Establishment of a West Indian Company in Holland.—St. Salvador taken by the Dutch, and recovered by the Spaniards and Portuguese under D. Padrique de Toledo.—Affairs of Maranhão.—The Dutch send out a second expedition, and obtain possession of Olinda and Recife.

Had Felipe IV. fallen into the hands of a wise minister, the twelve years truce with Holland would have been terminated by a peace, the Palatinate restored, the marriage of the Infanta with the English prince effected; Europe would have been saved from many years of misery, and Spain might have had time to recover its exhausted strength. But the pacific dispositions of Felipe and of James I. were counteracted by their favourites, and Olivares and Buckingham are the authors of the crimes and sufferings which ensued.

The Dutch rightly regarded liberty as the best thing; next to liberty they valued profit. By attacking the Spanish colonies, they at the same time cut off the supplies of their enemy, and enriched themselves; this they had done so successfully in the East, that they now turned their attention towards America, and the establishment of a West Indian Company was proposed,
of which the chief object should be, to make conquests in Brazil. There were weighty objections against this proposal. It was urged that Holland was not large enough for such ambitious projects; that if two Companies existed it would be difficult to raise men for both; and that the produce of Brazil and of their Asiatic possessions were so much alike, that one Company would injure the other by bringing similar commodities to market. Success, if indeed they succeeded, would excite the envy of those European powers who were now their friends, and envy would soon produce hostility. But success was not to be expected. The Portuguese settlements in Brazil were not like those in India; the Brazilian colonists had in the course of a century connected themselves with the natives who would afford them a powerful support against any invaders; and it was to be remembered, that conquests upon a continent could not be defended so easily as captured islands. In reply to these objections it was asserted, that the natives would eagerly throw off the yoke of the Portuguese, and that the Portuguese themselves, some from their hatred to Castille, others because of their inter-marriage with the New Christians, and their consequent dread of the Inquisition, would either willingly join or feebly oppose them; and all that was needful was to treat them well, and grant full liberty of conscience. St. Salvador and Olinda, the two places which it was of most importance to win, were accessible by sea; having won them, the way to the Pacific became easy, and the treasures of Peru were at their mercy. Thus might they deprive Spain of the very means of war. And what, they asked, was hazarded by the attempt? for nothing was required from the States except men, who were to be raised and maintained at the Company's expense, and who, if they were not thus usefully employed abroad, would probably be dangerous at home. Christianity, as usual, was perverted to serve
the purposes of avarice and ambition, and it was pleaded as one motive for invading Brazil, that a pure religion would thus be introduced into America. These arguments prevailed; the Company was formed, full powers were given them, and all other subjects of the United States were prohibited during a term of twenty four years from trading to America, or to the opposite coast of Africa between the Cape of Good Hope and the Tropic of Cancer. The Company were to render an account of their proceedings every sixth year.

A fleet was speedily fitted out under the command of Jacob Willekens; his Admiral was the famous Pieter Heyne, who from being a common sailor had risen to that rank; Hans Vandort was to be General on shore. By means of the Jews in Brazil every kind of necessary information was obtained, for Holland was in those days the only part of Christendom where this much injured people were at rest: and Dutch Masters were of all things what they had most reason to hope for. But as the Dutch bought intelligence, so also did they sell it; and there were merchants of Amsterdam who sent intelligence to Lisbon warning the Government there, that though the threat was against India, the blow was for Brazil. The Infanta Isabel sent the same warning from Flanders to Madrid. But nothing could rouse Olivares; it was the system of the Spanish Court to weaken Portugal in every way, and they either did not believe the intelligence, or did not yet consider what would be the consequence to their own colonies, if those of the Portuguese should fall.

The fleet sailed in December, was scattered when in sight of Plymouth by a storm, and did not join company till they had reached the Cape de Verds. When they had crossed the Line they opened their sealed instructions, and found orders to attack St. Salvador, the capital of Brazil. No service could have
been more welcome; but another storm interrupted their hopes, and the fleet was again separated. Vandort was driven back to Serra Leoa; Willekens beat on against the wind, and made the Morro de St. Paulo, twelve leagues from Bahia, where he remained off the coast waiting for Vandort; he expected that this delay would lessen the alarm which his appearance occasioned, and that the Portugueze would suppose he had been driven there by stress of weather.

The Brazilians were almost as negligent for themselves, as the Court of Madrid was for them. The Dutch had been three days hovering about the coast within twelve leagues of the Capital, before the Governor received any intelligence, and the first account spoke of only a single ship. Truer tidings soon followed; he then began to strengthen posts which had been too long neglected, and he assembled all in the vicinity who were capable of bearing arms. These men would have fought if an enemy had immediately appeared; a few days exhausted their ardour and their patience; they began to think of their farms, argued that the Dutch were only come to pirate as usual upon their ships, became mutinous, and finally deserted the city. Thus what Willekens had hoped came to pass, and when, having once more collected his fleet he came before St. Salvador, he found little preparations, and little means of defence. The Governor's son made a slight resistance at an un-

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1 Brito Freire (2. § 120.) imputes this desertion to the Bishop, who according to him inveighed both in conversation and from the pulpit against the conduct of the Governor, for calling in the force of the Reconcave. G. Giuseppe, on the contrary, says that the Bishop offered to take arms and head the clergy himself; that his services were not accepted, and therefore he and all the clergy returned into the country.
tenable post: it was presently forced, and the Dutch lodged themselves in the suburbs. During the night the city was deserted, and on the following morning they entered without opposition. The Governor attempted to maintain his own house, as if this idle ostentation of personal courage could excuse or atone for the inertness of his previous conduct. The Dutch however were not provoked to kill him; and thus almost without a struggle, or even show of resistance, the capital of Brazil fell into their hands; nor did their good fortune end here, for twelve ships sailed into the port, before it could be known that it was conquered.

Vandort took the command, according to his instructions, and began to strengthen the place; he had learnt the art of war in Flanders, and was a soldier of great reputation. He repaired the old fortifications, and added new ones, on which two able engineers were employed. It was even designed to make a cut across the point of land on which the city stands, and thus insulate it, but the distance was found to be too great. Proclamations were dispersed offering liberty, free possession of their property, and free enjoyment of religion to all who would submit; this brought over many negroes, many natives, and about two hundred Jews, who exerted themselves to make others follow their example. Exposed as they were to the insults of a bigoted people, and having the fear of the Inquisition before their eyes, nothing could be more desirable for them than such a change of masters.

The Portugueze had at first supposed that this expedition of

*G. Giuseppe says, he would not surrender till it had been promised him, that he should be set at liberty; in spite of which, Willekens, with brutal infidelity, kept him prisoner. This accusation is refuted by its own absurdity.
the Dutch was designed merely to plunder, not to make conquests; and this perhaps was one reason why they abandoned the city with so little resistance. But now that they found themselves in the woods, without home or shelter, and with their wives and children round them, shame came upon them; and when they saw that the enemy instead of loading ships and embarking with their booty, were strengthening the walls and making preparations to settle as masters in Brazil, their national spirit revived, and they began to take measures for recovering their own and their country's honour. The Bishop and the chief persons civil and religious, met together in one of the Indian villages of the Reconcave, and considering Mendoza as dead to all purposes of state, opened the succession-papers, which they had taken the precaution of securing when they fled. Mathias de Albuquerque, who was at that time Governor of Pernambuco, was the person named. They dispatched advice to him of his appointment, and proceeded to nominate a Commander during the time that must elapse before he could arrive. Antam de Mesquita de Oliveira, the Ouvidor Geral, was first chosen; his advanced age rendered him unequal to the office. The two colonels Lourenço Cavalcante de Albuquerque, and Joam de Barros Cardoso, were next appointed: two heads were found not to agree; this election was therefore soon afterward set aside, and the command vested in the Bishop D. Marcos Teixeira.

This Prelate did not pass abruptly from the episcopal to the military character. He put on the garb of a penitent, and performed public ceremonies of supplication, then took arms, and hoisted the crucifix for his standard. His first measure was to prohibit the cultivation of sugar and tobacco, for which the Dutch, before a week had elapsed, were beginning to trade. His force consisted of fourteen hundred Portugueze, and two
hundred and fifty Indians; he took post upon the Rio Vermelho, about a league from the city, and fortified his camp with the guns of a ship which had escaped capture by striking up one of the rivers of the Reconcave. His people had taken heart, and the first skirmishes were in their favour. Vandort went out with a reconnoitering party; he fell into an ambush, and Francisco de Padilha slew him hand to hand. Albert Schoutens, who succeeded to the command, had no better fortune, being soon killed by a musket shot. His brother Willem, upon whom it then devolved, did not possess sufficient talents for his situation, and every day added to the reputation of the Portugueze arms, and diminished that of the Dutch. The Bishop omitted no means spiritual or temporal which might spur on the courage of his people; and by virtue of his office as Commander in Chief, he knighted Padilha and three other officers who had distinguished themselves.

Yet notwithstanding these reverses, which ought to have repressed their confidence, the Dutch conceived themselves to be so strong, the Brazilians so weak, and Spain so supine, that Willekens sailed for Holland with eleven ships, leaving the rest under the famous Admiral Heyne, who a few days afterwards departed upon a fruitless expedition against Angola. The schemes of the West India Company were on a great scale; they thought to make themselves masters of Loanda, and thus at once secure negroes for their own conquests in Brazil, and cut off the Portugueze from their accustomed market. But Loanda had received timely succours, and the vigilance of the Governor Fernam de Sousa, baffled all the enemies projects. Heyne was

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3 Cespedes says about 1200 in all; but this statement is given in the Jornada da Bahia, upon the authority of the Bishop's own dispatches.
not more fortunate in an attempt which on his return to Bahia 
his made upon Espírito Santo, instigated by a Fleming, who 
having formerly resided there and received sentence of death 
for some criminal offence, had been pardoned, returned into his 
country, and entered the Dutch service. Salvador de Sa, son to 
the Governor of Rio de Janeiro, happened to be in that town on 
his way with succours to the Reconcave, and Heyne having lost 
above threescore men in two unsuccessful attacks, abandoned 
the enterprize and proceeded to Bahia. He found the fleets of 
Spain and Portugal in possession of the Bay, and not being 
strong enough to oppose them, made sail for Europe.

The news of the loss of Bahia excited great alarm at Madrid. 
That Court, which when forewarned of the blow had taken no 
measures to prevent it, perceived its whole consequences after it 
was struck, and was probably the more alarmed because there 
prevailed a rumour that the English were to unite their forces 
with the Dutch, and establish the Elector Palatine as King in 
Brazil. The measures which the Spanish Court adopted were 
worthy of its superstition, and of its power. Instructions were 
dispatched to the Governors of Portugal that they should 
examine into the crimes which had drawn on this visitation of 
divine vengeance, and punish them accordingly. Prayers, which 
from their repetition on nine successive days were called novenas, 
were ordered over the whole kingdom, and a litany and prayers, 
framed for the occasion, were to be said after the mass. On one 
of the nine days there was to be a solemn procession of the 
people in every town and village, and the Religioners in 
every cloister. The sacrament was exposed in all the churches 
of Lisbon. The great ocean-fleet, as the Spaniards called it, 
was equipped to recover the city which had been lost, and four 
squadrons sailed from the Tagus with immediate succours to 
those places which were considered to be most in danger.
Frascisco de Moura went in one to take the command in Bahia, another was destined to Pernambuco, the third to Rio de Janeiro, the fourth to Angola. The Portugueze were aware of the value of their colonies; a hundred thousand crowns were given by the city of Lisbon towards the expenses of government for the deliverance of St. Salvador; the Duke of Braganza made a voluntary contribution of twenty thousand, the Duke of Caminha of sixteen thousand five hundred. The nobles, perceiving that for the first time the Court of Madrid was zealous for the welfare of Portugal, and flattered in that the King had written to them with his own hand requesting their exertions, offered with unexampled readiness their persons and property to the public service. Men who had held the highest offices embarked as volunteers, among others Affonso de Noronha, who had been viceroy in India. There was not a noble family in Portugal but had some of its sons in this armament, and in many instances brethren decided it by lot between themselves which should be the adventurer, each being too ambitious of the service to resign his claims to it by any other means. The utmost dispatch was used at Lisbon; persons were appointed to relieve each other in superintending the equipment night and day. D. Manoel de Menezes was appointed to the command of the Portugueze force, consisting of four thousand men in six and twenty ships; they were to join the Spaniards at the Cape de Verds.

* F. Bertolameu Guerreiro enumerates the stores of this armament: 7500 quintaes of biscuit, 884 pipes of wine, 1378 of water, 4190 arrobas of meat, 3739 of fish, 1782 of rice, 122 quartos of oil, 93 pipes of vinegar. Cheese, raisins, figs, pulse, almonds, dried plumbs, sugar, sweetmeats, spices and salt in abundance; 22 medicine chests, 2 physicians, a surgeon in almost every ship, 200 beds for the sick, and store of stockings, shoes, and shirts; 310 pieces of artillery, 2504 round and chain-shot, 2710 musquets and harquebusses, 200 quin-
Olivares for once had the interest of both countries at heart, and when an astrologer, at that time in high reputation, told him he was afraid the January Moon would find the fleet out of harbour, the favourite replied, I am more afraid it will find them in. He hastened the expedition, but it was equipped with less activity than had been exerted at Lisbon, and the Portuguese waited nearly nine weeks, at a heavy expense of men, in the fatal climate of the Cape de Verds, before the Spanish fleet joined them. It consisted of forty sail and eight thousand soldiers under D. Fadrique de Toledo. So powerful a fleet had never before crossed the line.

Meantime Mathias de Albuquerque received tidings of his nomination to the government in consequence of the succession-papers, and also by a direct appointment from the mother country. To have repaired in person to the scene of action would not have been prudent; troops enough could not have been collected to expel the Dutch; the present system of harrassing them, attacking their out-posts and cutting off their foragers, had the sure effect of weakening and disheartening them; a more regular force would have been less serviceable, and exposed to greater loss. He therefore contented himself with sending Francisco Nunez Marinho de Sa to take the command, that the Bishop might give his whole attention to spiritual concerns, and in particular prevent the enemy from disseminating their heretical opinions, of which the Portuguese were in more dread than of their arms. Orders were sent from Madrid to be especially vigilant against this danger. The Bishop had now been

\[\text{taes of lead in bullets, 1355 pikes and half pikes, 202 quintaes of matches, 500 of powder, and 300 more the Spanish fleet was to bring out to them from Cadiz and Seville. The money which they took out for contingencies was 20,000 cruzados in reales.} \]

[Jornada da Bahia, C. 17.]
six months in the field, during three of which he held the command; the unusual fatigues of a military life, and of such service, were more than he could bear, and he died soon after the arrival of Francisco Nunez. As he died in the field they buried him in a little chapel at Tapague, from which he had driven the Dutch; no stone was placed to mark his grave in those times of confusion, and afterwards when the Portugueze would have shown due honour to his remains, the spot was forgotten.

The same system of warfare was carried on with the same success by Francisco Nunez, and afterwards by D. Francisco de Moura when he arrived from Lisbon to take the command.

On the 28th of March the united fleets of Spain and Portugal appeared off the Bay. The sight animated and intoxicated the Brazilians; they fancied that it would intimidate the Dutch as greatly as it had encouraged them, and thinking to have the whole glory of recovering the city themselves, they precipitately attacked it, and were beaten off with great loss. The fleet advanced more cautiously; D. Fadrique knew that powerful reinforcements had been raised in Holland, and was apprehensive that they might have arrived before him. Having ascertained that this was not the case, he entered the Bay with trumpets sounding, colours flying, the ships pav suburbs and ready for action. The Dutch vessels also, and the walls and forts, were drest with all their banners and streamers, hoisted either to welcome friends or defy enemies, whichever these new comers might prove to be. The city had been fortified with great care according to the best principles of engineering, a science in which no people had had such experience as the Dutch; it was defended with ninety-two pieces of artillery, and from the New Fort upon the beach they fired red-hot shot. There were ten ships of war and eighteen merchantmen in the harbour. D. Fadrique, who saw the strength of the place, and knew that the fleet
from Holland must soon arrive, called a council of war, and proposed to land three thousand men, and leave the main force of the expedition on board to intercept the enemy's succours. It was objected, that only one encampment could be formed with that number of troops, and then it would be impossible to harass the besieged by keeping them on the alarm at different points. The conclusion was, that half the army should be landed, and that the fleet should stretch over from Tapagipe to St. Antonio, thus at once blockading the ships in port, and cutting off all supplies. They effected their landing without opposition; for the garrison, which consisted of from two to three thousand men of all nations, besides a great number of negroes, were divided among themselves and in want of an able leader.

One part of the fortifications had been left imperfect, partly because Willem Schoutens relied upon the depth of the ditch, and still more, because he calculated with too much confidence upon the activity of his own government, and the supineness of Spain. He was wont to say that all they had to do was to quell the natives, for it was impossible the Spanish fleet should arrive before the Dutch; and when the fleet entered the bay he affirmed it was Dutch, till the truth became so manifest that he could no longer delude himself with this obstinate prepossession. Immediate exertions were then made to strengthen this post. Its weakness did not escape notice, and the General was advised to storm it: to this advice he inclined at first, but reflecting that in such attempts, the loss always falls upon the flower of the army, and that the enemy, aware of their vulnerable point, were then fortifying it and would be ready to defend it, he determined upon slower and safer advances. The troops held the enemy in less respect than their Commander did: their camp was in confusion, and little or no watch kept. The besieged discovered this, and one morning Jan Quif sallied with two...
bodies of three hundred men each, surprised the camp, and made considerable slaughter before he thought it prudent to retire. The Camp-Master D. Pedro Osorio fell in this affair.

The next attempt of the besieged was to burn the blockading fleet. They sent out two fire ships by night; the Spanish guard-boats gave the alarm, that the enemy were flying by sea; the fleet in this belief got under weigh to pursue them, and thus escaped the danger. Having however discovered from what a danger they had been thus preserved, they resolved without further delay to destroy the Dutch ships. The Dutch to avoid this drew near the forts; but by obtaining this protection they exposed themselves towards the shore; a way was hewn through the rocks to bring down artillery against them, and the greater number were sunk. Meantime the garrison grew discontented; they became clamorous against the misconduct of their Commander, and at length displaced and put him in confinement, appointing Quif to be his successor. This mutiny only served to make the factious spirit of the soldiers more violent. Schoutens had still a powerful party; the French and English mercenaries were tired of the siege; they were sure of quarter, and having no character either of their own or of their country at stake, weary of waiting for succour, and worst of all being convinced that without unanimity resistance must be ineffectual, they declared they would fight no longer. Under these circumstances Quif's courage was of no avail, and deputies were sent to capitulate. The terms were that D. Fadrique should give them shipping and stores to carry them to Holland, safe conduct, and sufficient arms for their defence upon the way. There was a register in which those persons entered their names, who were willing to retain their property by submitting to the Conquerors: the General demanded this, that he might punish the offenders; but the Dutch either concealed or destroyed it, for which
honourable as well as politick conduct they are deservedly praised by the Portugueze themselves. But the Negroses and New Christians, that is to say the Jews, who had been compelled to profess Christianity, who trusted to the Hollander's proclamation were abandoned; and five of the latter and some Indians were put to death. On the first of May the gates were thrown open. The city suffered less at its capture than at its recovery. The Dutch came to win the country and to keep it; it had therefore been their endeavour to conciliate the natives, and the long war in which they were engaged at home had not demoralized the nation, because it was sanctified by such a cause. But the Spaniards and Italians of D. Fadrique's army had been trained up in all the excesses of a military life; the Portugueze were not slow in acquiring the vices of their companions, and no place private or public, was safe from their violence.

There was some difficulty in executing the terms. Time had been when a Spanish General would have had no intention of executing them; but Spain had no longer that confidence in her own strength which promised impunity for any breach of treaty; the nation, though it pertinaciously denied the guilt of Alva, was sensible of the infamy which he had brought upon his country, and its old honourable character had returned. D. Fadrique was anxious to keep his word to the full extent in which he had pledged it, and as solicitous to dismiss the Dutch as they were to feel themselves at liberty. Provisions were scarce; the country round Bahia had been the seat of war; in spite therefore of all its natural abundance, stores were wanting, not merely to victual the prisoners, but also for his own fleet. He lost no time in sending to the other Captaincies for all the supplies which they could afford: old ships were repaired, and the completion of new ones hastened.
The coming of the expected armament from Holland had been so long delayed that various conjectures were afloat to account for its delay;...it was bound elsewhere, or it had been scattered by storms. Tidings however arrived that it had past the Canaries on the fifth of April, and shortly afterwards a Portuguese which had been taken by the Dutch fleet, and recaptured, brought intelligence of their approach. The two thousand prisoners were immediately embarked on board dismantled ships, and anchored under the guns of the fortress. It was more difficult for the General to decide in what manner his own force should be disposed: many of their best ships were laid down, others without water and stores: as many as could be equipped were made ready, and it was determined to wait in port for the enemy.

On the twenty second of May, the Dutch fleet of thirty four sail, under Baldwin Henrik, hove in sight, and stood into the bay, supposing that St. Salvador was still in possession of their countrymen. The sight of the Catholick colours soon undeceived him, and in the surprise which was thus occasioned, Henrik let slip an opportunity of obtaining a signal victory, for all was in confusion among the Spaniards and Portuguese. But his own force was not sufficient to retake the city; he had many sick on board, and he thought it of more consequence to seek a port where they might recover, than to inflict unavailing injury upon the enemy, at the risque of crippling his own fleet in the action. He therefore stood off to the North and passed Olinda in a gale of wind, where the people expected to be attacked, and made ready for defence. The gale drove him on till he anchored in Bahia de Traiçam; here the natives were disposed to join with

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* Brito Freire, (§ 286) speaks like a good man of the rigour with which these natives were punished for having welcomed the Dutch. “Inasmuch,” says he,
any who appeared as their deliverers; he landed his sick, and fortified their quarters as well as he could. Francisco Coelho de Carvalho, the first Governor of Maranham and Para, since they had been separated from the other Captaincies and formed into a State, was at this time at Recife. He had just arrived there on the way to his new government, when news came of the capture of St. Salvador, upon which he was requested to remain where he was, for the defence of provinces more in danger than his own. No sooner did he hear that Henrik had landed his men, than he collected forces from Pernambuco and Paraiba to dislodge them. The Dutch Commander could have resisted, but the sickness among his people increased, and seeing himself daily weakened, and fearing that the Spanish fleet might pursue him, he re-embarked and sailed away. His ill fortune had only begun in Brazil. Half his fleet attacked Porto Rico, from whence they were driven with great loss; the other half attempted to surprise S. Jorge da Mina, and were in like manner repulsed. Henrik died of the contagion; the survivors being weary of buccaneering, and dispirited, mutinied at last, and compelled their officers to return to Holland.

This expedition to Bahia proved equally destructive to both parties. D. Fadrique left D. Francisco de Moura Rolim, the new Governor, with a sufficient garrison in the city, and sailed for Europe, taking the Dutch troops with him. He had received advice from the Marques de la Hinojosa, that the English meant to intercept him on his way, and in consequence of this ill-founded intelligence, he steered to the Eastward in latitude 35°,

"as we had failed to give them their reward when they formerly served us, so ought we now to have moderated their chastisement." They were probably Pita-goares.
HISTORY OF BRAZIL.

CHAP. XIV. 1625.

thinking to avoid an enemy whom he was not in a state to
encounter. The result was even more disastrous than if he
had fallen in with them. The fleet was scattered by storms;
three Spanish and nine Portugueze ships sunk at sea, only a
single person escaping from the whole... a Trinitarian Friar, who
was picked up after clinging two days to a plank. The Admi­
ral's ship reached the Island of St. George, and sunk immedi­
ately after the men had left her; they had previously suffered
so much from incessant fatigue and want of due sustenance, that
very few recovered. Two others of the fleet fell in with a Dutch
squadron and were taken. The Almirante de Quatro Villas,
with D. Juan de Orellana on board, had a more unhappy fate.
This vessel with another in company engaged and captured a
rich Hollander from Africa; the prize took fire, and the Almi­
rante was burnt with it, the greater part of her crew perishing.
Menezes, who had sailed out of the Tagus with six and twenty
ships, returned to it with none but the single one in which he him­
self escaped. The King of Spain acknowledging the zeal with
which the Portugueze had served him in this expedition, gave to all
the fidalgos whatever pensions or places they held from the crown
for another life, and this with due justice was extended not
merely to those who returned, but to all who went in the expedi­
tion. The Spanish historian, Cespedes, remarks that this
grant exceeded in liberality all that all the former Kings of Por­
tugal had ever made; Ereceyra admits the extent and liberality
of the grant, but he observes that it seemed as if Felipe had fore­
seen the emancipation of Portugal, and was therefore thus liberal
at another's expence.

The Dutch prisoners had parted from the fleet early enough to
escape its disasters. In Holland their defeat was imputed to
their own dissoluteness and want of obedience, more than to the
superiority of the Spaniards, and they were looked upon as men


Effect of these losses in Holland.

Garleus, p. 16.
who had disgraced their country, and deserved the contempt of their enemies. But the recovery of St. Salvador, and still more the unfortunate expedition of Henrik, discouraged the Dutch; the arguments which had been used against the establishment of the West India Company were revived with new force, and even those who favoured the ambitious projects of the Company, confessed that the farther soldiers were employed from home, the less was their respect for authority, and the more difficult it was to restrain them. The Prince of Grange, steady in his views, opposed the pacific party, and as war to a strong maritime power is a lottery which will always tempt adventurers, his politicks prevailed. The Spaniards having recovered Bahia, relapsed into their wonted supineness, and no means were taken for securing Brazil, lamentably as its insecurity had now been made manifest. Repeated losses by sea made them at length consult concerning some remedy, and it was agreed that the best plan would be to keep up a powerful naval force in America; the next question was, where should this fleet be built and equipped, ... in Europe where stores were at hand, or in Brazil and the Spanish Indies, where there was abundance of better timber? This question was not decided, and the ministry, satisfied that they had done their duty by taking the matter into consideration, left it as they found it, and suffered things to take their course.

Francisco de Moura held the government without molestation, till in the ensuing year he was superseded by Diogo Luiz de Oliveira. This new Governor had served many years in the Low Countries, and held various important situations, in all which he had acquired great reputation, and much experience, both as soldier and statesman. But he had now to deal with a maritime enemy, against whose desperate spirit of enterprize, no military skill was of any avail. Heyne once more entered the Bay. It was already known that he was off the coast, and
sixteen ships which were in the harbour were, in fear of this visit, drawn up under the guns of the fort, and four of the largest were manned with troops, and placed outermost as batteries to protect the rest. Oliveira did not even think this sufficient, and planted two and forty large battering pieces in different points to bear upon the Dutch, should they venture to make the attempt. The wind was off shore; Heyne beat up against it, and ran his own ship between the two largest of the enemies floating batteries. None of his fleet could make way to him, but on the other hand neither from the forts nor from the shore could the Portugueze fire at him, without hurting their countrymen. In the course of half an hour he sent one of these batteries to the bottom; the others immediately struck, and the twelve smaller vessels could make no resistance. The Dutch came in boats, cut their cables, and carried them all out except three of the smallest, which were empty. They could not however get off Heyne's ship; she had suffered greatly in the action, and struck when the tide went out, and they set fire to her: another of their vessels was

5 J. de Laet says, they did fire at him... evidently exaggerating the wonder of an action sufficiently wonderful. It is good proof to the contrary that some of the Portugueze writers blame Oliveira for not ordering the forts to fire, inexusable as it would have been, to have thus sacrificed his own people.

7 J. de Laet says nothing of the loss. Brito Freire's authority is however confirmed by a short account of the action, printed in a little tract, with this title. Le Siege de la Ville de Groll, au pays de Frise, par le Prince d'Orange. Ensemble La Defaite de la Flotte Espagnolte dans la Baye de Todos los Sanctos, au Brasil, par les Hollandois. 1627. This bulletin, as it may be called, makes the number of ships which Heyne attacked, thirty two; Laet makes them twenty-six; Brito Freire says they were only sixteen, and accuses Laet of wilful exaggeration: he himself is trust worthy in the highest degree. It was inferred from the stores and artillery which were found in the two wrecks, that the intention of the Dutch was to take the city a second time.
blown up; in the two they lost above three hundred men. The next day the Admiral inspected his prizes; the four largest he loaded and sent home to Holland, four others were added to his own fleet, and the rest were burnt. Four and twenty days he remained in the Bay. He returned to it again after a cruise to the Southward, and attempted to cut out four ships from one of the rivers of the Recon- cave. This achievement was more perilous than even the former. The vessels were some miles up the river, and every precaution had been taken both to secure them, and intercept his return. He covered his boats with raw hides out of the prizes which he had taken, made his way up, and though he could not bring all the four out, brought off one of them, and the best part of the lading of all. In this action Padilha, who slew Vandort hand to hand, was killed. After this exploit, Heyne finding that nothing farther was to be done there, sailed away, fell in with the fleet from Mexico, and captured the whole. The West India Company by this capture, the greatest which has ever been made at sea, were amply reimbursed for all their former losses; they were now enabled to lend money to the States, and their plans of conquest were renewed with more ambition than ever. One of their captains who infested the coast of Brazil, took possession of the Isle of Fernam Noronha, fortified, and began to colonize it; this, had it been done effectually, would have proved a serious annoyance to the Portuguese; they took the alarm in time, and the Governor immediately sent out an expedition of sufficient force, which made most of the settlers prisoners, burnt their dwellings, and destroyed their plantations.

* Cornelis Jol, a man of great celebrity in his day. The Portuguese write his name Jolo: they usually call him Pe de Pao, or timber-toe, from his wooden leg. Our sailors are not more addicted to giving nicknames, nor more happy in affixing them, than the Portuguese.
A reinforcement of Capuchin Missionaries for Maranham came out with Francisco Coelho, under Frey Christovam de Lisboa, who had the rank of Custodio, or Guardian of his order, equivalent to that of Provincial, in these Conquests. While the Governor was detained at Olinda, Fr. Christovam, thinking his presence more needful at St. Luiz, proceeded with his brethren to their place of destination. He took with him a decree which deprived the settlers of their grants over the allied Indians, who with the name of freedom, differed in reality little from slaves; the settlers submitted to it, perhaps because they stood in fear of his ecclesiastical powers, for he came out as Visitor and Commissary of the Inquisition. Having accomplished this, he proceeded to Belem, and attempted to put the same decree in execution there. But the people of Belem were even more disposed than those of Maranham to resist whatever it did not suit their immediate interest to obey, and the Senado da Camara, or Chamber of the City, devised an excuse for suspending the royal edict: it was addressed, they said, to the Governor of the State, and therefore nothing could be done towards carrying it into effect till he arrived. Fr. Christovam thought it prudent to submit to this delay, and went meantime on a missionary expedition to explore the River of the Tocantins. On his return he resolved to try whether the settlers could be frightened into obedience, and just as he was about to leave Belem, published a pastoral letter, whereby he excommunicated all persons who still retained their administrations, as these grants were called.* The Chamber repeat-

* Removia todas as merces das administrações das Aldeas dos Indios. These administrações must be equivalent to what the Spaniards call encomiendas. The Indians were not given to the holder of such a grant as slaves, but their services were, it was more like serfage than slavery, with this difference, that the serfs were worked like slaves.
ed their plea for delay, justly observing, that he himself had admitted its validity by patiently waiting seven months; they added, that as the edict specified only the administrations of St. Luiz, those of Gram Para were not necessarily included; that even if it were so, they appealed to the King against the decree, and that if the Custodio persisted in his excommunication, they appealed against that also, for they had conquered the country themselves, and could not keep it unless they were allowed to make the natives work for them. Fr. Christovam was a Franciscan, and his order was in those days hostile to the Indians, because Las Casas, who first stood forward as the defender of that oppressed race, was a Dominican; this may perhaps account for the facility with which he yielded, and withdrew his denunciation, ... an action which long made his memory popular among the Portugeze of Para. Shortly after his departure the Jesuits applied to the Chamber for permission to found a convent in Belem; the Procurador, on the part of the people refused, alledging that there were already two convents, and as all the ground was now granted away, there was no room for a third. The true cause of the refusal was, their dread of the system which the Jesuits pursued in favour of the natives; ... the impolicy of establishing monastic institutions in a new colony was not considered.

After the recovery of St. Salvador, Francisco Coelho, as his services were no longer necessary in those parts, proceeded to take possession of his new government; he was accompanied to St. Luiz by Manoel de Sousa de Eça, the new Capitam Mor of Gram Para. These northern provinces had had their share of the general danger. The Dutch had twice attacked the fort of Seara, and on both occasions Martim Soares repelled them with great loss. A party of two hundred Dutch again entered the Curupa; Teixeira routed them from thence, pursued them into
the Rio de Felipe, destroyed two fortified magazines there, and razed to the ground a third, to which the fugitives had retired. Maciel meantime had made himself deservedly unpopular by his tyrannical temper; but as often as the people were ready to break out in open mutiny, he had art enough to divert them by setting on foot some new expedition against the unhappy Indians, whom he hunted down with unrelenting and indefatigable barbarity. A party of Tupinambas happened at one of their great drinking bouts to fall in talk of their own valour, and how easily they could destroy the Portugueze, if they were so minded; and some of them vauntingly pointed out the manner in which it might be accomplished. This was the mere talk of drunkenness, an idle boast of what could be done, not the betrayal of what they meant to do: but the ferocious Maciel in consequence seized four and twenty of their Chiefs, and had them the same day literally cut to pieces by the hands of some of their old enemies the Tapuyas. Barbarous as the people of Belem were, they were shocked at this barbarity; and had they not been in daily expectation of their new Governor, all the talents and resolution of this wretch could not long have preserved him from the righteous effects of popular indignation.

Manoel de Sousa had already served with distinction in these conquests, and was received with universal joy. He too, like his predecessors, believed that the colony could not subsist without slaves; but he was less bloody than Maciel, and preferred the way of trading to that of open violence. It furnished the friends of slavery in Portugal with a better plea, but it was in truth more wicked and even more detestable, for it added treachery to the guilt of war. Teixeira was sent on these expeditions, accompanied by the Capuchin Fr. Christovam de St. Joseph. They advanced some way up the Orellana to a settlement of the Tapuyusus, and learning from them that they traf-
ficked with a populous nation in the river Tapajos, who took their name from it, they left the great stream, struck up the Tapajos, and found this new tribe of Tapuyas in a situation which had every charm of wood and water to render it delightful. These people were in a state of higher advancement than their neighbours; Teixeira, from what he saw and could learn from them, thought they had been improved by commerce with the Spanish territories; this however cannot have been possible. This information was the only result of his voyage; he brought away some mats of nice workmanship, and a few other trifles; they valued their slaves too much to sell them. The prisoner, in fact, who is spared from slaughter, is usually regarded as one of the tribe, and mere inferiority of condition where there is no other real or imaginary inequality, is soon forgotten among savages.

This expedition was accomplished without any excesses; but the iniquities which were usually perpetrated became so crying, that the Governor of Maranham absolutely prohibited them; the obstinacy of the people, and the avarice of all the persons in power, soon obtained such modifications of his prohibition as in fact to render it nugatory. Teixeira was next employed to destroy a new establishment which the interlopers had formed upon the Isle dos Tocujo; of what nation they were does not appear, farther than that the Commander was an Irishman, by name James Purcel. After a long and gallant defence they capitulated, and the conditions which they obtained were unusually favourable, being permitted to remove all their property, and promised a free passage to Portugal. In spite of all these efforts to root them out, the English and Dutch per-
History of Brazil.

Chapter XIV.

1629.

The Dutch prepared an expedition against Pernambuco.

Meantime the West India Company were projecting new attempts upon Brazil. It was not advisable to attack Bahia a second time, they had experienced too severely the spirit of the Portugueze in that province, and could never more hope for assistance from the Negroes and Jews whom they had first tempted to revolt, and then abandoned. By the prizes from Olinda, which were frequently sent in, they obtained good proof of the riches of Pernambuco, and good intelligence of its state. They calculated that a hundred and fifty vessels might annually be freighted with sugar from this Captaincy; its harbours too were so many stations from whence their cruisers might sail to intercept the Indian ships. In order to keep their design as secret as possible, the fleet was equipped at different ports, and sailed in small squadrons, being to rendezvous at the Cape de Verds. But secrets of this kind can never be concealed if able agents are on the watch for them. The Infanta Isabel a second time warned the Court of Madrid, and assured them that Pernambuco was the place which was aimed at. Intelligence was immediately sent to Oliveira; he was instructed to strengthen the fortifications of Bahia, for it was possible that this might still be the object of the Dutch, and also to provide for the security of Olinda. Accordingly the Governor dispatched Pedro Correa to that city, and the works of defence went on there with a slackness at once attributable to the character of the people, the

11 It is said (Castr. Lus. 1. § 28.) that here also the Jews invited them; this is so little probable, after what had been done at St. Salvador, that it may safely be regarded as a false accusation:
incredulity with which they received the alarm, and their secret persuasion that if the Dutch should come, there was nothing at Olinda which could resist them.

Mathias de Albuquerque was at this time in Madrid; the Captaincy of Pernambuco was his brother's, . . . no man therefore could have such an interest in defending it, and this was one reason for appointing him General, with powers independent of the Governor. Another motive has been ascribed to Olivares, . . . the reinforcements which he designed to send were so trifling, that he believed any person less implicated than Albuquerque would refuse the charge. The Portuguese historians load the memory of this wretched minister with supererogatory offences. If sufficient forces were not given, the fault lay at Lisbon, not at Madrid. One of the Governors of Portugal was connected by marriage with the Albuquerque's; it may therefore be affirmed that there was neither wanting interest to obtain an adequate force, nor inclination to grant it; but the councils of that government have generally lacked vigour, and now means also were probably deficient, for the heavy loss of the last great armament had not been recovered. Mathias obtained a few men and stores, and sailed for Recife in October.

The town of Olinda was built upon such unequal ground, that it was thought almost impossible to fortify it securely; its strongest defence seems to have been a fortified convent of Benedictines, near the shore. On the South, the river Beberibe forms the port of Varadouro; a narrow isthmus of sand is its Southern bank, and upon this another town had grown up, called St. Antonio de Recife, or of the Reef. This was the place

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12 Rocha Pitta says three caravels. G. Giuseppe only one. The former is too careless to be trusted, the latter too malicious.
which Lancaster had captured, and which from its situation he called the Base Town. It had grown there, because within the sand reef and another which was of rock, there was a safe and commodious harbour. When Mathias de Albuquerque arrived he found Correa proceeding slowly with insufficient works; a garrison of an hundred and thirty men; the fortresses such as they were, out of repair; the little artillery which there was almost useless for want of carriages and gunners; few arms, and none who were expert in using them. Forty years ago the author of the Noticias had pointed out the necessity of securing this important place; but neither his memorial nor the success of Lancaster’s expedition, had produced any effect upon the government. A few of the more thoughtful inhabitants saw their danger; it was proclaimed from the pulpit that unless the people repented of their sloth and their sins, Olinda would soon be enslaved by the Dutch; and the chief persons who heard this warning were so exasperated that they drove the preacher out of the church. The General lost time on his arrival; it seems as if he himself doubted the reality of the danger against which he was sent out to provide. The Queen of Spain had lately been delivered of a son; her former children had been daughters, who died so soon, that before the gala clothes were made, which had been ordered for their birth, mourning was required for their funerals; the birth of a Prince and Heir, at all times a

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13 The preacher Fr. Antonio Rosada was a punster; his words were, Sem mais diferença que a de huma só letra, está Olinda clamando por Olanda; e por Olanda ha de ser abrasada Olinda; que aonde falta tanto a Justiça da terra nao tardara muito a do Céo. B. Freire, § 337.

14 This is the language of Raphael de Jesus... it will a little remind the reader of Shakespeare.
subject of rejoicing, was now therefore especially so. Mathias brought out the news; and as flattery is too often more acceptable at court than real services, instead of exerting himself to put Olinda in a state of defence, he set the whole town merry-making, and no other business was thought of than festivals and pageants. In the midst of these ill-timed occupations, a pinnace arrived, sent by the Governor of the Cape de Verds, with intelligence that the Dutch fleet, which had been two months assembling at that station, had sailed towards Brazil. The very imminence of the danger afforded an argument for disbelieving it; if the Dutch had been bound for Pernambuco, it was said, they must needs have got there before the advice-boat, which did not sail till after them. The feasts went on vigorously, and a little unwilling labour was wasted upon the works of defence.

