Jeronymo himself began to be alarmed at
the long absence of Rangel; and sending for Diogo to his tent,
he told him, he feared the boat had been taken, but whether that
were the case or not, they ought to provide for their own secu-
rity. The Collateral Commander, hoping that Jeronymo might
not have time to change his mind again, called for the Chief
Engineer, and they set out, though it was night, to look for a
situation nearer the bar. They found one with a lake of fresh
water adjoining: orders were given to begin the works in the
morning; but just at this time, a light appeared at the en-
trance of the bay, and Rangel arrived in the boat. His report
was, that he had explored all the channels near Maranham,
without seeing either French man or French vessel; but that
opposite to that Island, there was a place called Guaxenduba,
which was well adapted both for encamping the troops and
subsisting them, being watered by a delightful river, which made
the country fit for any kind of cultivation. The way to it was
perfectly safe from the enemy, lying among a number of islands
which effectually covered the passage from sight. While Ran-
gel was making this report to the Commander, the soldiers
learnt all this from his men; they renewed their outcry
against the plan of entrenching themselves where they were;
regardless of all discipline, they insisted upon being led nearer
the enemy, and Jeronymo, without making the slightest attempt
to suppress their clamours, retired to his tent.

Diogo de Campos still understood that the works were to be commenced in the morning, according to the last resolution. But the weathercock of Jeronymo's opinion had veered again, and after two days more of irresolution and idleness, he gave orders to re-embark, and set off for Guaxenduba, in spite of all the dissuasions of the Collateral Commander. They were four days in effecting this troublesome passage, the vessels frequently touching, and sometimes sticking in the mud. At length, however, they reached the port, making such a show with their pavaises and streamers, that it was seen in Maranham, and the alarm immediately communicated to Fort St. Louis, by a line of smoke along the coast. Here the Portugueze landed without opposition, and here they resolved to fortify themselves. Before the Engineer could begin his work, Jeronymo's resolution was again unsettled. Some of the Tapuyas had told him of another station on the river Mony, near the mouth of the Itapicuru, which has sometimes erroneously been called the Maranham, and there he was inclined to go. Diogo and the Engineer made him at length relinquish this new project, and remain where he was; and two days after their arrival, he ordered lots to be drawn during mass, to determine under what invocation the Fort should be built. The Nativity of Our Lady was drawn, and the works were begun that evening, according to their belief, under her sovereign protection.

CHAP.
XIII.

1614.

*They remove
to Guaxen-
duba.*

Oct. 28

*Berrede.
§ 253—6.**Presump-
tion of Je-
ronymo.*

A Tupinamba Chief soon came over from the Island, who complained of the treatment which he had received from the French, and gave an account of their force. The account which his companions gave did not agree with his, but Jeronymo was of a temper to believe whatever accorded with his own views, and not to listen to anything which thwarted them. This savage offered to bring over some of the hordes in Maranham to the Portugueze party, and the Commander, in full

CHAP.
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1614.

reliance upon his veracity, sent five of the trustiest allies back with him, retaining as hostages two of his party, who were said to be sons of another of the Island Chiefs. He was now persuaded, that merely by thus treating with the natives, he should get possession of the Island, and all the warnings of Diogo could not shake this absurd confidence. Luckily his infatuation did not impede the works; the few cannon which they had, were mounted, and the outworks were thrown up. While they were thus employed, some of the Indian women and children ventured incautiously out of the camp, and though they were but little distant, a party of the Island savages landed, and fell upon them. They began by killing four girls; a Tapuya who happened to be near, and attempted to defend them, shared the same fate, but the alarm was given, and they hastened away with their prisoners. Among these were the wife and son of Mandiocapúa, a Chief of the allies, and he exerted himself so strenuously for their deliverance, that all the prisoners were recovered, and a canoe full of the enemy taken, in which was one of their Leaders. This man had preserved the lives of Mandiocapúa's wife and son, and his own was saved in return. He was put in confinement, but treated so well in consequence of the humanity which he himself had shown, that of his own free accord, he told the Portuguese all he knew concerning the strength of the French, and the measures which they were taking. All the passes, he said, both by sea and land, had been taken possession of by these enemies, to cut off their retreat: the Tupinambas who had visited them, and the five Indians who returned in their company, were in irons in Fort St. Louis, having been put to the torture, and made to confess all they knew. He added, that on the following morning, two armed launches would come to reconnoitre their quarters, which it was determined shortly to attack; and that the

True information obtained from a Tupinamba prisoner.

appearance of these launches would confirm the truth of his intelligence. Jeronimo's hopes were not so easily shaken as his resolutions; he was still persuaded that the Islanders would come over to him, and believed, it was only because the French had taken the precaution of blocking up the ports, that they had not already declared in his favour. So far, however, he acknowledged the peril of his situation, as to order two *caraveloens* to make ready for carrying dispatches to Pernambuco.

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1614.

Berreto,
§ 257—
262.

In the morning the armed launches appeared, as the prisoner had said, and the French from a fort called St. Joseph, at Itapary, on the opposite shore, fired two guns in sign of war, to which the Portuguese replied with a like discharge, and at the same time hoisted all their flags. With the evening tide, one of the launches drew near, to reconnoitre, having on board five and twenty men, under the Sieur de Pratz, a distinguished officer, and *Gentilhomme de la Chambre* to the King of France. Jeronimo sent to attack them; but as the launch drew little water, the French got among shoals, where they could not be pursued. Three days afterwards, the *caraveloens* under orders for Pernambuco, were convoyed out by three others; a large French ship lay at anchor in Arassagi Bay, but could not intercept the return of the convoy, which passed to windward of her. Shortly after, a white flag was hoisted upon a sand bank in the midst of the channel of Guaxenduba. The Commander supposing this to be done by the native Islanders, sent Rangel in one of the *caraveloens* with a *jangada*, a sort of raft or *catamaran*, with which to reach the bank, when the vessel could proceed no farther. He and his soldiers were already on the *jangada*, when the men refused to land, till they had some better proof of fair dealing, than the white flag of the French, . . . for they could now distinguish many French in disguise, among the Indians who were waiting to receive them; presently a sharp discharge of

Treachery of
the French.