The Dutch fleet consisted of more than fifty sail, under Henrick Loncq, as General in Chief; Pieter Adrian was Admiral; Colonel Wardenburg commanded the troops. They sailed from Holland in small divisions; eight ships, with the General on board, fell in with the Spanish fleet off Teneriffe; and, inferior as they were in numbers, beat it off. They reached the Cape de Verds in September, but the forces under Wardenburg did not sail from the Texel till late in the succeeding month. The whole expedition consisted of about seven thousand men, half of whom were soldiers. Having formed a junction, they finally sailed the day after Christmas, and on the fifteenth of February appeared before Olinda, eight days after the advice-boat. During

10 J. de Laet says it consisted of more than forty ships, of course he is not to be believed.

16 Rocha Pitta says, eight thousand soldiers, G. Giuseppe six.
the interval, it had been debated whether any part of the inhabit­
ants or property should be removed; some advised this pre­caution, saying, that men would fight the better if they knew their families were safe, and had no fears for them. The opinion, that where most was at stake, most effort would be made to pro­
tect it, prevailed, and an edict was issued, forbidding any person to leave the town, or to remove any part of his property. Those persons are not to be blamed for disobeying this edict, who seeing their danger, saw also the little likelihood there was that any effectual defence would be attempted; the main wealth of the place was secretly sent away. As soon as the fleet had been seen from Cape St. Augustines, tidings were dispatched to Olinda, and the whole force of the town, such as it was, was ready when the enemy appeared. The summons which Longue sent in was answered by a discharge of musquetry at the boat; a cannon­ading was then begun on both sides; the Dutch were near enough to have plied their guns with effect, had the weather been favourable; but the sea was so rough that it was impossible to point them aright. They could not enter the harbour, because vessels had been sunk at the entrance to block it up against them. While the cannonading was carried on, Wardenburg, with six­teen ships, left the fleet to amuse the enemy, and landed without opposition at Pao Amarello, between three and four leagues north of the town. His first measure was to dismiss the ships, that the men might not look to them as a means of retreat; . . . a few gun­boats only were retained, which carried in all eleven pieces of can­non. He divided his troops into three divisions, whose whole artil­lery consisted of four field pieces. It was now towards evening, and not chusing to advance rashly along a coast which was co­vered with thickets, and where there were rivers to cross, he lay upon his arms all night, keeping such watch as no wise leader will ever neglect, against any enemy however inferior. In the early
part of the night the news of his landing reached Olinda. Many
who had not hitherto removed with their families and possessions
in obedience to the edict, could not resist the panic which now
seized them; the women and children fled into the country;
husbands followed their wives, and sons went to protect their
parents; such property as could immediately be removed was
snatched away, and half of it dropt in the precipitation of flight.
Some fell to plundering the women and children, and it is said
that the Portuguese suffered more from their own rabble than
from the enemy. The slaves forsook their masters, and seized
with just and natural eagerness the opportunity of emancipating
themselves.

On the following morning Wardenburg began his march, the
gun-boats accompanying him along shore. Some little annoy-
ance he suffered from a few men who took advantage of the cover
to oppose him, ... enough to prove how easily he might have been
defeated by an active enemy. When he came to the river Doce
the tide was too high for him to attempt the passage. Some
works had been thrown up on the opposite bank, and troops
stationed to defend this advantageous post; the situation
was strong, and every thing in their favour; but when the tide fell,
and they perceived the Dutch beginning to ford the stream breast
high, their courage failed; the gun-boats opened upon them,
not indeed so as to take effect, but a cry arose that their retreat
would be cut off by this attack from the sea, and upon this they
took to flight. Mathias, who had remained at Recife, deceived
by the firing which the fleet kept up after Wardenburg had left
it, came to the real point of danger, just in time to witness the
shameful defeat of this detachment. In vain did he attempt to
rally them; and to renew the action with his own troops, who
were just as little to be depended on, was hopeless: he deter-
mined therefore to fall back and defend the passage of the river
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CHAP. XIV. Tapado, which still lay between the Dutch and Olinda. This was hopeless also; they who had lost their courage on the banks of the Doce, were not likely to recover it by the Tapado; most of his men fled before he got there, and the officers and few soldiers who remained, advised him to return to the town.

Wardenburg might have used the flying enemy as his guides; a mulatto prisoner conducted him by a safer way, and he entered the upper part of the town unopposed. Salvador de Azevedo was the only Portugueze officer who did his duty; he collected a handful of brave men, took possession of the Jesuits' College, and there defended the post resolutely, till the doors were beaten down. The redoubt, at the entrance of Olinda, for a while checked the conquerors. Elated by success, they thought their appearance before it would be sufficient to make the garrison surrender; a sharp discharge of musquetry and great guns deceived them; but there were two Dutchmen in the redoubt, by name Adrian Frank, and Cornelis Jan, who betrayed it. The town was now given up to be plundered, and the rest of the day was spent by the conquerors in those excesses which disgrace not only victory, but human nature. One Portugueze, whose name was Andre Percira Themudo, could not endure to behold the profanation of the churches; singly, with the fury of a devoted Malay, he attacked a party of these plunderers, and slew many before he was overpowered. The booty was little in comparison of what the Dutch expected; had they thought of intercepting the fugitives instead of plundering houses and churches, fifteen thousand prisoners, and all the moveable riches of Olinda would have fallen into their hands.

Mathias de Albuquerque had intended first to retreat to the river Tapado, then to the town; without making a stand, or even halting at either place, he was compelled, rather by the cowardice of his own troops than the courage of the enemy, to
fall back upon Recife. This place was of less extent than Olinda, and better fortified. The force which he took out was sufficient to have defended it, but so many deserted him on the retreat, that he did not bring back with him enough to man the works. Nothing could be done but to guard the pass between the two towns; he ordered a trench to be cut across the road, thinking at least to impede the Dutch: they found another path, and the Portugueze as usual retired. As there was now no hope of preserving Recife, the General set fire to the ships and warehouses: thirty vessels were consumed, and above two thousand casks of sugar, besides the valuable merchandize. The Dutch beholding the conflagration, were less pleased at this proof that the enemy no longer intended to resist them, than grieved to witness the destruction of their spoils. If, however, there was little left for rapacity, there was enough for intemperance. They found store of wine in the houses both at Olinda and Recife, and indulged their beastly appetites to such excess, that the very slaves, who regarding them as invincible, had crowded to them for deliverance, now robbed them of their plunder as they lay senseless upon the ground. There were some who hastened to the Portugueze General, and told him that he might now destroy the Dutch, for he need only prick them like so many wine skins. A peasant offered to fall upon them with a few of his comrades; but Mathias suspected treachery, and let the opportunity go by.

The two forts of St. Francisco and St. Jorge were still to be reduced, and while these remained in the power of the Portugueze, the fleet could not enter the harbour. The latter, which being on the side of Olinda, would first be attacked, had only three iron guns, without carriages, mounted rudely upon beams, just as the first settlers of Pernambuco had placed them to repel the savages. The fort was not capable of holding more than
fourscore persons, and its construction was as little formidable as its force; but the situation was important. Antonio de Lima had the command; the general panic infected his men, and all except seven deserted him. He sent to acquaint Mathias of the desertion, and to request a reinforcement. When this message was delivered to the General, a youth of seventeen, by name Joam Fernandez Vieira, happened to be present. He was a native of Funchal in Madeira, and when only eleven years of age, had embarked to seek his fortune in Brazil, with little other capital than his own talents. This youth immediately volunteered his services; twenty others followed his example: their offer was accepted, and with this handful of men, Lima prepared to defend his post. Five days elapsed before any attack was made; on the fifth night the Dutch attempted to surprize the fort. But men who had volunteered upon such duty were not likely to sleep at their post; they were ready with beams which had been laid in for repairing the fortress; these they let fall upon the scaling ladders; the hand grenades which were thrown among them, they threw out again before they exploded, and thus they beat off the assailants with considerable slaughter; but ten of their own little company were killed or wounded. Some of the very men who had lately deserted from this post, because they thought it indefensible, returned to it now, being ashamed that others should defend it, and gathering courage from sympathy as easily as they had in the same manner learnt cowardice. Such works however could not long be maintained; the Dutch battered the walls till they were little more than a heap of ruins. Mathias made a feeble show of relieving it; his men had no heart, they lingered till the tide came in, and it became difficult to ford the Beberibe, and then they made that difficulty a pretext for retiring without having attempted any thing. The fort therefore surrendered; the garrison were allowed to march out.
with guns loaded, and matches lighted... and Joam Fernandez Vieira saved the flag, by wrapping it round him. The Dutch required an oath from these brave men not to bear arms against them for six months; they had not surrendered upon such conditions, neither would they now submit to them; the conquerors put them in confinement, but liberated them after a few days.

Fort St. Francisco was summoned next. A Lieutenant opposed the pusillanimous inclination of the Captain, telling him that better terms were always to be made with the sword in the hand than in the scabbard; but baser counsels prevailed, and all that the besieged demanded was permission to send to Mathias de Albuquerque, and a respite of three days; at the end of which, they promised to surrender if they were not relieved. Not three hours, was the reply, and they were threatened that no quarter should be given if the place was stormed; so the Captain yielded, and the Dutch fleet entered the port in triumph. Nine days afterwards a fleet with reinforcements arrived from Holland.

37 Ericeyra's brief account of the loss of Olinda is full of misrepresentations. He says that Mathias, before he left Portugal, protested against the inadequacy of the forces given him; that he lost no time in putting every thing in the best state of defence, and that he defended the passage of the river Doce a long time bravely, against superior numbers. The Carmelite throws the whole blame upon Olivares, with his usual malice,... yet he allows that the danger was disbelieved by the people of Olinda. Raphael de Jesus and Rocha Pitta agree in censuring Mathias; the former speaks the opinion of Joam Fernandez Vieira,... unquestionably a competent judge; the latter probably represents the conduct of the General according to the feelings with which it was remembered in Brazil.
CHAPTER XV.

But in Pernambuco, as in Bahia, the Portugueze had no sooner abandoned the city, than they began to recollect themselves and recover heart. Their previous misconduct is rather attributable to ill management than to any want of courage; there had been no foresight, no preparations against the danger, and when it came upon them, the first thought of every man was to secure a retreat for his family, because there was no hope of saving the town. When all was lost, and they had retired into the woods, it was the voice of the brave which was heard, for then none but the brave gave counsel; and those men took the lead whom Nature had qualified to take it. It was also the character of their General to act wisely when he had time for consideration, though sudden events confused him; . . . a slow and politic man, who wanted presence of mind. He now told the Portugueze that the Dutch made conquests for gain and not for glory that they coveted Pernambuco for the sugar and tobacco which
HISTORY OF BRAZIL.

it produced; the wisest plan of operations was therefore to main-
tain the country against them, and prevent them from cultivating
it. Works were immediately begun upon a little eminence, equi-
distant from Olinda and Recife, being a long league from each;
four pieces of cannon, from the wreck of a Dutch ship, were
all their artillery. The works were prosecuted with the utmost
alacrity, and as they advanced, the number of labourers in-
creased, some coming to take up their abode under its protec-
tion, others to join the Camp: such speed was made, that the
Camp of the Good Jesus, as they called it, was defensible before
the Dutch knew that it had been begun. The conquerors were
well pleased at this; the more Portugueze were assembled, the
more effectual they expected would be their blow, and the greater
their prize. Hadrian Frank, who knew the country, offered to
guide them to the camp by a circuitous route, so that they might
surprise it; but Mathias was on his guard, and instead of wait-
ing for the assault, sent out a party to meet the assailants. The
Dutch were not prepared for this; they could not resist the im-
petuosity with which they were attacked, and they fled, leaving
forty upon the field.

This success emboldened the Portugueze; they knew that the
Dutch General, with a guard of six hundred men, was going from
Recife to Olinda, and they laid an ambush and surprised him;
his men were put to flight, and he himself had actually sur-
rendered, when his horse having received a slight wound, plunged
so desperately as to clear a way for him, and he galloped off.
The danger of passing from one town to another soon became so
great as to occasion a regulation, that whenever a party was
about to make the attempt, two guns should be fired, and a de-
tachement from each side be sent to secure the road. The Por-
tugueze now established a number of out-posts, communicating
with each other, under officers, who from the bush-fighting which
they were to practise, were called *Capitaens de Emboscadas*. One was entrusted to the Jesuit Manoel de Moraes and his flock of Indians, whom he had made Christians and soldiers at the same time; Camaram, the Carijo Chief, with his people, had charge of another; Joam Fernandez Vicira had the command of a party who were to keep the field night and day. The main force consisted of peasants, who came to the camp when they could spare time from their occupations, and left it when their presence was necessary at home, so that they were continually coming and going; but they who had been driven out of the town, or whose houses were in the immediate vicinity of the enemy, took up their abode in the Camp. They had great hardships to endure there. Food was necessarily scarce, when such numbers were unexpectedly assembled in such a place; the soldiers had sometimes nothing but a single head of maize for their ratio. Raiment was still scarcer than food; for driven as they had been from their habitations, they had saved nothing. What they were most ashamed of was, to appear without shoes, considering them perhaps as a mark of distinction between themselves and their slaves: it was also at first a real evil, and especially in a country infested by *chiguas*: against these the native preservatives were adopted, and to remove the ideal grievance, the officers cast off their shoes also, that they might appear bare-footed like the men. This was afterwards found so convenient in a land full of rivers and lakes, that the custom continued long after the necessity ceased.

Meantime the Dutch fortified themselves in their new possessions, which they were enabled to do without interruption, after the Portugueze had twice suffered severely in attempting to prevent them. No succours arrived from Portugal, and Mathias, weary of expecting them, made, in despair, an assault upon Olinda, from which he was repulsed with great loss. In irregular warfare, the advantage was altogether on his side, and the Dutch.
soon began to want provisions; the sea indeed was open to them, but the land was the enemy's; they had no water at Recife except what was collected in pits dug in the beach, and so imperfectly filtered, as scarcely to serve any purpose of fresh water; they were obliged to eat Dutch bread; and, though the forest was at their very gates, to burn Dutch wood, so well did the Portugueze keep the country. If they ventured out for food or fruits, they were cut off by the bush-fighters. The Portugueze were short of ammunition, and were obliged to melt their pewter dishes, and the lead of their fishing nets, into shot; but the unerring weapons of the Indians did not fail; and the loss which the Dutch suffered in this harrassing and desultory mode of war was considerable.

Mathias had other enemies beside the Dutch. There were some of the inhabitants who, provided they could sell their produce, cared not who were the purchasers; they had no sense of patriotism, and were eager to trade with the conquerors. Three persons who ventured to begin this traffic were detected and hanged. There were, however, many whose wishes were the same, and one night the house in which the General slept was set on fire: he found it more prudent to say the fire was accidental, than to seek out and punish the guilty. In fact, the yoke of the Dutch might perhaps have been willingly received, had it not been for the difference of religion. That evil, which of all others, renders a people most discontented, the want of justice, was grievously felt at Olinda; the greatest acts of iniquity were committed by the powerful, and no redress could be obtained. A little before the Dutch arrived, one of the inhabitants cried aloud in the market-place—"Where are the Brethren of the Misericordia? Justice is dead here in Pernambuco, why do not they come and bury her?" This perversion of law, and a general corruption of manners in this unhappy Captaincy, are acknowledged by the Portugueze. Bahia was better governed, because it was
the seat of Government, and none except the New Christians
there wished well to the invaders.

The Dutch, while they endeavoured to increase the number
of their partizans in the country, exposed themselves as little as
they could to the desultory and destructive warfare in which their
enemies were so skilful. They fortified the strongest posts in the
vicinity of Recife, and prepared to extend their conquests by
sea: their first expedition was against the island of Itamaraca,
eight leagues south of Olinda. This island, which is about ten
leagues in circumference, was better cultivated than peopled;
it contained three and twenty sugar works; but the principal
settlement, which was called the town of Conceição, or the Con-
ception, consisted of only a hundred and thirty inhabitants, be-
sides a garrison of sixty men, under Salvador Pinheiro, the Go-
vernor. Trifling as this force was, the Dutch did not find it
easy to conquer it, and instead of persevering in the attempt,
they built a strong fort about musket shot from the opposite
main land, commanding the entrance of a port in which ships
of three hundred tons might enter. In this, which they named
Fort Orange, they left eighty men, with twelve pieces of cannon,
and then returned to Recife. The old town of Garassu, ill
peopled, and ill fortified, was nearly opposite to the fort: the
Portuguese immediately sent to strengthen it, and prevent the
enemy from passing over.

Meantime the Court of Madrid, though less solicitous for the
recovery of Recife than it behaved them to have been, were not
wholly unmindful of it. Nine caravels were dispatched at differ-
ent times, to land where they could, and make their way to the
Camp of Jesus. Some of these were taken by the enemy's
cruisers, and of the men who effected their landing, only a part
reached the place of destination. No greater effort was made,
because the Court were willing to let the Pernambucans deliver
themselves if they could, and expected that the harassing war
which they carried on, as it defeated the main object of the
Dutch, would finally induce them to abandon the country. It
was said also, that the Albuquerques encouraged the Court and
the Governors of Portugal in this opinion, because they believed
that they should in time recover by this slow system what they
had lost; whereas it was to be apprehended that if the Crown
sent out a great force to reconquer the Captaincy, it would not
be restored to their family, upon the plea that it had been lost
by the chance of war. This policy was changed, as soon as it
was known at Madrid that the Dutch were fitting out a strong
fleet for Pernambuco, under Hadrian Patry, an admiral of great
reputation; its force consisted of three thousand five hundred
troops, and many Dutch families were going out in it as settlers,
and many rich Jews, to take up their abode in this western land
of promise. It was supposed also that they meant to cruise for
the Mexican galleons, in hopes of a second prize like Heyne's.
Upon this intelligence a fleet was equipped at Lisbon: most of
the ships were Castilian, but the whole expense was borne by
Portugal. D. Antonio de Oquendo had the command; the fleet
was destined for Spanish America, but was first to throw suc­
cours into Brazil. Ten caravels containing a thousand men, Por­
tuguese, Spaniards, and Neapolitans, with twelve pieces of brass
cannon, were destined for Pernambuco; Duarte de Albuquerque
the Lord of the Captaincy, went with them: two hundred men
in two vessels, with an equal number of guns, were for Pa­
raiba, and eight hundred for Bahia. The fleet was ordered

The manner in which Brito Freire mentions this report, shows how gene­
rally it was believed. He says, Crejo, que só da malicia nasceu esta murmuração,
mas como foi tão pública, os veneraveis respetos da Historia me obrigaram a escre­vella; querendo omitilla. § 402.
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chap. 15. to make Bahia first, . . ill-judged instructions, unless there was no design of meeting the enemy; for it gave the Dutch Admiral time to reach Recife, to land his troops and supplies, make every thing ready for battle, and sail in quest of it with sixteen good ships.

Oquendo’s fleet consisted of twenty ships of war, the twelve caravels with troops for Pernambuco and Paraiba, and four and twenty merchantmen laden with sugar from Bahia, and proceeding under his convoy. When the enemy came in sight he was advised to take the troops out of the transports, and distribute them among the ships of war and the larger merchant vessels; he thought himself strong enough already, and ordered them to fall to leeward. When the action began, he got the weather-gage of Patry’s ship, and grappled with it; a desperate engagement ensued: the Dutch would fain have got clear, but Juan Costelho, one of the Spanish Captains, got on board the enemy, and past a cable round her foremast, a service which cost him his life. A second ship bore up to attack Oquendo on the other side. Cosme do Couto Barbosa, perceiving this, ran his little vessel between them; it was presently sunk; he himself was picked up and made prisoner; . . but this daring manœuvre seems to have saved the Spanish General. Ere long Patry’s ship took fire, and the Spaniards kept up such an incessant discharge upon it, that there was no possibility of stopping the flames. Oquendo now cut the cable which held him close to the enemy’s ship, . . its destruction was inevitable, and his own was so compleatly disabled, that without assistance he could not have escaped being involved in the same fate: Juan de Prado came up and towed him away. To save the Dutch ship was impossible; Patry, like many others, might probably have saved his life by swimming to the Spaniards; instead of attempting this, he took the colours, wrapt them round his armour, and then plunged into the sea headlong.

Meantime the Spanish Admiral engaged the Dutch, and was sunk.
It was a bloody action, bravely fought on both sides; the Spaniards had the advantage in numbers, the Dutch in the size of their ships, and in weight of metal; the loss on either side was equal, in all about three thousand men. At nightfall the fleets were still in sight of each other. Oquendo ordered the Conte de Bagnuolo, Giovanni Vincenzo San Felice, who had the command of the succours for Pernambuco, to stand in shore and make the first port he could; but first he found it necessary to take three hundred men out of the thousand, for the purpose of supplying in part the loss which he had sustained. In the morning the enemy's fleet was not to be seen, and Oquendo, in obedience to his orders, stood for the Spanish Main, to convoy home the galleons; these orders would not have been so readily obeyed if he had wished to renew the action.

Bagnuolo meantime stood for the shore, and gained the port of Barra Grande, which was thirty leagues from the Camp of Jesus. One caravel, commanded by Antonio de Figueiredo, parted company, and was chased a long way to the North till she got into the River Potengi. No attempt was made to reach Paraiba, it is therefore plain that the enemy were masters of the sea. The troops however were safely landed, and after a difficult and painful march, they joined Mathias de Albuquerque. The Dutch Commander knew that the Portuguese had received succours, and did not know how inadequate they were. He thought it necessary to centre his forces at Recife, lest he should be attacked there, and resolved to abandon Olinda, a resolution, the more willingly adopted because the danger of passing from one place to the other was so great. Having thus determined, he sent

19. The native appellation of what is usually called Rio Grande. It is to be preferred because the Portuguese name serves equally for the river, the province, and the principal settlement, and because there are many other Rio Grandes.
to Mathias and asked if he would ransom the town, for otherwise it should be burnt. Mathias replied, burn it if you cannot keep it, we can build it better. Accordingly the Dutch set it on fire, and the whole of this flourishing city was consumed, except a single mud hovel which remained unhurt, when houses, churches, and convents, were blazing round about.

It was not long before the Dutch learnt how small the reinforcement was which had reached the Portuguese, and that by the misconduct of the leaders, it was rather likely to weaken than to strengthen them. Bagnuolo was lodged apart, and Duarte de Albuquerque took up his quarters with his brother, each with his own men. In one thing both these new Commanders agreed, in favouring the regular troops whom they had brought out, and treating the armed inhabitants with contempt, though in fact they were the strength and hope of the Captaincy; by them the country had been defended, and by them it must be recovered, if it were recoverable. The Dutch soon discovered this wretched impolicy, and prepared to profit by it: they opened an intercourse with Bagnuolo, which that General improvidently permitted them to continue, and which gave them opportunities of sounding and tampering with such as were discontented. Hitherto, by confining themselves to Recife, they had enabled the Portuguese to bring their forces to one point, and remained themselves like men besieged, though they had a large disposable force, and were masters of the sea. Bolder measures were now resolved on, and accordingly three thousand men were dispatched to attack Paraiba. The ill consequences of having destroyed Olinda were now felt; while that place was in the hands of the Dutch, part of the Portuguese

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30 This is the substance of a bombastic speech made for him by Raphael de Jesus.
force was necessarily employed in watching it: it so happened that this had been the station of those men who had been raised in Paraiba, and when they were no longer wanted for it, Mathias suffered them to return home; at the same time he sent thither the two hundred men destined to reinforce that Captainy. Figueredo’s caravel, which had been chased to the Potengi, and was given up for lost, sailed also from thence for Paraiba, and reached it in safety just at this important point of time; it had on board eight pieces of cannon, and some good engineers, and was laden with ammunition, of which the place was in great want.

A fort called Cabedello defended the bar; it was in a miserable state, for old works had been demolished, and the new ones intended to replace them were not completed. Lichhart, who commanded the sea forces, would have attempted to force the entrance; but the land commander persuaded him that this was a needless danger, and that the troops could speedily make themselves masters of the place. His advice was unfortunate; the fort might easily have been past, and then Paraiba must have fallen.

Joam de Matos Cardoso, the Captain of the Fort, was an old man of much experience and reputation; he had with him sixty men of his own garrison, and a hundred and sixty had reached him from Pernambuco; and they drew out to oppose the invaders. The Dutch, when they prepared to land, observed that such of the Portuguese as were farthest from the fort were in the best order, while those who were stationed nearer were more careless, because they fancied themselves safe under its protection: on this side therefore they landed, and threw up a trench on the sand to cover themselves. This trench impeded the march of six hundred men who were on their way from the town; a hot skirmish took place, and the Portuguese were driven into the woods, from whence however they made their way into the fort. In the night the Dutch erected a redoubt, which
CHAP. XV.

1631. the Portugueze attacked and carried in the morning with the loss of Jeronymo de Albuquerque Maranham, brother to Antonio the Captain of Paraiba. Godinho who commanded the succours which came out with Oquendo, perished in consequence of a ridiculous confidence in his own diminutive size; he was desired to leave the walls on which he was walking, because the enemy from a distance had brought two guns to bear in that direction, and his answer was, that no marksman could hit so small a mark; within a few minutes he was shattered to pieces.

As soon as the object of the Dutch expedition was known, Mathias dispatched four companies to the relief of Paraiba. They made an assault upon the enemy on the evening of their arrival, and the next morning began to throw up trenches in the face of those which the besiegers had erected. Some severe fighting ensued; the Dutch endeavoured without success to prevent them from completing these works; they attacked them at night with the same ill fortune, and again at noon the next day, when they knew that the Spaniards and Portugueze would be either at table, or taking their mid-day sleep, and only the common guard would be at their post. This was an obstinate conflict; the Portugueze lost nearly an hundred men, among whom were the Commander of the last reinforcements, and a bare-footed Franciscan who encouraged the soldiers by giving them absolution for their sins, and fighting at their head. One more attack and the fort would have fallen; but the Dutch had suffered so greatly that they broke up the siege, leaving good part of their stores behind them.

Their next attempt was upon Rio Grande. For this settlement, Portugal was indebted to the Jesuit Missionaries. The natives here had grievously infested Pernambuco: the Commander of that Captaincy, Manoel Mascarenhas, was at length obliged to march against them in person; he defeated them,
but it was doing little to put to flight a few savage tribes, who as soon as he was gone returned to their former haunts, and their old habits of devastation. The Jesuits pacified them, and brought a hundred and fifty hordes into alliance with the Portugueze. One of the fathers was as well skilled in military, as in church architecture, ... he traced the plan of a fort; his brethren set the Indians the example of working at it, carrying stones upon their backs; by them it was begun and finished; and when finished it was the strongest fortress in Brazil, not from any advantage of situation, but from the solidity of its works and the excellence of their construction. It was built upon a rock at the entrance of the river Potengi, and half a league off were a few habitations, which in this thinly peopled country had obtained the name of a city. The Dutch thought to surprise this place; but a Portugueze vessel had seen them, and carried intelligence to Paraiba time enough for the Governor there to send his brother Mathias de Albuquerque Maranham, with three hundred men, and the same number of natives for its defence; the fortifications thus manned were too formidable to be attacked with any probability of success.

The trade between Portugal and Pernambuco was still considerable, notwithstanding the loss of the capital and its important harbour. Of the ships which ventured, a great proportion were captured, and few escaped without an action; nevertheless the profits of those who reached their destination were so great, that one successful voyage encouraged adventurers more than many failures deterred them. They sold their European commodities at enormous prices, because there were so many purchasers, and so few to supply the demand; and they bought the produce of the country as much below its value, because all the inhabitants wanted to sell. A port about seven leagues North of Recife was the great mart of this trade; it was called Pontal de Nazaré.
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CHAP. reth, from a mountain with a famous Church upon its summit where an image of our Lady of Nazareth worked miracles and was visited by Brazilian pilgrims. The mouth of the harbour was formed by an opening in that reef which extends along the coast of Pernambuco; four iron guns were planted here to command it, and two redoubts had been thrown up by Bagnuolo, on his march from the place where he landed to the Camp of Jesus. The garrison consisted of sixty men, and they had just been reinforced with twice that number from Port dos Atfogados. This place the Dutch attempted next, but perceiving a show of greater resistance than they expected, they coasted on half a league, thinking to land in a creek which ran some way inland. It so happened that a party of fifteen musqueteers were passing along, escorting a considerable sum of money sent by the merchants of Bahia to their correspondents here, to be laid out in sugar, such being their mode of payment. These men seeing the Dutch prepare to land, took their station securely in the thicket and kept up a steady and unerring fire upon the boats, which presently put back, terrified at the great loss that they received from unseen enemies. Their Commander immediately concluded that a strong detachment had been sent from the redoubts to oppose him, the force left there would therefore be materially weakened, and he might surprise and overpower it. Nothing could be more specious than such reasoning; but when he made the attack, he found the whole force of the Portuguese there, and was repulsed with the loss of seventy men, . an event which added one more miracle to the history of our Lady of Nazareth. Notwithstanding this success Bagnuolo thought it prudent to build a fort here, and he went himself to construct it, being an old and experienced engineer. No person except himself was satisfied with his work; the spot was ill chosen, and too distant from the bar.
Hitherto the Dutch had little reason to pride themselves upon the success of their arms. They had been two years in possession of Recife and had made no farther progress, except in building a fort in the island of Itamaraca; all their other attempts had been baffled, and the Portugueze, whom they defeated at first almost without a struggle, had now acquired the habits and the confidence of military life. Their superiority was restored by a deserter. This man was a Mulatto, born in Pernambuco, by name Domingos Fernandes Calabar, who had served two years among his countrymen, received some wounds, and gained some reputation. Whether he had committed some crime, and fled to escape punishment; or if the insolence of the ungrateful Commanders disgusted him; or, which is more likely, he was influenced by the hope of bettering his fortune by the treason, is not known; but he was the first Pernambucan who deserted to the Dutch, and could they have chosen one from all others, Calabar would have been their choice, so active was he, sagacious, enterprising, and desperate, and no man knew the country and the coast so well. He was received with ostentatious encouragement. Bagnuolo’s indiscretion gave the Dutch opportunity to tamper with others, whom Calabar’s reception tempted, and in a short time every movement of the Portugueze was known to the enemy before it took place. Some of the Neapolitan soldiers deserted; Bagnuolo wished to recover them, and sent to Recife proposing to give Dutch prisoners in exchange. His messengers were detained some days without audience; this led the Portugueze to suspect that some expedition was on foot, and they sent to all the posts which they thought most exposed, warning them to be upon their guard, especially to Nazareth, Serinhaem, and Garassu. The warning came too late: Calabar had undertaken to guide the Dutch to this latter town, and deliver it into their hands; so sure was he of success that he took
with him four hundred negroes to load with the spoil. They
set out at midnight, went through the ruins of Olinda, and
surprised the town while the inhabitants were at mass. The ill
success which the Dutch had hitherto experienced, made them
treat the Portuguese here as enemies on whom they were to take
vengeance, not as people whose good will it was their policy to
conciliate. The men who came in their way were slaughtered,
the women were stripped, and the plunderers with brutal cruelty
tore away ear-rings through the ear-flap, and cut off fingers for the
sake of the rings which were upon them. Having plundered
and burnt the town they set out on their return, taking with them
as prisoners some Franciscans, whom for their profession they es-
pecially hated; and driving in mockery before them the priest in
his vestments, just as they had forced him from the altar. Boats
had been appointed to meet them at the nearest shore, and their
salute of joy was heard in the Portuguese camp when they
reached Recife in triumph. Presently the men who had gone
to warn this ill-fated place of its danger, returned with tidings
of its destruction; and shortly afterwards Bagnuolo’s messen-
gers, who had been detained so long in Recife without obtaining
audience, were sent back with an insolent message from the
Dutch Commander, that he could not attend to the proposals
now, being just returned from an excursion to Garassu, and
weary with his day’s work.

Before the terror which this destructive expedition struck into
the Portuguese had abated, Calabar led the Dutch upon a
second, ten leagues to the South, where they plundered and
burnt another settlement; he then guided them to Rio Fer­
moso and surprised five ships which had nearly completed their
cargoes. Warned by this disaster, the Portuguese built a fort
there, mounted two guns, and manned it with twenty men, under
Pedro de Albuquerque, an inadequate defence against such an
enemy. Calabar returned and attacked the fort; but never did soldiers more resolutely perform their duty than this handful of Portuguese. They held out till nineteen were killed; the twentieth, though wounded in three places, swam the river, and the Commander was found lying upon the earth, with a musket shot through the breast. The Dutch were generous enough to show their esteem for so brave a man; they treated him with especial kindness, and after his recovery set him ashore upon the Spanish Main, from whence he went to Europe, and was rewarded with the Government of Maranham.

These were not the only services which Calabar rendered to the Dutch; he instructed them in that mode of warfare by which they had suffered most, and taught them how to oppose ambush to ambush; so that the Portuguese in their next attempt to surprise them, fell into a snare themselves. Confounded by repeated losses, Bagnuolo knew not what to attempt, nor on which side to prepare for defence; his detachments always arrived too late; ... they came everywhere to behold the devastation which they were dispatched to prevent. Thus harrassed and perplexed, he remained for some time in a state of continual alarm, and yet of inaction; ashamed of this he made preparations for attacking Fort Orange, but with so little precautions, that his intention was known and the Fort reinforced. He however made the attempt, stript the nearest Portuguese settlement of its guns for his batteries, and when he found that nothing could be done against the strong works which had been thrown up, he retired and left these guns to the enemy. It is no wonder that the Brazilians suspected him of treachery; there is a degree of imbecility which may easily be mistaken for treason, because it produces the same effects.

Meantime the West Indian Company sent out two Commissaries to Brazil, investing them with full powers either to eva-
cuate the country if they saw no prospect of greater success, or to prosecute the conquest with fresh spirit. They brought with them three thousand men, with stores and ammunition in abundance. Wardenberg was less pleased with this additional force than he was offended at the curtailment of his authority; he therefore resigned the command and sailed for Holland, being succeeded by Laurens de Rimbach, an old and experienced soldier, who willingly accepted the chief military command, subject to the direction of the Commissaries. Their resolution was soon taken; the chances of war were now in their favour, and they hoped by pursuing their good fortune to obtain possession of the country. There was a post by the Rio dos Affogados, which was of considerable importance, being situated where the fertile plain of Capibaripe began; they had attacked it the preceding year, and been repulsed with considerable loss; they now attempted it with a greater force, carried it, and pushed on under the guidance of a deserter to a second station, which they carried also. Frey Belchior, a Franciscan distinguished himself in its defence; with a pike for his weapon, he slew every Dutchman who came within his reach, and for this and other such services, his religious merits being likewise taken into consideration, he was afterwards made a Bishop. It was not long before the Dutch stormed a third station, with more loss to the Portuguese and less to themselves; they had now adopted that execrable mode of warfare which the Spaniards first practised against the Indians, and trained dogs to pursue the fugitives when they sought to save themselves in the morasses. Having won these stations, they erected a fort at the first, which they called Fort Willem, and garrisoned with a sufficient force.

Encouraged by these successes they now resolved to attempt the Camp; and Calabar, in the true spirit of a deserter, recommended them to make the assault upon Good Friday, when the
Portuguese would be employed in the ceremonies of their religion. If they won the Camp, it was urged, the province was their own. Rimbach went in person upon this service at the head of three thousand men: but the Portuguese had obtained early information of the design; their forces were called in from the country, and on the approach of the assailants a tremendous fire was opened upon them. The guns were loaded with musket balls, perhaps for want of other shot; the discharge proved very destructive, and Rimbach himself fell. His death threw the Dutch into confusion, and had they been pursued in their retreat, a signal victory would have been gained; but Bagnuolo, who being crippled with the gout, sat in a chair to see the action, repressed the ardour of his people, saying, that the flight of the enemy was probably preconcerted for the purpose of decoying them into an ambush;... and thus the irrecoverable opportunity was lost. It is a proof how little care was bestowed by Spain upon these colonies, that though cavalry would have been of the utmost service to the Portuguese, and have given them a decided superiority over the invaders, Mathias could obtain nothing more from the ministers than one company, and that rather nominal than real, for only twenty of the men were mounted.

As Calabar had advised this unfortunate attack upon the Camp, he was fearful that it might indispose the Dutch toward him; and to recover his credit he proposed to Sigismundus Van Schoppe, the new commander, to conquer the Island of Itamaraca. Their former failure in this attempt had been rather owing to their own fault than to the means of defence which the Portuguese possessed; they now dispatched such a force as rendered resistance hopeless; the town of Conceição was yielded to them, and with it the whole Island. Mathias de Albuquerque was on his march to relieve it when intelligence reached him...
that it was lost; in such marching and remarching were the
Brazilian troops exhausted both in body and spirit. Garassu
had been reoccupied by the Portuguese after its destruction by
Calabar: Figueiredo, the same officer who had so seasonably
thrown supplies into Fort Cabedello, and distinguished him­
self in its defence, commanded here; but it was impossible
to defend this post against so superior an enemy, and therefore it
was abandoned.

It was in vain that the Brazilians called upon their govern­
ment for effectual aid; the Court of Madrid, believing or affect­
ing to believe that the Dutch would soon be weary of main­
taining a Conquest which was so obstinately disputed, seemed by
its supineness to yield it to them. The loss which the Portu­
guese sustained in so many conflicts was not made up by any
reinforcements; their whole force was now reduced to twelve
hundred men, whereas the enemy were continually receiving new
supplies both of men and stores. The Commissaries perceived
the weakness of the Portuguese, and thinking to win the Camp
by slower, safer, and surer means than assaulting it, they resolved
to besiege it in form. Bagnuolo was at this time absent, inspect­
ing his new works at Nazaré. Mathias, as soon as he discovered
what was intended, recalled him, collected all the little force
he had, sent away from the Camp all persons who were not capable
of bearing arms, and set fire to the canes in that direction where
they served to screen the motions of the enemy. The besiegers
took their stations; but one difficulty was still to be surmounted.
Their quarters were but half a league from Fort Willem, yet it
was almost impossible to drag the guns even that little distance
through a country full of trees and sugar canes, among which
the Portuguese and their Indians were always on the watch.
The river Capebaripe was at this time swoln with rain which
had fallen among the mountains: they embarked eleven
pieces of cannon in the hulk of a ship, and began to tow it up; the depth of water, from the fresh, was in their favour, but the increased rapidity of the stream was as much against them; and the difficulty which this occasioned was so great, that though they set off at sunset, they were at sunrise a long cannon shot distant from their nearest station. A party of the Portugueze who were on the watch heard them, and immediately attacked this important convoy; succour came on both sides, but after a conflict of four hours, the Portugueze remained masters of the artillery, and the Dutch in consequence of losing their guns and the difficulty of bringing up others, gave up their intention of besieging the Camp.

The next expedition of Calabar was to a greater distance. Six and forty leagues South of Recife are some salt water lakes upon the coast, by which some considerable settlements had grown up, because fish was abundant there, and the land fertile. These places were called the Lagos or Alagoas, that is to say, the Lakes, from their situation. Remote as they were from the scene of war, they were not out of Calabar's reach, and that restless Mulatto led the Dutch thither and burnt the first village, which contained about six score inhabitants. The second, which was a day's journey distant, was successfully defended. This kind of warfare was dreadful to the inhabitants, but it suited better with the revengeful spirit of a deserter, than with the views of the Dutch; in them it was as impolitic as it was cruel to lay waste the country which they hoped to possess. It was not long before they gained more important advantages. Francisco de Vasconcellos da Cunha came out with two ships and five caravels from Lisbon, bringing six hundred men, and good supply of stores, succours of great importance to the feeble force of the Portugueze. They came in sight off Paraiba, three leagues North of the bar, by the river Maman-
goape, where a Portugueze officer was stationed, with some of
the best pilots of the coast, because this land was frequently
made by ships from Lisbon. One of these Pilots had spied a
Dutch vessel, which fired several guns and then stood to the
Southward: as soon as the squadron came in sight, he went off
to tell them this, and that these guns were signals to collect
other ships, cruising in company. He therefore advised them
to take shelter in that river, and said he was come to pilot them
in. Vasconcellos, instead of immediately following this advice,
called a council, and was persuaded by his officers to proceed
thirty leagues North, to the Potengi. In the morning he found
himself near the Bahia da Traçam, and three Dutch ships bearing
down to attack him. Some of the caravels ran aground, others
got into the Potengi, and were there taken. The Dutch
did not attempt to board the ships because they were afraid
of the troops: but they kept up such a fire upon them, that they
drove the smallest ashore; the men got to land, and saved part
of the cargo and ten pieces of cannon. The other ship main-
tained the action during the remainder of the day, and in the
night got into Bahia Fermosa, where Vasconcellos immediately
landed his men. In the morning the Dutch came in after him,
and at the first broadside, sunk his ship, already shattered in the
fight of the preceding day.

Vasconcellos removed his men and such stores as he had
saved, from this desert beach to some sugar works which were
five leagues inland. As soon as this was known at the Camp,
Mathias directed that the articles which were least bulky and
most valuable should be sent by land, and ordered Vasconcellos
to embark the rest at Cunhau, a port six leagues from his pre-
sent lodgement, where four barks from Paraiba would be ready
to receive them. Accordingly he convoyed them to the shore,
saw them put on board, and then thinking all safe, returned.
to his quarters. The barks had hardly got under weigh, before they perceived a Dutch ship and four sumacas, or smacks, coming in;... this kind of small craft was used for entering rivers which would not admit vessels of greater draught. The Portugueze in vain attempted to escape; they set fire to three of their barks, the fourth was taken. But the captors were now endangered in their turn; the tide left them upon the bar, within blunderbuss shot of the shore. Vasconcellos was speedily advised of this, and returned to attack them: night came on when he was about a league from the scene of action, and then he was persuaded by his officers to turn aside to some pastures, where his men might rest and refresh themselves. Neither he nor his officers chose to recollect that the tide would not wait for them, and when they reached the shore next morning, the Dutch were gone. They in their haste to escape had left untouched one of the barks which the Portugueze had set on fire, but which had not been burnt, and the stores which thus escaped, were all which were saved from this convoy; Vasconcellos having lost not only the seven vessels which he brought out, but also three more which came to his assistance. During the whole course of the war the Portugueze never suffered a greater loss, and scarcely a greater disgrace. Of the six hundred men who went out in this expedition, only a hundred and eighty reached the Camp.

Bagnuolo now went to Paraiba to see a new fort, called St. Antonio, which was being erected on the opposite side of the river to Fort Cabedello, the better to command the entrance. Mathias de Albuquerque accompanied him. While they were thus employed a Dutch squadron sailed from Recife against Rio Grande: the detachment was strong, and the more formidable because Calabar was on board. Pedro Mendes de Govea commanded this important place; he had thirteen guns and eighty five men, enough to defend so good a fortress, and he
sent for succour to Paraiba, that being the nearest station. Strong as the fort was, it had the great disadvantage of being commanded by a sand hill, which all the labour of the Portugueze could not remove, for as fast as they cleared it away, the wind heaped another in its place, owing perhaps to the fort itself; Calabar, aware of this, led the besiegers here. On the second day Govea was wounded on the walls, and disabled from all exertion; the garrison then relaxed in their defence, being influenced by a deserter from Bahia, and a prisoner who was at large within the walls. With these men Calabar made his bargain, and they sold the place. Three caravels fell into the conquerors hand. On the following day five hundred men arrived from Paraiba, and had the mortification to behold Dutch colours flying upon the strongest fortress in Brazil.

An Indian called Jagoarari by his countrymen, and Simam Soares by the Portugueze, had lain eight years in irons at Rio Grande. His offence was, that he had gone over to the Dutch when they were in possession of St. Salvador, but he had protested that his only motive was to bring away his wife and child, who were by some accident in their power. The Portugueze wanted virtue to believe him, and notwithstanding he was the uncle of Camaram, their best ally, they had kept him eight years in this cruel confinement. The Dutch set him free, immediately he went to his clan. The marks of my chains, said he, are still bleeding; but it is guilt which is infamous, and not punishment. The worse the Portugueze have used me the more merit will be yours and mine in persisting faithfully to serve them, especially now that they are in distress. They listened to his persuasions, and he brought to the assistance of his oppressors a body of constant allies, with whom he served them so well as to obtain, and deserve, a place in history.
But the Dutch also found allies among the natives, and the Portugueze suffered tenfold more injury than they inflicted by the Indians. Nine years ago Baldwin Henrik had taken some young natives from Bahia da Traçam to Holland; they were carefully educated for political missionaries, and five of them at different times were sent to the Janduis, a clan of Tapuyas, dwelling in the interior, and more barbarous than any other of the race. These savages were invited down to take vengeance upon the children of those who had driven them from the coast. Little persuasion was needed, now that Rio Grande was no longer in the possession of their enemies. They came down, and a dreadful vengeance they took upon women and children, the sick and the aged;... the men who should have defended them being in arms elsewhere, unsuspicous of this dreadful attack.

The Portugueze had at the same time another harrassing enemy behind them. About thirty leagues inland, was a large track of palm forest, called the Palmares; it was the resort of the negroes who from time to time were able to escape from slavery; and probably they were at first induced to choose it, because of its resemblance to the scenery of their own country. Of the myriads who had been imported into Brazil, many had in process of time found shelter here; here they multiplied: their numbers were continually increased by new desertions, and it was supposed that at this period they amounted to thirty thousand. They lived in villages which they called Mocambos; the largest of them was computed to contain six thousand inhabitants; it consisted of three streets, each being a half-hour's walk in length; the huts were contiguous, and had each its garden behind. The forest supplied them with fruit and game; they were however a provident and industrious people, and cultivated the land, so that at all times they abounded with food. Twice in the year they gathered in their maize, and celebrated
both harvests with a week’s festivity. Some appearance of Christianity was kept up amongst them; a religion which they had received in so corrupt a form, that it was scarcely possible for them, ignorant as they were, to make it more unlike its divine original. They had their forms of justice as well as of religion. Every evening it was their custom in every village to call over the muster roll, and see if any of the people were missing; that done they began their dance, and continued it till midnight. This occasioned a singular deviation from the ordinary habits of natural life, for in consequence of retiring thus late to rest, they slept till nine or ten in the forenoon. The track of woodland which they inhabited had however two material disadvantages; it was liable to want water in the dry season, and it was not far enough in the interior. At present indeed this vicinity to the Portugueze settlements was attended with little danger; it facilitated the escape of their brethren, and allowed of that incessant predatory warfare which seems to constitute the highest enjoyment of man in the semi-barbarous stages of his progress. Sometimes the colonists attacked them, way-laid them on their watering parties, and destroyed their fields; they on their part carried destruction among the back settlements, and inflicted more injury than they endured; their own district was a labyrinth with which none but themselves were well acquainted; but the fugitives who continually joined them served them as guides, and gave information where they might best direct their incursions. The war which they waged was merciless, except towards those of their own colour; with them it was their avowed practice to receive all who fled to them upon equal terms, but to retain all as slaves whom they made prisoners. Harrassed by these enemies, and by the merciless Janduis, the Portugueze were little able to make head against the Dutch, who were now victorious on all sides.
Toward the close of February, the Dutch Commander left Recife, taking with him so large a force that Mathias thought the place might be surprised. This enterprise would have succeeded, had it been executed as boldly as it was planned. There was a place where the Beberibe was fordable at low water; the best of the enemy's forts commanded this ford, which was also defended by a vessel with eight guns and fifty men. Martim Soares Moreno was sent with five hundred men to attempt the passage at midnight; half swimming, half wading, about an hundred of the party effected it, and believing that their comrades were following them, got upon the isthmus of sand which connects Olinda and Recife. The works here were incomplete; the sentinels gave the alarm, and at the same moment the Portuguese attacked them and forced their way. The Dutch were thrown into the utmost confusion at this unexpected assault. One of the Commissaries who had been left with the command got into the first boat which he found, and fled to the Island; others fled from the Island to the town. Unfortunately the Portuguese were in as much confusion as the Dutch; the forts and the guardship had opened fire upon the ford, and though their random shot could do little execution, it terrified the great body of the assailants. They who were in the water turned back: they who had not begun the passage did not chuse to attempt it, and thus four hundred of the party left those who were braver than themselves to their fate. These brave men seeing the day at hand, and finding themselves unsupported, were fain to retreat, carrying the wounded upon their shoulders over the ford. Had all behaved with equal resolution Recife would that day have been recovered.

Meantime the Dutch force landed at Paraiba, pitched their tents, and began to open trenches before Fort Cabedello; there they remained five days, not having any design of prosecuting
the siege, but meaning to draw the attention of the Portugueze to this point, and put them off their guard at Cape St. Augus­tines, the place at which they aimed; for they were well aware that this was the main step to be taken towards the subjugation of Pernambuco; here it was that the Brazilians received stores and succours; and here it was that they shipped their produce.

March 4. Having therefore made this false demonstration, they hastily reembarked, and appeared off the Cape. Pedro Correa da Gama had the command there with three hundred and fifty men, including the inhabitants; part of this force was stationed in Fort Nazareth, Bagnuolo's useless work, which was too far distant to command either the town or the bar. The two redoubts at the bar were manned, and four companies dispatched to Tapoam, a league Northward, where the enemy might else have landed, and thence have marched to Pontal, the town, which was out of gun-shot from the bar. This place, for want of other force, was left wholly to the inhabitants, almost all of whom were seamen.

Tapoam, as had been supposed, was the place where a land­ing was attempted. The Dutch found it too well guarded, and coasted on till they came to a place called As Pedras, or the Stones, where they made a second attempt. A hundred men came in sight on their way from the Camp, to the defence of this important station; they ran to the spot, and forty of the fleetest reached it in time to prevent the landing. Eleven of the enemy's ships now stood off from the rest of the fleet, and though the bar was very narrow, and the passage difficult, vent­ured to run in between the batteries. One of them had her rudder carried away, and grounded; the rest got in and anchored against the town; the sailors who had been left to defend it presently took flight, and all the stores and sugar were abandoned to the conquerors.
Calabar was with the launches, on board of which a thousand troops were embarked. Half a league towards the South, there was an opening into the port through the reef, so narrow indeed that it had never been supposed the smallest canoe could pass it; but nothing escaped this man’s observation; he had formed a better judgment, brought the launches in, and landed the men at Pontal, where they immediately began to fortify themselves. The situation of the contending powers was now a curious one; the port was in possession of the Dutch, and ten of their ships were lying there, but they could only communicate with their main force by boats through the new channel which Calabar had discovered, for the bar was still in the power of the Portuguezé. By this time Mathias with his brother Duarte, and Bagnuolo, arrived from the Camp with three hundred men. From the moment that they were apprised of the enemy’s intention, they had lost no time in sending off reinforcements to this important post, and in following them; their collected force was now considerable, and they proceeded with eight hundred men to attack the Dutch in the town. They got possession of a battery, and pushed on to the trenches which the invaders had thrown up for their defence. The Dutch knew the insufficiency of these hasty works; they were thrown into confusion, and many of them swam off to their ships. Just at this moment a party of Portuguezé who had been ordered to march through the wood, and distract the attention of the enemy by alarming them on that side, made their appearance; a cry arose among their own countrymen, that they were Dutch posted there to cut off their retreat; it was in vain that their leaders attempted to undeceive and rally them; the panic was too strong. They took to flight, the guns of the ships were brought to bear upon them, and in this disgraceful manner they lost nearly fourscore men, when nothing but their own groundless terror prevented them from recovering Pontal.
Notwithstanding this repulse, the Portugueze were so strong, that the Dutch perceived no farther advantages could here be gained against them. The ships lay at present out of reach of shot; the bar was so narrow that there was but just room for a vessel to pass, her yards almost touching the land on either side. There was no hope that they could get out with as little loss as they had got in; the redoubts were now prepared, and Mathias with his troops was posted there. That General was confident that they must fall into his hands, and expressed his confidence to Bagnuolo. He, who knew the Dutch better, shook his head, and warned him not to be too sure of his prey. A criminal, said he, was condemned to death in Flanders, and was confined in a high tower. One of his friends observed that the swallows flew in and out there, through an open window; he caught one of these birds in a trap, tied a string round it, and let it fly. The bird, as usual, returned to the tower: the prisoner seeing the string drew up by it a rope which his friend had fastened to the end, and by that rope descended and made his escape. Bagnuolo had seen how unexpectedly the Dutch launches had entered, and he now feared they would get their ships out by some means as little to be foreseen. He was not deceived. They enlarged the channel through which Calabar had brought the launches; then unloading the ships, and heaving them down, for there was not sufficient depth of water for their keels, hauled them on their sides through.

Having thus saved their ships, they left two thousand men to defend the town. Nazaréth was thus lost to the Portugueze as a port; it was however of great importance that they should retain the redoubts and the fort, and they had still the hope of recovering it. The Generals therefore remained there to take advantage of every opportunity, and sent pressing entreaties to Spain for effectual succour. The Dutch, on the other hand,
dispatched Commissioners to Holland, to represent their fair prospect of success, and encourage the West Indian Company to make greater exertions for acquiring an empire, which if they exerted themselves they could not fail to conquer. Meantime it was supposed at Recife, that while the main force of the Portugueze was thus employed at Nazareth, the Camp of Jesus might be won: and an unsuccessful attempt was made against it. Mathias concluded in like manner that the garrison at Pontal had been weakened when this attack was made, and he in his turn as ineffectually attempted the town. Two hundred men arrived from Bahia; trifling as this reinforcement was, it was difficult to find provisions for them, nor had they either pay or clothing, but what the General advanced from his own property. Never were colonies more cruelly neglected by their Government. An hundred and thirty men reached Paraiba about the same time from Lisbon; they brought tidings that another great armament was preparing in Holland, and in fact it was not long before the Commissioners returned with three thousand five hundred men, so that the force which Holland sent out to conquer Brazil, exceeded what Spain would send to protect it in more than the proportion of ten to one.

Having been thus strengthened the Dutch determined again to attack Paraiba. The river upon which it is situated gives name to the town and to the whole province, though Spanish flattery would have called the place Felippea, and Dutch flattery in like manner would have renamed it Frederica. Paraiba was at this time a flourishing town, with seven hundred inhabitants of its own, and many others who had taken shelter there from those parts of the country which the enemy had subdued. It contained a Misericordia, a Benedictine Convent, a Carmelite, and a Capuchine, and there were twenty sugar-works in its neighbourhood. The situation was ill chosen, three leagues from the port,
CHAP. XV. up the river, in low ground and surrounded with thickets: it was therefore not a healthy place, and Fort Cabedello, which commanded the entrance, was of more consequence than the town itself. This Fort stood on the South side of the bar, and had been strengthened since the last attack; on the other side was the new Fort of St. Antonio, not yet completed; between them both, and about gun-shot from each, on the sand bank of a river-island called St. Bento, was a battery of seven guns, manned with forty soldiers. The number of men at these posts in the town and in the various redoubts amounted to nine hundred. Antonio de Albuquerque Maranhão, the Captain of the Province, had lost no time since the failure of the last attack, in preparing for a second, and he had sent his brother Matthias to lay the state of the Captaincy before the King and his ministers. These representations were of little effect, and Parai-

ba, like Pernambuco, was left to its fate.

Dec. 4. The Dutch appeared before the port with two thousand four hundred men, in thirty two vessels. Against numbers so superior, it was impossible to defend the shore at all points, and they effected their landing with no other loss than that of four boats, which were upset by the surf. A skirmish ensued in which the Portugueze were worsted, and which was of little consequence, except that Bento do Rego Beserra was made prisoner in it, one of the principal persons in the Captaincy, who soon made his terms with the Dutch, and contributed greatly to reduce the country to their obedience. Antonio judging that Cabedello would be attacked first, threw reinforcements into it, and fixed his own quarters at St. Antonio, there to receive and dispose of the supplies from the town. The Dutch, as he had expected,

--- The Portugueze writers swell their numbers to more than five thousand.
began by laying siege to the main fort; but they were exposed to the battery on the sand bank of St. Bento, and it was of importance that they should secure that post, not only because it annoyed them, but because boats from the town could pass safely while it was in possession of the Portugueze. A detachment from the fleet under Lichthart, crossed the bar in a thick fog, which covered them so luckily that they were not seen by the forts till they were between them; they landed eight hundred men upon the island; of the forty who were stationed there, six and twenty fell, the rest swam off to some launches which arrived too late to succour, but in time to save them, and when the Dutch won the battery they found only the Captain there. They erected a second battery here against Cabedello, and in the first day killed and wounded thirty men from it. It was now exceedingly difficult to throw supplies into the fort; by land the distance was nine leagues, and the terrible Calabar was there to instruct the enemy in all the windings of the country; the only chance was to go by water, and the only hope that boats might escape under the smoke of the batteries. They went by night, and were defended with thick hides as well as they could. Antonio Perez Calhao had the command of a launch which was crossing from St. Antonio to Cabedello; a ball that killed one of his comrades and wounded two, wounded him also in the right arm, with which he was steering. His brother came to take the rudder, but he refused to yield it, saying, “I have a nearer brother to succeed,” and showing his left hand. Presently a musquet ball went through his breast, and he fell. His brother now went to the helm; he too was wounded in the right hand, and

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Para me succeder em o posto, ainda tenho este Irmão mais chegado. There is more point in the speech than can be translated, for the Portugueze use the word brother (Irmão) as we use fellow.
then put his left to the tiller. The launch effected her passage, and both brethren recovered of their wounds; but the reputation which they obtained was their only remuneration.

The besiegers had now brought four batteries to bear upon the fort; they played upon it night and day, till most of its guns were dismounted, all the artillery-men killed or wounded except their captain, and when he at last received a musket shot, there was no person who could serve the few pieces which might still have been serviceable. At this juncture Bagnuolo reached the town with three hundred men, too small a number to do anything effectual against the enemy. He sent for Antonio and detained him four days at Paraiba in useless consultations, at a time when his presence was so needful at the scene of action. When he was returning on the fifth morning he learnt that Cabedello had capitulated, having in fact no longer been tenable. He would now have maintained Fort St. Antonio; but Bagnuolo’s Italians refused to be stationed there: the Commander also protested that it was not possible to defend it; there were but seven barrels of powder, most of the gunners were Germans and English, and had deserted, and many of the men also had left him to look after their own concerns. Another Commander was appointed, one who had been in Cabedello during the siege, and who would have died in the ruins here; but the men were not equally willing to sacrifice themselves thus desperately; they declared they would not fight under circumstances which were altogether hopeless, and the place was of necessity surrendered.

Bagnuolo had foreseen this; it was the complaint of the Brazilians, that he always foresaw evils though he could not prevent them; but this was his misfortune, not his fault; with forces so inferior to the enemy, his military experience could be of no other use. He now told the inhabitants of Paraiba
that it was not possible to defend the town, and advised them to lose no time in retiring with their families. His soldiers immediately began to plunder; they were Spaniards and Italians, whom the people regarded equally as foreigners; it mattered little where they were born, they were mere mercenaries, who would have plundered friend or foe with the same rapacity, and for whom this excuse is to be made, that if they did not pay themselves for their hard services they had now no other payment. These wretches gutted the town. Some of the more resolute inhabitants set fire to their houses, and followed the army in its retreat; but what little property they could carry away they were spoiled of by the soldiers, and their disgust at this cruelty made many of them return and submit to the Dutch. A greater number remained, weary of ill fortune, and glad to rest under any authority that could protect them. Beserra's example influenced them, and that of another wealthy Brazilian, by name Duarte Gomez de Sylveira, who after expending great property, and having lost his only son in the defence of Paraiba against the Dutch, went over to them now, served them as a secret agent, and obtained passports from the Dutch General, which he distributed among those whom he could persuade to make their peace. He promised them in the name of the General, the free exercise of the Catholick religion, peaceable enjoyment of their property, and European goods from the magazines at Recife, which they might receive on credit, and pay for in produce.

Antonio, when the last fort had surrendered, retreated towards the town, not knowing that it was abandoned, and thinking to make a stand there; it was already occupied by the Dutch, who were firing salutes there for their victory. He would then have taken post where he might defend the country, but his men had lost all confidence and all heart; they said farther exertions...
were useless, and nothing could be done. Two companies of natives, raised from the nearest villages, deserted him and joined the conquerors; all the Indians of the Captaincy welcomed their new masters, and those of Rio Grande also chose the same party. It is not to be wondered at that the people of Paraíba submitted to a yoke which they had long and bravely resisted, abandoned as they were by their own Government, and now without hope. Antonio discovered that Sylveira was secretly acting as the agent of the Dutch, seized him, and sent him prisoner to the Commander in Chief. He found means to apprize the Dutch of his arrest, and they dispatched a force which rescued him upon the road. This good fortune might well have contented him; but he thought to revenge himself upon Antonio, and enhance his own services to the enemy by betraying him into their hands. With this intent he boldly went to meet him, saying, Providence had now put evident proofs of innocence in his power, first by letting the Dutch rescue him when he was unjustly made prisoner, and afterwards by enabling him to escape from them. They were few in number, he said, and if Antonio waited for them he would have an easy prey. Antonio was deceived; but there were others who formed a different judgment, and Martim Soares in particular urged him to lose no time in leaving the place. He took this fortunate advice, and Sylveira lingered behind to join the Dutch. They, however, provoked that he had not performed what he promised, and suspicious that one who attempted to deceive his countrymen by such complicated treachery, might perhaps be playing a deeper game against themselves, arrested him, and kept him some years in close prison. Antonio meantime retreated into Pernambuco, and because it would not have been politic, even had it been possible, to punish all whom he suspected of corresponding with the enemy, affected to believe that none but Sylveira had been guilty.
Schoppe followed up his success, and reduced the whole Captaincy of Tamaraca, which lies between Paraiba and Pernambuco. It was now plain that both Nazareth and the Camp of Bom Jesus were in danger; there were some who advised that the Camp should be abandoned, and their whole force removed to Nazareth, where the sea was open to them, and succours could be introduced. But the Camp was now grown to a town, and Mathias could not consent to destroy what he had erected, and so long maintained against a superior enemy. Nazareth was the more important post; he and his brother and Bagnuolo remained there, leaving Andres Marim to defend the Camp with four hundred and fifty men... in which number however the country force is not included. Both places were attacked at once; Schoppe in person commanded the division which advanced against Nazareth, the other was under Artisjoski. Many skirmishes were fought before the Camp while the besiegers were advancing their works: in one of them a Portugueze musqueteer encountered the Dutch Commander; the musquet was at his head, and Artisjoski surrendered. His captor took the reins of his horse, and was leading him away; he had neglected, probably from a false reliance upon his prisoner's honour, to demand from him a long truncheon which he carried, and which served him for a weapon, as well as a badge of command, being headed like a hammer with one end sharp. The Dutchman seeing his opportunity, struck his unsuspicuous captor with this, and at the same moment clapt spurs to his horse and escaped.

Day and night the besiegers kept up an incessant fire upon the Camp. Bombs and grenades were showered in, some of which half poisoned the Portugueze by their noxious smoke. The very impossibility of escaping from these dreadful weapons, taught the besieged to render them less destructive; they threw
wet hides over them as soon as they fell, which either extinguished
the fuze, or broke the force of the explosion; and they dug cellars
in which the wounded were laid, and the powder was deposited in
safety, the earth from these excavations serving to throw up
new works as the old ones were demolished. Food and ammu-
ination began at last to fail them; they apprized Mathias of
their distress, and he knew not how to remedy it; the country
between Nazareth and the Camp was in the power of the
enemy, and he was not strong enough to force a passage.
The nearest inhabitants were called upon for this service, and
there were not wanting some who undertook it, perilous as it
was; there was no other way but that of conveying the stores on
Negroes shoulders, and the Dutch had denounced the punish-
ment of death against any person who should attempt to supply
the Camp, and promised liberty to all slaves who would give infor-
mation of any such attempt. One Portuguese they put to death
for thus discharging his duty to his country. Marim took some
revenge for this murder, by executing three persons who were
convicted of giving intelligence to the enemy. Under such cir-
cumstances it was impossible to hold out long, and after a three
months siege the Camp of Bom Jesus was surrendered, on con-
dition that the garrison should march out with the honours
of war, and be furnished with a free passage to the Spanish
Indies.

Nefarious conduct of the Dutch.

Fair terms were demanded for the provincial force. Schoppe,
who came to witness the capitulation, would grant none, be-
cause, he said, no terms were necessary; they became subjects
of Holland upon the capitulation, and it was the duty as well
as the interest of Holland to protect them, and conciliate them
by all possible means. Notwithstanding this, the most atrocious
cruelties were exercised upon these brave people by the conque-
rors, and they who possessed any property were tortured till they
paid the full sum which was demanded as a life-ransom; for by some piece of martial logic, they were said to have forfeited their lives, as traitors to the Prince of Orange. By these means the Dutch raised twenty eight thousand crowns; and it is by such means that they have rendered their history as infamous, and their names as detestable in the East and in the West, as in their own country their deeds have been glorious, and to be remembered with admiration by the latest posterity. The fortifications of the Camp were razed.

The other division of the Dutch army meantime was posted at the Ingenio dos Algodoaes, about a league from Fort Nazareth, where they could command the country, and cut off supplies from the fort and the redoubts, expecting thus to reduce them with little loss. Mathias had taken his head quarters at Villa Fermosa, an unfortified place six leagues to the South, from whence he dispatched Bagnuolo twenty five leagues farther still Southward, to defend and fortify Porto Calvo. This was a town of considerable consequence because of the extensive farms and pastures in its vicinity; it was at Barra Grande, hard by, that the succours which came out with Oquendo's fleet had landed: the Dutch had secured this post, as the first step towards extending their conquests in this direction, and the inhabitants of Porto Calvo expecting to fall under their dominion, were already secretly making their terms. It was necessary, if possible, to maintain this place, yet Mathias could ill afford to weaken himself by sending away so large a detachment. The enemy were near, and he had to provide himself with ammunition, and to throw provisions into the Fort. Two sacks of ammunition had been secreted by some of the inhabitants of Paraiba, before their flight; some Indians were sent for them, but they were intercepted by the Dutch and put to death. A
single arroba of powder was now all that he had left, and to conceal this want from his own men, he filled barrels with sand, and set the usual guard over them. Seven bush-companies were formed of the neighbouring peasantry, each of fifteen men, one excepted, which consisted of thirteen brothers, and was therefore called after their name, the Bautistas. By land no supplies could be introduced into Nazareth; Mathias attempted it in all ways, alike in vain; he sent Indians with flour upon their shoulders, or with draught oxen, who were more easily guided than any other beasts; they took the most unfrequented routes, but to no purpose, for the Dutch scoured the country in all directions. There were three dismantled barks lying in the river Serinhaem, by Villa Fermosa; Mathias fitted one of them for sea and loaded it with provisions; Diogo Rodriguez, who had come with advices from Nazareth, took the command, sailed at sunset, and arrived safely about midnight, having past boldly through a number of Dutch cruisers. To get out of the port was impossible, though the bar was still in possession of the Portuguese. Rodriguez therefore, with imminent hazard, returned to Serinhaem by land, and got on board the second bark, which by this time was repaired, laden, and ready for sea. The enemy discovered and pursued him, but his good fortune had not abandoned him, and he ran the vessel aground near the bar, in a situation where nothing was lost.

When the Dutch knew that Bagnuolo was fortifying himself at Porto Calvo, Lichthart who commanded their naval force, landed part of his men, and with a detachment from the garrison of Barra Grande marched against him, hoping to win the works before they were completed. Bagnuolo was informed of their

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33 Thirty-two pounds.
approach, and advanced to meet them, with all his men and some of the inhabitants; those of the inhabitants whom he could trust best, or rather those of whom he had the least suspicion, all being suspected; nor was it to be wondered at when the inhabitants of the country could no longer rely upon the General for protection, if he could no longer rely upon their fidelity. His guides misled him into a situation, where only a part of his force could act; they were presently routed, and he retreated to the Lagoa do Norte, or North Lake, nineteen leagues to the South, choosing this measure so readily, that it was surmised he had resolved upon abandoning Porto Calvo, before he marched out of it, and that his encounter with the enemy was concerted merely as a pretext. Lichthart did not molest his retreat; the Dutch first employed themselves in pillaging the place, then in securing it. They fortified two of the largest houses, and the new church; the old one, which stood on an eminence, they included within the lines of a regular fortress; five hundred men were left to garrison the conquest, and thus they became masters of this important district.

An attempt was next made to dislodge Mathias, he being the only obstacle to the siege of Nazareth. The enemy attacked his out post, consisting of an hundred and thirty men. Mathias and his brother Duarte advanced to support them with an equal number, being the whole force they had left; they were overpowered by numbers, and retreated to the river; the Dutch pursued; till the Portugueze seeing no safety in retreat, turned upon their pursuers with courage collected from despair, routed them, and recovered the post which they had lost. In this action Estevam Velho fell, son of Maria de Sousa, one of the noblest women of the province. Already in this war she had lost two other sons, and her daughter's husband; when the tidings of this fresh affliction arrived, she called her two
remaining sons, one of whom was fourteen years of age, the other a year younger, and said to them: "Your brother Estevam has been killed by the Dutch to day; you must now in your turn do what is the duty of honourable men in a war wherein they are required to serve God, and their King, and their Country. Gird on your swords, and when you remember the sad day in which you girt them on, let it be not for sorrow, but for vengeance; and whether you revenge your brethren, or fall like them, you will not degenerate from them, nor from your mother." With this exhortation she sent them to Mathias, requesting that he would rate them as soldiers. The children of such a stock could not degenerate, and they proved themselves worthy of it.

The third bark had attempted four times to get from Serinhaem to Nazareth, and had as often been compelled to put back; at length it effected its passage. A vessel which was sent from the Lagoas was taken. No other means of sending provisions now remained than by the jangadas, or Indian rafts, which could only carry about two bushels of rice each; twenty of these got in. By this time the garrison were reduced to great distress; some deserted,...most of these were Neapolitans, who had no interest in the cause which they were defending, and to whom Dutch pay or Spanish pay was alike indifferent. They who remained faithful bore their sufferings with heroic constancy, and many men died at their posts for want of food. It is at all times painful to read of such sufferings, it is especially so when they have proved unavailing. Two caravels with supplies from Portugal reached the Lagoas, and brought intelligence that great succours were ready to sail. Bagnuolo sent this news to Mathias, and advised him at the same time to give up the Fort and join him, his station being the best place for their head quarters at present,
the ports being their own, and the country fruitful. Mathias called a council of war: his officers were unanimously of opinion that in their present circumstances nothing better could be done, and as soon as this determination was known, the Fort and the Bar capitulated upon the same terms as had been granted to the Camp.

"Rendida a constancia aos per da impossibilidade, says Raphael de Jesus, 3. § 93."
CHAPTER XVI.

Emigration from Pernambuco.—Porío Calco recovered, and Calabar put to death.—Succours sent out under Roxas, who is defeated and slain.—Bagnuolo succeeds to the command, and carries on a harrassing warfare with success.—Maurit-Coun of Nassau arrives as Governor General of the Dutch; his wise measures he pursues the Portuguezes to the River St. Francisco, and Bagnuolo, abandoning the Captaincy of Seregipe, retreats to Bahia.

Mathias de Albuquerque apprized the inhabitants of Pernambuco of his determination to evacuate that part of the Captaincy, and offered to convoy all who chose to emigrate. By far the greater number preferred remaining under the dominion of the conquerors. The Dutch were indebted for this as much to the ingratitude of the Court of Madrid, as to its carelessness. Antonio Ribeiro de Lacerda had fallen in battle, and nothing had been done for his family;... it was a common case, but Lacerda was one of the chief persons of the province, and one of the most esteemed, and they who were of less estimation inferred from this instance, how little chance of requital there would be for themselves. This was the reason which many persons assigned for now chusing to become subject to the Dutch, and
preferring any government to the ungrateful one of Spain. Yet about eight thousand persons, among whom was the widow of Lacerda, emigrated. These with their moveable property, their cattle and their negroes, made a great train. Sixty Indians preceded them opening the way, a body of troops went next, then came the emigrants, having troops to protect them in the rear; and last of all the faithful Cameram with eighty of his people. It is remarkable, that the two men who had hitherto most distinguished themselves on the side of the Portugueze, were this Carijo Chief, and Henrique Diaz, a Negro, who at the head of a body of his countrymen, signalized himself on every occasion. To the honour of the Brazilians, all those among them who had the greatest possessions in Pernambuco, forsook them now, rather than live under a foreign yoke; they complained of Spain for having abandoned them, but not of their own ill fortune; that they bore resolutely, like men worthy to retrieve it... It was a dismal emigration: babes were born in the woods, and the weak and the aged were buried there, upon the march.

Their way lay near Porto Calvo, and it was not to be expected that the Dutch garrison would let such a convoy pass, without attempting to plunder these poor emigrants of the little they had saved. Sebastiam de Souto, a native of the place, who had submitted to the Conquerors when it was taken, thought this a good opportunity to serve his countrymen; and when Mathias halted at a little distance from the town to repel any sally which might be made, and placed six score soldiers with some Indians in ambush, he offered to reconnoitre. Picard, the Dutch Governor, let him go; he rode out, advanced so far among the Portugueze sentinels as to expose himself to their fire, and dropped a letter in their sight. It was delivered to Mathias, and informed him that Calabar had arrived at Porto Calvo the preceding day with a reinforcement of two hundred
men; but the Portugueze were desired to be upon the watch, and take advantage of the opportunity which the writer said, he would run all risks to give them.

Souto having thus effected his purpose, galloped back, and told Picard it was but a handful of soldiers and Indians sent there to prevent him from occupying the pass, and winning all the moveable wealth of Pernambuco. This Commander was easily persuaded, and sallied out about three in the afternoon with what he deemed a sufficient body of men, and Souto in his company; their treacherous adviser forsook them, joined the Portugueze who were in ambush, and charged the Dutch with such vigour that they fled leaving fifty upon the field. The conquerors pursued them at their heels, entered the gates of the chief fortification with them, and won it after a desperate carnage, five and forty being all that were left alive of the garrison, which had consisted of an hundred and ten. By this time Mathias came up with the remainder of his troops, and thinking to complete the victory, he proceeded to attack the New Church, and the two fortified houses which remained to be won. It was now darkening fast; success had made the Portugueze confident, they advanced imprudently and lost about eighty men. This however did not discourage them; during the night they secured every pass by which the enemy could send for succour, for otherwise, in four days, a force far superior to their own would have been brought against them; and knowing that the Dutch must necessarily ere long surrender for want of water, they proceeded to besiege them. On the sixth night they stormed the smaller house; they who escaped from it fled to the other, and there Picard and Calabar retreated also from the New Church, which they had till now occupied, collecting all their remaining strength, in this which was their strongest position. But it was impossible to hold out without water, and Calabar now
perceived that his hour was come. Good terms were offered to the Dutch, but it was insisted that this deserter should be delivered up; they told him they would rather perish than consent to this; this however he well knew was neither to be believed nor expected; he replied, that he was a lost man, but it was God's mercy to punish him now, that he might not be lost for ever; and he advised them to accept the proffered terms, which were, that they should be sent to Spain, and from thence to Holland. On these conditions they capitulated, being three hundred and eighty men, a greater number than their besiegers. Mathias would fain have exchanged them, but the Dutch General refused; he could spare men better than the Portugueze, and could have little confidence in these after their misconduct.

At this place Calabar was born; here he had formerly committed some atrocious crimes, and here he terminated his career, being hanged, and his head and quarters exposed upon the palisado of the town. He received his death so patiently, and discovered such marks of sincere contrition for all his misdeeds, accompanied with so devout a hope of forgiveness, that the priests who attended him to the last, entertained no doubt of his salvation. The belief that these means had been appointed for his salvation, was confirmed by the remembrance of a remarkable accident which had once preserved him. Immediately after his desertion, Mathias made him great offers if he would forsake the part of the enemy; the answer which he returned was insolent, and exasperated the General, who then descended to use base and detestable means of taking vengeance; he employed Antonio Fernandez, who was Calabar's cousin, to go over to the Dutch, as if he was induced by his example, and there take an opportunity to murder him. Accordingly Fernandez seeing Calabar in one of his incursions, invited him with voice and gestures to tarry and receive him into his.
company, and ran down the valley to join him with this villainous design. His belt got entangled as he was running; the sword fell out of its scabbard, his foot slipped at the same time, he fell with his breast upon the point of the sword, and died immediately. It was now believed that Calabar had been thus preserved to be the scourge of Pernambuco, and that he received his punishment as soon as his work was done.

Mathias razed the fortifications of Porto Calvo, and buried in the woods the guns which he had taken there. He then effected his march to the Lagoas, and there the emigrants dispersed, each going whither he thought best, some to Rio de Janeiro, the greater number to Bahia. The wreck of the Portuguese force now collected at the Lagoas, consisted of four hundred soldiers, besides Indians; it was determined to fortify the Southern settlement, that being by nature the most defensible, and there to wait for succours. They had not been here a fortnight before Artisjoski came with a large detachment to take possession of Peripueira, a high place upon the coast; he erected one redoubt upon the height, and another upon the beach, thinking thus to cut off the communication between Mathias and the people of the country; but this had no other effect than to make them open a way through the interior.

Meantime the Dutch were making such use of Recife as at length to alarm the Court of Madrid, notwithstanding its supineness. They had by this time formed such naval arsenals there, that it was no longer necessary to fit out those fleets in Holland which were designed to intercept the Indian ships... they could be built and equipped here. Cornelis Jol, who had already obtained great reputation by the many successful cruises which he had made, went out from Holland in a single ship, and took the command at Recife of fourteen, which were stored for seven months. With this force he once more took possession of
the island of Fernam de Noronha; the little garrison which the Portuguese had stationed there, having withstood a siege of twelve days. This island was of some importance because of its good harbour, but especially as a watering place, for fresh water was scarce at Recife. Having effected this, he sailed to intercept the Mexican fleet, and came up with it in the Bahama Channel; some of his Captains who did not like to serve under him, failed in their duty, for which five of them were broken, and declared infamous. Owing to their misconduct he was worsted; but the imminent danger to which these treasure ships had been exposed, made the Court of Spain sensible of its imprudence, and the King himself gave orders that his ministers should make it their particular endeavour to recover Pernambuco. The first person which they naturally looked to, was D. Fadrique de Toledo, who had recovered St. Salvador, and he was desired to take the command. D. Fadrique had some reputation at stake; he had been an attentive observer of the war, and knowing what the state of the country was, and what the strength of the enemy, he replied, that with twelve thousand men, properly supplied, he could undertake the charge, but not with less. Olivares was incensed at the advice which this reply contained, and threw him into prison, where he died. D. Felipe de Sylva was next applied to; he made answer, that he was utterly ignorant of naval affairs, and therefore unfit for the command; and this excuse was accepted, though it should seem that if a fit Admiral had been appointed, his only disqualification would easily have been supplied. The command was finally given to D. Antonio de Avila y Toledo, Marquis of Valada; and while a greater force was preparing, D. Luiz de Roxas y Borja, was sent forward as his Camp Master General with seventeen hundred men, to supersede Mathias de Albuquerque.
They came out in a large armament consisting of thirty sail, under D. Lopo de Hozes, and D. Rodrigo Lobo, who had orders to land Pedro da Sylva, the new Governor General, at St. Salvador, and take on board his predecessor Oliveira, who was then to take the command and expel the Dutch from Curacao. Had these joint Commanders possessed sufficient talents, or even sufficient zeal, they might have severely injured the Dutch, perhaps have inflicted upon them a mortal blow. Nine ships laden with the produce of Brazil had just set sail for Holland; these they might have taken; but because their pilot obstinately and falsely said, that their own vessels required deeper water, they gave up the pursuit, and stood out for sea, when if they had boldly landed and attacked Recife, it must have fallen into their hands: for at this time the Dutch force was scattered along an hundred leagues of coast, from Peripueira to the Potengi; Schoppe had but two hundred men with him in the capital of these conquests, and when he saw the Spanish fleet draw nigh, he exclaimed that he was lost. The Portuguez inhabitants fully expecting when such a fleet appeared, to see their countrymen land, were ready to rise upon their conquerors, and some actually took arms. But the Generals, not even waiting to procure intelligence, held on to Cape St. Augustines, and there received the first tidings from a man who ventured out to them upon a raft. The weather prevented them from disembarking there, and Hozes would not land the troops in the river Serinhaem, though his own officers urged him to it, and though it was recommended by Mathias de Albuquerque and Bagnuolo, who sent Martim Soares Moreno on board, to enforce their written advice. Obstinate in his own opinion, Hozes proceeded to the bar of the Lagoas, and there, at Point Jaragua, landed Roxas with his stores and men; Duarte de Albuquerque received orders to remain with the civil authority in Pernambuco, as being Lord
thereof; and Mathias, recalled just as he had acquired that experience which he wholly wanted when he was first sent out, returned to Spain, to be received with reproaches by a minister, whose misconduct had been far greater than his own.