CHAP.
XIII.
1614.

musketry was opened upon them, and if the launch had not come speedily to their assistance, they must all have been made prisoners, . . . which was the sole object of the French in this base proceeding. Indignant as Jeronymo was at such a breach of those common laws of war, which it is the common interest of all nations to observe, he imputed it wholly to the French, and still believed that the Tupinambas were secretly in his favour. A large canoe full of these islanders soon landed at Mamuna, not far from the Fort; they were surprised, two of them ran into the sea, and swam the channel, which is two leagues wide; the rest put themselves into the hands of the Portugueze, and with dissimulation, which the flight of their companions had nothing daunted, feigned that they came as friends, not prisoners. Jeronymo was duped by this bold artifice; he treated them handsomely, and let them return in their own canoe. But one of these men had a mother living at Pernambuco, . . . probably a slave there, and for the hope of recovering her, he refused to go back with his companions: this man confessed to the Capuchin F. Manoel da Piedade, that the canoe was sent to reconnoitre; that on the next morning, the French meant to attempt the ships, and that if they succeeded, as they fully expected to do, they would forthwith attack the Fort both by sea and by land.

*Jeronymo
duped by his
prisoners.*

*Berreto,
§ 263—9.*

*Diogo would
have defend-
ed the ships.*

The Friar immediately hastened with this intelligence to Diogo de Campos. Night was closing in, but Diogo hastily collected a good part of the soldiers, and sent word to the Commander, that he was going on board the ships, to defend them to the last drop of his blood. Just as he was about to embark, Jeronymo came down to the beach and stopt him, saying, the soldiers were not to be sacrificed for the defence of four rotten planks; they were to be spared for the purpose of defending that country, of which he had taken possession in

the King's name. Diogo angrily asked him in reply, what account he could give to the King of such a loss, and of the honour which the Portuguese arms would lose, especially among the Tapuyas? To this the Commander made answer, that as for rendering account to the King, he would take that upon himself, and the honour of the Portuguese arms needed no new proof; but he trusted to establish it by ultimately rooting out these French. He then ordered the vessels to be hauled up with their heads ashore.

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1614.

Berredo,
§ 270—1.

Ravardiere, since the first appearance of the Portuguese at Guaxenduba, had been meditating this attack, but he was in want of information concerning their force, and means of defence. Some he obtained from the five Tapuyas whom he put to the torture; the Tupinambas whom Jeronymo had imprudently set at liberty brought him all the farther intelligence that he wanted: boats of all kinds had been previously made ready, and without delay he now dispatched M. de Pizieu, his Lieutenant General, the Sieur de Pratz, and the Chevalier de Rasily. They came upon the Portuguese by break of day: the sailors, who were still busy in mooring the vessels, leaped overboard; two of the larger ships, and one small one were taken; the remaining three had been secured. With this cheap victory the French returned. Frequent skirmishes now took place both by sea and land, but the Portuguese immediately were straightened for provisions; their allies could not go into the country to procure food, for fear of ambushes; and the general cry was, "Let us put an end to the war by victory, or to our sufferings by death."

*Three of the
ships taken
by the
French.*

Berredo,
§ 272—7.

Diogo de Campos meantime, like an old soldier, was devising how to secure the supplies from Pernambuco, when they should arrive: he laid his plans before the Commander, and they agreed, that the best means would be to erect a redoubt at the

*Plan for de-
sertion com-
municated
to Diogo.*

CHAP. bar of Isle Peria, an important post, which the French had still
 XIII. overlooked, and which the supplies must needs make for, because
 1614. it was the only port with which the Portugueze pilots were
 acquainted ; and that to keep open a correspondence between that
 place and Guaxenduba, some channel should be sought, which
 communicated with the neighbouring Isle das Guayabas, un-
 known to the French, . . a thing not difficult to be discovered, by
 help of the Indians. The next day was appointed for this
 service ; but this very evening, a soldier came to Diogo, and told
 him in secret, that their present miseries were not to be borne,
 and he and seventy others were determined to make their way
 back by land ; their respect for him, he said, induced them to
 let him know this, and to enquire of him whether they had any
 good reason to expect speedy relief, for if not, they would blow
 up the powder, and thus compel the rest of the army to follow
 their plans. Diogo assured this man that every means had been
 taken to secure immediate supplies, and told him, he hoped they
 would not set fire to the powder till the enemy were upon it,
 in case they should arrive before the stores. He thanked him
 and his friends for the confidence with which they had trusted
 him, and promised not to betray their secret. Jeronymo
 approved this prudent answer of Diogo, and precautions were
 privately taken to secure the magazine.

Berrede.
 4 278—
 280.

*Rangel sent
 again to re-
 connoitre.*

Rangel was now sent with threescore soldiers, and thirty of
 the best Indian bowmen, to examine all the entrances of Isle
 das Guayabas, that being the first step towards effecting Diogo's
 plans. They took with them guides to the shore from which
 they were to embark, and which was four leagues distant:
 nevertheless they lost their way, and after the incessant labour of
 four and twenty hours, wading sometimes through brooks, and
 sometimes through mud breast-high, they came back to the
 camp. Diogo, vexed at this delay, offered to go himself with

the Chief Engineer, by water, the whole way; . . while they were waiting for the tide, the enemy appeared at the mouth of the harbour, and the Portugueze then perceived what reason they had to rejoice, that Rangel and his company had missed their way, and that their whole strength, such as it was, was concentrated.

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1614.

Berreto,
§ 281—3.