As soon as Roxas assumed the command, he prepared to march against the enemy. He spoke of the Dutch with contempt, thinking it would give his men confidence if they thought the late disasters had been occasioned solely by the error or incapacity of the late Commander; if this were an artifice, it was ungenerous; and if he really felt the confidence which he professed, it evinced a presumption from which nothing good could be expected! Bagnuolo advised him to send a detachment forward; others represented that he must necessarily leave a considerable part of his force to guard the stores, the enemy being so near by land, and having twelve ships in sight. These representations were unheeded. The provisions which he had brought out from Spain, were consumed, and there were no magazines from which he could be supplied; by the great exertions of the Commissary, he was however enabled to collect rations for eight days. Souto, who since his services at Porto Calvo, had repeatedly harrassed the Dutch, and ravaged the country which they possessed, was now sent forward with twenty Portugueze and a few Indians to open the way and procure intelligence. Those persons who when the Spanish fleet appeared, had taken arms either in the country or in Recife, had fled in consequence, and such as escaped related what they knew. Nothing was more prejudicial to the Dutch than the correspondence which those who had submitted still kept up with the Portugueze army. Repeated executions had no effect in stopping it, and now, in order entirely to cut off this source of information from the enemy, they ordered all who dwelt in the district of Porto Calvo to remove towards the North.

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hundred men were left at Lagoa under Bagnuolo, and Roxas, at the beginning of the new year, began his march with twice that number. Every man carried his musquet on one shoulder, and his provisions on the other; the Indians were laden with ammunition. One of these allies left his ranks to procure food, and Roxas ordered him to be shot; the first instance of such discipline which had occurred in Brazil, and which is properly recorded by the Portuguese historians for abhorrence rather than example.

Information was soon received from Souto; that Schoppe with six hundred men had taken possession of Porto Calvo. Upon this Francisco Rebello, who had distinguished himself on many occasions in the course of the war, was sent forward to detain the enemy there till the main body of the army could come up. Rebello had been accustomed to command small parties, and now when he was told to take with him what force he pleased, he asked for only two companies. After six days march, when Roxas was within four leagues of the place, he learnt that Rebello had made some prisoners, and that if he had taken a stronger detachment, the Dutch would have been surprised and must have fallen into his hands. A large reinforcement was immediately dispatched to join him; Schoppe however did not wait for their appearance, but as soon as he knew of their approach retreated to Barra Grande. The Portuguese found stores both of food and ammunition at the post which he evacuated. They soon learnt that Artisjoski was coming from Peripueira to succour Schoppe; and Roxas, who was utterly ignorant of the country, and asked no advice of those who knew it, set off in quest of him, again weakening himself by leaving five hundred men at Porto Calvo. Towards night his advanced parties came in sight of the enemy, and some skirmishing ensued, which was ended by the darkness. The General began now to be sensible of his imprudence, for
even this little sample had shown him how different a thing war was in the woods of Brazil, from the science which he had learnt in Europe. He called a council of his officers; they represented to him that he had not yet been long enough in the country to know his own people from the enemy unless he saw their colours; that he ought well to consider the risk of coming to an engagement while his force was so inferior, for it was said that Artisjoski had fifteen hundred men; and that he should immediately send for the troops from Porto Calvo, Lagon being too far away. He agreed to this, sent off the order, and instead of waiting for the junction, suffered himself as soon as it was day break, to be provoked by the enemy, and advanced to attack them. They who began the action were successful, and pushed on, rashly perhaps, but it was a rashness which might have ended in victory. In an unlucky minute Roxas ordered them to halt while another body marched to their support; the word was passed to them; this mode of conveying orders occasioned confusion, and it soon became impossible to remedy the mischief which was done. He dismounted, took a pike, put himself among the pikemen who still remained unbroken, and endeavoured to make a stand, but the Portugeze gave way and there was no rallying them. A musquet ball wounded him in the leg; he remounted and received another in the breast, which was instantly mortal. Rebello and Cameram, men experienced enough to apprehend a defeat, and even in defeat to acquire reputation, made head against the pursuers, took the best positions, and saved the fugitives. The habit of Christ, and the title of Dom had been sent out in the last fleet for this faithful Carijo Chief, honours which he well deserved. Artisjoski was contented with his victory, and did not hazard the loss of it by pressing upon such an enemy; he therefore returned to Peripueira.
The Lieutenant General Andrada had advanced a league upon his march from Porto Calvo, when tidings met him of the defeat and death of Roxas. Some of his officers advised him to lose no time in retreating and abandoning the town; it would be less discreditable, they said, to do it before the enemy appeared, that being now precaution which would then be flight. Others more bravely and more wisely remonstrated that the fugitives would make for the town, and if that refuge were abandoned what was to become of them, fresh from Europe and unacquainted with the country? That they would fly there was certain: whether Artisjoski would pursue them was doubtful. Andrada himself was of this better opinion: they fell back to Porto Calvo, and while the fortifications were being repaired and strengthened he produced the sealed papers of succession which Roxas had left in his hands. Juan Ortiz was nominated in them to the command; but he had died at Lagoa: the second seal therefore was broken, and Baguolo's name appeared; upon this the soldiers and inhabitants would fain have persuaded Andrada to assume the command himself, and some were for compelling him to accept it. When the news of Baguolo's appointment reached Lagoa, there also it was reluctantly received, and Duarte de Albuquerque was called upon to exercise the military as well as civil authority. Fortunately the respect which the troops bore Duarte, and which induced them to this mutinous acclamation, enabled him to quiet it. Baguolo's first proceedings manifested the same sort of indecision which had already made him so unpopular; he dispatched orders for evacuating Porto Calvo, and ere long sent a second messenger to revoke them; then thinking on maturer consideration that it was too advantageous a post to be abandoned, he resolved to march there himself. Before he departed, he drew up a memorial upon the state of affairs for the new Governor General Pedro da Sylva, representing to him
and to Hozen, that if the Spanish fleet when it left Bahia, would run along the coast, a great blow might probably be struck now that the enemy's force was divided. This advice was approved by every body, but it was not followed; Hozen pleaded his orders, and nothing was done.

Bagnuolo advanced to Porto Calvo, where eighteen hundred men were now collected, and from thence ravaged the country which was in possession of the Dutch. The condition of the inhabitants of these conquered provinces, was indeed truly deplorable. It seems to have been the wish of the Dutch, as undoubtedly it would have been their policy, to reconcile the colonists to their yoke, and encourage intermarriages. Another mode which they pursued, was that of proselyting the people to the reformed religion; for this purpose preachers were sent out, and controversial books in the Spanish language circulated. Protestantism must triumph wherever it can obtain a hearing, and for this reason it has ever been the main object of the Romish Clergy, to prevent their flock from reading any thing in which the monstrous corruptions of popery are exposed. The Portuguez complain of the success which these ministers found in their attempt; that success however does not appear to have been great, there was not time for it; the Priests were vigilant, and if the Brazilians hated their conquerors as heretics, they hated heresy still more because it was the religion of their oppressors: for however sincerely the Dutch may have intended to conciliate their new subjects, their intention was effectually counteracted by a system of suspicious cruelty, which conquerors and tyrants almost uniformly pursue, one crime generating another. Not all the decrees of the government, nor all the rigour with which those decrees were enforced, could prevent many of the colonists from holding intelligence with their countrymen, and endeavouring to procure their own deliverance; and this conduct involved
even those who had resigned themselves to their new masters in the same danger. The Dutch have always been a cruel people; they have thus dishonoured themselves at home, and there is no nation whose colonial history is so inexcusably, and inexpiably disgraceful to human nature. The slightest suspicion was now sufficient to make them inflict the punishment of death, and those who were rich were sure to be suspected. Death was not all which these unhappy people had to endure, they were tortured to make them discover their wealth, and the women were subject to all the excesses of a ferocious and brutal soldiery. When the Commanders wished to repress these atrocities, they had not the power; in so wild a country the soldiers could not be restrained, and where military law prevails, there is no horror which may not be perpetrated with impunity under its sanction. Hordes of the Tapuyas and Pitagores were also let loose upon the Portugueze, and the Dutch are even accused of delivering children to these cannibals to be devoured by them.

The death of Roxas was no misfortune to his army. The warfare of Brazil was not to be learnt in regular camps and cultivated countries; three Captaincies had already been lost while the old Generals were learning experience, and they had reason to rejoice that the same schooling was not to be gone through again. The Portugueze had this also in their favour, that it was now their turn to act on the offensive, and in such a country it was easier to attack than to defend. The Dutch were impatient to reap the produce of their conquests; it was for the sake of raising sugar

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1 Raphael de Jesus particularizes some of the Dutch cruelties. They seem to have taken lessons from Alva; and horrible as the detail is, what was done at Amboyna makes it credible. This writer expressly accuses the Commanders.
and tobacco that they had invaded Brazil; but as soon as the plantations of Pernambuco were under their dominion, they began to suffer those evils of war which hitherto they had only inflicted. Marauding parties of the Portugueze, their Indians and Negroes, ravaged the country in all directions: they issued from the woods, set fire to the sugar-canes, burnt the store houses, stormed the dwellings of the enemy, and then retreated as rapidly as they had advanced, through covers where the Dutch were afraid to pursue them. Souto, Cameram, and Henrique Diaz the Negro, especially distinguished themselves in these destructive inroads. Souto is particularly mentioned for indiscriminately plundering friend and foe; the manner in which he had served his country at Porto Calvo was so treacherous, that any villainy might be expected from him. Worn out with what they suffered in this predatory warfare, and unable to endure the suspicious cruelty of the Dutch, the Pernambucans resolved to emigrate, and four thousand persons put themselves under Cameram's convoy. That able chief, who with his native troops had already twice repelled Artijoski and a superior force of Dutch, conducted these emigrants in safety through seventy leagues of an enemy's country. Many families who were too late to join him, attempted to follow. These unhappy people soon exhausted the slender stock of provisions which they could carry. Bagnuolo, as soon as he knew of their approach, sent out soldiers to meet them with supplies; but before this succour reached them, nearly four hundred Portugueze could be reckoned who had perished upon the way, and the loss was far greater than the account.

The repeated losses which the Dutch sustained convinced them that it was impossible to profit by the sugar works till they were compleatly masters of the country, and they wrote to Holland requesting strong reinforcements, and a General of greater
HISTORY OF BRAZIL.

CHAP. XVI. authority. The tide of success had turned for awhile in favour of the Portugueze; the enemy retreated from their station at Peripueira, and Bagnuolo advanced his artillery from Lagoa to Porto Calvo, and fortified himself there. The motley troops of the Dutch Company, who were as ready to receive pay from one country as another, frequently deserted to him; from them and from the prisoners he learnt that formidable succours were expected at Recife. It was of little avail to know his danger, when he had no means of providing against it. The ports of the Lagoas were dangerous for any except small vessels, and were also so well watched that it was no longer thought advisable to introduce supplies there. For this reason two caravels which were now sent out with stores put into Bahia, and their cargo was with great difficulty conveyed by land to Porto Calvo. While this trifling and insufficient succour was all that he received, the West Indian Company were more active in securing their conquests. The expences of this Company from its establishment to the present time, amounted to forty-five million of florins. In that time they had taken from the enemy five hundred and forty-seven vessels, more than thirty million florins of prize money had gone to the public stock; they had put the Spaniards to the expense of nearly two hundred millions, and brought home merchandize from Africa, to the amount of fourteen million six hundred thousand. They now resolved to send out a General with unlimited powers; and with such a force as should compleat and secure their conquests in Brazil. Jan Mauritz, Count of Nassau, was the person appointed to this important command, a man worthy to have been the founder of a more permanent empire. Thirty-two ships were promised him; the number was afterwards reduced to twelve, with seven and twenty hundred men, and these were equipped so slowly that it was judged expedient for him to set forward
with only four. In January 1537, twelve months after the defeat and death of Roxas, he reached Recife.

Nassau lost not a moment on his arrival; there was indeed no time to be lost; the plundering parties of the Portuguese were so emboldened by success, that even the road between Recife and Olinda was not safe, and unless a speedy stop was put to this devastation, the sugar works, which were of such importance that their tenths were farmed for two hundred and eighty thousand florins, could no longer be carried on. He distributed two thousand six hundred men among the different garrisons, formed an army of nearly three thousand, and set apart six hundred for predatory warfare. Then he looked into the state of the stores. The destructive inroads of Cameram and Souto during the whole preceding year had produced scarcity, and it was barely possible to supply the garrisons, and find provision for the troops during a two months expedition. Dutchmen will bear any thing with patience except short-allowance; for gluttony is their national vice; they murmured loudly, and it required all the authority and fair promises of their officers to pacify them. Proclamation was made that all persons might bring food to the Dutch camp for sale; this was done that the enemy might not be informed of their real distress, and that the soldiers also might be deceived by the stratagem and expect...
supplies. On inspecting the ammunition a deficiency of matches was discovered, the fault of those who had given them out in Holland: a substitute was found in the bark of some of the leafless parasites; these had the advantage of being inextinguishable, but they were sooner consumed.

When all things were ready, Nassau ordered a general supplication, and then began his march towards the enemy, his raw troops proceeding by water, because he thought it prudent to spare them as much as possible. Bagnuolo at the news of their approach acted with his usual indecision; he issued orders forbidding all persons to remove either their family or effects, and presently afterwards sent away his own to the Lagoas under a guard of Italians. A council of war was held; Duarte de Albuquerque and Andrada prest upon him the necessity of seizing the passes and harrassing the enemy on their march. It seemed as if he had asked their advice only for the pleasure of rejecting it; the very troops who were posted upon the River Una which Nassau must pass, and where he might have been most advantageously opposed, were recalled, and two redoubts were begun, which, says Brito Freire, were of no use to any but the enemy, and in one of which, though it was never compleated, three cannon were placed.

Artisjoski landed with his detachment at Barra Grande, and joined Nassau by the Una without opposition; they even advanced within two leagues of Porto Calvo before the Portugueze were apprized of their movements. When they came in sight

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Barlæus states his force at 300 foot soldiers, 800 men from the fleet, 600 Brazilians, and a troop of horse. Brito Freire makes it 6000 in all. Raphael de Jesus says, it was 5000 Dutch, and innumerable Indians. This writer sneers at Barlæus for exaggerating the numbers of the Portugueze; he says of him, Escribeo e pintou, e pintou em tudo o que escreveo. L. 3. § 127.
Bagnuolo, who had permitted them to form their junction, and effect their march unmolested, gave orders to attack them. A brave but disorderly sally was made; Cameram as usual distinguished himself, and his wife, now known by the Christian and ennobled name of Doña Clara, fought on horseback by his side. Henrique Diaz, at the head of the Negroes, displayed his wonted bravery; he received a ball in the left wrist, and conceiving that the bullet was poisoned had the hand amputated; one was enough, he said, to serve his God and his King with; and to take vengeance for himself, every finger would do the work of a hand. The loss was not great in numbers but it was heavy in effect, for the few who fell were brave men who did their duty; among them was Cosme Vianna, the last of five brethren who perished in this war. During this action Bagnuolo stationed himself in one of the redoubts, to observe its result and take measures accordingly. What had been planned so ill could not but succeed miserably; and having seen what he ought to have foreseen, he ordered Alonso Ximenes to escort the inhabitants towards Lagoa, and set off himself during the night, taking with him Duarte and Andrade, because he was afraid of his own men, and hoped that their presence would be his protection. While it was yet evening Nassau pitched his camp in a valley under the fort, from whence the Portugueze wasted their ammunition in firing over his head. As soon as day broke Miguel Giberton, the Lieutenant-Governor of Porto Calvo, sent to know Bagnuolo’s orders; he had left no orders, no intimation whatever of his own designs or movements, and the messenger found only the deserted redoubts. Nothing remained for the garrison but to retire into the fort: they set fire to the houses and stores, and spiked the cannon on the walls, . . what is done in fear is always ill done, and these very cannon were served against the fort before it was night.
The Dutch fleet was still riding off the bar of the Rio das Pedras, which passes close by Porto Calvo, and falls into the sea five leagues off. Manoel de França with threescore men had been stationed to guard this river that the boats of the enemy might not come up. When he found himself not strong enough to oppose them without reinforcements, he sent to Bagnuolo, but having waited two days in vain expectation of succour from a Commander who had fled, he was compelled to abandon his post; and artillery and stores were then conveyed without interruption from the fleet to the Camp. Four batteries were erected, mounting seventeen guns. The besieged, few in number as they were, and dispirited by the desertion of Bagnuolo, made some vigorous sallies by night, and plied their cannon well during the day. After a fortnight's siege the fort had suffered greatly, and Nassau summoned Giberton to surrender, in a letter equally honourable to the noble spirit which dictated it, and to the courage and character of him to whom it was addressed. Giberton requested five and twenty days, that he might receive instructions from Bagnuolo: a short and stern reply conceded only four and twenty hours. In fact the place was no longer tenable. The Portugueze capitulated upon honourable terms; they were to march out with their arms, ensigns, and one piece of cannon; the soldiers with their knapsacks, the officers with their baggage; a passage to the Indies was to be provided for them, and the prisoners on both sides were to be exchanged. This being concluded Nassau entered the fort; he entertained Giberton and his officers at his own table, and in the words of Brito Freire, the best and fairest historian of the war, treated the conquered in all respects as he would have wished to be.


*Arcem Povacaonam* Burlaus calls this fort. I fancy he has made the appellation by mistaking the word *Povacão* for the name of the place.
treated himself, had it been his fortune to have been made prisoner. Karel Nassau, the Count's nephew, was killed during the siege, a man of real eminence and promise.

Bagnuolo had still a force of twelve hundred men besides Indians. The town of Madaniella at the Lagoas was well adapted for defence, and well situated for receiving succours from Bahia or from Europe; but the General had lost all confidence in his men, and they with better reason, had none in him. Scarce waiting to be pursued, he forsook this position and retreated to the town of St. Francisco, seated upon the great river of the same name, about eight leagues from its mouth. Here also his communication by water was open; the river Piagui was between him and his pursuers; it was not fordable, and no better post could have been chosen to make a formidable stand. Bagnuolo however, as soon as he heard that the Dutch were in pursuit, renewed his flight, crossed the St. Francisco, and continued to fall back till he reached the city of Seregiipe.

Nassau meantime had no sooner secured Porto Calvo, than he pursued the flying army with such celerity, that any General less active than Bagnuolo in retreat would have been overtaken. He crossed the Piagui upon rafts, made on the spot with boughs which were tied together with rushes; some few of his men were drowned, and the danger of such a passage, which must have been absolutely impracticable in the face of an enemy, shows the importance of the post which had been neglected. So close was he upon Bagnuolo's flight that his forerunners came up to the St. Francisco in time to seize the baggage; but having reached this river, Nassau gave up the pursuit; deeming it wiser to secure what had been gained, than to continue hunting such an opponent. The Portuguese were now driven out of Pernambuco, and it was his object to secure this river, and keep them out.

The river St. Francisco is at its bar about eight miles wide;
its muddy waters stain the sea for four or five leagues off, and at the same distance the force of its current is felt. The tide flows up about forty miles. Its bar is a bad one, which cannot be crossed by vessels of more than fifty tons... the South-west channel is the deepest; such small craft can advance about twenty leagues to the first falls, above which barges may still proceed eighty or ninety leagues farther, to what is called the Sumidouro, or place where it issues from a subterranean channel, through which it flows for ten or twelve leagues. From October to January the water rises, and overflows all the numerous islands in the river; in consequence of being thus inundated they produce nothing but reeds, and there the natives find a harvest for their arrows. The shores are very fertile, for which reason, and for the abundance of fish, the Indians were continually engaged in wars for the possession of this part of the country during the first ages after its discovery. Great efforts had been made to reach the head of the river, because a notion prevailed that it issued from the famous Lake whereon that imaginary city of Manoah was situated, and that the natives who dwelt about its head wore ornaments of gold. Expeditions for this discovery...

* The nature of this channel is probably explained by what the American travellers in the late expedition of Captains Lewis and Clarke tell us of the Raft, as it is called, on the Red River; that is, they say, a natural covering which conceals the whole river for an extent of seventeen leagues, continually augmenting by the drift-wood brought down by every considerable fresh. This covering, which for a considerable time was only drift-wood, now supports a vegetation of every thing abounding in the neighbouring forests, not excepting trees of a considerable size, and the river may be frequently passed without any knowledge of its existence. In Phillips's *Cott. of Contemporary Voyages*, Vol. 6, P. 107.

7 Nieuhoff (P. 7.) also reports that good store of gold dust was found in the lake from whence this river was said to spring, and that there was excellent salt-petre there.
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had been undertaken from all the Captaincies; even the government at home interested itself, and Duarte Coelho de Albuquerque twice went to Portugal to make terms for the discovery and conquest, which however he never began, because the Court refused to grant him the honours which he required. Attempts were made under the orders of the Governor Luiz de Brito de Almeida. João Coelho de Sousa was the person who advanced farthest in the quest, and he got a hundred leagues above the Sumidouro. I do not know that its sources have yet been ascertained; but the Parauna, which rises South of Tejuco (the capital of the Diamond demarcation) flows westward, and falls into the Rio das Velhas, which is received by the St. Francisco. It is probable therefore that the great stream has its sources a long way perhaps to the West, in this same chain of mountains which stretch across from the Minas Geraes westward, and in which are the springs of the Paraguay, the Tocantins, and some of the larger rivers which enter the Madeira from the East.

The town of Francisco, or as it was sometimes called, the Rock, commanded the river, being placed in a point where the stream was much contracted between its shores. Bagnuolo expected that it would hold out for some time; his example was

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* "As he says in his journal," says the author of the Noticias; but this journal also has never been printed, and perhaps is no longer in existence.

* This is upon the authority of a very long memoir, drawn up by order of government so late as 1799, by a person then at Tejuco, probably the Intendente. The maps all represent the Rio das Velhas as falling into the Parana. This valuable memoir throws great light (as will be seen hereafter) upon the geography of Brazil.

* O Penedo, from which Barlaeus has manufactured the Latin word Openada.
not likely to inspire the inhabitants with courage, and they made no resistance. Nassau perceived the importance of the situation, and he erected a fort there which he called after his own name, Fort Mauritz. He crossed the river, and ordered the inhabitants of the farther shore to pass over with their families and cattle to the Northern bank, that they might not, either willingly or by compulsion, serve the Portuguese against him, and that he might lay waste that frontier for his own security. The tribes who dwelt upon this river spake a language which none who were in Nassau's army could understand; by means of gestures however, and of gifts, he made them comprehend his meaning, and engaged them to oppose the Portuguese if they should attempt to re-enter the lost province. Having taken these wise measures, he went himself about fifty leagues up the river to explore the country: the well watered savannahs through which it flowed, and the herds, some of fifteen hundred head, some of many thousands, which were pastured there, filled him with admiration at the richness of the land. This he expressed in a letter written from Fort Mauritz to his kinsman the Prince of Orange, wherein he urged him to strengthen his representations to the Company, that as many German colonists as could possibly be procured should be sent over to this delightful country; if they could not be procured, he requested that the prisons and gallies might be emptied, and their convicts sent over to him, where they might purge away their offences by useful and virtuous labour. He asked for more soldiers, his army being weakened by sending off detachments, by leaving garrisons, and by death. Arms also he wanted, matches, drums, and trumpets, pulse, and such provisions as would keep; of fresh provisions there was enough, but not of such as were necessary for storing a fleet. Standards he asked for, or orange-coloured belts for the soldiers, to distinguish and encourage them: if these requests were unat-
tended to, all, he said, would be in danger, for the men were only kept in order by their respect for him. Well was it for Portugal that mean jealousies and base considerations thwarted the influence of this able man: for had his plans been pursued, Brazil would at this day have been a Dutch colony. The want of necessary stores now alone prevented him from taking advantage of the enemy’s panic and the confidence of his own troops, and marching without delay to St. Salvador.

Meantime the civil officers at Recife regulated the internal affairs of their conquests with equal zeal and ability. All persons who were settled either at Olinda or Recife for purposes of trade, were formed into companies, each having its proper officers and ensigns, and thus the services of those whose fidelity was suspicious were secured. The laws of Holland respecting matrimony were enforced when restraint became necessary. The Jews were conciliated by permission to keep their Sabbath on the Saturday; the Christians were ordered to keep holy the seventh day, which had been too long profaned; measures were taken for the conversion of the native allies, schools opened for their children, and catechisms formed for them. It being their wish to restore Olinda, permission was granted to all persons to build there, and the removal of any materials from the ruins to another place, prohibited. Search was made for mines, and two deputies penetrated as far as Cuyaba upon this quest, assisted by Portugeze and native guides; they found silver, but the vein, which at first appeared rich, disappointed the expectations it had raised. It was reported that the Albuquerques had extracted much ore from certain mines in Pernambuco, and these were enquired for in vain. Equally in vain were the mines

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1° Missi in Couhaovenses are the words of Barlæus. I believe I have guessed rightly at their meaning.
of Copaiba "sought. The Dutch historian thinks that the Portuguese deluded his countrymen by false reports, or otherwise the mines could not have eluded the search that was made for them. The mines however existed, but they who knew the secret kept it for better days.

The rainy season had now commenced, and Mauritz leaving Schoppe with sixteen hundred men at his new fort, returned to Recife. His presence was needful there, and all his authority and popularity were required to control and check a body of conquerors who had too long been lawless. Their own historian confesses that their peculations, impieties, robberies, murders, and unbridled lust, had made them infamous; it was a saying among them, that nothing was a sin on that side the line: and it seemed as if this were an article of belief among them, so habitually did they commit all crimes without remorse. A system of rigid justice soon awed these wretches. Nassau, says Barlæus, made more honest men than he found; and every man now did the duties of his station, either because the will to do it returned, or the necessity was forced upon him. Hitherto no regularity had been observed in delivering out stores, and great waste had been the natural consequence of such improvidence: at the imminent risk of provoking mutiny, Nassau reformed this abuse, and fixed the allowance of every man at a certain ratio. The revenue also underwent reform, and from the tenths of sugar and flour, from the fisheries, ferries, &c. a considerable sum was derived. Great frauds had been committed under cover of the confusion occasioned by different weights and measures; this was at once remedied by reducing them to the standard of Amsterdam.

His next object was to repair as far as possible the devasta-

"Fodina Copaevænæ."
tion of war; and to this the confidence which was placed in his talents, and the probability that his birth and influence would render his authority permanent, materially conduced. The deserted sugar works were sold as public property: their extent and importance may be estimated by the enormous sum which they produced in times of such little security; they sold for from twenty to a hundred thousand florins each, and the West Indian Company received two millions for the whole. Encouragement was held out to the Portuguæze to return to their possessions, and settle under the dominion of the Dutch; every settler was considered by Nassau as a friend, inasmuch as he contributed to raise produce of which the conquerors were in need, and was interested in defending his fields; every fugitive on the contrary was an enemy, and of the most formidable kind, because necessity compelled him to subsist by plunder, and his knowledge of the country enabled him to plunder at advantage. The terms offered to the Portuguæze were these: full and entire liberty of conscience; their Churches to be kept in repair by the State; but they were to receive no Visitor from Bahia, nor were any new monks to be admitted so long as there were enough living for the ceremonies of religion. They were to be subject to the Dutch laws, and to the same taxes as the Dutch; and two days in the week were set apart by the Supreme Council for dispensing justice to them. They might re-enter upon their property, and any slaves who deserted after their masters had taken the oath of submission should be restored; but it was observed, that to give up those who had previously fled to the Dutch and served them, would be base and abominable, and was not to be thought of. They should be allowed to wear swords, for defence against the Negroes of the Palmares. These regulations, and the generosity with which Nassau had treated his prisoners, lessened the aversion which
the Portugueze entertained for their conquerors. To the native Brazilians also, he adopted a system of beneficence, though there were not wanting men in power, who with all the national hardness of the Dutch character, would have regarded these poor people as brutes, and have imposed upon them a yoke even more cruel than that of the former tyrants, in their worst days of their tyranny.

It was at this time in deliberation whether the seat of Government should be removed to the Island of Itamaraca. That place had the two great advantages of wood and water; to this it was replied, that wood was to be procured, though at heavier cost, and water from the Beberibe, at half an hour’s distance, by the labour of slaves, and in case of necessity what the wells produced was sufficient for all needful uses. Both situations were alike salubrious; Recife had a good port, which the Island had not; and Recife was already built and inhabited, whereas at the other site there would be every thing to make. These representations which were made by Nassau and the Council in favour of their present residence were successful. The main advantage of Itamaraca, that it was an island, seems not to have been considered; the Dutch were at this time too powerful to fear being besieged in Recife.

Bagnuolo meantime had reached Seregipe d’El Rey, a city which had been named St. Christovam, but was thus called after the river on which it stood. It was built four leagues from the sea, and contained about a hundred houses, with four hundred stables for cattle, a mother church, a house of Misericordia, and two convents. The bar admitted none but small vessels. The Captaincy of which this was the capital, extended five and forty leagues, being separated from Bahia on the South by the river Tapicuru, and by the St. Francisco from Pernambuco on the North. It had been granted to Chrisovam de Barros as the reward of his services in
educing the native inhabitants. There were eight sugar works within its district; much tobacco of the best quality was raised there, and the herds were out of number.

From hence Bagnuolo sent advices to Spain; he wrote also to the Governor at St. Salvador, Pedro da Sylva, offering to come with his troops to the defence of that city, not doubting but that Nassau, in the confidence of his success and his strength, would proceed to attack it. An insolent answer was returned, that he had better remain where he was than draw after him to Bahia, the ill-fortune of Pernambuco. After such an answer there was no alternative; he stationed himself at Seregipe, and renewed that system of predatory warfare which he had formerly found so successful. The Dutch at Fort Mauritz were at this time endeavouring to carry off the cattle from this Captaincy, in the vain hope of distressing Bahia for provisions; and skirmishes were perpetually taking place. Sonto meantime thrice crost the St. Francisco, wide as it was, on rafts; this the Dutch had deemed impossible; he fell upon them therefore when they were unguarded, and thrice carried destruction and havock almost to the very gates of Recife. Annoyed by these incursions, and finding that the river was not a sufficient boundary, Nassau, whom a three months fever disabled from going himself, sent Giesselin, one of the Great Council, with two thousand men, to join Schoppe, and drive the enemy from Seregipe.

Bagnuolo knew that fresh forces were arrived at Fort Mauritz, and it was of importance that he should know their number. Sonto with three comrades swam the river, entered a house, seized a Dutch officer, and brought him back to the Camp. A council was then held. Some braver spirits represented that they were more in need of reputation wherewith to resist the enemy than of men, and that it behoved them to make a stand; else, what were they to do if they abandoned Seregipe, and Bahia
would not take them in? To this it was replied, that Bahia would
now joyfully receive the succours which it had lately scorned;
for when swords were drawn in Sereçipe their glittering was seen
at St. Salvador. There too was the fit place to exert themselves,
for in saving the head of the State, they preserved the whole.
Bagnuolo assented to these arguments, sent a party to lay waste
the country behind him with fire, and again retreated with
the miserable emigrants from the conquered provinces. Once
more these unhappy people had to endure the horrors of a flight.
The Pitagoares dogged them like blood hounds along the way,
and the wretches who from fatigue or accident lagged behind,
were butchered by these savages. Some had the happier fortune
to fall into the hands of the Dutch; many perished in the
woods by the bite of snakes. Worn out by repeated suffer­
ings, there were many who resolved to submit to the enemy,
and obtain passports that they might return to their deserted
habitations. This resolution was encouraged by the Chiefs to
whom they imparted it; it was better, they observed, for the
King's service, to pursue this course; there they would at all times
be ready to assist their countrymen, secretly or openly, as occa­
sion might require; and better it was to go where they could assist
the soldiers, than to follow the army and stand in need of help
from them. Still the greater number of the Pernambucans could
not brook submission, and proceeded desperately on, neither
knowing when or where their flight was to find an end.

At the Torre de Garcia de Avila, Bagnuolo found a mes­
gen awaiting him with instructions from the Governor General to

12 A woman, while the party halted, went to wash linen in a brook, and laid
her infant down under a bush; presently hearing it scream, she turned round,
and saw an ounce devouring it; she fainted at the sight, fell in the water upon
her face, and was drowned in a stream scarcely ankle-deep. B. Freire.
Halt there till it was determined where the troops could best be quartered. He replied, that he would speedily go and consult with him upon that subject. Pedro da Sylva however came out to meet him, and received him with honours which were designed to atone for his former insulting message. The matter was deliberated; some were of advice that the troops should immediately be posted at Villa Velha, half a league from the city, new fortifications erected, and every thing put in a state of defence. This was Bagnuolo's opinion and that of his officers. Others, who would not believe that Nassau had sufficient force to think of such an enterprise, thought that the military would be in the way, and that if the fortifications were repaired, nothing more was necessary. This opinion prevailed; Schoppe and Giesselin meantime advanced to Seregipe, burnt down houses and sugar works, destroyed all the fruit trees and plantations, and after this work of havoc returned to Fort Mauritz. Thus instead of taking the forsaken inhabitants under their protection, and conciliating them by fair treatment, they drove them on to Bahia, and increased the strength of St. Salvador with a body of men rendered formidable by despair, and the memory of their wrongs. During this campaign in the Captaincy of Sere­gipe, a tremendous havoc was made among the cattle. Bagnu­olo is said to have driven away eight thousand head, and slaugh­tered five, rather than leave them to the enemy; and the Dutch to have destroyed three thousand, beside the vast numbers whom they carried across the river into their own provinces.

P. Frescr, 
Barleus 63. 
Nieuhoff, 7.
CHAPTER XVII.

During these transactions in Brazil, Nassau inflicted a heavier blow upon the Portugueze empire, than it had suffered since the loss of Ormuz. Advice was sent him by Nicolaas van Yperen, who commanded the Dutch fort at Mouree, on the Gold Coast, that if an attack were made upon St. Jorge da Mina, the place would probably fall, Yperen having procured intelligence from some of the officers who were stationed there, and having also successfully tampered with the garrison. In 1625 the Dutch had sustained a heavy and disgraceful defeat before this settlement, the most important upon that coast. Twelve hundred men under the Rear Admiral Jan Dirks Lamb, landed at Commendo; a body of Negroes fell upon them when they were unprepared and relaxed with heat; surprised and panic stricken, they made no resistance but ran into the sea, where as many as could not swim, perished; nearly five hundred were slain, and their heads carried as trophies to the Portugueze.
The remembrance of this event made the Dutch more cautious, and the Portuguese perhaps less vigilant. During the rainy season, at which time hostilities were in great measure intermitted in Brazil, Nassau embarked eight hundred soldiers in nine vessels, and gave the command to Jan Koin, one of the Supreme Council. He crossed to Africa with a prosperous passage, communicated with Van Yperen, and entered into a treaty with some of the native royals, who fairly and reasonably enough told him they would remain neutral till the event, and then join the conqueror. Koin divided his force into three battalions, the first led by Willem Latan, the second by Jan Godlaat, the rear under his own immediate command. In this order he marched toward the castle; suddenly a thousand black allies of the Portuguese rushed out of the woods, and in confidence of their former signal victory over the Dutch, they had now well nigh obtained another. Eighty of the first detachment with many officers, and Latan himself, fell; but the Negroes, instead of pursuing their success, stooped to carry away the heads of the slain, and thus exposed themselves to the fire of the second battalion. The slaughter which they suffered dismayed them, and during the remainder of the siege they were more solicitous to secure themselves, than to molest the invaders.

Koin opened a way through the woods to the summit of a hill, where he planted batteries, and began to throw shells against the castle; they fell short; some Negroes whom he had won to his party made an attack upon the town and were repulsed; nevertheless the Dutch commander was so well informed of the temper of the garrison, and the cowardice or treachery of the governor, that he boldly summoned them to surrender, unless they would incur the chance of being all put to the sword; and without farther form, the wretch who commanded there surrendered the most important and strongest place which the Portu-
gueze possessed in West Africa, four days after the arrival of the enemy, before it had sustained the slightest injury, and before a single soldier had fallen. The conditions were as infamous as the act of surrender, being that the men should be landed on the island of St. Thomas, with their wearing apparel and nothing else. When the castle was thus basely yielded, it contained thirty pieces of good brass cannon, nine thousand pounds of powder, eight hundred large iron balls, three hundred of stone, and smaller ones in abundance; the hand weapons were lying rusty in the magazine. The Dutch having garrisoned St. George da Mina, sent a canoe to summon the fort of Atzyn; but here they found a governor of different stamp, who declared that he would defend his post till the last extremity. Koin therefore returned to Recife satisfied with the signal conquest which he had effected.

Lichthart meantime had been sent to do what mischief he could in the neighbourhood of Bahia, for Nassau had fixed his eyes upon the capital of Brazil, and hoped to prepare the way for winning it by distressing it for food. Having committed much havoc in the bay of Camamu, the admiral was driven on by the wind as far as Ilheos, which he attacked, but was repulsed by the inhabitants. The Dutch were now invited to turn their arms in a different direction: the native tribes of Seara applied to them for deliverance, thinking any yoke preferable to that which they endured, now that Martim Soares, whose wise conduct had formerly conciliated them, was employed in the war of Pernambuco. There was little hazard in attempting this new

1 The Dutch say he won the town, and did not think it worth while to destroy it. But destruction was the whole and sole object of his expedition, and I follow Brito Freire's account without hesitation, never having had cause to suspect the veracity of this well-informed and honest historian.
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Captaincy: the Portugueze had only a small fort there defended by thirty soldiers and two iron guns, and the savages observed that the expence of reducing it would soon be replaced by the produce of the country, ... cotton, precious stones, salt from the numerous licks which were found along the coast, amber, which every storm cast up, and woods, especially that which for its beautiful colour was called the violet wood. The opportunity was too inviting and too easy to be neglected, though Nassau had never before thought of extending his conquests toward the line. Joris Garstman was sent, and the fort surrendered; it stood on a hill above a little river which makes a harbour for small vessels.

New edicts and regulations were now enacted at Recife. Heavy punishments were decreed against all who should in any way defraud the revenue, and patrotes established to secure the country against plundering parties who ravaged it with indefatigable activity. All persons who employed Negroes were ordered to set mandioc in the customary months of January and August, because there was a scarcity of flour: it is probable that they were deterred from forming their plantations by the frequent incursions of the Portugueze. Attempts were made to correct the passion for litigation, by prohibiting all trivial causes; and the frequency of murder, by rigorous laws. The regulations which regarded religion, indicated a spirit of intolerance beginning to manifest itself as the conquerors fancied themselves more secure. The Jews were restrained from the public performance of their ceremonies; the Catholics in Paraiba were ordered to confine their processions within the walls of the churches; no new church was to be built without permission from the senate; no marriage celebrated until the bans had been published after the Dutch manner; and those persons who when they erected new sugar works chose to have them blessed, were to have the office performed by a Reformed Priest, not by a Papist. The rulers at
Recife sent home specimens of ore from the mines which they had opened, to be assayed in Holland; they fancied themselves safe masters of the country; but these measures, to which the previous affectation of full toleration gave a character of treachery, making them thereby deservedly more odious, sapped the only foundation upon which their power could have been established.

Nassau was expecting succours when he recovered from his long illness. Unwilling to pass the interval in inaction, he travelled through the Captaincies of Paraíba and the Potengi, and repaired and new named such places as it was thought advisable to preserve. The town of Paraíba, formerly called after Felipe, he named after Frederick Prince of Orange; the fort of Cabedello, formerly called St. Catarina, Margaretha, after his own sister; that of Rio Grande after Keulen, who had taken it. Here the Tapuyas sent presents to him and received others in return, in token of friendship and confederacy. It happened that a ship from Lisbon having many letters on board was captured. In these it was stated that a large fleet was being equipped for Brazil; some of the writers thought it a mere pretext for raising money, and that the Court of Madrid was too much occupied with nearer concerns, and especially the disturbances at Evora, to attend to its distant possessions; others affirmed, on the contrary, that these tumults were quelled, that Oquendo was appointed to the command of the expedition, and that it would certainly sail. Nassau was in no degree alarmed at this intelligence; during the winter the fleet could not come, and he was more inclined to credit other letters which represented the King of Spain as too much devoted to his sports to take any thought for Brazil. In either case, he wrote to the West Indian Company, it was expedient to reinforce him, that he might alike be able to resist the Spaniards if they came, or to take advantage
of their neglect; and he requested ships which would serve the double purpose of meeting the enemy's fleet, and carrying home sugar.