*The French
invest the
Portugueze.*

Ravardiere was come in person with seven ships and forty-six canoes, four hundred French, and four thousand Tupinambas. This Commander saw that the Portugueze were irregularly encamped, and that their fort was unskilfully erected near an eminence which compleatly commanded it. Immediately he ordered half his force to take possession of this important post. They were divided into two detachments, the one under De Pratz, the other under Pizieu, and with the usual ardour of Frenchmen, they leapt into the water, each impatient to be first at landing. Jeronymo had no force which could prevent them from winning their object; every Tupinamba carried a bundle of fascines, and they began to fortify themselves there, while Pizieu opened trenches from thence to the shore, to keep up a communication with the fleet. These works cut off the Portugueze from their water, and Jeronymo perceiving that he had no other possible means of escape but by a general action, resolved to fight. This resolution was applauded by all his officers, and he marched out, leaving only thirty invalids in the fort.

Berreto,
§ 284—9.

*Diogo en-
courages his
troops.*

He divided the chief part of his little force into two corps, of seventy Portugueze and forty Tapuyas each, himself leading the one, Diogo the other; most of the allies were added to a small body of reserve under Gregorio Fragoso. Diogo was to attack the enemy on the beach. Jeronymo undertook to force the hill. The former advanced under cover of the thicket; some of his men moved forward with so slow and unwilling

CHAP. XIII. 1614. a step, that it was evident they would rather have been running the other way; . . he turned to them, and asking sternly if they were not the same men who had mutinied at Peria, because they were not near enough to the enemy, swore he would shoot the first who dared attempt to fly. This threat from a man of such well known resolution, with a pistol in his hand, had its desired effect. He cheered them too by saying, that the courage of the French never lasted longer than the first spirt. The men took heart, and he ordered the body of reserve to attack the enemy in flank, at the same moment that he charged them in front.

Berredo.
§ 290—4.

Just as they were expecting the signal, a trumpet landed with a letter from Ravardiere to the Commander. Diogo opened it, for Jeronymo did not understand French, and moreover there was no time to be lost. It was a long summons for the Portugueze to lay down their arms. He sent word to the Commander of its contents as briefly as possible, told him it was one of Ravardiere's maxims to go forward with his preparations while he was treating, and besought him not to allow the enemy the advantage of any delay, but to give the signal. Jeronymo had no weakness when he came into the field of battle, and the attack was begun on the beach.

Berredo.
§ 295—7.

*Defeat of
the French.*

Diogo forced the first trenches; the French on the hill (not aware of their own danger, for the Commander had taken a sweep round through the wood,) came to succour their countrymen below, and for a short time he was exposed to two fires; but Fragoso with the Tapuyas charged them in flank, and Jeronymo also perceiving Diogo's situation, changed his march and fell unexpectedly upon them. After a short but bloody struggle Pizieu fell, and the French and their allies abandoned the beach and retired to their works on the hill. The Portugueze followed up their victory, stormed these works also, and compleatly

routed the enemy. Ravardiere made no attempt at first to succour that half of his force which was engaged, so great was his confidence in their numbers, and such his contempt of those to whom they were opposed; when he saw their danger, it was too late. He could not reach them in his launches, because now that the tide had fallen there was not sufficient depth of water; his canoes were left dry and out of reach, and a muddy shore intervened. He attempted to effect a diversion by attacking the fort; but there also the shoal water impeded his approach, and the invalids kept up a brisk fire with their poor artillery. An hundred and fifteen of the French were left dead upon the field, nine were made prisoners. From them Jeronimo learnt that six or seven hundred Indians from Cuma on the main land were every hour expected to join the armament. Such a junction would have rendered it still formidable to the conquerors, and they made ready against a second attack. In the morning these expected succours appeared in sixteen large canoes, making for the river Mony, where they meant to land;.. the shore for which they made was occupied in time by a hundred musqueteers;.. being thus prevented, they crost to the other bank; there many of them landed, but they met fugitives from the defeat of yesterday, and as soon as they learnt the ill fortune of their friends, they re-embarked and returned more hastily than they came.

Ravardiere's anger broke out in a letter to the Portugueze Commander, wherein he accused him of having violated the laws of war by detaining his Trumpet, and reproached him for the cruelty of the Tapuyas. Jeronimo's reply was written with more temper; he insisted upon the right of the King of Spain and Portugal to all those countries, and complained of unprovoked aggression on the part of the French, and especially of the treacherous flag of truce. As for the barbarity which was

CHAP.
XIII.
1614.

Berredo.
§ 298—
314.

Ravardiere
opens a cor-
respondence
with Jero-
nimo.

CHAP. imputed to his allies, he said, he had buried the French who had
 XIII. fallen as well as he could, and it was not true that any of their
 1614. bodies had been mutilated, though one of the Portuguese
 who was slain within the trenches had an arm cut off by Ravardiere's Tupinambas, and went without it to the grave: but I do not wonder at this, he added, for I am an old man, and have for many years been used to these things. One of the vessels which the French had captured was about to sail for Portugal, and letters had been found on board in which the men related, and perhaps exaggerated their difficulties and dangers. Ravardiere sent these letters to the Commander, thinking this a likely means of doing mischief; but Jeronymo sent them back with an ambiguous answer, saying, the letters contained what was true; yet some persons might be deceived by them, and therefore he returned them that they might be inspected more leisurely.

Berredo.
 § 315—19.

*Terms made
 greatly to
 the advan-
 tage of the
 Portuguese.*

This produced a more temperate letter from the French Commander, in which he requested Jeronymo would let him know the names of the prisoners, and invited him to open a negociation; he desired him also to write either in French or Spanish. Jeronymo in his reply regretted that more of the French had not trusted to him, and thus preserved their lives. "I have buried the slain," said he, "like my own people, to whom the forest is an honourable and goodly monument. The Trumpeter will tell you of our plight; we should have treated him better had we been in our own country, but here we are men who live upon a handful of flour, and a piece of a snake when it is to be had, and they who do not like such fare, must not seek our company." The correspondence became more and more courteous. Ravardiere complimented Jeronymo upon his bearing the name of the great Albuquerque, removed his fleet to the Island das Guayabas, and expressed a wish that Diogo de Campos

might be deputed to confer with him, because he spoke French, and they had formerly fought against each other, when Diogo served under the Prince of Parma. Accordingly the Collateral Commander and Gregorio Fragoso de Albuquerque went on board Ravardiere's ship, two French officers putting themselves into the hands of Jeronymo as hostages. This interview, which was rather a visit than a conference, was taken up with mutual exculpations and mutual civilities; on the following day however Ravardiere proposed these terms: That there should be peace till the end of the ensuing year, during which time all those acts of hostility should cease, which had been commenced between the two parties for want of understanding each other's intention, and to the great loss of christian blood: That two Cavaliers, one French the other Portugueze, should go to France, and two other such to Spain, to lay the matter before their most Christian and most Catholick Majesties: That none of the Portugueze or their allies should set foot within ten leagues of the French forts or ports, unless they had permission; the Commanders and their servants however having full liberty to pass and repass: That when the final determination of the two Courts arrived, that party which then received orders to remove, should immediately prepare for its departure, and evacuate the country within three months: Finally, that the prisoners on both sides should be released. Ravardiere bound himself to withdraw his ships immediately, and allow free ingress to the supplies which the Portugueze expected; and he required from them a promise, that if they received reinforcements they should not renew hostilities. Highly advantageous as these terms were to the Portugueze, yet when Jeronymo laid them before his officers they observed, that as a necessary preliminary, Ravardiere must be called upon to produce his commission from the King of France, otherwise he was to be regarded as a pirate,

CHAP. XIII. 1614. outlawed from France for heresy, and one with whom no Catholick could treat. This formality was soon performed, Jeronymo first producing his own commission, and thereby palliating the insolent bigotry of such a demand. The articles were then signed, and on the following day the French broke up the blockade.

Nov. 29.
Berredo.
§ 320—
351.

*Tumult
among the
Tupinambas.*

As soon as the Portugueze saw themselves thus delivered, they made a procession in thanksgiving, and began a church to their divine protectress under the invocation of N. Senhora da Ajuda, Our Lady of Help. The French surgeon was sent to assist the wounded Portugueze, and Ravardiere requested that Diogo de Campos, and Fr. Manoel da Piedade would come over to Maranham and appease the Tupinambas, who were in a state of tumult, supposing that by the treaty they were to be divided between the two contracting powers and sold for slaves, as Pedro Coelho had sold the Tapuyas after his expedition to Ibiapaba:.. for that detestable action was still fresh in their remembrance. Diogo and the Friar succeeded in appeasing them, and having done this they went to the Capuchin Convent, which though unfinished was large enough to hold twenty missionaries, under F. Arcangel de Pembroch, who had arrived with seventeen brethren a few months ago. From him they learnt that the Queen Regent had recalled Ravardiere, whose conduct, the Franciscan said, was not to be borne in a Catholick colony among savages; for though he was adorned with many virtues, the abominable errors of his heresy rendered them all of no avail. M. de Pizieu was to have succeeded him in the command. Perhaps this had disgusted Ravardiere, and the little interest he now felt for the colony may in some degree account for his having proposed terms to the Portugueze so much more advantageous than they were entitled to demand, or had any reason to expect.

Berredo.
§ 352—
360.

Gregorio Fragoso was chosen for the embassy to Paris, in company with the Sieur de Pratz. His instructions contain some curious facts, which he was to lay before the Spanish Ambassador. He was to insist upon the long-known and long asserted right of the Portugueze to these countries, of which their various expeditions to this very part of the coast were good proof. Brazil could not be said to be unoccupied, for it had above three thousand Portugueze inhabitants, and many towns and cities, which were well known; and indeed, if lack of inhabitants could render any place liable to be taken possession of and held by right of occupancy, Silves in Algarve, and Algeziras near Gibraltar, might as well be taken by that title. He was to represent the flourishing state of the French colony; they had found new woods and new dyes, a pearl fishery, precious stones concerning which they were already at litigation with each other, and by their own account, mines of lapis-lazuli. Nor was he to forget the mischief which arose from their having formed a port, where the Pirates who came to infest Brazil and the opposite coast of Africa, were sure at all times to be welcomed and to find provisions. Many Portugueze had been found there in irons, who with their fetters on had been compelled to work a-field like slaves, . . . a worse tyranny, it was stated, than even that of the Barbary Moors. These unfortunate people had been taken by Pirates, and carried in there, and they were kept in this cruel captivity that they might not carry news to the Brazilian settlements, for the French were desirous of remaining undisturbed as long as they possibly could, that they might root themselves the firmer. It was added, that the colonists were certainly soliciting protection from England, in case France should neglect them, and this was imputed to Ravardiere's religion, and his connection with Count Montgomery, who had a thousand kinsmen in England. These instruc-

CHAP.

XIII.

1614.

*Instructions
to the Por-
tugueze
Commission-
ers.*

CHAP.
XIII.
1614.

tions were drawn up with the certain knowledge that Spain never would desist from its claims to Maranham, and Jeronymo calculating upon the expulsion of the French as an event which must take place, explained to the Ambassador how desirable it would be to retain as many of them as could be induced to transfer their allegiance, because they were settled there, familiar with the country, and connected with the natives; and he urged him to use all his endeavours that the prohibition against foreign colonists might be suspended in their favour. If this measure were adopted, he said, there would be less difficulty in settling the country; the Tupinambas would remain quiet, and they might proceed to expel the Dutch from the Cabo do Norte, where they were then fortifying themselves at the mouth of the Orellana.

Berredo.
§ 364—
372.