On his return from Paraiba he found that stores and ammunition enough had arrived, but only two hundred soldiers. The season for military operations was passing on, and disappointed as he was by this scanty reinforcement, he resolved without losing longer time to attack St. Salvador. His men, confident in their past successes, urged him to this; and there were even traitors in the Capital who invited him to the attempt, informing him that the troops were ready to mutiny for want of pay; that Bagualulo and the Governor were at variance, and that the people were well inclined to the Dutch, in consequence of the generosity with which he treated those who had submitted. Mauritz was indeed a generous enemy. Bagualulo wrote him requesting that some women and children whose husbands and fathers were in the Portuguese army, might be sent to Bahia, and he offered a considerable ransom for them; his answer was, that he had rather their deliverance should be remembered than paid for, and he fitted out a ship on purpose for their passage. This action was loudly applauded by the people, whose first consentaneous feeling is always in some degree right, whatever their opinions may be; some wiser heads, as they are called, detracted from its merit, remarking that the ship was sent to spy out the state of the city. The Dutch sailors would certainly observe all they could, but it was the fault of the Portuguese if any thing was observed to their detriment. Nassau had intelligence enough both in the Reconca and the City. They who suspect a bad motive in every generous action are always to be suspected themselves.

The people of Bahia in general were in a state of supine security. Bagualulo on the contrary had been made wary by long
and disastrous experience; he too had his spies; they told him that the last dispatches from Amsterdam represented Spain as too busy to think of Brazil, and that Nassau was collecting all his naval force at Recife. Upon this, Bagnuolo immediately perceived that St. Salvador would be attacked, and without delay removing from Torre de Garcia, he took up his post at Villa Velha, close to the city. This he did without asking the advice of the Governor; and indeed contrary to his wishes, and to those of the citizens; but he was too well convinced of the truth of his information to be dissuaded. Outposts were stationed, and it was settled that the command should be given one day by him, one day by the Governor; an arrangement which could do no harm as long as the danger was distant.

Souto, meantime, with Joam de Magalhaens, and sixty men, was sent to Pernambuco, to obtain more certain intelligence. When they came to the St. Francisco, Magalhaens with five and forty of the party, crossed above Fort Mauritz, Souto having appointed time and place for meeting them at the Lagos. He, and the remaining fifteen, proceeded along the river to its bar, and then prepared to cross upon rafts. A Dutch pinnace happened to be lying at anchor, and her crew, consisting of ten persons, landed; he fell upon them, slew six, sent three of his own people, with the other four, as prisoners, to St. Salvador, and then crossed in the boat which he had thus captured. A settler on the opposite bank, to whom he went for information, told him, that two ships from Recife were just arrived at Cururuipe, ten leagues distant, where the Dutch had thrown up intrenchments round a deserted church, near the beach, and garrisoned it with twenty-five men. Souto had only twelve; nevertheless, he attacked these intrenchments at break of day, slew eighteen of the Dutch, and made one prisoner; the other six escaped. The Captains of the two ships, ignorant of what
had happened, landed in the forenoon, and were both killed: in
the pocket of one, a letter was found, stating, that Nassau had
laid before the Council his intention of attacking St. Salvador;
and that it was approved.

When this intelligence reached the Capital, the people could
no longer be blind to their danger. Never was a town more
unprepared. With a supineness which is scarcely credible, year
after year they had beheld the progress of the enemy, and
taken no measures for their own defence. No new works had
been erected in those places where they were obviously neces-
sary, and the old ones remained without repairs; the artillery
was out of order; the cartridges not ready; even the balls not
at hand: there happened to be some flour in the magazines,
but provisions of every other kind were wanting. This was the
state of St. Salvador; when only five days after it was believ-
ed that the Dutch were really about to attack the city, they
appeared in sight. Their voyage from Recife had been remark-
ably quick; at that season of the year, it was usually a passage
of from four to six weeks, but they performed it in six days.

According to the Portugueze, their force consisted of seven
thousand eight hundred men, seamen and Indians included, in
forty ships. They made a feint of landing at Tapoam, a league
from the entrance of the Bay; but presently stood in, and
anchored at Tapagipe, opposite the chapels of N. Senhora da
Escada, and of S. Braz. Every part of the coast could not be
guarded, and this was one which had unavoidably been left
open. Here they landed in the afternoon, and on the follow-
ing morning advanced toward the walls.

The garrison of St. Salvador consisted of fifteen hundred men;
the troops from Pernambuco were something more than a thou-
sand, . . right glad were the Governor and the people now, of
these forces, which he had once so insolently refused, and which
they had lately so reluctantly admitted. Nassau halted upon
a rising ground: three brigades came from different posts, and
formed in front to oppose him; and the Governor, Bagnuolo, and
Duarte de Albuquerque, came out from the city with the troops to
support them. Both armies stood for some time within cannon-
shot of each other, and neither advanced to the attack. Bag-
uolo then said to the Governor, that it did not befit them to
abandon the advantage of their walls, and march out in that
manner, to meet a superior enemy in open field; all they had to
do was to defend the city; which, if they past the night there,
the Dutch might assault in the morning. This he said loud
enough to be heard by all who stood near him: there were many
who, in their vain bravery, disapproved his counsel; all, how-
ever, followed it, and retired within the gates. The unreason-
ing populace were enraged at seeing them retreat; an uproar
began among them, as if the city had been betrayed. They
rang the bell of the chamber, which was sounded then only
when affairs of the greatest importance to the public were to be
deliberated; a cry went abroad, that if their present Comman-
ders would not fight and defend them, they would appoint some
who should. Discontent had well nigh ripened into open
mutiny. The Bishop, and Duarte de Albuquerque interposed;
their submission, rather than their authority, quieted the people,
and they promised them, that their wishes should be gratified.
On the morrow, accordingly, Bagnuolo marched out a league
with all the troops, to give the Dutch battle; he sought for them
in their yesterday's position; and it is to be hoped, for his
honour, that he knew they were not to be found there. They
had taken another post; and, had they fallen upon the city
now, when all the regular force had left it, they might have
entered it almost without resistance. They, however, knew as
little of Bagnuolo's movements as he did of theirs, and he
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returned safely, having satisfied the mob by this dangerous compliance.

Nassau, on the fourth day after his landing, took possession of a height, out of cannon shot from the city, and within musquet shot of the chapel of St. Antonio. This chapel was thought an important post; the last governor, Oliveira, had thrown up trenches there, which had been suffered to decay; and men were at work upon them now, when they were wanted. The Dutch, from their present position, commanded the Fort do Rosario, and the redoubt of Agoa de Meninos, which protected the beach; these they presently captured. In the fort, there were six guns: three brazen ones the Portugueze removed to the trenches at St. Antonio; the others, which were of iron, they burst: two guns in the redoubt, they were compelled to leave. In these instances, there was no fault in the commanders, who had done all they could do in the defence of untenable posts; but the Fort of Montserrat, with six guns, was given up without resistance; and that of St. Bartholomew also, though defended by ten pieces of artillery, and garrisoned with seventy men. The capture of this important station gave Nassau an open communication with his fleet, and the people of Bahia began to believe, that whatever he attempted would prove successful.

To add to the danger of the city, there was a want of subordination among the troops. The Captains of the Garrison would not obey Bagnuolo's orders; those of Pernambuco would not obey the Governor. Pedro da Sylva, upon this occasion, atoned for his former misconduct: perceiving at once, that if this want of discipline continued, the place must inevitably be lost, he went to Bagnuolo, and requested him to take upon himself the sole command, during the siege. Even this action was misrepresented by evil tongues; they said he had done prudently, because, if the siege terminated favourably for Portugal,
the honour would be given to Bagnuolo, whether he had the
nominal command or not, all, therefore, that the Governor got
rid of by the cession of his authority, was the responsibility in
case the city should be taken. But Pedro da Sylva’s conduct
is worthy of high praise; he knew that Bagnuolo was a better
soldier than himself, and sacrificed his own rank to the public
good.

Bagnuolo had been often a mistaken commander, and always
an unfortunate one. He knew his own unpopularity, and this
act of unexpected confidence seems almost to have regenerated
him; the zeal, the activity, and the intrepidity, which he dis-
played, made him now as much the object of admiration, as he
had been formerly of hatred or contempt. He left Sylva to com-
mand in the city, and took his own post at the chapel of St. An-
tonio, where they were working at the trenches, night and day.

Presently a Trumpet came from the enemy; he brought letters
to both Commanders, stating, that a bare-footed Franciscan was
come from Pernambuco in the Dutch fleet, and wished to see
the Custodia upon business of the Order. Such a message
coming at such a time, from Dutch heretics, was construed with
due suspicion, and an evasive answer of denial returned accord-
ingly. The same Trumpet returned on the following day, to
know if the Portugueze would release their prisoners, and if they
chose to have their own men, who had been taken in the forts.
The prisoners whom the Portugueze had made, were only ei-

The prisoners whom the Portugueze had made, were only ei-

ghteen; and with a courtesy which after events unfortunately
proved to be the effect of fear, not of generosity, they clothed
them and set them free.

Probably the main object why a messenger had twice been sent
on errands of such little importance, was, that he might observe
the state of the trenches: Bagnuolo had him blinded before he
was led in; it was plain however that they were not completed,
men were still at work there; and Nassau sent fifteen hundred troops to attack them. They were repulsed with the loss of two hundred, an advantage which cost the Portuguese the lives of some brave men. Had Mauritz sent double the number, he would have won the city as well as the trenches; it was still so little prepared, that when upon this alarm they went to shut the gates, it was found that one of them could not be fastened. The citizens of St. Salvador had now past from one extreme to another; they who did not believe the existence of danger till the enemy appeared, thought it now impossible to resist it; they began not only to think of capitulating, but to talk of it, and to look forward with satisfaction to a passage home in Dutch transports. There were however men of better feelings. An officer who saw and deeply regretted the ease with which the forts had been taken, and the pusillanimity of the people, went to the magazine one morning before day-break to deliver out powder, and found a lighted fuse under its door, which would in a short time have blown it up; his horror and indignation at this discovery that there were traitors within the walls, so overpowered him that he lost his senses and died raving mad.

Nassau had not a sufficient army to surround the city, and was not well enough acquainted with the country to take the most important posts. The Portuguese profited by his errors; their partizans were always on the alert, harrassing his quarters and bringing in supplies. Souto and Rebello particularly distinguished themselves in this service; the latter brought in, in two expeditions, above a thousand head of cattle and a flock of sheep. Even the sea was ill kept by the Dutch, and provisions were received abundantly by the besieged, while there was a scarcity in the camp of the besiegers.

The works at St. Antonio were now compleated, and as Bagnoolo's presence was no longer necessary there, he returned
His attention was soon directed toward another spot. The prisoners informed him that Nassau designed to occupy another and nearer post, from whence he might batter the town to more advantage. Upon this the Portugueze Commander thought it necessary to secure the Palmas, the spot from whence D. Fadrique de Toledo had most effectually annoyed the Dutch when they were in possession of St. Salvador. The enemy being thus prevented in their design, opened the batteries upon the first of May. In these days, when the work of destruction is carried on upon so tremendous a scale, such batteries will almost excite a smile; the largest, which was opposite St. Antonio on the side of the sea, mounted no more than six four and twenty pounders; the other from the land side, two of the same calibre. Never perhaps was any war carried on with means so disproportioned to its object; two nations were contending for an empire not less in extent than the whole of civilized Europe, and the whole forces on both sides never amounted to fifteen thousand men.

These batteries however, such as they were, were effectual against such walls; at night they had demolished the parts against which they played; in the morning new works appeared within. The besieged on their part annoyed the enemy with considerable effect from the Great Church; they threw up more outworks, and to supply the consequent reduction of the garrison, sent for a hundred and fifty men out of two hundred who were constantly on duty at the Morro de S. Paulo. About this time some letters which were taken in a ship from Lisbon were put into Nassau’s hands; the writers expressed their despair for Brazil, as for sending forces to recover Pernambuco, that, it was said, was impossible; they were wanted to protect Spain, and the Treasury had no means of supplying the necessary expenses. These letters he sent to Bagnuolo, thinking that nothing would be so
likely to dismay him. Shortly afterwards, three of the Dutch spies were detected and hanged.

Some prisoners whom Souto brought into the city, all declared there was a scarcity in the camp;...a thing so little likely, that the besieged would not credit it, though these men each separately affirmed it. Nassau had not expected the resistance which he found, and thought the little stores he could command, would suffice till he took the city;...he was deceived, and his foraging parties were ill acquainted with the country, and unable to cope with such partizans as Souto, and Cameram, and Henrique Diaz. He resolved at last to storm the trenches of St. Antonio, and bring the siege to an issue. At seven in the evening of the eighteenth, three thousand men began the assault. They won the fosse and entrenched themselves there; then they assaulted the gate. Here the fight became bloody. The place was so narrow that no weapon was discharged in vain; the fire balls and grenades of the besiegers took full effect, and the beams and stones which the Portuguese threw down fell upon the heads of their assailants. By a strange oversight the Dutch neglected to give the alarm at other quarters, and therefore the besieged were able to bring their whole strength here. Some attacked them in the fosse, others beat them from the gate. The troops from all the outworks came to the scene of action; Nassau brought up the rest of his forces, and the assault became a general battle, on which the result of the siege was staked. The Dutch gave way, for they fought to disadvantage. Mauritz gave orders to kill all who fled, and they returned desperately to the charge; but it was of no avail; the Portuguese knew their ground, and had therefore a confidence in the darkness which their assailants could not feel; they had likewise a motive to animate them which redoubled their exertions, and they beat the enemy back.

In the morning Mauritz proposed a truce, which was acceded...
to, for burying the dead. The Dutch had left about five hundred on the field and fifty prisoners. The Portuguez lost about two hundred in killed and wounded; their surgeons were so unskilful, and so ill supplied with all things necessary, that more persons died by them than by the enemy. Many a brave man took his death that night, and here Sebastian de Souto closed his career, whose inexhaustible resources, indefatigable activity, and undaunted courage, make us regret the treacherous manner in which he first began to serve his country, and the brutal rapacity with which he indiscriminately plundered friend and foe in his incursions.

The Dutch revenged themselves with disgraceful cruelty for their defeat. They explored the Reconcave in their light vessels, and whenever they could surprize an unprotected house, put all whom they found to the sword. One of the victims to this base resentment was Joam de Matos Cardoso, he who so well defended Fort Cabedello at Paraiba; now at an age above fourscore, he was butchered in his retirement. The besiegers continued for another week to fire upon the city, doing little harm there, and exciting no apprehension. They themselves meantime suffered severely from the fire of the besieged, for Nassau with strange imprudence had pitched his camp within reach of their guns, and in a spot where he was prevented by impassable marshes from attacking the batteries which annoyed him. Night and day the Portuguez kept up their cannonade, thinking that the rain would confine the soldiers to their quarters; great part of them took shelter from this danger in the woods, and sickness in consequence was beginning to prove as destructive as war. After a week of this sullen perseverance they abandoned their

Piso describes this contagion. L. 1. E. 15. De Fluxu acui Hepatice.
enterprize, leaving behind them part of their stores, and four brass cannon, besides all which they had taken in the forts. The siege lasted forty days, and their loss is estimated by the Portuguese at two thousand men. When the embarkation was effected, Nassau sent back all his prisoners, and requested to have his own men, about sixty, in return; but this was refused. The ravages which had been committed in the Reconcave, were assigned as a reason for this refusal; but as Bagnuolo had released prisoners upon a similar demand at the commencement of the siege, and clothed them also, his acquiescence then was imputed to fear, and his refusal now to arrogance.

The people of St. Salvador were not ungrateful to the Pernambucan troops; they admitted that to them they were indebted for their deliverance, and the Chamber of the City presented them with a donative of sixteen thousand cruzados. Honours and rewards were sent out from Spain to many who had distinguished themselves in the siege. Bagnuolo had another Italian title conferred upon him, and Pedro da Sylva was made Conde de S. Lourenço. The military judged his conduct by a false standard of honour which is too commonly acknowledged, and they sneered at him, saying, that such humility was fitter for an Arrabidan Friar, than for a Commander. The Court on the contrary applauded him, and declared that he had set an example worthy of imitation. Highly indeed is such conduct to be praised; none but a wise man could have so felt; and none but a brave one could have so acted.

Nassau consoled himself for his failure by thinking that the knowledge which he had thus obtained of the city would enable him to conquer it whenever he should have an adequate force. His panegyrizing historian observes that this expedition was but of little expense to the society, for the spoils which were taken, among which were four hundred Negroes, nearly defrayed

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B. Freire, p. 85.
the costs. Barlæus knew to whom he was writing, and to none but such a body corporate would he have offered such a consolation or talked of profit and loss upon an occasion where the Dutch arms had been disgraced as well as baffled. St. Salvador must have fallen, if the misconduct of the besieged had not been exceeded by that of the besiegers. This the Portugueze confessed, and they attributed their safety, under Providence, to the absence of Schoppe and Artisjoski, men whom they now dreaded more then Nassau, because of their experience.

In his letters to the Company, Nassau called loudly for supplies. War, he said, disease, and fatiguing marches in such a country as Brazil, were day by day wasting the army; the men were crying out to be discharged from so hard and unprofitable a service, and it required all his arts both of conciliation and severity to keep them together. Four thousand troops were necessary for the various garrisons; his whole force did not amount to so many; how then was he to advance against the enemy? how to withstand them if they advanced against him? how to guard the country against their incursions? He requested and demanded three thousand six hundred men; his numbers then would be seven thousand, and with them it was not merely his hope but his assured knowledge, that something might be achieved worthy of the Company. They had begun things worthy of the age and of the Dutch nation, and they must go on with them; the die, he said, was cast; they had crossed not the Rubicon but the Ocean; and all must either go to ruin or be perfected. He then descended to a mercantile tone, and told them the sugar of that year, if the crop did not fail, would yield them six hundred thousand florins. But he wanted sailors; so much so, that eight hundred soldiers were obliged to serve on board the ships. Let them therefore send out a fleet to meet the enemy, if the enemy were coming, and to carry home the produce.
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It was at this time deliberated by the Company in Holland whether they should continue their monopoly, or throw open the trade of Brazil. Against the proposed innovation it was urged, that the Company would lose their present great profits, the market be overstocked, and European commodities consequently depreciated; that colonists would flock to so delightful a region, increase and multiply there, and at length becoming stronger than the mother country, throw off their dependence upon her. Nassau was applied to for his opinion. He replied, that the profits of the Company were not what they had formerly been. At first the Directors did every thing, now contracts were granted; at first there was an abundance of sugar in the storehouses of the Portugueze, while those European goods which they wanted in exchange were scantily supplied, and were sold to infinite advantage, because the Portugueze were eager to rid themselves of produce which was always then in danger. The land now was in greater security, and Dutch property in greater abundance. It was better to throw the trade open and rid themselves of the charge of the monopoly. They could not purchase goods enough to stock the market, their funds were not equal to this; and what was to be done with the private merchandise which had been suffered to enter the country? they could not buy it up without injury, ... to themselves if they gave the price for which it would otherwise have sold, ... to the owners, if they resolved to take it at less; and in that case the owners would secrete their property. Then speaking as a statesman, he urged the necessity of colonizing Brazil, so, he said, should the country be strengthened, the garrisons might be diminished, and the state would feel secure. Upon the Portugueze there was now no other hold than that of fear; take away from them the hope of seeing their own government restored, and they will then be good subjects. But colonists would not pass the
seas to be starved in another country, and as long as the Company continued its monopoly, it cut off those expectations of profit, which alone could allure adventurers. The Brazilians already complained of the restrictions which were imposed upon them; they came to him with daily remonstrances, saying, they had agreed with the Dutch to live under their government as they had done under the Portugueze, that they might sell the produce of their mills at their own pleasure, not at the will of others; if this liberty were withheld, they would rather remove elsewhere, and take the chance of fortune, than endure such a state of servitude to the Company. Send out your swarms, said he, to these new pastures, and give lands to the discharged soldiers; colonies will be your outposts and garrisons; thus it was that Rome subdued the world. In consequence of this opinion, the trade was thrown open, reserving to the Company the traffic in slaves, in instruments of war, and in Brazilian woods. But all persons high in office were prohibited from trading altogether, lest they should abuse their power for the sake of profit.

Nassau, after having secured all those posts which he thought in danger of attack, was preparing an expedition to burn the sugar works in the Reconcave, when Jol arrived with a large fleet. Heyne's rich victory was still enviously remembered by the Company, and in the hope of recruiting their coffers by a similar booty, they had sent out this old and excellent seaman. The force which he took from Recife suspended Mauritz's plans; he set sail in full hope of glorious success, and fell in with the Mexican fleet off Cuba, but his captains deserted him. Four times did the old sailor resolutely begin the attack, and as often did these cowardly traitors keep aloof, or hawl off in the moment of danger, till at length the Spaniards escaped. Jol called loudly for vengeance in his country's name as well as his own. The
culprits were sent home for investigation; but in all countries there are means of evading justice in such cases, if the offenders have powerful friends and partizans to protect them, and they remained unpunished.

A fair prospect now opened upon Nassau. Messengers from Cameram came to say, that that Chieftain having been offended by Bagnuolo, was disposed to make peace with the Dutch, and return into his own lands. Glad would they have been to purchase the friendship of so active and terrible an enemy; the messengers were dispatched with presents and a favourable reply, but Cameram was in his heart attached to a cause which he had served so long and so bravely, and before they returned his resentment had given way. Eight hundred Tapuyas, resenting in like manner the treatment which they received from the General, left Bahia. But the opportunity occurred in vain, and in vain did Mauritz cry out, letter after letter, for succours, and exclaim that it was neither Heaven nor Fate that withheld from him the victory which he desired, but his own countrymen. Promises came to him in abundance, and promises were all that came. Unable to pursue his plans of conquest, he amused himself with giving heraldic arms to the Dutch provinces; to Pernambuco, a damsel carrying a sugar cane in one hand, and in the other a mirror wherein she is admiring herself; to Itamaraca, a bunch of grapes, the adjacent island producing better than any other part of Brazil; three sugar loaves to Paraiba, and an ostrich to Rio Grande, where those birds abounded. All these were quartered on the great seal of the Senate, and above all was the figure of Justice. The figure of justice was on the seal of the Senate, but there was little justice in their measures. Shortly after Jol’s fruitless expedition many of the most wealthy Portugueze were apprehended on suspicion of a conspiracy. When the business had been investigated, some were imprisoned, some sentenced to be
Early in the ensuing year, Artisjoski returned to Brazil with a small reinforcement, and with orders to act as a secret inspector over Nassau; a mission which he fulfilled with little address. There was an old hatred lurking in his heart, occasioned perhaps by the appointment of Mauritz to the Government, a situation to which he thought himself entitled; and his language was so intemperate, and of such a tendency, that it soon became impossible for the Governor General to brook it. A fair opportunity of deciding whose authority was to predominate, was ere long afforded by Artisjoski himself: he addressed a letter of complaint to the Directors of the Company in Holland, and suffered it publicly to be seen, before it was dispatched. Nassau appealed to the Senate, and replied satisfactorily and indignantly to the charges which were laid against him...charges too frivolous to deserve mention, relating almost wholly to points of military form and etiquette, which, he averred, had been unavoidably disregarded. The whole senate approved his conduct, and in consequence his accuser returned to Holland in disgust.

One of the Senators returning to Holland also about the same time, laid before the West Indian Company, a detailed account of the state of their conquests. They were now in possession of six provinces, extending from Seregipe to Seara. The first of these had been utterly laid waste by Giesselin and Schoppe when they conquered it; the latter had only a single fort garrisoned by forty men, but it supplied the Dutch sometimes with allies, and with such articles as the natives collected for traffic.
Pernambuco, the most important of these Captaincies, contained five towns, Garassu or Iguaracu, Olinda, Recife, Bella Pojuca, and Serinhaem: it had also several villages which were equal to small towns in size. Before the Dutch invasion, there had been an hundred and twenty one sugar works, each itself a village; but thirty four of these were now deserted. In Itamaraca fourteen works were still employed, of three and twenty which flourished before the conquest. Paraiba had suffered less; eighteen were at work, and only two had been destroyed. Rio Grande had originally but two, and one was ruined. In the whole of the Dutch Captaincies a hundred and twenty were going on; forty six had been stopt. The tenths of their produce were leased at the following rates; those of Pernambuco for 148,500 florins; Itamaraca and Gojana for 19,000; Paraiba 54,000. A tax called the Pensam upon the Pernambuco sugar-works was leased for 26,000 to Joam Fernandes Vieira, whose name has already appeared, and will soon become conspicuous in the history of Brazil. The small tenths, as they were called, made the whole amount to 280,900 florins.

The country had severely suffered from the Dutch invasion; large tracks were devastated, and more inhabitants had been cut off, then would in many long years be supplied by the slow course of nature. The city of Recife had thriven; it was the seat of government, the chief military and naval post, and the great commercial mart, and houses were crowded there wherever room could be found to place them. There were Dutchmen who looked on in hope to the days when Recife would be another Tyre, and could these men have inspired their countrymen with their own generous and enterprizing spirit, that anticipation would have been realized. They cried aloud for colonists; send over to us, they said, your handicrafts, whose utmost industry at home can scarcely supply for them the absolute wants of life;
CHAP. XVII. 1639.
here they may speedily enrich themselves. Three, four, and six florins a day, were the wages for builders and carpenters; that kind of mechanical work which the sugar-engines required, was still more highly paid. Three sorts of men, they said, were wanted in Brazil: men of capital who would speculate in sugar works, artificers, and persons in the employ of the Company, who when they retired from their offices would betake themselves to agriculture, and settle themselves as quietly, and with as abiding an interest, upon their burial as upon their native soil. With such men the country would soon be as flourishing as the Dutch had found it.

The Portugueze were held in subjection only by fear; but many Portugueze Jews from Holland had taken their abode in a country where they could speak their own language as well as enjoy their own religion. These were excellent subjects; they exercised the characteristic industry of their original nation, secure of enjoying its fruits under a free government. Some of the Portugueze Brazilians also, gladly throwing off the mask which they had so long been compelled to wear, joined their brethren of the Synagogue. The open joy with which they now celebrated their ceremonies, attracted too much notice; it excited horror in the Catholicks, and even the Dutch themselves, less liberal than their own laws, pretended, that the toleration of Holland did not extend to Brazil; the senate conceded to, and perhaps partook of the popular feeling, and hence arose the edict by which the Jews were ordered to perform their rites more in private. The native savages, whose numbers from the Lagoas to the Potengi were estimated now at less than two thousand fighting men, had little reason to rejoice in their change of masters. Nothing but the desire of obtaining European commodities could induce them to work at all, and
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these commodities were now more easily attainable; yet more work was required from them, because Negroes were scarcer and dearer than they had formerly been, some having faithfully followed kind masters in their emigration, others having gone over to the Dutch to obtain their freedom, others again more wisely joining their brethren at the Palmares. The savages never could be persuaded to hire themselves for a longer term than twenty days: a Dutch overseer resided in every village to keep them to their task, and see that their employers paid them fairly; before the time expired they generally demanded their wages with a suspicious feeling, for which there was probably enough reason; and when they were paid they not unfrequently fled from the unfinished job. Many employments which used to be exercised by Negroes were now required from them, and they often took to flight in consequence. A few Dutch Missionaries laboured to teach them a Lutheran instead of a Popish creed; but implements of conversion were wanting; and Lutheran theology had nothing wherewith to supply the deficiency of Saints and Images, beads, crosses, tapers, and holy water, the puppet-work and pageantry of a system, of which it would be difficult to say whether there has been most wisdom or most wickedness displayed in its structure.

The military force of the Dutch in Brazil, amounted only to six thousand one hundred and eighty men, to whom it was supposed, a thousand Indians might be added. This whole force was required for garrisons; there was none to spare for pursuing their successes, nor even for defending the country.

* The article in most estimation among them was Osnaburgh linen, with that which was manufactured at Rouen and at Steinfurt they had been overstocked. This fashion among savages is curious. *Barlaus.* 129.
against the marauding parties of the Portugueze. Under any
minister but Olivares, Spain would have extirpated them, in one
campaign. The Dutch Senator confessed in his memorial, that
they owed their safety more to the negligence of the enemy,
than to their own strength. The soldiers, few as they were,
were half-clothed and half-fed: the conquests indeed, required
supplies of food from Holland; husbandmen had been driven
out, and their place is but ill supplied by soldiers and traders.
Provisions were so scarce, that the natives were ordered to sup­
ply Recife regularly on pain of death... a decree which must ine­
vitably have aggravated the evil that it was designed to palliate.
All persons who possessed land, were compelled by law, to
lay out a certain portion of it in manioc, under heavy penal­
ties; lists of the land-occupiers were made out, and officers
appointed to go round and see that the edict was ob­
erved; every one was to produce his allotted quantity, four times a
year, and the price was to be fixed twice a week by the
Senate.

Such was the condition of the Dutch conquests in Brazil,
when Count Mauritz of Nassau, as if he were acting for a nation
whose views were as bold and liberal as his own, began to build
a city and a palace. There was a bare island between the
rivers Capivaribi and Biberibi, which he wished the Senate to
fortify, as being an important position, if ever Recife should be
besieged: the expense would be immediate; the danger was re­
 mote, ... and therefore they rejected his advice. He then resolved
to plant it, because the trees would afford some shelter to the city,
if the enemy should take post on the rising ground beyond the
Capivaribi. This design was soon extended, and he made a
garden there for himself. The situation was flat enough, and
near enough the water to delight a Dutchman; but the method
by which he made his groves, resembled the magnificence of
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barbarian kings. To the utter astonishment of all who beheld his operations, he transplanted into this island seven hundred full grown cocoa trees. The possibility of doing it was universally denied; but it was judiciously executed, and the very next year they produced an abundant crop. In like manner, orange, lemon, citron, pomegranate, and all the native fruit trees of the country, were planted there in their full growth and beauty. And here he erected a dwelling for himself, which he called Fri burg: its two towers served for beacons and watch towers, and fortifications were raised about it, which made it a protection as well as an ornament to the city.

Recife was crowded with inhabitants; he proposed to build another city upon this island, and it was agreed to by the Senate. The marshy ground was soon drained by canals, streets laid out, and houses rapidly erected. Under the Portuguese government, it had sometimes been deliberated whether they should abandon Olinda and build here: Olinda was now utterly destroyed; those buildings which had hitherto been spared being demolished, and their materials employed in the new city, to which the name of Mauritias was given, in honour of its founder. A great work yet remained, to connect Mauritias with Recife by a bridge: it was contracted for at the price of 240,000 florins. The architect went on building stone pillars, till he came to the deepest part, where its depth was eleven geometrical feet, and then in despair he gave up the attempt. A hundred thousand florins had already been expended. There were many persons who rejoiced at the failure, because their petty interests would have been injured by the completion of the work, and an outcry was raised against Mauritz, as the projector of an impracticable scheme. He took it into his own hands: what could not be done with stone might be done with wood, and the woods of Brazil were little less hard and durable. In two months it was completed, and the bridge opened.
CHAP. XVII.

1639.

A work not only remarkable in itself, but especially so, as being the first bridge which was built in Portugueze America. The Senate, though they had joined with the multitude in decrying the attempt, while its success was uncertain, now acknowledged merit, and paid for the work on the Company's account, certain of being speedily remunerated by means of a toll. Nassau then built another bridge over the Capivaribi, thus opening a communication between the opposite side of the country and Recife through Mauritias. Close to it upon the island, he erected another house for himself, which, like Friburg, was built for defence as well as pleasure, and to which he gave the Portugueze name of Boa Vista. These works were every way useful, and in no way more than in this, that by proving the resolution of the Dutch to maintain their conquests, and indicating the little doubt which they felt of being able to maintain them, they tended to deprive the Portugueze of hope, and thereby to render them contented under a yoke, which it appeared so little likely that they would ever be able to shake off. The Senate showed its sense of Nassau's merit, and its approbation of his measures, by bestowing on him the honorary title of Patronus.

Meantime a mighty effort was prepared to drive these conquerors out of Brazil. One of the Portugueze ministers, no longer able to see with patience how these important colonies were neglected, and almost abandoned to the enemy, obtained an audience of the king, and so forcibly represented to him the fatal consequences of such a system, that Olivares found some great exertion was necessary to preserve his favour. A more powerful fleet than had ever yet sailed for America was equipped, and the command given to the Conde da Torre, D. Fernando Mascarenhas, who was also appointed Governor of Brazil. Never was an expedition of such importance more miserably wasted. Its first and fatal misfortune was occasioned by Miguel de Vascon-
cellos, that Portugueze minister, on whom exemplary vengeance was soon to be taken, for the offences which he had committed against his country. He, to make a merit at Court of his zeal and activity, insisted that the Portugueze squadron should not wait in port for the Spaniards, but that it might be seen how soon they were ready, proceed to the Cape de Verds, and then remain till a junction was formed there. It is easier to pervert instinct in animals, than it is to subdue the obstinacy of men in office. This had been the usual place of rendezvous, and because it was so, fleets were still to be sent there, though the climate was sure to decimate, perhaps even to halve their numbers. A tremendous mortality took place there; more than a third both of the troops and seamen being thus cut off, and when the fleet reached Pernambuco and should have taken Recife, which must inevitably have yielded, had it been for a short time blockaded, there were so many sick on board, that the Commander thought it necessary to proceed to St. Salvador, as to an hospital; there he recruited his men, but a whole year elapsed before the expedition was again ready for service.

Some months before the new Governor again set sail, he sent Andre Vidal de Negreiros to ravage the enemy’s provinces, at the head of some of those troops who were best acquainted with the country. They were to separate into small bodies, so as more easily to subsist themselves, elude the enemy, and do the widest mischief; and at an appointed time they were instructed to unite within sight of the sea, and join the forces on their landing. These men punctually obeyed their instructions; they car-

Piso, in his chapter de Morbis Contagiosis (L. 1. C. 18.) speaks of this much like a Dutchman. Anno 1639.—magnus nostrorum commodo, juxta Simium omnium Sanc­torum, tertia pars classis Hispanica maligna et contagiosa febre extinta.
ried fire and sword wherever they went; at the time appointed
they were at their post; the fleet hove in sight; and they set fire to
the plantations and sugar works about Recife, to distract the
attention of the enemy. But this long delay had given Nassau
ample time to prepare against his danger, and Vidal had the
mortification to see a sea-fight instead of a landing. The first
action was fought on the 12th of January, between Itamaraca
and Gojana. The Dutch Admiral was killed, and little advan-
tage won, or loss sustained on either side. A second battle took
place the following day between Gojana and Cabo Branco; a
third the day after, off Paraiba, and a fourth off the Potengi on
the 17th; the winds and currents thus drifting the Portugaluese
daily farther from their destination. In this manner was a fleet
of eighty-seven vessels, carrying two thousand four hundred
pieces of cannon, prevented by a far inferior force from effecting
any thing: it had the advantage in every action as far as mere
fighting, but it was out-maneuvred, and its purpose totally
baffled. The weather now became such that the Governor gave
up all hopes of beating back to Bahia at that season, and utterly
abandoned the enterprize for which such preparations had been
made. Bagnuolo attempted and effected his return by sea: so
difficult, however, was this deemed, that it was thought better
to land the main military force, consisting of thirteen hundred
men under Barbalho, together with Cameram and Henrique
Diaz and their troops, fourteen leagues North of the Potengi,
and leave them to effect a retreat of three hundred leagues,
through an enemy's country, and such a country as Brazil, with-
out any other stores for the march than what every man could
carry for himself. Having landed them, the Count went before
the wind to the West Indies, and from thence sailed for Europe.
As soon as he reached Lisbon he was thrown into prison at St.
Julien's, where he remained untried though not unpunished, till
the acclamation of Joam IV gave him an opportunity of serving his country and liberating himself.

The Dutch had not been victorious, but they had by favour of the weather succeeded in driving off a larger force, and they reaped all the advantages of a victory. Nassau made public rejoicings for this success; more effectual it could not have been... it might however have been more glorious; and he brought some of his Captains to trial for misbehaviour, punished several, and put one to death. Vidal, meantime, who had followed the fleet along the coast, till he perceived the hopeless course which it was holding, had no choice of measures; nothing could be done but again to divide his troops, and measure back their former course of devastation. They were soon joined by Barbalho, and this destructive army moved on carrying havoc wherever they went. They made the Governor of Rio Grande prisoner, put the whole garrison at Gojana to the sword, and when a great force came out from Recife against them, struck into the interior, with which they were far better acquainted than the enemy. Many of the Pernambucans, weary of a submission which made their own countrymen treat them as enemies, while they were suspected and oppressed by the Dutch, took the opportunity of quitting the country. They were exposed to severe sufferings on the march;... the wallets which were dropt on the way when some of the stragglers were pursued, were found filled with sugar, for want of any other food. Barbalho, however, with little other loss than fatigue occasioned, reached Bahia in safety.

*Barkeus (P. 183) says, he put his own sick to death, which is as false as it appear incredible, though the Dutchman, while he states, excuses it, dura necessitas ac militia lege! Every man indeed was left where he dropt, and they whom the enemy
While they were retreating, Nassau had already begun the bloody work of retaliation. Two thousand Tapuyas had lately come down from the interior to Rio Grande, and formed an alliance with the Dutch;... it had no sooner been agreed upon, than they fell upon twelve poor Portuguez settlers, and put them to death, as a specimen of what might be expected from their fidelity. The wives and children of these savages were politickly quartered in the island of Itamaraca as hostages, while they were let loose upon Bahia. Nassau's next measure was to expel all the Religioners from the conquered provinces, and then Jol was sent to the Reconcave, to lay it waste with fire and sword at a time when the main force being absent, no resistance could be made. These instructions were executed, and the whole of the sugar-works in that extensive bay, then the most prosperous in America, were totally consumed. By this havoc he hoped to distress the revenue and the city, so as to prepare the way for its subjection.

In this state of desolation was the Reconcave found by the Marquez de Monte Alyam, D. Jorge Mascaremhas, who came out with the title of Viceroy. Both parties were weary of such found, received no quarter. In this last and wonderful retreat, says Vieyra, where no quarter was given, it was the same thing to be wounded as to be slain, friends leaving friends, and brethren their brethren, because they could do no otherwise; the miserable ones remaining wounded in these woods and ways without help, without remedy, without companions, to be killed in cold blood, and cruelly cut to pieces by the Dutch sabres, for their King, for their Country, for their Honor, for their Religion, for their Truth. O valiant soldiers! with how good a will should I now tarry with you, preaching your glorious requiem!

*Sermoens T. 8. P. 402.*

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6 The sermon quoted in the preceding note, was preached by Vieyra upon his arrival. It augurs happy consequences from his coming, which did not result;
a mode of warfare, and negotiations were begun for mutually suppressing it; it cannot be ascertained by which the first overtures were made, each imputing it to the other. There was not however equal sincerity on both sides. The Viceroy, after the failure of the last great expedition, had no reason to expect that another effort would be made to recover Brazil, and he knew that the Dutch estimated the importance of these conquests only according to the last balance in their annual accounts. It was of more importance to spoil their trade than to beat them. With this persuasion he had recourse to a dishonourable artifice; for while he carried on negotiations with the Dutch for the prevention of all predatory warfare, he at the same time secretly dispatched Paulo da Cunha and Henrique Diaz to ravage their possessions; then sent an official communication to Nassau and the Supreme Council, stating that some of his soldiers had deserted for fear of punishment, and as he supposed, would attempt to reach Europe under their Excellencies favour; it was not unlikely that they might commit many excesses on their march, and he requested that if this were the case they might be justly punished. The Viceroy ventured upon this lie, in full confidence, that his men were too well acquainted with the country, and too expert at their work, to be taken and betray him. In this he was not mistaken; they executed their commission fully; they divided into small parties, having their limits of devastation allotted, and their rallying places, and the whole of Pernambuco was once more ravaged with fire and sword.