With these instructions, Fragoso and De Pratz embarked for France in a French vessel. Diogo de Campos offered to go to Spain, and this offer was so willingly accepted by Jeronymo, that malicious men thought he wished to be rid of him. The Commander did not deserve this imputation; Diogo went because he thought he could most effectually serve the expedition by going, and the other gladly let him go, because he knew the negotiation could not be entrusted to any one more zealous for its success, nor more able to forward it. The Portugueze were obliged to purchase of the French for the voyage, at the price of two hundred milreis, the caravel which had been taken in Guaxenduba bay ¹⁸.

Berredo.
§ 373—4.

¹⁸ Here ends the excellent journal of this expedition, which Berredo has incorporated in his history. From its ending here, it appears not improbable that it was written by Diogo de Campos himself, his departure being the last circumstance which is mentioned. It begins August 23, 1614, and ends Jan-

The terms of the treaty were not long observed; little infractions, if not openly countenanced, were at least permitted on both sides. After awhile succours poured in to Jeronymo, some from Bahia and Pernambuco under Francisco Caldeira de Castello Branco, others from Portugal under Miguel de Sequeira Sanhudo. Upon receiving these reinforcements, he informed Ravardiere that instructions were come out to him from his Court, declaring those countries to be the lawful patrimony of the Crown of Portugal, and therefore he found himself under the necessity of saying, that the treaty between them must be at an end: he hoped nevertheless that their friendship was not so, and that Ravardiere would still preserve it by delivering up the Island, in which case he promised good treatment and good conveyance for his soldiers. The French Commander had made too sure of victory at first, and been too lightly cast down by one defeat. He desired to treat for farther terms. Caldeira was sent to him, and he agreed to evacuate the Island of Maranham with all its forts within five months, on condition that the Portugueze should pay for the artillery which was left there, and supply transports for all his people. The Portugueze historian says he was not without hopes of receiving such reinforcements in the mean time as would enable him to break the terms; but as security for his good faith, he surrendered the fort of Itapary, and Jeronymo immediately took possession of it.

CHAP.

XIII.

1615.

*The treaty
broken by
the Portu-
guese.*

July 31.
Berredo,
\$ 376—
380.

*Fresh forces
sent out
from Lisbon.*

Meantime Diogo de Campos had reached Lisbon, and leaving his companion M. Malhart to make representations and complaints as loudly as he pleased, he prest upon the Government the necessity of sending out strong reinforcements without loss of

uary 4, 1615. When it is remembered that the account of the conspiracy, which could at that time have been known only to the two Commanders, is related in this diary, this suspicion amounts almost to certainty.

CHAP. XIII. time. D. Aleixo de Menezes, that Archbishop whose name is so memorable in the history of the Malabar Christians, was at this time Viceroy of Portugal, and he, reputed the French in Maranham as pirates, affected to be indignant that any treaty should have been made with them, though that treaty had in fact delivered over the colony into the hands of the Portugueze as effectually as if they had won it in fair and open war. No time however was lost. Diogo had left Maranham in January, and arrived at Lisbon in March. He returned with his nephew Martim Soares and with adequate succours to Pernambuco, where he found the Governor Gaspar de Sousa equally forward with his preparations, in consequence of the advices which he had received from Guaxenduba. The whole force amounted to nine hundred men in seven ships, and two caravels. Alexandre de Moura, the late Chief Captain of Pernambuco, was appointed to the command; Diogo had the charge of Admiral, and on the fifth of October they entered that same port in the Isle of Peria, where the French had anchored on their first arrival, but which by their neglect, and to their own ruin, was thus twice left open to their enemies. Jeronymo went on board; he found that Moura was come with supreme powers as General, and that express orders were sent to break the existing terms, and compleat the conquest without delay.

Berreto.
§ 381—7.

St. Louis
surrendered
uncondi-
tionally.

Jeronymo submitted to this impolitic curtailment of his own authority without a murmur, and he proceeded to obey the orders of the Governor as complacently as if no breach of his own word and honour were committed in obeying them. He invested Fort St. Louis, whither all the French had retired. Ravardiere, who was now in the habit of submitting to whatever terms were imposed upon him, consented to surrender the fort immediately and unconditionally. It was accordingly delivered up. The command was given to Diogo, and the French General, with more than four hundred of his

Berreto.
§ 419—
427.

countrymen, sailed for France. A few others who had inter-
 married with the natives remained on the island. Thus was
 Maranham lost to France by the misconduct of Ravardiere: CHAP. XIII.
 had he contented himself at first with cutting off supplies from 1615.
 the Portugueze, which his superiority at sea enabled him effec-
 tually to do, they would either have attempted to march back over-
 land, in which case most of them would have perished by the
 way, or they must have capitulated without a blow.

Berredo.
 § 338—
 400.

The Friars who accompanied the expedition took possession
 of the Capuchine Convent. Moura, by virtue of the authority
 which had been vested in him, appointed Jeronymo *Capitam*
Mor of the conquests of Maranham, and Caldeira *Capitam Mor*
 of the Discovery and Conquest of Gram Para, by which name,
 half Portugueze, half Tupi, they designated the great river Ore-
 lana. They were in possession of all the information which
 Ravardiere had collected concerning this discovery, and before
 the end of the month, Caldeira began his expedition with two
 hundred men in three vessels.

Expedition
of Caldeira
to Pará.

Berredo.
 § 401—3.

They entered the dangerous bar of Seperará, now that of the
 city of Belem, and after landing at many places in spite of
 the Indians, Caldeira fixed upon a spot for his new settlement,
 and gave these conquests the name of Gram Para, thinking
 that he was on the banks of the great river; but he was mis-
 taken, for he was in a great bay formed by the mouths of the
 Moju, the Acará, and the Guamá. Here he landed on the third
 of December, St. Francisco Xavier's day; he set up the image
 of that Saint, and began to build a city under the name and
 invocation of *N. Senhora de Belem*, Our Lady of Bethlehem.
 The spot was ill chosen: seven or eight leagues behind him he
 had left an Island called *Ilha do Sol*, which is said by Berredo
 to be the best situation for a colony in all those parts; but
 Belem is seated among marshes, and in a place so indefensible,

Foundation
of Belem.