Meantime Braganza recovered the throne of Portugal, his

but it is full of fine satire, and supplies many curious notices for history, as will be seen hereafter.
rightful inheritance, which had so long been usurped by the House of Austria. A caravel was dispatched with advices to Bahia; the captain landed alone, and communicated his important intelligence to the Viceroy. Measures were immediately taken to prevent any boat from putting off to the ship; the heads of the religious orders and the chief persons of the city were assembled; two regiments were drawn out for the purpose of disarming the Spanish part of the garrison, and when every due precaution had thus been taken, the Viceroy went out with the Standard of Portugal, the Chamber of St. Salvador, and all the chief inhabitants, and proclaimed King John IV. The news was received with the same enthusiasm in Brazil, as it had been in the provinces of Portugal, and the acclamation was repeated throughout all the Captaincies without one dissentient voice. Having communicated the tidings of this revolution to Nassau, as a measure which making Portugal the enemy of Spain must consequently lead to a treaty with Holland, the Viceroy sent his son D. Fernando to Lisbon to report his obedience.

Unfortunately for the family of Mascarenhas, two other sons, who were in Portugal, preferring loyalty to patriotism, had fled to Madrid, and upon their flight, Vilhena a Jesuit, was dispatched to Bahia with instructions to depose the Viceroy if he should be found to follow the same party, and appoint Barbalho, Lourenço de Brito Correa, and the Bishop, joint Governors in his stead. Most inexcusably, Vilhena, though he found the Viceroy had acted as became a Portuguese, communicated his instructions to these persons, and they had not virtue to resist the temptation of authority. Nor when they notified to him his deposition, did it suffice that he withdrew with instant obedience from the palace, and retired to the Jesuit college: he was put under arrest there, and two of his friends also, who had no
other fault than their attachment to him. Two other officers whom he had imprisoned for committing an assassination in open day, were set at liberty. They then put him on board a caravel to be sent home prisoner. Before it set sail, a ship arrived with Spanish colours; it was speedily captured, and letters to the Marquez were found on board, some from the King of Spain, others from his fugitive sons, urging him to persist in what they called his allegiance. These letters, as if they had been proofs of his treason, were sent to Portugal with him, and the Viceroy, besides the ignominy and injustice with which he had been treated, had to mourn over the conduct of his children, and the consequent imprisonment of his wife, with which he was thus made acquainted during a miserable voyage.
CHAP. X mirror

Maranham had hitherto remained unaffected by this war, while half Brazil had been wrested from its former masters. The attempts of different adventurers to obtain footing in these parts, were however still continued, and became more formidable after the loss of Olinda. Again the English endeavoured to form a settlement in the Ilha dos Tocujos: two hundred fortified themselves on the Rio de Felipe, and it was reported, that a reinforcement of five hundred men was on the way to join them. The Tapuyas were in alliance with these new comers: they were ready to ally themselves with any who offered to protect them, being sure, that no yoke could be more intolerable than that of the Portugueze. Many tribes who had submitted to these insatiable tyrants, for such they were in Maranham and Para at this time, gladly seized the opportunity to revolt, and it was manifest that those who still remained in obedience began to waver. Coelho, the Governor General of this new
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state, lost no time in dispatching a strong force against these competitors, under Jacome Raimundo de Noronha, who had lately been appointed Captain of Para. The English Commander was one Thomas, an old soldier, who had served with reputation in the Low Countries; he was overpowered here, attempted to escape by night in a launch, was overtaken, and cut to pieces, according to the usual barbarity with which war was carried on in the New World, by all nations alike. The fort then surrendered, and was razed by the conquerors.

The next attempt of the English was still among the Tocujos, under Roger Fray 1. Feliciano Coelho, the son of the Governor, was sent against him, and he also was overpowered and slain, and Fort Cumau, which he had built, was destroyed. A ship from London soon arrived, bringing out five hundred settlers for this unfortunate colony, which, had they reached it sooner, they might probably have saved. Four of these people were seized as soon as they landed, and sent to the city of St. Luiz. The account collected from them was, that the colony was founded at the expense of Thomas, Count of Brechier, and that ships were lying at Flushing, with Dutch and English forces on board, designed for the conquest of the Orellana. They had perhaps themselves been deceived by such a report: it alarmed Coelho, and he took every precaution in his power, against the expected attack. He wished especially, to remove the capital of Para to a situation at once more commodious and more defensible, and as Belem was not yet so large as to render this measure very difficult, powers were at last sent him from Madrid to put his design in execution. Such obstacles, however, were thrown in the way, by selfish and interested individuals, that the plan was

1 Fryer perhaps, or Frere, or any name of similar sound. Who is meant by the Count of Brechier, I have not been fortunate enough to guess.
Paltry disputes between the people of Para and their Captain, Luiz do Rego, and an attempt of Coelho's to form a new Captaincy for his son Feliciano, first in Gurupy, which was taken from him and given to Alvaro de Sousa, and then in Camuta, employed the rest of this Governor's life. His son having lost his support, abandoned the country, and returned to Portugal.

The death of Coelho left the government open. According to the regular course of law, if no succession-papers were found, Antonio Cavalcante de Albuquerque, whom he had left to command at Maranham during his absence, (for he died at Belem) should have continued in authority, till the vacancy was filled up in Europe. An inhabitant of Isle Maranham, as soon as the Governor was dead, set off from Belem for St. Luiz in a canoe, and made the Indian rowers exert themselves so strenuously, that he performed in fourteen days, a voyage which commonly requires five and twenty. This man looked to Jacome Raimundo for promotion, and communicated the tidings to him, before any other person was apprized of it. Raimundo had many friends, and in spite of Cavalcante's opposition, his influence was such, that the chamber elected him Governor. The opposition at Belem was equally ineffectual. A conspiracy was formed to depose him, and restore Cavalcante to the power, of which he had been thus illegally deprived; it was discovered, and Raimundo acted with a moderation which in such cases is perhaps without an example. The conspirators were fully convicted, yet he neither injured them in life, limb, nor property, nor even punished them with confinement, but contented himself with merely separating those whom he thought it dangerous to leave together. More rigorous measures would not have been more efficacious; he won the love of the people by this.
... and bound those to him by gratitude, whom perhaps he could not have repressed by fear.

He had soon an opportunity of making his administration remarkable in the history of Maranhão, and of South America. Two years ago, a Franciscan mission had been sent from Quito to the Indians upon the river Ahuarico. A Captain, by name Juan de Palacios, volunteered with a few soldiers to escort them, and partake the dangers and the merits of the expedition; they got into the province of the Encabellados, or Long-haired Indians, as far as the place where the Ahuarico joins the Napo, and there they remained a few months, ineffectually attempting the work of conversion. Some of the Missionaries grew weary and returned; the greater number persisted in their attempt, till Palacios was murdered by the savages; then they were terrified and fled. Two lay brethren and six of the soldiers were however disheartened at the prospect of the dreadful journey back to Peru; and in despair of effecting it, they committed themselves to the stream, as Orellana had done before them. Domingo de Brieba and Andres de Toledo were the names of the Friars; those of the soldiers have not been preserved. They reached Belem in safety. Thus was the Orellana tracked a second time from the mountains of Quito to the sea, yet little or nothing was yet known of its course. The history of the first voyage had been so disfigured with fable by its discoverer, and the lying Dominican who accompanied him, that it only served to mislead adventurers. Orsua had entered the great stream by the Ucayali and the Guallaga, but the journal which had been kept of that strange expedition, related wholly to the wild history of Aguirre's enormities, giving little information respecting the long track of country through which he past. These last voyagers were stupefied with fear, and when they found themselves once more in a Christian town, they could give nothing but a vague account of cannibal nations from whom they had escaped.
All which had yet been ascertained, was the important fact, that there was nothing to obstruct the navigation of this mighty river, during a course of more than three thousand miles.

It may be imagined with what wonder these men were received at Belem, and how cordially they were welcomed. They were sent to St. Luiz to be questioned by the Governor in person. Raimundo, conscious that he had usurped authority, was anxious to cover his usurpation by some signal service, and he thought none could be greater than that of exploring the inland navigation between Brazil and Peru, and forming such an alliance with the natives, that the Dutch might be deterred from making any attempt upon Potosi, by this channel; a service this, which the Court had especially recommended to Maciel, when he held the Captaincy of Para; and afterwards to Coelho; neither of whom could find leisure for an attempt of such difficulty. The voyagers said they were willing, with a sufficient body of companions, to return to Quito the same way; and accordingly an expedition was made ready, to the command of which, Teixeira was appointed. The people of Para were unwilling to spare so large a part of their force as had been ordered on this service, being apprehensive that the Dutch would invade them, in pursuance of their plans of conquest; under this apprehension they suspended the expedition, while a remonstrance against it was sent to St. Luiz; but Raimundo's reply was peremptory, and on the twenty-eighth of October, 1637, Teixeira departed from Belem, with seventy soldiers and twelve hundred native bowmen and rowers, making with their women and slaves, two thousand persons in all, and embarked in forty-five canoes.

His guides had undertaken more than they were able to perform; the stream had carried them down, and while they were in it, they were sure that their course was right; but to find a passage up the labyrinthine channels of this prodigious river
was a work of great patience and difficulty. Many of the Indians deserted, and it required all Teixeira's exertions, all his influence and all his arts, to prevent the rest from following them. The artifice which had most effect, was that of assuring them they were nearly at the end of their voyage, and he sent forward Bento Rodrigues de Oliveira with eight canoes, as if to be their harbinger. Bento Rodrigues was a Brazilian by birth, accustomed to this sort of travelling, and who spake the Tupi like his mother tongue: he had been bred up among the natives, and being a man of much penetration, understood their nature, and their looks, as thoroughly as their language; so that they stood in great awe of him, holding him to be a man who could see into their very thoughts. He reconnoitred the way, leaving instructions at every reach and point of the river: it was an incitement to the others to proceed and see what news at these stations day by day; and every day Teixeira kept up their spirits by assurances, that a little more perseverance would accomplish their voyage. Thus they advanced, till on the third of July they reached the place where Palacios had been killed; and here thinking it necessary to secure a retreat, he stationed the greater part of his little army on the banks of a beautiful river where it fell into the great stream, leaving the command to Pedro da Costa Favella, and Pedro Bayam de Abreu. With the rest he proceeded to Payamino, the first settlement of the Castillians in that direction, being in the province of the

* At the place where the river of Payamino enters into the Orellana. There is a port near that place called after the name of the River, where the Spaniards had fortified themselves, and had built a town to keep the Quixos in subjection. (Acuña Eng. Trans. C. 15.) Neither river nor place of this name are to be found in the great map of D. Juan de la Cruz. It appears, however, from the
Quixos, and about eighty leagues from Quito. Here Bento Rodrigues had left his canoes, and information that from hence he was advancing by land to Quito. Teixeira followed him over a mountainous and difficult country till he reached Baeza, a place then called a city, but which is now deserted. His approach was by this time known, and orders had been dispatched to supply him and his people with every thing needful. When he came near Quito, the Clergy, the Chamber, and Inhabitants went out to meet him in procession; bull-fights were given in honour of his voyage, and while he was feasted with the honours which he deserved, his journal and map of the river were dispatched to the Viceroy of Peru.

The Conde de Chinchon who was then Viceroy, thought this expedition of so much consequence in the present state of affairs, that he ordered Teixeira to return by the same rout, for the sake of perfecting his survey, and to take with him two persons who should proceed to Madrid, and lay their information before the Court. There was some difficulty in finding fit persons. Don Juan Vasquez d' Acuña the Corregidor of Quito, offered himself and his fortune for the service, requesting that he might be permitted to furnish every thing necessary for it at his own proper charge; the offer was not accepted, perhaps because his presence could not be dispensed with; other adventurers qualified for the charge were not to be found till the Provincial of the Jesuits was applied to, and he nominated F. Christoval d' Acuña, the Corregidor's brother, who was at that time Rector of the College of Cuenca, and F. Andres de Artieda, Professor of Theology in the schools at Quito. They

different place which Teixeira chose for embarking on his return, that the Payamino must have been one of the streams which fall into the Coca.
were instructed to survey the river, and notice every thing remarkable on the way. Four Religioners of the order of N. Senhora das Merces accompanied them, one of whom, by name, Fr. Pedro de la Rua Cerne, afterwards established his order at Belem and at St. Luiz.

When this voyage down the greatest river in the world was undertaken, there were many different opinions as to its origin. At Lima its source was said to be the Lake of Lauricocha, among the mountains near Huanuco de los Cavalleros, which is about seventy leagues from the Capital of Peru. In the province of Popayan, the same honour was claimed for the Caqueta, but without any reasonable foundation; for that river, after a course of seven hundred leagues, is received into a stream far larger than itself. Others derived it from the Guamana, and the Pulca, which rise about eight leagues from Quito, and are the sources of the Coca. This opinion was preferred by Acuña, with a partiality easily accounted for. Fritz, the Missionary, maintains the former, and is followed by Berredo. They are right in asserting the Ucayali to be the main stream, instead of the Nueva Marañon, or Lauricocha, as it has more conveniently been called; but it is from the remotest source that it must be traced, and this is a Lake near Arequiqua, where the Apurimac has its rise.

Teixeira had found the road from Payamino so difficult, that he chose to embark for his return near a settlement called Archidona, upon one of the streams which form the Napo; where at this present time the Spanish Missionaries from the side of Quito, usually embark for the few Reductions which they have established upon this river. He reached Pedro da Costa, greatly to the joy of that officer and his detachment. The Encabellados had not remained long upon friendly terms with them; the savages feared lest the death of Palacios would be
revenged, and the Portugueze were not unwilling to seize any occasion of revenging it; war had broken out, many of the natives had been slain, and more than seven hundred made prisoners. The vernacular name of this nation is not mentioned; the Spaniards denominated them from the singular custom of letting the hair grow to an inconvenient length, sometimes below their knees...a fashion common to both sexes. They were continually at war with five adjoining tribes on their own side of the river. Their weapon was the dart; they were cannibals; their houses were thatched with palms, and in this art they displayed considerable skill. Teixeira remained here some months taking vengeance upon these people, and building new canoes, for the greater part of those which he left here, had been destroyed during the war. And here, according to the Portugueze, he took possession of his discoveries for the


4 They paid, says Acuña, for the lives of our Indians whom they had slain, with more than the number three times doubled of their own...a slight punishment compared with the rigorous ones, which the Portugueze are wont to execute in such cases! M. Rodriguez, p. 123.

5 The Spaniards deny that this was the place, and Fritz, in their behalf, maintains that it was near the Cuchivara, some hundred leagues lower. Condamine, with more probability, fixes on the mouth of the Yupura; but the original Auto or Act to which he refers, as having seen it at Belem, is not dated from the Guayaris, and makes no mention of the high ground, which he adduces as one of the marks whereby to determine the situation. (P. 94-98.) The truth cannot be ascertained, neither would it be of any importance if it could. At that time there would have been no use in marking a boundary between the Spanish and Portugueze conquests in these parts; and it appears by the Auto itself, (which Barredo has printed,) that Teixeira had no such intention, but that he chose this place, according to his instructions, as the best he had seen for forming a settle-
Crown of Portugal in the name of Felipê IV. taking up handfuls of the soil and throwing them in the air, while he proclaimed, that if any person knew of any just cause or impediment, why possession should not thus be taken, he was now to come forward, and state his objection to the public Scribe. No gainsayer appearing, the Scribe then took of the soil, and gave it into Teixeira’s hand, thus making livery and seisin thereof for the Crown of Portugal.

The opposite country, between the Napo and the Curaray, which join forty leagues below the land of the Encabellados, was possessed by four tribes, of whom nothing more is mentioned than their names. Eighty leagues below their place of junction, these rivers fall into the Ucayali, then called the Tunguragua, and sixty leagues farther down, Acuña places the tribe of the Omaguas. Orellana had heard of these people, for he speaks of a chief called Aomagua, and a mistake between the names of the chief and the people was easy. Probably they were not at that time settled on the banks of the river; it is not said that he saw them, and had he seen them, it is hardly possible that he should not have noticed the extraordinary fashion of deformity by which they distinguish themselves from other tribes. It was effected by confining the forehead and occiput of their infants between two boards to make them perfectly flat, an operation intended to make them resemble the full moon, which is their standard of beauty for the human face. The

ment. Condamine, with no very excusable negligence, reasons from an implied construction of Acuña, against his explicit language; for he expressly says, that the Ahuaríen was called the Rio del Ouro, and it is from the mouth of Rio do Ouro that the Act is dated.

* The Abiginas, Jurussúnez, Zapatás, and Yquitús.
skull in consequence grows out at the sides, and resembles an ill-made mitre more than a head. At present the pressing boards are disused, and they mould the head by squeezing it between their hands. From this practice they call themselves Umanus, signifying flat-heads, the word which the Spaniards wrote Omaguas, and for the same reason the Portugueze called them in the Tupi tongue, Cambebas. The fashion was the more remarkable, because the women wore so much hair as to conceal its deformity. It might reasonably have been supposed that this unnatural custom would have stupified them; so far however, were they from having apparently suffered in intellect by this distortion, that both the earliest and latest accounts agree in representing them as the most civilized, rational, and docile tribe upon the whole course of the river. Not many years after Orellana's voyage, a few of them who had been settled in the province of the Quixos under the dominion of the Spaniards, finding the yoke too burthensome, migrated in this direction, found here the main body of their nation, and imparted to them the arts which they had learnt from their masters. They grow cotton and manufacture it, and weave the cloth of so many colours, that other tribes covet it for its beauty, and carry on with them a great traffic for this article. Both sexes

7 The Maxones of the ancients are said to have propagated this artificial formation. (Hippocrates, quoted by Sir T. Browne, Vulgar Errors, B. 6. C. 10.) This however is most likely erroneous, for certainly it is not propagated by the Omaguas. Hippocrates seems to have spoken from theory; the fact was too remote to be within his knowledge. Berredo (§ 719.) mentions an opinion that the Omaguas adopted this fashion, as a not-to-be-mistaken mark of distinction from other nations, that they might never be enslaved on the pretext of being cannibals. But the custom prevailed among them, before any slave hunters had reached this part of the interior.
are decently clothed; their dress is rudely, yet not inconveniently made, an open sack with armholes. Their weapon is the arrow and throwing stick. They kill the bravest of their prisoners, not to devour them, but to rid themselves of a dangerous enemy; the bodies they throw into the river, and keep the heads as trophies. To the others whom they spare, they are unusually affectionate, and if they are asked to sell a captive, the proposal shocks them as something monstrous, which they cannot endure to hear: any thing else they may be induced to part with, but they will not sell a human being. They intoxicate themselves by means of two herbs, the one called by the Spaniards Floripondio, the other in their own tongue Curupa; the drunkenness continues twenty four hours, and as it is said to produce strange visions, probably resembles that of opium. Of the Curupa they make snuff, which they take by a forked reed, inserting the two branches into the two nostrils, and then inhaling it with ridiculous grimaces.

It is from the Omaguas that we have received the Caoutchouc, or Indian rubber. The Portugueze of Para were the first who learnt its use; they made it into shoes, boots, hats, and even garments, its impenetrability to water, making it of the greatest service in a country where the people so often travel through the floods. Bottles of this elastic gum are used by the Omaguas as syringes, a use which has only of late years been known in England. It is customary among them to present one to every guest at the beginning of a feast.

When Teixeira performed his voyage, the Omaguas possessed

* They use it perhaps for some display of skill in drinking, spiriting liquor into their mouths, as the Tupinambas toss the mandioc meal. Many of the lower Spaniards hold the borracha, or leathern bottle, above their heads, and pour a stream from it while they drink.
the islands in the river, for an extent of more than two hundred leagues, their settlements being so numerous, that he scarcely lost sight of one, before another was in view. Some of these islands are of considerable extent, and the nation was at that time very numerous, though they had no possessions on either shore. They were then at war with the Urinas on the South bank, and the Tucunas on the North, . tribes who are still their enemies. The latter hold the metempsychosis, practise circumcision and excision, and adhere to the worship of a household Idol, which they call Ito-ho, more pertinaciously than any other of the American savages are attached to their superstitious errors. The Portuguese have collected some of them in villages, but it has never been found possible to make them give up their belief in the divinity of these hideous figures. The tribes on this river, have each, for the most part, an external mark to distinguish them: that of the Tucunas is a straight black line from the ears to the nose. The men gird their loins with a cloth made from the bark of a tree which they call Aichama; the women go naked. They are remarkable for their skill in stuffing birds, which they kill with the sarbacan, or blowing cane: many of these beautiful specimens are exacted from them in tribute, and sent to Europe. The Urinas whom Acuña mentions, are called Mayurunus by the Portuguese, and dwell on the river Yauari or Javari. They have the crown of the head bare, the rest bushy; their cheeks and nose pierced in many places, and with thorns stuck through them; arara feathers in the corners of the mouth, and strings of shells pendant from ears, nostrils, and underlip. Their manners are as barbarous as their appearance; they devour their enemies, and their own sick and infirm share the same fate, . parent, it is said, not sparing child, nor child the parent.

The adventurers rested three days at a village which was in
the midst of the Omaguas country, and here, though in three degrees South, they found the weather cold, and were fain to put on additional clothing; this they were informed was the ordinary temperature during the months of June, July, and August, when the prevailing wind passes over a range of mountains to the South, which are covered with snow. The great river Putumayo, or Ica, falls into the Orellana from the North, sixteen leagues below this station. Its source is among the mountains near the city of Pasto; and it receives upon its long course, the waters of not less than thirty considerable streams, among others a branch of the Caqueta, which thus connects the two great rivers of Popayan. A few years before Teixeira’s voyage, a party of Spaniards attempted to go down it from that province, allured by stories of gold being to be found along its course: but its banks were inhabited by numerous and warlike tribes, who compelled them with some loss to return; the reports of its riches still continue, but the ferocity of these nations has intimidated any adventurers from again attempting its conquest, or even its discovery. Fifty leagues lower, and on the South, is the mouth of the Yetau or Yutay; it rises in the country towards Cuzco, according to such accounts as the Missionaries have collected, but its course lies through the least known part of South Amer-

9 They were the Yurunas (who have been described), Guataycus, Yucatiguaras, Parianas, Ziyus, Atucais, Cunas, and others higher up, whose names Acuña did not hear, except that there were many hordes of a people, whom the Island-Omaguas called Omaguas yete, that is, the true, or original Omaguas.

10 The names of the inhabitants, as collected by Acuña, are the Tepunas, Guanaros, Osuanas, Mornas, Nuanas, Conomonas, Marianas, and nearest to Peru, a nation of Omaguas, who wore ear and nose-jewels of gold. Acuña supposed, that Orsua’s unfortunate expedition had been undertaken in search of their coun-
rica, though it is said to be easily navigable, having sufficient depth, and a gentle stream. The last settlement of the Oma-
guas was fourteen leagues below the Yetau; it was large and strong, like a frontier place. They were Lords of the river, and for a track of fifty leagues, no settlements were within sight of its banks, such was their superiority. The Curis and Guayrabas on the North, and the Cachiguaras and Tucuris on the South, had their villages in the interior, and came down the lesser branches, and in-shore channels of the river, when they found it necessary to venture there. None of them were seen, till Teix-
eira came to the Yurua 11, twenty-four leagues from the frontier island of the Omaguas, and thirty-eight from the Yetau. Ac-
cording to what Acuña understood from the Indians, these two rivers proceeded from one source, forming a Delta with the Orellana, into which they fall.

Twenty leagues lower down, the territory of the Curiciraris began, on the South bank, and in a mountainous country; it

try, and that he missed it, by taking the Eastern branch, instead of the Western, where the river divides, and so entering the great stream by the Yurua. But in this he is certainly mistaken. There can be no doubt, that Orsua came down the Huallaga and the Acayali, as appears in the work of Pedro Simon, who in all probability, had before him the journal to which Acosta twice alludes. I have written a chapter concerning this strange expedition, and reluctantly suppress it because of its length: the greater part of Aguirre’s history lies out of the limits of my sub-
ject, and it could not have been left half-told.

In this part of Acuña’s narrative, F. Manuel Rodriguez interpolates an opinion of his own, that the tribes upon the Yetau, are the descendants of those Per-

vians who fled with the last Inca, and that they are worthy of having Mission-
aries go in search of them.

Acuña would fain have this river called the Rio del Cuzco, because he had seen a chart, or direction, as he calls it, of Orellana’s, in which it was described as running North and South from that city.
extended eighty leagues. This was a populous tribe; their settlements, when farthest apart, were only four hours voyage from one to another, and sometimes they were continuous for the course of half a day. Few of the inhabitants were to be seen; they had fled to the mountains upon a false report that the Portugueze were slaying and enslaving wherever they went. They were the shyest race upon the river, but among the most improved, though they wore no cloathing. Their houses were well stored, and they were excellent potters; in this art, they excelled the Tupinambas, for they not only made jars, pans, and other utensils for such ordinary uses, but even ovens and frying pans; and of all these store was kept for traffic with other tribes. When Teixeira was on his way up the river, he procured at the first village of these people, some golden ornaments which they wore at the ears and nose; they soon perceived how eagerly these trinkets were enquired for, and as no more were seen, it was supposed that they had prudently concealed them. The gold was assayed at Quito, and proved to be of twenty-one carats. Teixeira could not, at that time, learn from whence it came, for want of interpreters; he was provided with them on his return, and collected this account: That a little above, on the Northern side, was the mouth of the Yurupau; the way was up this river, and then across the land for three days journey, to the great river Caqueta, and from thence into the River of Gold, which was called Yquari, and there at the foot of a sierra, the gold was found in grains, which were beaten into their present form. The people who collected it, were called Yumaguaris, collectors of metal, for the word yuma was applied indiscriminately to gold and to the iron of the strangers; the people who supplied them with it, were the Amanagus. The information thus obtained, was laid down in maps, and many a fruitless expedition was undertaken by the Portugueze in consequence.
Fourteen leagues below this village they came to the mouth of that river, which, in the Spanish map, is called the Gran Caqueta, but which the Portuguez call Jupurá or Yupurá, as Acuña heard it named upon the spot. It takes this name from the Yupura tribe, and they are so denominated from a fruit of which they make a black and stinking paste for food. This is the river, which in Popayan is said to be the main source of the Orellana; except the Rio Negro, it is the largest stream which joins it, and if the immense body of water which it rolls were not broken by numerous islands, the current would be unnavigable. Its course, like those of the Rio Negro and the Orellana, is from East to West, but it inclines to the South, in Latitude 3° and a few minutes, before it falls into the latter. A month's voyage above the mouth, there are rapids and falls. Between its mouth and these falls, it receives several considerable rivers: on the South, or left hand bank, the Acunauí, Mauarapi, Yuamiaui, Yuamerim, and Purui, which is thickly peopled; and the Cunacua and Arapi, from which, by a short portage, there is a communication with the Ica. Above the falls, as far as the Portuguez have navigated it, there are, on the same side, the Cauinari and the Meta, which communicates with the Ica by the Perida. On the right hand side, it receives the little river Maraú, the lake Cumapi, the little river Meua, which, by a short portage between their sources, communicates with the Urbaxi, and by that with the Negro, the Puapua and Amaniyu-parana, whose sources are contiguous to that of the Innuvixi, which flows into the Negro, the Uacapu-parana the Yacarapi, and the

12 Called erroneously, a lake, by Condamine, who also errs in saying, that it communicates with the Urbaxi. Ribeiro, MSS.

13 These paranas show, that the Tupi race is found here, unless, which is not
Apuaperi, which is well peopled, and communicates with the Uaopes, and thus with the Negro. Above the falls, there are the Muruti-parana, Uania, Ira-parana, and Yari; farther than this has not been explored.

Condamine says, that the Jupura pours itself into the Orellana through eight mouths, and accordingly it has been so laid down; but Ribeiro, who officially visited the Portugueze settlements in these parts, in the year 1773, ascertained that it has but one. The three channels above it, are streams which flow out of the Orellana into the Jupura; they are called the Auate-parana, signifying the Maize-River, the Manhama, which communicates with it, and the Uaranapu. These channels, which sully by their mixture, the pure waters of the Jupura, greatly facilitate the navigation; there is here neither danger nor difficulty; boats glide in perfect safety with the current, or are impelled against it by the slightest stroke of the oar. They form a thousand windings, through groves which are filled with birds, and meadows which are speckled with innumerable tortoise eggs. The four lower streams issue from the Lakes Amana and Cudayas.

14 It is by means of the Slave hunters, that this river has been traced so far.

15 Acuña calls two of them branches of the river Araganatuba. They are inhabited, he says, by twenty-one nations; the Yaguanais, Mucunes, Mapianas, Aguanais, Huirunas, Marinaus, Yamorua, Teranus, Siquiyas, Guanapuri, Piras, Mopitynus, Yguaranis, Aturias, Macaguas, Masipias, Guaycaris, Anduras, Caguaras, Mariamumas, and Guanibis. According to the notices obtained in the Nuevo Reyno, he says, the Lago Dorado was in the country which these tribes possessed. M. Rodriguez, P. 129.
Four leagues below the Jupura, the Tefe enters from the South; the Paguanas possessed it higher up, in a hilly country, abounding with pastures. Twenty leagues lower down, and on the same side, is the Acari-coara, which forms a bay of great extent, before its clear waters mingle with the turbid stream. The territory of the Jurimaus began two leagues below the border of the Curuciraris; this last tribe possessed the choicest part of the whole river: these were the most warlike people upon its banks. They inhabited the southern bank, and the islands along an extent of sixty leagues, and were exceedingly numerous; a taller race than the other savages, well-made, and fearless. The Portugueze halted five days at one of their cities, as it may be called, for the houses extended a league in length, and in each there were four or five families, and sometimes more. Here Teixeira obtained about eight hundred bushels of mandioc flour, making his stock sufficient for the remainder of the voyage. The main body of this tribe dwelt thirty leagues lower down, in a large island formed by an arm of the river, which branched off to meet one of its tributary streams; here, and up this other stream, their settlements were very numerous, and they were feared and respected by all the other tribes. Numerous, however, and brave as they were, they have now entirely disappeared; the last remnant of the nation were carried away in the year 1709, by some Spanish Jesuits, to a Reduction.

16 The Tapi of Acuña.

17 The Catua of Acuña; both are laid down in the map, but Acuña's account confirms the authority of the Portugueze writers who identify them; for he expressly speaks of this lake or bay, which it forms at its mouth.

18 Yoriman this word is called in Manuel Rodriguez. Acuña probably wrote Yorimau.
The next considerable river is the Yanapuary, now called the Perus by the Portugueze, having been named, like many others, from the tribe which was most powerful upon its banks. It flows into the Orellana on its Southern side through four channels, and is navigable, though there are rocks in its course. Lying information was given here of a tribe called Curiguereis, who dwelt two months voyage up the stream, and were sixteen palms in height, and brave in proportion to their gigantic stature. There were some Indians who said they had seen them, and offered to guide the Portugueze to their country, saying, as if to tempt them, that these naked giants wore ear and nose-pendants of gold, of size it is to be presumed, suitable to such ears and noses. The Perus, who gave name to the river, are remarkable for their obstinate expiatory fasts, during which no state of infirmity or disease is admitted as an excuse for relaxation, and numbers actually die of abstinence from food. Those who have been collected in villages by the Portugueze, are compelled to eat by force at these times, for the Missionaries have not weaned them from the custom. Of all the rivers which enter the Orellana, this is the most productive of cacao or cocoa, as we corruptly and inconveniently call it, salsaparilla and copaiba-gum; but it is no longer populous, for its tribes have been thinned by the continual incursions of the Muras; savages who are the scourge of this river, and who are probably the same as the Aymores, from whom the Southern Captaincies of Brazil suffered so dreadfully in former times.

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The Cuchiguara of Acuña, doubtless the same word as Cochiguara, by which one of its channels is still called. This was the name of one of its tribes; the others were the Cumayaris, Guaquari, Cuyaciayanes, Curucuruz, Quatauis, Mutuanis, and the Curiguereis who are the children of Anak, mentioned in the text.
Below the mouth of this river, the Southern bank was possessed by the Caripunas and Zurinas, tribes remarkable for their skill in carving. Their ordinary seats were cut into the shape of some animal, and the Portugueze equally admired the excellent ingenuity with which they were carved, and the convenient seat which they afforded. Their little idols, says Acuña, are so naturally made that our sculptors would have much to learn before they could imitate them... he spoke indeed only of such sculptors as those whose trade it was to make Saints and Crucifixes; but even this implies a degree of skill rarely found among savages. Their weapon was the throwing stick, which they manufactured with such nicety, as to render it in great demand among the adjoining tribes.

Sixty leagues below the Perus, the Rio Negro enters from the North. The course of this river, the greatest of all the tributary streams, and the wide track of country which it lays open, will be described hereafter, in treating of the Portugueze settlements in those parts. Acuña estimates the breadth at its mouth to be a league and half; an extraordinary miscalculation, for it does not exceed a mile, though in some parts of its course it spreads to the prodigious breadth of seven and eight leagues. The native name of this river is Guiari, and higher up, the Ueneya. The Portugueze call it the Black 20, from the darkness of its waters, which because of their depth and clearness, appear to be of that colour when they join the turbid Órellána. The conflict of these two mighty rivers is tremendous. The Negro rolls right across the current of the other, and for many leagues its

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20. 'Curana', which according to Acuña some of the natives called it, has the same meaning. Another name by which he says it was called, is Curiguacunu.
clear stream may be distinguished before it mingles and is defiled.

Up this river, and one which falls into it, and was called Parana-meri, or the little river, Acuña heard that there were many nations, the remotest of whom wore garments and hats, from which he concluded that this fashion was learnt in consequence of their vicinity to some Spanish city. One of its branches, he was told, communicated with another great river which fell into the North Atlantic, and upon which the Dutch were settling; this he concluded to be the Rio de Felipe, whose mouth was called the Sea of Sweet Water, that being the first stream of any magnitude near the Cabo de Norte, and by which, according to him, Aguirre had entered the ocean. The Orinoco, he said, it could not possibly be. In this opinion, that there could be no communication between the Orellana and Orinoco, geographers long pertinaciously persisted; but the fact is ascertained beyond all doubt, and it is another proof of the extraordinary intercourse which these tribes carried on with each other, and the extent of their geographical knowledge, that Acuña should have learnt it at so great a distance from the latter river. At the mouth of the Negro he noticed some good situations where fortresses might be built, and stone enough was at hand for building them; but he rather recommended that they should fortify the entrance of the Branco, by which he thought this channel would be closed against the Dutch, and their views of aggrandizement in that direction effectually counteracted 21.

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21 The Caniciures, Aguayras, Yacuncaraes, Cahuayapiris, Manacuras, Iammas, Granamas, Curapanagris, Guarianas, Caguas, Acerabaris and Curupatabas.

On the Rio Branco he speaks only of the Guaranaquazanas.

22 In his memorial to the Crown, he recommended that settlements should be
Here the Portugueze considered themselves as almost a home, a proof that their incursions sometimes extended thus far. And what were they to take home with them after all their toils? They had now expended two years upon this expedition, they had found no gold, they had made no conquests, and as for the merits of the discovery, they complained, not without truth, that such merits were of little avail at the Court of Madrid, for many who had undergone like dangers, and been prodigal of their blood as well as exertion for the advancement of the dominions of Spain, had been left to die upon a dunghill, having none to relieve them. With these complaints they went to Teixeira, and besought him, seeing the wind was fair, to let them enter the Negro and get slaves, which would repay them for their difficulties. It would be infamous, they said, to return home without any booty; the Indians of Para would account them cowards if they passed through whole provinces without making one prisoner among the tribes, who came down to their very door to make slaves of them, their allies. Teixeira saw that his men were ready to mutiny if he refused this licence, and therefore granted it.

But the two Jesuits interfered as became them. They first celebrated mass, and then entered a protest against this violent injustice. The Commander, who had only formed from the side of Quito, upon the rivers which offer the readiest communication with the great stream. This measure, he said, would prevent the Peruvian Spaniards from smuggling their wealth home by this route, which otherwise they certainly would attempt, not merely for the sake of evading the duties at Cartagena, but also because the danger from pirates would be so much less. His hope however was, that such measures would be taken as should make it the regular way. Another reason which he advanced was, that these outposts would frustrate any schemes of conquest, which the Dutch might form against Peru, in conjunction with the Portugueze, who had failed in their loyalty to his Majesty. The margin of my copy contains the indignant answer of a Portugueze to this charge; "Mente o Padre, ... the Father lies. Memorial in M. Rodriguez. P. 415."
yielded to what he disapproved, because he feared that he should not have power to prevent it, was well pleased to find his inclination supported by the authority of these Priests, whose rank as well as character gave them great influence. He ordered their protest to be proclaimed through the fleet, and at the same time commanded his men, who had already entered the Negro, to return; an order, which, however reluctantly, they obeyed.

The next river which comes from the South, was called by the natives the Cuyari; but when Teixcira past it on his way up, he gave it the name of Madeira, from the quantity of wood which he then saw floating down it. The course of the Madeira, which among the secondary rivers of South America, is one of the most important, will be described hereafter. Acuña concluded by the intelligence which he collected from some Tupinambas who had descended it, that the shortest communication between Spain and Potosí, must be by this stream.

Below the Madeira, but from the North, the Saraca enters, having received the Urubu. It communicates with a labyrinth of lakes and channels, but the ground is elevated and therefore not liable to inundations, even when the waters are at the

"It proves, he says, that the river comes from Peru, for Cuyari is a word of the Inca tongue coming from the verb cujari to love, which is the amo amas of that language, and hath its elegant modes of conjugation. Cuyari, the name of the river, signifies love me, the river being so goodly a one, that the Indians express their sense of its beauty, by saying, itself tells them to love it."

"It requires some attention to discover this name in the map of D. Juan de la Cruz, because the engraver has forgotten to reverse it on the plate, and therefore it is reversed in the impression. Acuña calls it the Basururu, and by some oversight, has placed it above the Negro."
highest. The natives here were provided with iron tools, which they received from tribes who lived nearer the sea, and who got them, they said, from white men like the Portugueze, using the same arms, but differing from them in that their hair was red. By this description it was known that the Dutch were meant. These tribes lived in a country which abounded with maize, mandioc, and various fruits, and where game of all kinds, and fish were plentiful; they were very numerous, and were rapidly increasing in population.

Twenty-eight leagues below the mouth of the Madeira, is a great island which they computed at more than sixty leagues in length: it was possessed by the Tupinambas and called after their name. These people spake a language with which all the Brazilian Portugueze were familiar; the accounts therefore which were received came immediately from themselves, and no misapprehension or misrepresentation on the part of an interpreter can have altered its substance. Their forefathers, they said, emigrated from Pernambuco, and the parts adjoining, to

Acuña says, they were collectively called Carabuyanas, but were divided into sixteen tribes, the Caraguanas, Pocohanas, Urayaris, Masucaruanas, Quererus, Cotocarianas, Moacaranas, Ororupianas, Quinarupianas, Tuynamalnas, Araguayanas, Mariguayananas, Yaribarus, Yarucaguacus, Cumaruwayanas, and Ycuruanaris.

They had taken possession at this time, according to Acuña, of the mouth of some Rio Dulce, which they, he says, call Philip Hadias. I know not what river is meant. Berredo understands the Dutch of Surinam, § 730.

Berredo sneers at the simplicity of Acuña, for believing what he heard here, and denies that these people can have been Tupinambas, who he says, existed at that time nowhere in a body, except upon the Rio dos Tocantins, and about Para. He seems to have forgotten that Teixeira was with the Jesuit, and must have known whether they were Tupinambas or not.
escape from the Portuguese. The inhabitants of eighty-four settlements formed and executed this resolution. Their route was along the skirts of a great Cordillera, which was on their left, and they crossed at their head the rivers which discharge themselves into the North Sea. So great a multitude could not keep together, because of the difficulty of supporting themselves; some remained in one place, some in another: their fathers wandered on till they came to the Spaniards of Peru, at the head of the Madeira, (that is either of the Beni or more probably one of the branches of the Mamore,) and there they abode for some time, till one of their nation was flogged by a Spaniard for having killed a cow. Revolting at this indignity, they removed once more, came down the stream into the Orinoco, and established themselves in this island. Though fewer in number than any other tribe upon the river, such was their tremendous archery, that they had exterminated some, driven others to flight, and reduced to submission all in their vicinity, who did not choose to encounter the fatigues and dangers of emigration.