Berredo.
 § 408

Do. § 36.

CHAP.
XIII.
1616.

that according to the same competent authority, its best protection, notwithstanding all its outworks and fortifications, consists in the difficulty of the bar, which is six leagues from the city. What resistance Caldeira met with from the natives was soon overcome, and he won them to his wishes so well, that they assisted him in building the fortress. The tidings of his success he resolved to communicate by land, and the Alferes Pedro Teixeira was sent to Maranham, on this difficult but important service. The natives of Cayte attempted to cut off him and his party, but he reduced them to obedience, and took possession of that district, which is now one of the subordinate Captaincies of Para. At St. Luiz (for so that place must be called now that it became Portugueze,) he was received with as much wonder as joy, being the first person who had performed this journey; and he returned by sea, taking with him supplies of artillery and ammunition, and pay for the troops.

Berredo.
§ 407.
417—18.

*Teixeira
burns a
Dutch ves-
sel.*

Teixeira was soon dispatched upon a different service. The Dutch had begun to trade on the North side of the Orellana, and had established factories in many of the islands at its mouth. The trade was prosperous, and they assured the natives that a great fleet would speedily arrive and form a permanent colony there. These reports reached Caldeira: and at the same time he learnt that a large Dutch ship was at anchor on the coast, about forty leagues from Belem, and he sent Teixeira with twenty men in two canoes to board her. The Dutch defended themselves like men who knew they had little mercy to expect, and the Portugueze had no other means of conquering than by setting fire to the ship while they themselves were on board, and then retiring to their canoes. Only one of the Dutch escaped. The hulk went down in shallow water, and Teixeira, as soon as the wounds which he received in the action were healed, returned and got up the guns, . . . an addition to the

Berredo.
§ 419—27.

strength of the new colony which will be thought important, when it is recollected with how little artillery Jeronymo had been supplied.

CHAP.
XIII.
1616.

Moura meantime having garrisoned all the forts in the Island of Maranham, and on the adjacent main, returned to Pernambuco, and Jeronymo began to build a city round Fort St. Luiz, retaining the same name, and the same tutelary Saint. Every thing went on well for the first year; but the natives of this part of the country consisted chiefly of tribes who had fled hither from Brazil, to escape the tyranny of the Portugueze; they remembered what their fathers had told them, and the more recent atrocities of Pedro Coelho, and little instigation was needed to make them throw off their forced obedience. Mathias de Albuquerque, son of Jeronymo, commanded at Cuma, a populous district near the island; the savages appeared to be well contented, and even gave hopes of their conversion, and he left every thing in appearance safe, when he was called over to St. Luiz by his father. During his absence some Tupinambas of Para came there on their way with letters from Caldeira to Jeronymo. There was an Indian of Cuma, by name Amaro, who had been bred up by the Jesuits in Brazil, but who was greatly attached to the French, and remembered his old masters with an evil will. He took the letters, and affecting to read them before the Chiefs who could not convict him of falsehood because they themselves could not read, made them believe that all the Tupinambas were to be declared slaves as soon as those dispatches were received. No farther instigation was needed. That very night they fell upon the garrison, which consisted of thirty men, and killed them in their sleep; . . then they dispatched messengers to all their hordes, to excite a general insurrection. But Mathias de Albuquerque checked their attack on one side, and Caldeira anticipated it on the other; . . being

*Insurrection
of the Tupi-
nambas.*

*Berredo.
§ 428—
442.*

CHAP. informed that they meant to attack his new city, or feigning such
 XIII. information, he spread fire and sword among the Tupinambas of
 1618. Para, and the punishment taken was heavier than the offence.

*Death of
 Jeronymo;*

At this time Jeronymo de Albuquerque died; he was seventy years of age, and the cares of government, and his anxiety about supplies which came less regularly than they were expected and wanted, are supposed to have accelerated his death. He appointed Antonio his eldest son to succeed him, with Bento Maciel Parente, and Domingos da Costa Machado, as his assistants: Antonio thought he needed none. Domingos da Costa was not disposed to force upon him the presence of an unwelcome adviser; Maciel was of a different temper, and expressed his resentment at the neglect with which his authority was treated, in such language that Antonio first put him in confinement, and then sent him to Pernambuco in company with Domingos, who was going there to embark for Portugal and claim the reward of his services.

*Berredo.
 § 446—
 450.*

*Disturb-
 ances at
 Belem.*

The new Captaincy of Para was disturbed with more serious dissensions. Antonio Cabral, Caldeira's nephew, was at enmity with a Captain called Alvaro Neto, a good soldier, and in general estimation; and one day in the most public part of the settlement, he fell upon him unawares and assassinated him. At the outcry which was raised, Paulo da Rocha, and Thadeu de Passos, great friends of the deceased, came up, and seeing Caldeira in the crowd they called upon him for justice; but Caldeira had been no friend of Neto's, and was not disposed to take any due measures for punishing the murderer. These Captains could not but see this, and they gave loose to their just indignation so freely, that perceiving they had thereby put their own persons in danger, they retired into the Convent of the Friars of St. Antonio. Caldeira suppressed his resentment for the present, and ordered his nephew into custody; in a few days

he suffered solicitations to be made for suspending the process against him, listened to entreaties in his behalf upon the plea that his services were wanted against the rebellious Indians, and set him at liberty. He then gave way to his anger against the two Captains who had taken sanctuary, and sent a party of soldiers to seize them there.

CHAP.
XIII.
1618.

The Portugueze think little of murder: a bad police and a worse religion have removed all fears of vengeance, human or divine; . . . but any thing like sacrilege shocks them. The soldiers went reluctantly upon their errand, and returned without performing it; one of the Friars received an accidental hurt from them, and this increased their horror. The Commander then sent seventy men to break open the Convent; they contrived to employ themselves upon an outward palisade till night closed in, and then returned, saying, it would be rash to enter in the dark. Caldeira waited impatiently for the morning, that he might have his enemies in his power; at day-break he heard the whole garrison in mutiny; they seized him and put him in irons, and nominated in his place Balthazar Rodriguez de Mello, the officer whom he had sent to force the Convent. Balthazar accepted the command under the plea of necessity, restored order, and dispatched intelligence of what had happened to D. Luiz de Sousa, now Governor of Brazil, and to the Court of Madrid. The war with the rebellious Indians, as they were called, still continued, nor were these brave and injured people dismayed by repeated defeats. Amaro, who had by his artifice occasioned the insurrection, was taken prisoner, and blown from the mouth of a cannon. They attacked the fort of Belem, and all the efforts of the Portugueze were necessary for its defence; but a lucky shot killed the leader of the assailants, and they then retired.

Caldeira deposed by the people.

1619.
Berredo.
§ 454.
401—405.

Meantime Domingos da Costa had delivered Maciel into the

CHAP.
XIII.
1619.

*Domingos
da Costa
Captain of
Maranham.*

*Berredo,
§ 469—
471.*

*The muti-
neers of
Belem sent
to Portugal.*

*Cruelty of
Bento Ma-
ciel.*

hands of the new Governor, D. Luiz de Sousa, at Olinda, that being still the residence of the Governor General, because of its vicinity to Maranham, now the scene of action. But the charges which Antonio de Albuquerque made in writing, were less efficacious than the personal defence of the accused; Maciel was acquitted of any fault, and sent to take the command against the Tupinambas, and D. Luiz confirming by patent the nomination of Antonio to the Captaincy, appointed Domingos da Costa to be his coadjutor, giving a casting vote in case their opinions upon any important point should not agree, to the *Ouvidor-Geral*, or Auditor General, Luiz de Madureira. He suspected that Antonio would not hold the Captaincy upon these terms, and therefore named Domingos to succeed him in case of his resignation. This expectation was well-founded; Antonio pleaded that it was necessary for him to go to Madrid in consequence of his father's death, and he resigned the government.

The same vessel which carried Domingos to St. Luiz, carried also Jeronymo Fragoso de Albuquerque, Antonio's cousin, who was appointed to the Captaincy of Para. His orders were to send prisoners to Portugal, the assassin Cabral, his uncle Caldeira, Balthazar Rodriguez who had accepted the government from the hands of the mutineers, and the two officers who had headed the mutiny. As soon as this was done the new *Capitania Mor* began to prosecute the war against the unhappy Tupinambas on one side, while Maciel, who brought eighty soldiers and four hundred native archers from Pernambuco, began his career of devastation from the shore opposite St. Luiz, and continued it to Belem, killing or dragging into captivity all upon his way. He brought with him instructions to enquire farther into the mutiny; and though all the most culpable were either sent to Portugal, or had fled, a few poor wretches, who had

unluckily remained, thinking the part which they had borne was too insignificant to deserve notice, were apprehended for want of any of more importance, and shipt off for Portugal, there to remain years and years in prison, with little probability of ever being brought to trial. Having executed this part of his commission, Maciel fell again upon the natives. The *Capitam Mor* remonstrated against this, saying, that vengeance enough had been taken, and it was time to grant them peace; but Maciel replied, that as he was appointed to the command in this war, it belonged to him to say when it should end. Jeronymo Fragoso felt the whole insolence of such an answer; he had however no time to procure the recall of this mischievous and bloody man, for in a few weeks he died, having nominated his cousin Mathias de Albuquerque to succeed him. They deposed him, pretending that no Captain had power to dispose of the succession, and they elected Custodio Valente, and a Friar, as joint Commanders. Teixeira exclaimed against these measures, but was reconciled to them by being admitted as a third. Maciel pretended a right to the authority; this claim was denied, and he went on in his detestable trade of hunting down the Indians and selling them for slaves. It was not long before Valente embarked for Portugal; the Friar finding himself not popular in his new capacity, returned to his convent, and the government remained in Teixeira's hands. Maciel then came to Belem and attempted to raise an insurrection against him; he was again foiled, . . . the new Commander was as active and vigilant as himself; and finding all his plans frustrated, he returned to Maranham, and founded a fort at the mouth of the Itapycuru.

Maranham went on prosperously under the administration of Domingos da Costa. The Government of Madrid seems to have thought these new settlements worthy of more attention

CHAP.
XIII.
1619.

1620.
Berredo.
§ 472—
484.

1621.
Colonists
from the
Azores ar-
rive at Ma-
ranham.

CHAP. than Brazil had ever experienced since the death of Joam III.
 XIII. Jorge de Lemos Bitancourt, upon the promise of a *Commenda*
 1621. worth four hundred milreas, carried over two hundred colonists
 from the Azores, and forty more soon followed, whom the *Provedor*
Mor of those islands, one of the same family, contracted also
 with the crown to supply. These reinforcements arrived season-
 ably to supply the ravages which the small pox had made in
 the colony. The Indians suffered dreadfully, few of them sur-
 viving the third day after the appearance of the disorder. But
 it does not appear that the disease extended to those natives
 who were at enmity with the Portugueze, . . . so wide an interval
 of desolation had been made between them.

Barredo.
 § 485—88.