Among their Southern neighbours, they said, there were two remarkable races: the Guayacis who were dwarfs, not bigger than little children: and the Mutayces whose feet grew backwards, so that any one who attempted to follow them by their track, would if he were ignorant of this malformation, go farther from them. There is undoubtedly a pleasure in believing extraordinary things, and if the Tupinambas had only heard of these people, it would have been natural enough to repeat the wonder which they believed; but they must have known that they were relating falsehoods, for they added, that these people were tributary to them, paying tribute in stone hatchets, which it was their sole employment to make; and which they made with great art. Upon the Northern shore, they said, there were seven well
peopled provinces, the people of which lived upon fruits and wild animals, and were of so little courage that they were never at war among themselves, and other tribes despised them too much to make war upon them. This also is as fabulous as the men whose toes were behind them; no tribes can be populous who trust to chance for their food, and no savages have ever existed without war. No nation has ever existed without it. There is but one community of Christians in the world, and that, unhappily, of all communities one of the smallest, enlightened enough to understand the prohibition of war by our divine master in its plain, literal, undeniable sense, and conscientious enough to obey it, subduing the very instinct of nature to obedience. There was another tribe, with whom, when they were at peace, they trafficked for salt, which that tribe procured from others beyond them. This intelligence concerning so necessary an article of consumption, Acuña thought of considerable importance towards the conquest and colonization of the river; but if salt could not be procured by this channel, it might be found, he said, in great abundance upon one of the branches towards Peru, for two adventurers had lately discovered there a whole quarry of rock salt, with which the natives carried on a prosperous traffic.

From the Tupinambas, Acuña received a confirmation of his previous belief of the Amazons. Inquiry concerning this nation had been made at Quito, of certain Indians who had once dwelt upon the great river; the like inquiries had been made at the city of Pasto in Popayan, and in particular from an Indian woman, who said, that she herself had been in the country of these women. Acuña during the whole voyage repeated this inquiry; no person was ignorant that such a nation existed, and all agreed in the account which they gave. It is not to be believed, says he, that the same lie, bearing such a resemblance to
truth, should be received among so many tribes, speaking so
many different languages, and inhabiting so long a track of
country. Here it was, that he obtained the most full and satis-
factory details. Six and thirty leagues below the last settlement
of the Tupinambas, and on the North, is the mouth of the Cu-
nuris, a river so called, from the first tribe upon its banks. Be-
yond them were the Apantos, then the Taguaus, and then the
Guacaras; these last were the people with whom the Amazons
traded, and carried on that intercourse, without which they
must else have become extinct. The Guacaras went once a
year into their country, which was full of mountains; one bare
one rose above all the rest, and was called Yacamiaba. The
Amazons, as soon as they saw them coming up the river, went
arms in hand to meet them; but as soon as they were satisfied
that it was their friends, they entered their canoes, and each
taking up the first hammock which she found, carried it to her
dwelling, and hung it up there, and the Guacara to whom it be-
longed, was her mate for the season. One Indian, who said, that
in his boyhood he had been with his father on one of these ex-
peditions, affirmed that when the men returned, they took with
them all the boys of the preceding year; but it was generally
asserted that they were put to death as soon as born; this is
what Acuña believed, and if there be any truth in the rest of the
history, this is what is most credible, for otherwise there must
soon have been an inconvenient disproportion of males to
females in the fathers tribe.

The testimony of Orellana and his Dominican voucher con-
cerning the Amazons, might be suspected; but there is not the
 slightest reason for doubting the veracity of Acuña: he certainly
heard what he has related. The subject is curious, and in a
history of this country, it deserves and requires all the investiga-
tion which can be made. When Condamine came down the
same river in 1743, he omitted no opportunity of inquiring into it. From all the various tribes along its course, he heard the same story, and all agreed, that these women had retired up the country by the Rio Negro, or one of the streams which flow in the same direction. An Indian of St. Joachim dos Omaguas told him, that perhaps he would find an old man at Coari, whose father had seen the Amazons. At Coari he learnt, that the old man was dead, but he found his son Punilha, then seventy years of age, who was chief of the Indians in that Reduction. His grandfather, he said, was at the settlement of Cochuiuvara, one of the mouths of the Perus, when the Amazons passed by, coming from the Caiami, which enters between the Tefe and the Coari: he had spoken with four of them, one of whom had an infant at the breast, and he remembered the names of each. They crossed the great river, and went towards the Negro. Condamine omits many details, because he considered them as little probable. It is to be wished that he had repeated them; the improbable is not always false; fiction not unfrequently affords a clue to truth, and even the fables which are invented by an Indian in the heart of South America, are curious in Europe. Ribeiro enquired for Punilha in 1774, but as was to be expected, he was dead; he found, however, a man of threescore and ten, who well remembered him, and had often heard from him the same account which he had given to Condamine; and this account he himself strengthened, because he was a native of Cochuiuvara, and affirmed that it was a received tradition there, that the Amazons had at that time passed by, on their way to the North, by the Rio Negro.

28 Ribeiro says, his name was Joze da Costa Punilha, and that he held the office of Sargento Mor da Ordenança.
An Indian of Mortigura near Belem, offered to show Condamine a river, up which was the way to the country of the Amazons: it was the Irijo, whose mouth he afterwards passed between Macapa, and the Cabo do Norte. According to this man, the river was to be navigated up to certain falls, then there was a journey of some days through the woods on its western side, and a track of mountains to be crossed. Among the Topayos, Condamine found certain green stones, which had been cut, and some of them formed into the shape of animals, though by what means the Indians could have wrought them, was inexplicable, for they resist the file. Great imaginary virtues have been ascribed to these stones; on which account, many of them have found their way to Europe. The Topayos said, they had them from their fathers, and they from the Condamillia, the women without husbands. An old soldier at Cayenne, told Condamine, he had been one of a party of discovery, who in 1726, had penetrated to the Amicouanes, a long-eared nation inhabiting the country above the sources of the Oyapoc, and near the head of another river, which runs into the Orellana. The women of this tribe, wore these green stones round their necks, and when they were asked

29 According to him, the Topayos were the then remaining wreck of the Tupinambas of the river. They are probably the Tapajos of the Portuguese.

30 Condamine says, they neither differed in form nor in hardness from the Jade Orientale, and that a treatise had been written upon them, under the name of the Pierre divine. He refers to one of Voiture's Letters to Mlle. Paulet, in which he thanks her for a present of some of these stones, the way in which the Frenchman expresses his thanks, is characteristic enough. *Si les pierres que vous m'avez données, ne peuvent rompre les miennes, elles m'en feront au moins porter la douleur avec patience; & il me semble que je ne me dois jamais plaigndre de ma colique, puis qu'elle m'a procuré ce bonheur.* (Lett. 23.)
where they got them, replied, from the women who had no husbands, whose country lay seven or eight days journey toward the West.

These accounts, and many others which Condamine collected, but which he did not think it needful to specify, agreed, from whatever quarter they came, in placing the Amazons in the heart of Guiana, the only part of South America which no Europeans have at any time explored. Other accounts, obtained afterwards by two of the Governors of Venezuela, point to the same centre. The reports which the Spaniards heard in Paraguay, assigned them a very different situation; but it must be remembered, that if they removed from that situation to the country which has since been represented as their abode, Cochiuvara, where they are so positively said to have been seen, is in the direct line of their emigration. Condamine, though he thought proof was still wanting of their present existence, could not resist the evidence of their having existed. Ribeiro confirms, and adds to that evidence, yet he regards the whole as a fable. His opinion may be right, but the reason upon which he founds it, is certainly fallacious. He maintains that in such a climate, no community of women could possibly be induced to live apart from the other sex. But he must have perused history, and observed mankind to little purpose, who has not learnt, that political institutions, whatever may be their power of exalting human nature, are capable of moulding, perverting, and even extinguishing its instincts. The argument also, is disgraceful to its author, and inapplicable to its subject; if it were true, (which I absolutely deny it to be) it would apply to the nunneries of his own nation, not to the Amazons, who had, like birds, their yearly mating-time. The existence of such a tribe, could it be ascertained, would be honourable to our species, inasmuch as it must have originate
in resistance to oppression. The lot of women is usually dreadful among savages; the females of one horde may have perpetrated what the Danaides are said to have done before them, but from a stronger provocation; and if, as is not unfrequent, they had been accustomed to accompany their husbands to battle, there is nothing that can even be thought improbable, in their establishing themselves as an independent race, and securing, by such a system of life, that freedom for their daughters, which they had obtained for themselves. Had we never heard of the Amazons of antiquity, I should, without hesitation, believe in those of America; their existence is not the less likely for that reason, and yet it must be admitted that the probable truth is made to appear suspicious by its resemblance to a known fable.

Thirty six leagues below the Cunuris and on the north side, Acuña places the Uruximena, now called the Rio dos Trombetas. Here the great stream is so contracted, that its width for an extent of four leagues, does not exceed a mile. So favourable a spot for securing the navigation of the river could not be overlooked, and he observes, that a fortress on each side would effectually command it, and serve also as Custom Houses, where every thing which went up or down might be registered. The Portugueze have a fort on the northern bank, called St. Antonio, which they compute to be seventy-two leagues from the Madeira. The poa cravo, or cinnamon of America, grows plentifully here, and upon all the rivers in this part. Here, at the distance of more than three hundred and sixty leagues from the sea, the tides were distinctly felt.

Forty leagues lower on the South, the Rio dos Tapajos enters, a river of great magnitude, called from the tribe in possession of

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1 Count Pagan calls this the Bosphorus of the river.
HISTORY OF BRAZIL.

CHAP. XVIII. 1639.

its mouth. This nation was well known to the Portugueze and dreaded by them, for their arrows were venomed with so powerful a poison, that the slightest puncture occasioned inevitable death. Attempts had been made to reduce them by pacific means, and persuade them to remove and settle with the domesticated, that is to say, the subjected Indians. To this they were too wary, and too wise to consent; yet they were well inclined to deal with the Portugueze upon friendly terms, and share with them whatever advantages were to be derived from a free intercourse. The flotilla halted at one of their settlements which contained about five hundred families; hammocks, poultry, fish, flour, and fruit were brought in abundance for exchange, and in the whole of this traffic the utmost confidence and good will were manifested by the Tapajos. They offered to welcome the Portugueze if they would come and settle in their lands, and assist them there; but to remove themselves and lose their liberty was a thing not to be thought of. Acuña had the sorrow to find the Portugueze in a fort, which from its appellation (Fuerte del Destierro) must have been an outpost, collecting for an inroad against these unoffending and friendly people. He attempted to dissuade them, and obtained a promise from the Commander of the party to suspend the expedition, till he had seen the Governor. This Commander was young Bento Maciel, as true a bloodhound as his infamous father, who was now Governor, to the misfortune of Para, and had made him Sargento Mor. The young ruffian pledged his word to Acuña, that he would suspend the expedition, and then as soon as the Jesuit was departed, set off upon it. The Tapajos having no hostile intentions, and being thus taken by surprise, accepted the peace which these villains began by proffering, protesting at the same time their good will towards the Portugueze. Young Maciel demanded their arrows, they were not in a situation to refuse them. As soon as he had obtained these weapons, he inclosed the men like
sheep in a fold, is the indignant expression of Acuña, and let loose his allies upon the town. Such were the excesses which they committed, and such their usage of the women, that a Portuguese who in an evil hour had consented to be one of the party, protested to Acuña, that if slaves were thus to be procured, he wished never to possess them, and that he would far rather give up all those whom he already possessed, than be witness a second time to scenes so dreadful.

The men who were in the power of Maciel and his party were not enough: they threatened them with new and unheard of cruelties, if they did not procure them slaves, and promised them liberty if they would ransom themselves. A thousand slaves were bargained for and the Tapajos sent to collect them. Two hundred only could be found, the rest had fled when they saw their masters seized, and the place given up to pillage. This however, was a great booty, and the Portuguese set the masters at liberty, relying so entirely upon the word of these poor savages, that they expected to receive the remaining eight hundred as a debt. They then shipt off their victims for Belem and St. Luiz, and this success tempted other ruffians to prepare for another and greater expedition of the same nature. The consequence of this intolerable wickedness was, that all the tribes upon this river were made inveterately hostile to such oppressors, and though the Portuguese have long had a fort at its mouth, they had not, when Berredo wrote, which was about the year

32 M. Rodriguez has omitted this story, probably as not pertinent to his main subject. Berredo overlooked it for another reason; he thought slaves necessary, and not caring how they were made, took care on all occasions to keep the atrocity of the traffic out of sight. Accordingly when he mentions the opposifam forte daquelle gentilismo, he gives no hint of the villainy by which that opposition was provoked.
1745, been able to explore it farther than the first falls. Many
attempts had been made, for it was believed, that rich mines were
to be discovered in the mountains upon its course. Some stones
had been found, which from their weight were supposed to con­
tain ore, but the metal, if such it was, evaporated in the furnace.
The English in former times made two unsuccessful attempts to
establish themselves up this river. In one the whole party was
cut off; in the other so many of them fell that the ship was
compelled to retreat. The European weapons which had
been won in these victories were preserved when Acuña was
there.

Forty leagues below the Rio dos Topajos, and from the oppo­
site shore, the Curupatuba falls in, where the Portuguese had a
settlement of subjected natives, called by the name of the river.
This stream, which is comparatively of little magnitude, had the
reputation of being exceedingly rich. Six days voyage up, the
Indians said, great quantity of gold was to be found upon the
banks of a little river, which passed along the foot of a moun­
tain ridge, called Yaguaracurú. From a place not far distant,
which they called Picuru, a white metal had been dug, which
was something harder, and of which knives and axes had for­
erly been made; but these implements were so soon blunted,
that the metal had long been neglected as being of no utility.
There were also in these parts two serras, the one of which con­
tained sulphur, the other, which they called Paraguaxo, shone,
they said, in the sunshine, and when the moon was bright, as
though it were spotted with jewelry; and oftentimes explosions
were heard upon it, a sign that there were precious stones there;
in fact, fine crystals, octagon and triangular, are found there.

\[\text{Yriquiriqui the natives called it.}\]
There are marshes in this direction, which are computed to extend eighty leagues in length, the whole track producing rice as excellent, says Berredo, as that of Venice.

Sixty leagues farther down, and also on the North, Acuña notices the Ginipape, which Berredo calls Mapau. Cacao and salsaparilla are produced in abundance upon this river, and such wonders were related of its treasures by the natives, that he remarks, if their reports be true, it is a richer stream than any in Peru, or in the Nuevo Reyno. The Fort do Destierro was six leagues above the mouth of this river; its garrison consisted of three soldiers, a force of little use against the Dutch, who had long coveted the possession of a country, so favourable for the growth of tobacco. An outpost, stationed six and thirty leagues lower down, had been abandoned for the sake of establishing this. Acuña thought its old situation far the best; probably it was so, but Maciel was now Governor of Maranhão, and he was far more interested in schemes for kidnapping the natives, than in providing against a dangerous enemy.

Here spreading itself in a flat country, and swoln with the waters of six and thirty great rivers, which it has received upon its course, the Orellana appears like a sea, and is divided into infinite channels by islands which have never been numbered. A multiplicity of tribes inhabited them, speaking different languages, but the Tupi was understood by most. Through these labyrinths this mighty current rolls onward to the sea, freshening the ocean for forty leagues off, so that ships may lay in sweet water when far out of sight of land. Teixeira left the

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34 The Urubucuara, which falls in above it on the same side, is not noticed by Acuña, though it is a river of equal magnitude.
Orellana here and struck to the South across the mouth of the great river Xingu 83, which where it discharges itself is two leagues broad. Their course from hence was through the strait of Tanajepuru into the Paraitu, and then through another strait called at present Limoeiro, because its narrowness suggested the idea of confinement, into the mouth of the Rio dos Tocantins. The French used to freight ships, it is said, with earth from the banks of this river, and extract the ore in Europe; but they had been driven thence, and the Portuguese derived as yet no other advantage from their victory, than the removal of such neighbours. Some adventurers of Pernambuco, with a Priest in company, once reached the head of this river from the interior, and attempted to explore it down to its mouth: they were all slain by the Tocantins, and the Priest's chalice had been found among some of these Indians, not long before Teixeira's voyage. From hence the fleet struck into another strait called Igarapemerim, that is to say, the narrow channel for canoes, and this brought them into the Moju, one of the three rivers which form the bay of Belem. Teixeira entered that city on the twelfth of December 1639, and was received with the honors which he deserved.

Orellana estimated the course of the river at eighteen hundred leagues; Acuña computed it at twelve hundred and seventy-six from the mouth of the Napo, thirteen hundred and fifty-six, full measure, from its source; but the remotest source is far more distant than that from which he begins his computation. Like absolute Lord of all the other rivers, he says, it sends out arms to collect its due tribute of waters from its subjects, and bring them into the main channel; and such as the guest is, such is the harbinger who goes out to meet him...to lesser streams a less one, a larger to larger rivers; and when one is to be received

83 The Paranayba of Acuña.
of almost equal power, then the great Orellana goes in person with his current to receive it. From the sea to the Rio Negro, the depth in the main channel is nowhere less than thirty fathom; higher up, it varies from twenty to twelve, and even near to its source, according to Acuña, it is not less than eight. The islands which it forms are too many ever to have been numbered, and of all sizes, very many of four or five leagues in circumference, not a few of ten and twenty; and the great island of the Tupinambas exceeding a hundred. Many of the smaller islands were cultivated by those who inhabited the nearest large ones; and being sometimes inundated, they are remarkably fertile.

Maize and mandioc were the principal vegetable food of the inhabitants; this latter they secured against the regular floods, by burying it in deep pits, so well covered, as to keep out the water. The same root supplied them with their liquor; they formed the flour into thin biscuits, which they kept in the highest part of their dwellings, to be as far from the damp as possible; these they boiled in water, and left to ferment, using it as beverage on all occasions. There was a drinking bout at sowing or setting time, another at harvest; when a guest arrived, this was his welcome; if they rejoiced, they got drunk, and they got drunk if they were sorrowful. Other fermented liquors they made of various wild fruits, and kept them in earthen jars of great capacity, or in wood hollowed into vessels, or in large baskets, knit so closely of fine materials, and caulked so well with gum, as to be effectually water-tight.

The potato was among their edible roots; they ate also a sort of truffle, which they called papas. They had the plantain, the pine-nut, the cocoa, the date, and a sort of chestnut, so called by Acuña from its prickly husk, but in Peru, known by

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56 Criadillas de tierra.
the name of almonds of the country, as more resembling that fruit. It is, however, from the water, that these tribes derive the chief part of their sustenance, and there they were supplied with flesh as well as fish. The Manatee is found everywhere in the Orellana, according to Acuña, even from its sources to the sea. The Portugueze call it Peixe Boy, as the Buccaneers called it the sea cow, from the shape of its head, though it has no horns, and its ears are only two small orifices; the resemblance is in the general form, and in the mouth. The eyes are not bigger than a small pea, though the animal is as large as a horse; amphibious it cannot be called, never quitting the water; for instead of legs, it has only large fins, one on each side of the belly, near the shoulders, where it is largest; from the shoulders, it retains its bigness for about two feet, then gradually lessens to the tail, which is flat; the udders of the female are under these fins. Short hairs, like soft bristles, grow on the skin, which is thick and hard; the natives usually made shields of it, which a musket ball would not easily penetrate. There is another species here, called the oil-river-cow, because its substance consists almost wholly of fat; a single one yields nearly a hundred gallons of oil. The favourite food of the Manatee in this river, is the Caña bravá, a plant which floats in the water, being balanced by long and heavy roots, and growing about six palms above the surface: in some of the channels of the Orellana it is so thick as completely to obstruct the navigation. This animal grazes also upon the banks, raising its head above the water for that purpose; yet, though unable to move on shore, it is obliged frequently to rise for breath, as if it were amphibious; and this proves its destruction, for then it is, that the Indians, being on the hunt, harpoon it. They buccaneered its flesh, which they had no other means of preserving; salt they had none; the
ashes of a species of palm was their substitute, and this could only be used for savouring food, not for curing it. They had, however, an easy method of keeping by them store of fresh provisions for the winter. When the tortoises came on shore to lay their eggs, they went out to catch them, and by turning them on their backs, secured as many as they wanted; then perforating the shell, they passed a string through, fastened as many together as the string would hold, threw them into the river, and towed them after a canoe. A sort of stew or tank was made ready, formed with stakes set close together, and so well banked up or luted on the inside, as to retain the rain-water like a cistern; here they were let loose, and then, according to Acuña, fed with twigs.

Their usual mode of killing fish, was by the arrow and throwing-stick; the arrow having pierced its mark, served as a buoy. When the waters were low, and the communication between the river and its lagoons was dried up, they pounded one of their creeping plants, and cast it into these lakes, and the fish being speedily intoxicated, rose, and floated. The galvaneo eel, called Paraque by the natives, is found in these parts.

The anta and peccary were numerous: the paca, a smaller species of llama, was also found. Acuña mentions deer, and the yguña, yagoti, and cecia, as good food. Partridges were plentiful. The common fowl had found its way from Peru, and extended from tribe to tribe, along the whole course of the river; so soon, even among savages, is any great and obvious benefit communicated. Water fowl were beyond all number. If Orellana wanted food on his voyage, it was only because he was unprovided with the means of obtaining it. Teixeira, who had no enemies to apprehend, and whose business was to survey the river at leisure, anchored every evening, and slept on shore; the first business was to run up wicker huts for the
night, and these were often made of the cacao tree, in such abundance did it grow: then away went the Indians of the fleet, some with dogs to the woodland, others with bow and arrow on the water, and they soon came back, laden with fish and game in such profusion, that Acuña says it reminded him of the miraculous loaves and fishes.

Acuña's was indeed a delightful voyage; the natives on the way had been previously conciliated, and the force with him was sufficient to remove all fear or apprehension whatever. If one boat was injured, or upset, there were others at hand to render assistance. His course also was with the stream. Had he written of the voyage up, he would have had to speak of labyrinthine channels, of strong currents, and of a plague of insects, from which there is no respite, neither by night nor day. Of these the Pium is the most terrible; an insect exceedingly small, but its venomous bite makes a wound the size of a pin's head, accompanied with intense pain; the hands and face will be covered with such wounds in the course of a day, and many persons have died of the inflammation produced by them. Its persecution, however, is confined to the hours of daylight, and the slightest covering is a sufficient defence. The Mutuça is a large fly which also makes a wound, and torments only by day. When these persecutors retire, they are succeeded by the Mairaum, creatures almost imperceptibly small, but which inflict a sharp and painful bite; their hour of tormenting is at sunset. The Carapana and Muroçoca are abroad both day and night, and these will bite through the folds of any clothing except strong silk; these are the most annoying, because there is no respite from them, but the Pium are the most terrible. The plaisterings and unctions of the Indians defend them against these enemies. In descending the stream, the evil is escaped; boats keep the mid current, and these insects do not venture far from the shore.
To the Jesuit, who suffered nothing from this plague, the most harrassing to which man can be exposed, the country appeared like a Paradise, and as such he depictures it. Toward the mountains of Quito, indeed, he complains of the heat; but lower down, there are breezes from the side of the sea, which keep the temperature more grateful. The richness of its vegetable productions was a cause of juster admiration, ... savannahs enriched with the loveliest flowers, and trees to which Europe has none that can be compared, either for beauty, girth, or loftiness. And here, says he, the natives have the best store-house of simples for diseases that has ever yet been discovered. Finer cana-fistula is produced here than in any other part, the best sarsapa-rella, the choicest gums and resins; wild honey every where, either for food or medicine, and wax, which, though black, burns as well as any other. Tobacco of the best quality grew spontaneously. Their oil of andiroda is inestimable for wounds; their copaiba surpasses the best balsam. Finally, he concludes, there are here such thousand herbs and trees, that Dioscorides and Pliny would have enough to do to enumerate them. In no place, he informed the Court of Spain, could ships be more commodiously built, nothing but iron was wanting; the bark of certain trees supplied a cordage as strong as hemp; pitch might be made upon the spot, the embira served for tow, cotton grew for sails, and there were men enough for workmen.

The number of different tribes who then inhabited the river, he estimated at more than a hundred and fifty, all speaking different languages. No long intervals of solitude are mentioned, as in Orellana’s time; on the contrary, it is stated, that these nations bordered so closely on each other, that in many places the sound of the axe in the villages of the one, could be heard by the other. Yet, notwithstanding this close neighbourhood, they lived in a state of perpetual war; otherwise, wide as the
land was, he thought it would have been insufficient to maintain them all. He had forgotten, that while the banks of the rivers were frequented for the sake of fish, the interior was left desert. Many of these tribes fled at the approach of the Portuguese flotilla: none offered any hostility. Their flight was easy and effectual: as soon as they reached the land, they caught up their light canoes, ran with them to the nearest lake or lagoon, embarked again, and thus baffled all pursuit.

Their common weapon was the throwing-stick, called estolica, which was used by the Peruvians. It is described as flat, between four and five feet long, and three fingers broad; at the end a bone rest was fixed; against this, they took such certain aim, that if a tortoise put forth his head, they could instantly transfix it. The bow and arrow, however, were more formidable arms. Some used shields of closely platted cane; these were not so good as those which were made of the manatee skin. Their canoes were of cedar, and the river saved them all trouble of felling timber for them. Torn up by the floods, these huge trees came floating down the stream, and the Indian had only to cast a hook upon one, as it was drifting along, and fasten it to his hut, till the waters abated, and left it dry. Tortoise-shell served for hatchets; the strongest part of the shell, which may be described as being between the shoulders, was used as the blade; a jaw bone of the manatee served for handle, and with such tools as these, they made tables, seats, and other things, as well as if they had employed the best iron instruments, though not as easily. Some tribes had stone axes, which did the work more expeditiously. The teeth and tusks of animals served them for chisels, planes, and wimbles.

They had idols of their own making, each distinguished by some fit symbol, as the God of the River, by a fish in his hand: another was supposed to preside over their seeds and harvests:
a third to be the giver of victory. No ceremonies of adoration were in use: the Idols lay neglected in a corner, till they were wanted for seed time, or fishing, or war. Idolaters are always disposed to add to the number of their divinities. A chief who entertained Teixeira on his way, was greatly impressed with the power of the Portugueze Gods, because they had preserved the flotilla during so long a voyage, and he besought the Commander to leave him one, who might protect him and his people, and succour them in their need. Another Indian, who, avowing his contempt for Idols, had set himself up as an object of worship, was invited by the Portugueze to the knowledge of the true God. He came at their request, to be instructed, but when he found that their God was not visible, returned unpersuaded, and continued his claims to adoration, either in insanity, or fraud.

Every where they had their Conjurers: there is no stage of society, in which some persons are not found, artful enough to prey upon the credulity of others. These impostors were regarded with such veneration, that their bones were preserved in the hammock which they had used when living, and suspended in a house set apart for the purpose. Some buried the dead in their dwelling; others burnt them, and threw whatever had belonged to the departed, into the same fire; but whatever was the mode, the obsequies continued for many days, and were everywhere celebrated with drunkenness.

In general, the tribes upon the Orellana were less dark of complexion than the Brazilian nations. They were well made and of good stature, of quick understanding, docile, and disposed to receive any instruction from their guests, and render them any assistance. The allies of the Portugueze, who had learnt from their masters nothing but insolence, new vices, and new modes of mischief, repeatedly injured these unoffending
people, but no vengeance was attempted, ... a forbearance attributable to their prudence, not to any want of vindictive feeling. Acuña speaks with righteous abhorrence of the system which the Portugueze carried on against them. That his representations would have made any effectual impression upon the Government, is not very probable; and before he reached Madrid, that Revolution was accomplished which restored the crown of Portugal to its true claimant. The navigation of the Orellana was now no longer of consequence to the Spaniards, and the Portugueze had no leisure to profit by it; but the information which had been obtained by Teixeira's voyage, was of use in better times.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.
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HISTORY OF BATH.

The people, not too numerous to accomplish this object in their produce, and to any want or immediate want to ascend, might with certain assistance at the station which the Permaine carried against them. Thus the presence of the company had made any electrical impression upon the Contemplative, or on the 1st before he reached London, as to render the situation of the Ordefin was now no longer at convenance to the Commodot, and the French deserted the French, to form the R. With the information which had been obtained by Inwendi's voyage, was of use in future times.

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1. Maranhom, p. 6.] Vieyra seems to consider the word as an augmentative of Mar, given to the river on account of its magnitude. Por isso, he says, os naturaes the chamam Para, e os Portuguezes Maranhom, que tudo quer dizer mar e mar grande. Sermoens, t. 3. p. 409.

Elsewhere (t. 4. p. 428.) he miswrites one of its names for the sake of punning upon it. Outros lhe chamam Rio das Amazonas; mas eu the chamo Rio das Amazonhas, nam por serem menores, nem de menos preço, (pois todas custarem o mesmo) mas pelo desemparo & desprezo com que están perdendo.

2. Cassia-fistola, p. 8.] In 1574, when Monardes wrote, cana-fistola came in such quantities from Hispaniola and Puerto Rico, that not only all Spayne is provided of it, but all Europe and well nere the worlde; for that unto Levant from whence it was accustomably brought, now there goeth more shippes laden with it, than come with Iron from Biskey. ff. 21.

It formerly came from Alexandria by way of Venice. Do. ff. 106.

3. Gum anime, p. 8.] Gum anime had hitherto been brought from the Levant; of which anime, Hermolau Barbarus*, a man most excellently learned, dooth saye, that it is gathered about the place where incense is found, and that lande or soyle is called Animitin, and therefore the thing is called anime. This which came from America was whiter and brighter, insomuche that some doo say, that it is spice of Charabe or succino, which is called amber congeled, wherewith they do make beads. Monardes. ff. 2.

4. The under lip slit, p. 11.] Vancouver was much struck with this fashion of a supplementary mouth, which he found in Restoration Bay, on the West coast of America, with some additional ornaments. "A horizontal incision, he says, is made about three tenths of an inch below the upper part of the under lip, extending from one corner of the mouth to the other, entirely through the flesh; this orifice is then by degrees stretched sufficiently to admit an ornament made of wood, which is confined close to the gums of the lower jaw, and whose external surface projects horizontally. These wooden ornaments are oval, and resemble a small oval platter or dish made concave on both sides; they are of various sizes, but the smallest I was able to procure was about two inches and a half; the largest was three inches and four tenths in length, and an inch and half broad; the others decreased in breadth in proportion to their length. They are about four tenths of an inch in thickness, and have a groove

* A Barbarian Author, saith the translator, John Frampton, in the margin.
along the middle of the outside edge for the purpose of receiving the divided lip. These hideous appendages are made of fir and neatly polished, but present a most unnatural appearance, and are a species of deformity and an instance of human absurdity, that would scarcely be credited, without ocular truth. Vol. 4. 36.

5. Looking glasses, p. 12.] This is now become so essential to the happiness of a savage, that Adair says, the North American Indian takes a looking glass, with some red paint, in all his journeys, though he carries nothing else, except his weapons. P. 17.

It proved a fatal possession to the Cherokees when the small pox raged among them about 1738, for being naturally proud, says Adair, they are always peeping into their looking-glasses, and are never gently drest, according to their mode, without carrying one hung over their shoulders. By which means seeing themselves disfigured, (those who recovered from the disease) without hope of regaining their former beauty; some shot themselves, others cut their throats, some stabbed themselves with knives, and others with sharp pointed canes; many threw themselves with sudden madness into the fire, and there slowly expired, as if they had been utterly divested of the native power of feeling pain.

I remember in Tymas, one of their towns, about ten miles above the present Fort Prince George, a great head warrior, who murdered a white man thirty miles below Cheewhee, as was proved by the branded deer-skins he produced afterward... when he saw himself disfigured by the smallpox, he chose to die, that he might end, as he imagined his shame. When his relations knew his desperate design, they narrowly watched him and took away every sharp instrument from him.

When he found he was balked of his intention, he fretted and said the worst things their language could express, and showed all the symptoms of a desperate person enraged at his disappointment, and forced to live and see his ignominy; he then darted himself against the wall, with all his remaining vigour... his strength being expended by the force of his friends' opposition, he fell suddenly on the bed, as if by those violent struggles he was overpowered, and wanted to repose himself. His relations through tenderness, left him to his rest; but as soon as they went away, he raised himself, and after a tedious search, finding nothing but a thick and round hole-half, he took the fatal instrument, and having fixed one end of it in the ground, he repeatedly threw himself on it, till he forced it down his throat, when he immediately expired. He was buried in silence, without the least mourning.' Adair, p. 233.

In the Anciennes Relations of the Mahommedan Travellers, there is a like story of an Oriental Prince... who contemplating himself in the glass, after the small pox, turned to his nephew and said, It never happened to any person but me to remain in his body after such a change. But this body is only like a bladder full of air, and the soul when it leaves it, passes into another. Mount you the throne, for I shall separate my soul and body... till I return in another form. Upon which he called for a sharp semeter, and made his nephew strike off his head. P. 85.

6. Brazil, p. 21.] According to Hervas (t. 1. p. 109. Note 2) this wood was known in the year 1198. His reference is Antig. Italica e Lud. Muratori. Mediolani. 1783. Vol. 6. en el Vol. 2. disert 30. col. 898. But the passage has been searched for by one of my friends, without success. Mr. Pinkerton says, Chaucer mentions the wood... this passage also, for want of verbal indexes, I have not been able to discover. M. Renaudot twice uses the word in the Anciennes Relations de deux Voyageurs Mahometans. p. 5. 117. It is there spoken of as growing in what he calls the isles of Ramni, (some of the Malay Isles,) and as an article of commerce in the Red Sea. But it is not stated what is the word in the original Arabic, nor is there any note upon the passage.

The name by which the Tupis called the tree, is Araboutan, according to De Lery. It grows as high and branches as widely as our oaks, and equals their ordinary girth. He observes that it is a very dry wood, and emits little smoke. Some of his clothes were washed in a lye of its ashes, and they were stained with a durable red.

A ship could not have laid in a load of Brazil in a year without the help of the natives; for it is exceedingly hard, and as they had no cattle for draught, was brought down to the shore upon men's shoulders. I suppose wheel-carriages drawn by men were not thought of, because roads would then have been necessary. Its use seems to have been superseded by logwood.

How is it, said an old Tupinamba to De Lery that you Mairs and Peros come so far to fetch
wood? have you none for burning in your own country? Plenty, answered De Lery, but none of the same kind as yours; and we do not want it for burning, as you suppose, but for dyeing, just as you dye your cotton cords and your feathers. But, rejoined the Indian, why do you want so much of it? De Lery thought to astonish him, and impress him with reverence for the prodigious wealth of the French, by saying, that among his countrymen one man possessed more red cloth, more knives, scissors, and looking glasses, than all which were brought to Brazil, and that this one man bought all the wood which all the ships carried home. Wonderful! cried the old Tupinambas: and paused a little to think upon what he had heard. Presently he said, And this man who has all these things, does not he die? Certainly, replied De Lery, he dies like other men. His children, said De Lery, if he has any; otherwise his brothers and sisters, or his nearest kin. Truly then, quoth the Tupinamba, you Mairs are remarkable fools. For, why should you endure all the hardships which you tell us of in crossing the sea, to get these things for your children or those relations who shall come after you? The same earth which supports you, would it not support them also? We also have our children and our kin, and we love them, as thou seest, with exceeding love: but we know that as this earth supports us, it will in like manner support them when we are gone, and with this we are contented.'

C. 13.

7. Parrots, p. 22.] It appears that Parrots were eaten medicinally. 'A gentleman, says Monardes, which came from the firm land, certifieth me, that having had certain continual agues in that country, he came to be in consumption, and was counselled to go to certain Islands, which are between Puerto Rico and the Margarita, for that there is in them great quantities of Crabs, and they are the best of the world, because they are maintained by Pigions eggs, which goe thither to lay, and of the young Pigion which are there, and that he should eat no other thing but these Crabs sodden and he was healed very well: and although he had eaten much flesh of Pigiones for that purpose, they did not him so much good, as the Crabs did: and in them that are consumed, they have a great property, as Auenzoar saith, and not only they profit much by manifest quality or degree, but also by their particular properties which they have for the same purpose.' ff. 94.

8. Monkeys were brought home, p. 22.] The practice of keeping monkeys was formerly much more common than at present. See Mr. Dowce's Illustrations. Vol. 2. 36.

Acosta (I. 4. c. 39.) after telling a few anecdotes of the monkey, concludes, con solo bendezir al autor de toda criatura, pues para sola recreacion de los hombres, y entretenimiento donoso, parece aver hecho un genero de animal que todo es de ver, o para mover a risa; ... with blessing the Maker of all Creatures for having created this animal on purpose to amuse man with his tricks.

Dr. Monardes in his First Part of the Things that are brought from the West Indies, mentions in the list of commodities which were imported, 'Popingaies, Griffons, Apes, Lions, Ger faucons, and other kinds of Hawkes, Tiger's wool,' &c.

(English Translation. F. 1.) There must be some mistake of the translator here, which for want of the original I am not able to explain.

9. Christiaan Jaques, p. 29.] Labat says these French ships were found in the River Paraguay, which has since been called the Plata, ... and to this double mistake he adds the gratuitous falsehood of stating the Portuguese force at eight well armed vessels.

Voyage de Ch. Des Marchais, 3. 73.

10. Some of them swam after the ship, p. 31.] So at Senegal, where according to Durand, when a settler embarks for Europe, the woman who has lived with him as his wife (excellent wives they are), accompanies him to the shore, and sometimes swims after the ship as far as her strength permits her; she gathers up the sand on which the impression of his last footsteps has been left, and wraps it up, and lays it at the foot of her bed. Ch. 12.

11. No kine could be kept, p. 40.] Stedman (Vol. 1. 336.) mentions the duncane as it is called by the negroes of Surinam. It is a shrub with a large green leaf, something like that of the English dock; it grows in low and marshy places, and is instant death to whatever animal eats of its leaves. Sheep and bullockes are said to be remarkably fond of it, though most animals, he adds, know, it is said, instinctively how to distinguish their food from their poison. But neither sheep nor kine are natural inhabitants of Guiana.

12. The Tupiniquins, p. 40.] When Jan de laet wrote, the Tupiniquins were ad summum paucitatem rectatis. He says, they had been of all the
Savages, the most irreligious, the most obstinate, and the most vindictive. This is in direct contradiction to the character given them by the Author of the Noticias, who is better, as well as elder authority, because he wrote from what he had seen and learnt in the country; but perhaps Laet's language may be construed to mean, that they took part with the Portugueze, against the Dutch.

13. Lucas Giraldes, p. 41.] Ramusio, as quoted by Bandini, has printed a dissertation upon the Voyage of Humo, said to be the work of a Portugueze Pilot, which contains this remarkable passage: e vicituto il poter navigare oltre il capo di Buona Speranza a diritta linea verso il polo Antarctico, dove si opinione apparezzo tutti i Piloti Portughezi, che vi su un grandissimo continuente di terra firma, la qual corra a levante e ponente sotto il polo Antartico: e diceno, che oltre volto uno eccellente uomo Fiorentino detto Amerigo Vespuccio, con certe marci dei Re la trovò, e pose per grande spazio, ma che da poi è stato proibito che alcuni vi possa andare. Bandini, p. 46.

It is scarcely possible, that this could have been written by a Portugueze. The words excelente uomo look as if they came from an Italian, partial to his countrymen, who, when he said that no one was permitted to go to Brazil, meant no Italian. Bandini unaccountably supposes this passage to imply that the art of doubling the cape had been almost again forgotten. It is the more remarkable, because so many Italians appear among the earliest settlers in the colonies.

14. The contagious spirit of adventure, p. 58.] A very interesting instance of this spirit is recorded by the old translator of Gomara.