1622.
Barreiros
Captain of
Maranhã.

In the following year Diogo de Mendoza Furtado came out
 as Governor General. He brought out with him Antonio Moniz
 Barreiros, a wealthy inhabitant of Pernambuco, who had bar-
 gained with government for the office of *Provedor Mor da*
Fazenda Real, stipulating to erect two sugar works in the
 Conquests of Maranhã. To make this bargain more advan-
 tageous in every way to himself, he found means of persuading
 the Governor to give his son the Captainship of St. Luiz, though
 there were many other claimants, every one of whom must have
 had better pretensions, and though the young Barreiros was
 manifestly not old enough to be entrusted with such a charge.
 This objection was obviated by enjoining him to consult upon all
 important affairs with F. Luiz Figueira, a Jesuit, who, with ano-
 ther of the society, accompanied him. These Jesuits had no
 sooner set foot in Maranhã, than a tumult was excited against
 them. The Company had so resolutely and perseveringly
 opposed the iniquitous conduct of the Portugueze toward the
 natives, and the wicked system of slavery, that they were neces-
 sarily both feared and hated by the slave-holders. Their religious
 character was not sufficient to protect them, and the *Senado*

da Camara, or municipality of St. Luiz, was compelled to require the *Capitam Mor* to turn them out of the Captaincy as speedily as possible; but Figueira, who was present when this demand was made, replied that he must be cut in pieces before he would abandon the exercise of his duty in that place. Both the new Captain and his predecessor Domingos exerted all their authority and influence to pacify the people. Their clamours were quieted by a concession on the part of the two Jesuits, who signed a paper, purporting that they would never interfere with the domestic Indians on pain of immediate banishment, and the loss of all the possessions with which their order might then be endowed there.

Berredo.
§ 492—96.

*Maciel Cap-
tain of Para.*

Maciel about this time, after having twice attempted to make himself *Capitam Mor* of Para by illegal means, was duly appointed to the office. The people dreaded his well-known cruelty; he however found vent for it upon the unhappy Indians, among whom Teixeira, by his orders, made dreadful destruction. In the spring of the ensuing year, Luiz Aranha de Vasconcellos arrived on an especial commission from Madrid, to explore the Orellana, and reconnoitre all the places which were occupied by the Dutch or by any other interlopers. His instructions were to repair to Belem and communicate with Maciel, and there decide in council with him, the master of his caravel, and the two pilots, on which side to begin the survey, whether from the side of Belem, or from the north, where these interlopers were supposed to be. It was resolved that he should begin with the south-side.

Berredo.
§ 489—90.
1623.

Berredo.
§ 499—
501.

*Expedition
to the Curu-
pa, and the
mouth of the
Orellana.*

Repeated reports soon came to Belem that Aranha was surrounded by enemies in the river Curupa, and Maciel immediately set out to succour him with seventy soldiers and a thousand native bowmen in one caravel, and two and twenty canoes. They met Aranha on his return; the news that he had

CHAP.
XIII.
1622.

CHAP. been surrounded was false, but he had found settlers on the
 XIII. Curupa, and on the other branches of the great river, and had
 1623. not been able to effect his survey for want of sufficient strength.
 They then determined that he should turn back, and Teixeira
 in the vessel with him, while Maciel coasted along with the
 canoes and sounded all the rivers as far as the Curupa, which
 was to be the place of junction. The junction was effected, after
 Teixeira, having parted company, had been in great danger
 from shoals, currents, storms, the want of a pilot, and the
 numerous vessels of the enemy which frequented these parts.
 At the same time another detachment which Maciel had directed
 to follow him, arrived from Belem. They found Dutch, English,
 and French adventurers in the Curupa, with trenches to defend
 the port, and a great body of natives to assist them. Maciel
 drove them from this post, attacked many of their other factories
 and burnt them, and then proceeded to the Ilha dos Tocujuz,
 one of the islands in the mouth of the Orellana. Here there were
 many well-fortified factories, but they had all been abandoned
 at the approach of the Portugueze. While Maciel was prepar-
 ing to hunt out the fugitives in the interior of the island, he
 was informed that a ship of considerable force was coming to
 their assistance; he attacked the ship and burnt her, .. all the
 crew perished except one boy, .. with such atrocious cruelty was
 maritime war at this time carried on! It had been his intention to
 establish a settlement on the Ilha dos Tocujuz; but relinquishing
 this project he returned to the Curupa, and there, at a place called
 Mariocay, erected a fort which still retains the name of St. An-
 tonio, under whose tutelage it was built. Having thus effected the
 objects of his expedition, he returned to Belem. From this time
 Maciel assumed the title of First Discoverer and Conqueror of the
 Rivers of Amazons and Curupa; Luiz Aranha, because he had
 entered the Curupa before him, took the same boastful and

false appellation; both chusing to forget that they had found Europeans in the latter river, that the great stream had been navigated from the other side of the continent by Orellana, and the desperate adventurer Lope de Aguirre; and that this very labyrinth of islands and channels which was all that they had entered, had been explored above half a century before by one of their own nation, a pilot of the coast, whose name was Meirinho, and whose directions for such as should attempt the same difficult navigation were still preserved.

These new Conquests were rightly considered at Madrid as of great importance, and because the old Captaincies were sufficiently extensive for one Governor, and the communication from Maranham to Pernambuco was so difficult because of the regular wind from the Eastward, the Conquests of Maranham and Para were separated from the general government of Brazil with the title of *Estado* or State, and Francisco Coelho de Carvalho was appointed the first Governor. But the evil days of Brazil were now drawing on, and the Portugueze, instead of extending their settlements in that country, were on the point of losing all that they possessed there.

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1623.

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Maranh
and Para
formed into
a state inde-
pendent of
Brazil.

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XIV.
Berredo.
§ 515-16.

and the establishment of a West India Company was proposed, that they now turned their attention towards America, enriched themselves: this they had done as successfully as they at the same time cut off the supplies of their enemy, and liberty they valued least. By attacking the Spanish colonies, The Dutch chiefly regarded liberty as the best thing; next to crimes and sins, which caused