Not long since, right Honorable, I happened to travayle from the famous Cittie of Tolledo in Spayne, towards highe Castile, and by fortune overtooke an auncient Gentleman, worshipfully accompanied, unto whom I was so bold as to approach, beseeching his worship to advertise me of his journey: who, after he had beheld my white head and beard, answered ful gently, that his intent was to travayle unto the king of Spayne's Court; and welcomed me unto his company. In shorte space that we had journeyed together, and comminced of each other his country, it pleased him to say as followeth: My good friends, if you knew my sute unto the King's majestie, you would judge that I were a madman, and therefore to shorten our way, I will declare my attempted sute unto you. You shall understand, that I am a Gentleman of seventy years of age, and sometimes I served in the civill warres of Pirru, where I was wounded in divers parts of my body, and am now thereby lame in one of my legges and shoulder. I have neither wife nor childre, and at this presente, God be praised! I have, in the Contractation house in the Cite of Sivill, in golde and plate, the summe of thirtie thousande Duchates, and I have also Pirru in good lands and possessions the yearly rent of twelve thousande Duchates, which rentes and ready money is sufficiente to maintayne a poore Gentleman. But at this notwithstanding, I do now sue unto the King's majestate, to have licence and authoritie to discover and conquer a certayne parte of India, whyche adjoyneweth with Brazil, and is part of the Empire of Pirru, I pray you nowe declare what you thinke of my sute. By my troth, sir, quoth I, I trust your worship will pardon a rash and suddaine judgement, which you now demand at my hand: yea truly, quoth he, say what you list. Then, quoth I, my opinion is, that you are not wel in your wit, for what would you have? wil not reason suffice you? or else would you now in your old days be an Empeor, considering that your Sepulchre atteundeth for you. Nowe truly I thank you, quoth he, for of your judgement are most Illen: but I say unto you, considering that all flesh must finish, I seke for no quiet rest in this transitorie life; yea, the wise and Xtian Doctors do teach and admonish, that every true Xtian is borne, not for his owne private wealth and pleasure, but rather to help and succour others, his poore brethren. Likewise do I consider the greate number of Gentlemen, younger brethren, and other valiant persons, who, through want of living, do fall into many disorders. Wherefore to accomplish my dutie toward God and my Prince, and to relieue such poore Gentlemen, do I now attempte this journey, with the adventure of my bodye and goodes; and for that purpose, I have in readiness foure tall Shippes, well furnished in the port of San Lucar de Barramada, hoping assuredlye, that before the life depart from my body, to heare these valiante young Gentlemen, whome now I meant to have in my company, say, oh happiest day, when old Zarate, for so is my name, broughte us from penurie; yea, and from a number of pe­ rils that we were likely to fall into. I hope also, that the royall estate of my Prince, shall be, by my paynes and poore service, enlarged: believe you me, this is the only sumptuous Tomb that
I pretend to build for my poor carcass. But yet I know there are some, unto whom I may compare the Bore that lyeth wallowing in his sty, who will not lette to saye, what neede we any other world, honor or kingdomes? let us be contented with that we have: who may easily be answered, Sir glutton, your paunch is full, and little care you for the glory of God, honor of your Prince, neyther the neede and necessitie of your poor naybours. With this conclusion, the Gentleman ended his tale, the judgement whereof I leave to noble Gentlemen, his peers, to be determined.

Epistle dedicatory to Sir Francis Walsingham, prefixed to the conquest of the West India, translated by Thomas Nicholas.

15. A wood of incense trees, p. 77.] Monte±a in the accounts of Spanish America, has a different meaning from what it bears in Spain, and always means woodland, thick forests. A mountain is called cerra and cuesta; ridges of mountains, cordillera; and if wooded, cordillera de montafia. These terms are explained by P. Manuel Rodriguez. *El Maranon y Amazonas.* t. 1. c. 4.

16. Buenos Ayres, p. 59.] Sancho del Campo, the admiral of Mendoza's expedition, is said to have occasioned the name of the New Town, by explaining when he landed, que buenos ayres son estos, escaped from the foul smell of his ship, and breathing the fresh land air on a fine day. *Dobrizhoffer.* t. 1. p. 5.

17. Mendoza, 64.] The Santa Anna, in which Mendoza went out and returned, was destined to be the Commander's ship in an after expedition of equal magnitude, and even more unfortunate. Hernando de Soto purchased it at the Havana. when he was on his way to Florida. It was so large a vessel that eighty horses were stowed on board. *El Inca Garcilaso.* t. 1. c. 13.

18. A serpent worthy to have stopt a second army, p. 64.] The old writers upon this side of south America, relate a strange fable concerning the great snake, which Charlevoix boldly repeats. That when this monster has swallowed an anta, or any other of the larger animals, it is unable to digest it, and lies down in the sun till the carcasse putrifis, and the birds called araras come and devour both it and the snake, picking the flesh of the snake to the back bone, till only back bone, head and tail be left, then the flesh grows again over this living skeleton, and the snake becomes as active as before. *Noticias de Brazil.* 2. 46.

One Jorge Lopes, the Almoxarife of St. Vincent, took great pains to verify this, and it was supposed to be established by the testimony which he collected. His own testimony is good for nothing, for he affirmed that he had found one of these snakes coiled round three Indians, and preparing to devour them; that by wounding the reptile in the head and tail he had disabled, and then killed it; that it was sixty palms in length, and had four pigs in its inside. There can, however, be no doubt that snakes of a greater size have been found.

I know not whether it is Gumilla, or his French translator, who describes the Boa, lying in the sun, with the horns of a stag whom he has swallowed, sticking out on each side the mouth, and serving him for mustachios. c. 39.

19. For two months it rained day and night, p. 80.] There grows a tree in these rainy provinces, which is not unlike the ash in appearance, but the wood is white and remarkably dry, so that immediately when cut, it burns like a torch, till it is entirely consumed. Enteramente nos dio la vida hallar esta madera, the discovery of this wood absolutely saved our lives, says Pedro de Ciega. ff. 26. This must be the *Espinillo* or *Yandubay* of Azara. t. 1. p. 109.

P. Manuel Rodriguez supposes that this unwholesome region of perpetual rain was not inhabited by choice, but by tribes who fled there from the yoke of the Incas; who, like the Mexican kings, were so fond of tribute that they exacted a weekly quota of vermin from some of their subjects. *El Maranon y Amazonas.* t. 1. c. 4.

A good book concerning Peru is still wanting. There are sufficient materials, but those writers who have panegyrized the Peruvians, and those who have depreciated them, have been equally deficient in research.

20. Gonzalo Pizarro's cruelty, p. 80.] Above an hundred years afterwards, when the first Jesuit Missionaries entered these parts, many Indians fled as soon as they heard of their coming, so fresh was the memory of Pizarro's cruelties.

*Rodriguez.* El Maranon. 3. 2.

21. The ygun, p. 88.] Gumilla, whose head was full of all odd theories, never could be persuaded to taste a ygun, though he saw every body else eat it; because he had found, that if you pinched
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it by the neck, made it open its mouth, and then put in some chewed tobacco, the creature died. Snakes died under the same experiment, and therefore he concluded that snakes and yguanas were of the same species. c. 47. It would have been easy to prove him of the same species as an ass by the same logic.

22. Maiz, 107.] Maiz and Chicha, according to Acosta (l. 5. c. 13.) must have been Haytian words, as they did not belong to any known language in the Indies. So also was Cu, the word by which they called the Mexican temples.

In Peru they had discovered the art of malting their maize, . . . the beer which was made from it was called Sora, and was prohibited, as producing more violent drunkenness than their other liquors. That which intoxicated least was made from toasted maize. Acosta. 4. 16.

23. Potatoes, p. 108.] In the Elvas Fidalgo's account of Soto's expedition (c. 5.) it appears that potatoes were at that time (1538) used in the Azores.

I take the Batatas (potatoes) says Monardes, (ff. 104) for a vitatble of muche substance, and that these are in the middest betweene flesh and fruite. Truth it is, that they be windie, but that is taken from them by roasting, chiefly if they bee put into fine wyne: there is made of them, conserves very excellent, as marmalade, and small morselles, and they make potages and brothes, and cakes of them very excellent: they are subject that there be made of them, any manner of conserve, and any manner of meat: there be so many in Spaine, that they bring from Velez Malaga every yeare to Seville tenne to twelve carvelles laden with them. They be sowne of the same plantes that are sette, the smallest of them, or pieces of the greatest, in the earth that is well tilled, and they grow very well, and in eight months, the roots waxe very grosse, so that you may eat of them. They be temperate, and being roasted, or otherwise drest, they soften the bellie, and being raw, they are not good to be eaten, because they are windie, and hard of digestion.

24. The stone pine, p. 108.] Falkner describes this pine as growing on the Cordilleras of Chile. The wood, he says, is harder than ours, very white, and very durable. The cone twice as large as what the Spanish pines bear; and the pine-nuts* as big as dates, with a very slender shell. The fruit is long and thick, with four blunt corners, as big as two almonds. By boiling these kernels, they make provision for long journeys, or to keep at home. Prepared in this manner, they have something of a mealliness, and taste very like a boiled almond, but not so oily. This tree produces a considerable quantity of turpentine, which forms itself into a mass somewhat harder than our resin, but much more clear and transparent, though not so yellow. The Spaniards use it as incense, and call it so. c. 2. p. 50.

Azara calls this tree the Curuy, marking the y with an accent, to express the sound for which, Dobrizhoffer substitutes a new character. The cone, he says, is about the size of a child's head, and the nuts, when roasted, are of a finer flavour than chestnuts. The Jesuits planted them about their reductions, and he recommends that they should be introduced into Europe. This might the more easily be done, as there is a flourishing specimen in a garden at Buenos Ayres.

25. Curculio palmorum, p. 110.] The Guaranos of the Orinoco find these grubs in great numbers in the palms, which they cut down for the sake of their juice, . . . after all has been drawn out that will flow, these grubs breed in the incisions, and the trunk produces, as it were, a second crop.

Gumilla, t. 1. c. 9.

Stedman gives prints of two species of the groogroo, as he calls it, or palm tree worm. The largest grows to the size and thickness of a man's thumb, and is extremely fat. In taste, he says, they partake of all the spices of India. They are of a pale yellow colour, with black heads, . . . and certainly of a very disgusting appearance. The fat, when melted and clarified, answers all the purposes of European butter, and he says, he found it more delicious to his taste.

26. Ayolas, p. 73.] Azara asserts that Ayolas penetrated to Peru. l. 2. p. 556. A statement so totally unsupported, would be more excusable.

* Those in Spain are not bigger than pistachios.
if he had not boasted of his own researches, and

deprecated the authority of others.

27. *The Guaynazes, p. 34.* A horde of the Ma-

chipuez, existing at this time in the Gran Chuco,

form their habitations under ground. Azara (t.

2. p. 153.) has not mentioned which of their

hordes. The Quoneyéé bears some resemblance in

name.

28. *A mother rears only one child, p. 119.* I have

said in a note upon this passage, that probably

only one of each sex was meant. But Azara’s

Travels have been published since this chapter

was printed, and he confirms the fact in its full

extent. The consequence is, that some of the

fiercest tribes are almost extinct, and of these

Guaycurus... this noble race... a single individu­

al was the only one remaining when Azara left Pa-

raguay. But of the present state of these tribes,

a full and most interesting account will appear in

the second volume of this History.

29. *The Guaycurus, p. 121.* There are tribes

on the Orinoco called Guaranas, and Guayquaries;

whether these are branches of the Guaycurus and

Guaranies, I know not; the names seem to be

the same. Gumilla, t. 1.

30. *The Palometa, p. 122.* This terrible fish is

the Guacarito of Gumilla; the Spaniards call it

the Carib fish, from its avidity for human flesh.

He speaks of children and men who have been

devoured by them. C. 42. The Orinoco tribes

who preserve the bones of their dead in baskets,

lay the body for a single night in the river, and

by the morning these fish make it a perfect skele­
ton. C. 14.

31. *Aquatic Tribes, p. 130.* These Aquatic tribes

of the Paraguay adapted their mode of life to the

country which they have been published, far better than the

Guarayos of the Orinoco have done, and the Mar­

racaybo Indians, who roost in trees amid the water.

32. *Sources of the Paraguay, p. 131.* I have fol­

lowed the MSS. of a Portuguese Academician who

was sent out to determine the limits on that side,

and began his expedition from Villa Bella, the

Capital of Mato Grosso in 1786. He is proba-

bly right, or nearly so, in his observations, for

Azara places the sources of this River in 13° 30'.

But I suspect the Academician has confused the

Paraguay with the Parana when he says that

it rises among the mountains of the Diamond

Demarcation. Its springs must be somewhere

in the North part of the district of Cuyaba, or be­

tween it and the Goyaz.

33. *Mandubies, p. 134.* The Mandubi is pro­

duced by a shrub which grows to about the height of

two feet. It is found in pods, growing from the

roots, which are short, slender, and crooked.

Some pods contain one, some two nuts, accord­

ing to the species; they resemble almonds in shape

and sweetness, and afford an oil which many per­

sons prefer to that of the olive, or to any other

substitute for, or kind of butter, which is to be

found in South America. Dobrzhofer, 1. 467.

34. *They delighted to fix upon the ears, p. 135.*

The bat has now learnt a wiser way of attacking

the horse: It pitches on the animal's back; and, while it bites, fans with its wings the whole time, lulling him with the lulling motion and sound and ventilation. Dobrzhofer, t. 1. p. 268.

Stedman (Vol. 2. 212.) saw a white man in Surinam who had in one night lost both his eyes by the vampires. When Warren wrote his account of that colony, these hideous and destructive crea­
tures materially impeded the increase of swine by biting off their teats.

35. *Lop-eared Indians, p. 136.* The way in which

a hole in the ear may be enlarged to a great size, is explained by Gumilla, (t. 1. c. 8.) as practised by the women of the Abumes, an Orinoco tribe; they roll up an elastic stem and insert it in the hole, which is thus continually stretched. By the time a girl becomes marriageable, this hole is so large that a billiard ball may be past through it; the beauty consists in the soothness of the circle round it. Some of these people slit the ear, so that it serves for a pocket. Gumilla gave a letter to one of their people for another missionary, and some tobacco for his trouble in carrying it... the man put both in his ear.

Among those tribes in North America with whom the English are best acquainted, "The young heroes cut a hole round almost the extre­

mity of both their ears, which till healed, they

stretch out with a large tuft of Buffalo's wool,

mixt with bear's oil: they then twist as much,
small wire round as will keep them extended in that hideous form.

"I have been among the Indians at a drinking match," says Adair, when several of their heads have been humbled as low as death for the great loss of their big ears. Being so widely extended it is as easy for a person to take hold of, and pull them off, as to remove a couple of small hoops were they hung within reach; but if the ear after the pull, stick to their head by one end, when they get sober, they pare and sew it together with a needle and deer's sinews, after sweating him in a stove. Thus: the disconsolate warrior recovers his former cheerfulness, and hath a lasting cautio of not putting his ears a second time in danger with company: however it is not deemed a scandal to lose their ears by any accident, because they became slender and brittle by their virtuous compliance with that favorite custom of their ancestors." Adair. p. 171.

In New Zealand an aperture is made in the ears "capable of receiving two or three fingers. This, says Mr. Savage, is considered a beauty; it is certainly a convenience, for not only are a variety of ornaments suspended from this loop-hole, but their smaller tools, needles, &c. bear them company." Chapt. 8.

36. Hardheads, p. 141.] Oviedo (t. 5. Prohemio.) says that the Spaniards were careful not to strike an Indian upon the head in battle, for their skulls were so hard and thick as to break the sword. Yet according to Azara, (t. 2. p. 39) it has been observed that the bones of the Guarani converts moulder sooner than those of the Spaniards. Both these statements are to be received with some suspicion, for Oviedo produces the thick skull as a proof of stupidity, and Azara deduces from the ill-compacted bones an argument for the inferiority of the species.

37. They did not recollect that an iron cap was harder, p. 142.] The helmet or iron hat had another great recommendation, .. it could be used as a kettle; the discoverers sometimes boiled in them the herbs which they could collect for their miserable meal. Herrera, 7. 9. 24.

The Fidalgo of Elvas mentions another curious shift to which those soldiers were reduced, who chose to make bread of their maize; .. after having pounded it by way of grinding, they hauled the flour through their coats of mail. C. 11.

38. Concubines, p. 152.] Mazacaras the Spaniards called their Indian concubines in Paraguay, by a native term, the origin of which is curious. Mazacara is the name of the best fish in that country, and that being the thing which the Indians loved best, they applied the word to their mistresses. Argentina. c. 4. st. 42.

D. Martin says some people called Asumpcion Mahoma's Paradise, from the number of women in the town; punning upon the name of a neighbouring tribe. He says that in his time there were above four thousand girls in the town.

Y asi, Lector curioso, si quisiseres
El numero saber de las doncellas
De quatro mil ya pasan, como estrellas.
C. 2. St. 43.

39. Cabeza de Vaca was then acquitted, p. 163.] Azara (t. 1. p. 18,) says, on the contrary, that both he and his secretary, Pedro Hernandez, (who wrote the commentaries) were condemned to the Gallies. D'apres quoi, he adds, il ne mereit gueres d'etre cru dans ses memoires, qu'on a fait imprimer pendant les deux annees de son administration.

Azara tells us, that he has been enabled to correct many errors, into which the other historians of this province have fallen, by having examined the archives at Asumpcion, seen sundry papers at Buenos Ayres, Corrientes, and Santa Fe, and collected the traditions of the country. Nothing is more likely, than that this account of Cabeza de Vaca's condemnation should have been forged by Yrula, and imposed upon the people, .. for it is altogether impossible, that Herrera's statement should be false. The Inca Garcilaso (Hist. de la Florida, c. 3.) says, that Cabeza de Vaca died at Valladolid, .. proof, if proof were needed, that he was not condemned to the Gallies. Azara depreciates Herrera's authority, saying, that he wrote at a time when the Adelantado and his secretary were showing their memoirs about to justify themselves, .. now, Herrera did not write till fifty years afterwards; and there can be little doubt, that both these persons had long been dead, when he began even to collect his materials.

But it is superfluous to contradict a writer like Azara, who contradicts himself. He tells us afterwards, that the Council of the Indies condemned Cabeza de Vaca to be transported to Africa. The Spaniards had no possessions in Africa, .. and the above would be sufficient to show, how exceedingly inaccurate Azara is in
matters of historical fact, though in many other respects, his book is of great value, mingled as it is with execrable opinions.

40. *These desperate adventurers, p. 158.* I extract from a rare book the following description of the soldiers during the age of conquest and discovery. It is not the less authentic for being in bad verse.

No trato por agora que dexaron,
Por serbios Señor como es justicia,
A su querida y dulce pluma amada,
Padres, hermanos, deudos y parientes;
Ni que ya sus legítimas y haciendas
Estan ele hecho y todas consmidad,
Troeando por trabajos el dolceanso
Que puoieron tener sin sujetarse;
Los dia y las noches que se ocupan
En pesados olicios trabajosos
Miserias y disgustos nunca vistos.

Y con esto estos varones
Hechura y obra de sus bellas manos,
El sayon, alparg:to, media, y el calçado,
El jubon, cuello, capa y la camisa,
Con todas las demas cosas que alranan,
La femenil flaqueza por su aguja,
De todo dan lana true y buena cuenia
Como si el.¡ollar siempre,
y no otra cosa
Ubieran sus personas ocupado.

Y aquesto muchas vezes suslentados
De raizes tIlcultas de abrijas,
De hiervas y semillas nunca usadas,
Cambian los avenos, y otros animales,
Inmundos y asquerosos a los hombres.
Y por nevados riscos y quebradas,
Qual suelen los arados que arrastrados,
Rompiendo van la tierra deshaziendo,
Las azedas rejas que enterradas
Haziendo van sus aleros prolongados,
Assi los Españoles valerosos
A colas de cavallos arrastrados
Por no morir de hecho entre las nieves,
Muchos assi las vidas escaparon.

Hist. de la Nueva Mexico, por Capitan
Gaspard de Villagra. canto 20.

This same poem contains another passage well
worthy of preservation. The author describes
himself killing his dog for hunger, ... I scarcely ever
perused lines which affected me more painfully.

Llevaba pues un perro que a mi lado
Anduvo mucho tiempo, y que velava
Quando cenache a caso me dormia.
Y porque ya la hambre me afligia
De suerte que la vida me acabava,
Determine matarle; y dos heridas
Le di mortales, con que luego el pobre
De mi se fue apartando un largo trecho.
Llamele con enoj6, y olvidado
Del vergonoso hecho inadvertido
Gimieendo mansamente y agachado,
A mi bolvio el amigo mal herido,
Lamiendose la sangre que vertia.
Y asi con desconsuelo y lastimado
Por agradarme en algo si pudiesse:
Llamiele con enojo, y olvidado
Me puso de su sangre bien
Con tan crasa
del hecho arrepentido a acariciarlo,
Muerto quedo a mis pies; con cujo susto
Dexandole tendido y desangrado,
Pase aquel trago amargo, y fuy siguiendo
El golpe de fortuna
La miserable vida que vivia.

Gaspard de Villagra. canto 19.

41. The Hammock, p. 158.] One reason for using
the hammock, may probably be, because it is out
of the reach of all ground-vermin. Adair tells
us, that the North American Indians furnish
their houses "with genteel couches to sit and lie
upon, raised on four forks of timber of a proper
height, to give the swarming fleas some trouble
in their attack, as they are not able to reach
them at one spring." p. 420. In like manner
there is a great demand for bedsteads, among the
natives of Tahiti, because of the fleas, ... which,
they say, we have introduced among them.

Missionary Voyage, 342.

Oviedo (l. 5. c. 2.) who gives a print of the
hammock, recommends it for the Spanish armies
in Europe, ... so many men, he says, would not
then die, from sleeping on the ground in winter,
and bad weather. He complains of the posture,
as a crippling one for those who are not used to
it, but adds, that if the hammock be a good wide
one, you may lie athwart in it.

It is remarkable, that neither hampocks nor
cots should be of European invention; the first
we borrowed from the native Americans, the
second from the Hindoos. Hammock is a Hay­
tian word; (Oviedo, l. 5. c. 2.) Cot an Oriental
one, though I know not in which of the many
languages of Hindostan. Here is the authority
from Sir Thomas Roe's Voyage. 'Some of those
slight bedsteads they call cota, in their standing
houses hang by ropes, a little above ground,
which are fastened to the four corners thereof;
and moved gently up and down by their servants,
to lull them asleep.'

In the list of stores in the Spanish and Portu­
guese fleet sent to recover Bahia, (n. 4. p. 446.)
beds for the sick are enumerated. How then
were the sound lodged? Among the Bucarenes
every one lay rough, as they called it; that is, on
the deck, the Captain himself not being allowed a
bed. (Smelgrave.) When was the hammock intro­
duced into our ships? Labat travelled with one
a century ago in France and Italy, and it was
every where regarded as a wonder.

42. The Anta, p. 162. N. 4.] The commonest
books of Natural History represent this animal as
amphibious; but I fear I have done wrong in following
them: for upon referring to the description
in all the original authors, it only appears that it
swims well. It is said in the Noticias that the
Anta was domesticated; it does not appear that
it was broken in to any kind of labour, and if it
was, it was probably disused when horses and kine
became common, as being less serviceable. The
male is said, in the same work, to watch the young
while the dam went to feed. Their bones were
burnt and administered internally for haemorrhoids.

2. 46.

Herrera (4. 10. 13.) describes this animal well,
and adds a foolish story, that it taught the
Indians to bleed themselves, having a custom when
it found itself plethoric, of getting among the
seed and piercing itself between the legs till it had bled sufficiently.

43. *Eoban*, p. 182.] The baptismal name of this poet was Elias, which he thought proper to heathenize into Helius, because he liked a Greek name better than a Jewish, and fancied that as a votary of Phœbus, he had some claim to be called after him. Eoban indeed had the same claim to be considered the son of a God, as Romulus before him, or as Prince Prettyman: he was born under a tree in the open fields in 1488, somewhere in Hesse, and this is all that is known of his birth. Melchior Adam has taken some pains to show how strikingly he resembled Homer, there being according to him three similitudes between them... Nobody could tell where either of them was born; Homer was blind, and Eoban had a film over his eyes; and both were very poor. It is to be hoped Erasmus had better reasons for calling him the Christian Ovid, and saying, that the soul of the Roman poet had past into him. If however, he could not ‘write like Homer,’ he certainly could ‘drink like Agamemnon;’ puis-qu’ils desespoir & mettent sur le carreau les meilleurs buveurs d’Allemagne, et qu’il voudroit d’un seul trait une cruche de douze sefiers de vin on de biere. The sefier is twelve pints, and twelve sefiers at one draught, are... too much to be swallowed.

He wrote in Latin, and exceeded all the poets whom Germany had produced before him.Translations of Theocritus, of Coluthus, and of the Iliad, are among his works. *Bullet.*

There is a portrait of him among the *Icones* of Nic. Reusner. *Argentorati*, 1590, a copy of which is in the curious collection of the Rev. Henry White of Lichfield. Under the portrait are these lines:

*Rex ego sum votum: votum Sol, Phæbus, Apollo:*  
*Jesce fidelicem maximos ille lyr:*

*M. D. XL.*

A version of the Psalms is there said to have been the gem of his works. A few laudatory epigrams are added, one of which makes honourable mention of his beard.

It will be seen in the Bibliographical Appendix to these volumes, in what manner the accidental mention of Eoban’s son by Hans Stade proves the authenticity of his book... by the help of one of Anchiet’s miracles.

44. *The Maraca*, p. 187.] The Maraca is found on the Orinoco also. Gunilla (t. 1. c 10.) I know not why, supposes the Aruacas to have in-

vented it. The word is sometimes called Tamara. I have preferred the shorter name, because there is a Captaincy of the latter, but it is worthy of notice, that the people about Anzerna called the Spaniards when they first saw them, Tamara, as if it signified a superior being.

*Pedro de Cieza, f. 42.*

Cabeza de Vaca (Neuf. c. 27.) found the maraca in Florida. They came out, he says, to meet us with such a cry that it was fearful, and smacking their thighs; and they carried hollow calabashes with pebbles in the inside, the things which they most esteem, and which they never bring out except at their dances, and to heal the sick. They say, that there is a virtue in these calabashes, and that they come from heaven, for there are none growing in that land, nor in any other with which they are acquainted, but the rivers bring them down in time of floods.

45. *Konyan Bebe*, p. 191.] The Portuguese write this name Cunhambebe, the sound of which is better represented to our ear in the German’s orthography. Thevet (101.) who calls him Quoniambec, says, and pense que, jamais Menelaus Roy, & conducteur de l’armée des Grecs ne fut tant craint on redouté des Troyens, que estuys est de ces ennemis. He adds, that his place of residence was fortified with bastions and platforms of earth, where some falconets and other guns were mounted which he had won from the Portuguese. The village where Stade saw him may not have been his usual abode; but I do not believe this account, because I have never met with any other of a native town being thus fortified, and because Thevet’s word is always to be received with suspicion. This Royalet paid the French a visit which lasted eighteen days, and employed three hours every day in relating his own exploits... the burden of the song was, that he had caused above five thousand of his enemies to be killed and eaten.

46. *Hans and the Moon*, p. 193.] A fine circumstance of the same nature occurred in the ship-wreck of the Santiago, 1585. The ship struck in the night; the wretched crew had been confessing, singing Litanies, &c, and this they continued “till about two hours before break of day, the moon arose beautiful and exceeding bright, and forasmuch as till that time they had been in such darkness, that they could scarcely see one another when close at hand, such was the stir among them at beholding the
brightness and glory of that orb, that most part of the crew began to lift up their voices, and with tears, cries, and groans called upon Our Lady, saying, they saw her in the Moon.

_Hist. Trag. Mar. 2. 79._

47. _Trade and hostilities at the same time, p. 198._] The Chevalier D’Arveix (t. 2. p. 11.) mentions the same kind of trade as carried on in his time between the Turks at Caffa, and the Christian Corsairs. This is more reasonable than the modern system of war. So the Dutch thought when they sold gunpowder to the nation they were at war with.

There are places of inviolability, where the hostilities of the North American Indians are suspended. Such is a certain spot on the banks of the Missouri, where a species of stone is found, of which they stand in particular need, for making pipes. Here the bitterest enemies work quietly near one another, in breaking these stones, which they all alike want. There are more such places equally sacred, and no instance has ever happened of their having become scenes of contention. _Liancourt. 1. 322._

48. _The Macaca, p. 203._] The Indians about Surinam call their club _apooloo_. It is made of the heaviest wood in the forest; about eighteen inches long, flat at both ends, and square, but heavier at one end than the other. In the middle it is thinner, and wound about with strong cotton threads, so as to be grasped, having a loop to secure it round the wrist. One blow with this weapon, in which a sharp stone is frequently fixed, scatters the brains. The manner of fixing the stone is by sticking it in the tree while it is yet growing, where it soon becomes so fast that it cannot be forced out; after which the wood is cut. This weapon is used like a tomahawk; in fact it resembles the tomahawk more than the macana. Besides other hieroglyphical figures, they often carve upon it the number of persons they have slain in battle. _Stedman. 1. 412._

49. _They were incomparable archers, p. 203._] The bow is a more formidable weapon in the hands of a savage than the musquet, and Gunilla (c. 35.) rejoices that the Caribs, not being aware of this, were adopting fire arms. Their aim was less sure, and they could let fly six arrows sooner than they could load and discharge a gun. The _Fidelgo of Elvas, (c. 8) says, that an Indian could shoot four before a cross-bow-man can make one discharge.

In one of Hernando de Soto’s battles with the Floridans, eighteen Spaniards were slain by arrow wounds in the eyes and mouth._

_Herrera. 7. 2. 3._

These Floridans fought in the water; three or four of them swam close together, and a fifth got on them, and shot with a bow.

_Herrera. 6. 7. 11. El Inca Garcilaso. 1. 2. p. 1. c. 25._

No Spaniard could draw the string of a Floridan’s bow to his face, though the Indians with apparent ease drew it behind the ear. The string was made of a thong of deer skin, cut the whole length of the animal from the head to the tail, about two fingers broad; having taken the hair off, and soaked it, they twisted it tight, fastened the string to one end to a tree, and suspended at the other a weight of eight or ten stone. In this manner they made it resemble cactus.

_El Inca Garcilaso. Hist. de la Florida. 1. 1. c. 5._

There were two men in Soto’s expedition who would use no other arms than the bow. The one was an Englishman, the other, though a Spaniard by birth, had been bred up in England, and lived there from his childhood till he was twenty.

_El Inca Garcilaso. 1. 6. c. 10._

That this weapon went out of use among us is not to be attributed to the introduction of fire arms, but to our long interval of peace after the accession of the Tudors, during which time it fell into disuse. The interesting passages in Holinshead, and in Bishop Latimer, wherein they regret the loss of our old skill in this tremendous weapon, have often been quoted. It became ridiculous some years ago by being made a plaything for gentlemen and ladies; but in a skilful hand it would be as efficacious as the musquet, and far more so against Cavalry. There are indeed so many advantages in its use, that the subject is well worthy of national consideration.

50. _Thome de Sousa, p. 213._] Thome de Sousa would never eat of the head of any animal, in honour of John the Baptist. Nobrega condemned this as a superstition, and after having tried in vain to convince him that it was so by ordinary means, ordered a hook and line to be cast out. There was a bite presently, and they drew up the head of a fish without the body! I shall not, says P. Siman Vasconcellos, stop to consider who it was that cut off the head of this fish; with what instrument, or to what end it was done. For when God chooses to work miracles, the waters may serve him for a knife. (§ 1. l. 2. 6) B. Tellez how—
Ever, says, that *sou davuda*, without doubt, the angels cut it off.

If it be true that the Governor used to relate this miracle himself, it was neatly worked.

51. Nobrega, p. 215.] Nobrega was once with a lay-brother in Galicia, preaching and begging his way, after the manner of his order. They were in the city of Santiago, and had gained no alms that day; for in the market place, where they probably expected most, a Gallega was amusing herself with preaching a mock sermon to ridicule Nobrega, who had an impediment in his speech, so that they were ashamed to beg among her noisy congregation. At night, he and his companion went to the Hospital, and got into a room where a large party of beggars were sitting at table in high glee, feeding away, and drinking wine. They were disputing at the same time, and as soon as they saw these strangers, called them in, saying, sit down brothers, and eat, and you shall be judge between us, for we are disputing which is the best beggar. Nobrega and his companion had had no food the whole day; they sate down among these vagabonds, and played their part upon what was before them, while their new companions, each in his turn, related the secrets of his trade. The last who spake, was one who had purposely reserved his story, as thinking he exceeded all the others, you know nothing at all about begging, said this fellow. My way is this... I never beg, but go up to a house door, and give a deep moan, saying, blessed be Mary the Mother of God, or any other Saint, according to the place where I happen to be. Out come the people to see what is the matter, and then I say, with as pitiful a voice as I can... Oh, Sirs, great are the mercies which our Lord hath vouchsafed to show me! You must know, that I was a slave in Turkey, and the dog of a Turk, my master, led me a cruel life to make me renounce Christ... he used to flog me bloodily, and swear he would kill me, if I did not renounce my faith. But I always answered him, O dog, I will not turn renegade, for our Lady... or Santiago (I name the Saint according to the place I am in) will deliver me. And in fact brethren, sinner as you see me, even so it came to pass; for one night I was in great affliction, laden with chains, and in a dark dungeon, and I prayed earnestly to our Lady, blessed be God's mercy, the next morning at day break, I found myself in a Christian country. And now I am going in pilgrimage to her church to return thanks for so great a miracle. Every body gives me noble alms then... and then turning to Nobrega, he said, what think you, brother... who's the best beggar? Nobrega, meantime, had made a good meal, and having satisfied his appetite, thought it no longer necessary to keep his temper. You are all thieves and enemies of God, he cried, you go about stealing the alms which should be for the poor, and deceiving Christian people; you all ought to be hung, and I will accuse you before the magistrates. Up jumped the rogues, who, till now, had supposed he was one of the same fraternity, and ran as hard as they could out of the hospital.

S. Vasc. Chron. du Comp. t. 1. § 22.

52. Cannibalism, p. 217. P. Dablon (quoted by Charlevoix, Hist. de la N. France) speaks, in his Journal, of a Cannibal madness, which, he says, was common among the North American savages. The person is seized with a raving desire for human flesh, and rushes upon all whom he meets, like a wolf. Of course, such madmen were always knocked on the head. The fact is by no means improbable, any passion, and any appetite, may be so far fostered that it becomes madness.

53. This opinion produced a horrible consequence, p. 218.] The Caribs either held an opposite opinion, or, what is more probable, these worse savages consulted their appetite without any theory upon the subject. They ate their own children by the captive women, and used to emasculate the males, that they might fatten the sooner.

Vespucci in Grynaeus, 149. Munoz, l. 321. In the Valles de Nore, the Chiefs used to seize as many women as they could, from the hostile tribes, for the sake of breeding children for food! Pedro de Cieza, ff. 30. A circumstance not less disgraceful to human nature is related in some modern book (I forget what) of a Russian nobleman, who having embarrassed his affairs, retired to his estates, and continued there till he bred hogs enough in his own yard to clear off all his debts by their sale!

54. Tarring and feathering, p. 219.] Some of the Orinoco Tribes, at their festivals, first cover the body with the gum of the *Corana*, and then fillagree themselves with bits of coloured matting, in intricate and splendid patterns.

Gumilla, t. 1. c. 7.
NOTES.

55. She who had cohabited with the prisoner forced out a few tears, p. 221.] The grief of these women over their paramours is oddly expressed by Fr. Jose de Santa Rita, he describes them as

mitigando o doçzysto de perdellos
Com a intencian que tinham de comellos.
Caramuru, c. 5.

56. Revenge, 223.] Lery could see how shocking this spirit of revenge is, in the savages of Brazil. and yet, when he speaks of the sharks which they caught upon their voyage, this is what he says, eum neque capiti, neque tiveri ad injurii temperarent, paraque ad pecundum accommodati conuererentur, quos craniis piscati, lisanctantes, atique cruciantes ut damnos animantibus diguum erat, claud ferre multahibamus. Dicuis aliquando brachii, dolique circulo per condam trajecto, in mare proficiebamus, tum se ipsi justantes quod diu non megebantur, ingenti nos voluptate perfundebant. C. 5.

P. Gaetano Cattaneo, in a letter which Muratore has printed in his Christianismo Felice del Paraguay, has a passage in the same spirit. He says of the sharks taken upon his voyage, altre volte dopo varj capi di stanga nel capo per istordirle, gli cavano gli occhi in vendetta d'asser egli tanto nemico dell'uomo; poi gli legano a traverso con una corda un barile sotto e ben chiuso, con cui lo rigettano in mare; ed è uno spasso gusto il vedere la battaglia del uberone col barile; perché allora il pesce altro non cerca che di profundarsi nel mare; e col'impeto della prima caduto gli riecc; ma presto il barile ritorna a gallo, tirandosi seco il pesce; e quello sorribbe pur tornare a fondo. E perceoveli il barile lo tiene in cima, esso si dilbatte, e si rivolta contro il barile, non potendocelo scuotere di dove. E tanto va correndo per una parte e per l'altra, che finalmente si perde di vista, dopo aver nondimeno ricevuto per qualche tempo i naviganti a sue spese. It is evident, that the Missionary was as much amused with this cruelty, as the sailors themselves.

57. The Omaguas, p. 224.] A Jesuit of the Province in Quito, who died in Italy, had written a grammar of the Omagua tongue. Hervas sought for it in vain... like many other manuscripts of this most able, and latterly, most useful society, it had disappeared. T. 1. 271.

58. Their numerals, p. 226.] I strongly suspect that M. Condamine is not more accurate in that celebrated specimen of numeration among the Yaqueos, which has been so often quoted, 'Their language, he says, is inexpressibly difficult, and their mode of pronunciation more extraordinary than their language, for they draw in their breath while they speak, and scarcely give any sound to the vowels.' Words which seem in their articulation to consist of only three or four syllables, cannot be written, even imperfectly, in less than nine or ten. As an example, he adds their word for the number three, poctturarraronconrouae... heuer­reurnent pour ceux qui ont à faire à eux, leur arithmetique ne va pas plus loin, p. 64. It is a little unfortunate that so many vowel sounds should be marked in this example.

Languages with remarkably long words, (the Mohawk is the most remarkable example) cease to appear wonderful when they are analysed. I have no doubt, that this word, which Condamine interprets Three, (if it be as long or nearly as long as he represents it) means Three Fingers, or perhaps defines its meaning in a manner still more complicated.

The Orinoco tribes count as far as five, then proceed to five-one, five-two, as far as two fives, and so on to four fives. This is digitary numeration. It is remarkable, how far the Achagaus carry it. With them, Abacajé means five, and the fingers of one hand; Tucha macaje, ten, or all the fingers; Abacyjtacay, twenty, or all the fingers and toes; Incha matakacticay, forty, or two persons' complement; and so, says Gumilla, (c. 48.) they can go on to 2000, 6000, and 10,000 fingers, in a jargon, which by dint of labour and attention, may be understood at last.

In some of the South Sea Islands, also, six is five-one, &c. Numeration naturally proceeds by Fives, the number of fingers on one hand; Tens, the fingers on both; or Twenties, the fingers and toes.

Herrera (4. 10. 4.) describes a curious mode of arithmetic in Yucatan. They count, he says, by fives, till they come to twenty, and then by twen­ties, as far as a hundred, then to 400, and then to 8000, and from thence to infinity. This numeration, which is not very clearly explained by Herrera, is founded on Fives, for small numbers, Scores, and Five-Scores, or 106, then for larger numbers, they use twenties as we use tens; thus, 20 times 20 is 400, 20 times 400 is 8000, and so on. A friend of mine, better acquainted with such subjects than I am, tells me, it is the only specimen he has met with, of vigesimal numeration. Our score is the nearest similitude.
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remarkable fact... or was he ignorant of it? The same question is applicable to Dr. Robertson, who, on this, and many other subjects, in what he calls his History of America, is guilty of such omissions, and consequent misrepresentations, as to make it certain, either that he had not read some of the most important documents to which he refers, or that he did not chuse to notice the facts which are to be found there, because they were not in conformity to his own preconceived opinions. A remarkable example occurs respecting a circulating medium; when he mentions the cacao nuts, which were used as money in Mexico, and says, 'this seems to be the utmost length which the Americans had advanced towards the discovery of any expedient for supplying the use of money.' Now, it is said by Cortes himself, that when he was about to make cannon, he had copper enough, but wanted tin... and having bought up all the plates and pots, which he could find among the soldiers, he began to enquire among the natives. He then found, that in the province of Tachco, little pieces of tia, like thin coin, were used for money, there and in other places. And this led him to a discovery of the mines from whence it was taken. These are the words of the Spanish, ... Quisso nostro Señor, que tiene cuidado siempre lo ha tenido, de prover en la mayor prisa, que tope entre los Naturales de una Provincia que se dice Tachco, ciertas Pecuarias de ello, a manera de Moneda muy delgada, y procedente por mi pesquisa hollíc, que en lo dicha Provincia, y aun en otras, se trobaba por moneda. Carta, 4. § 17. Barco, t. 1. p. 149.

The reputation of this author must rest upon his History of Scotland... if that can support it. His other works are grievously deficient.

59. Tupa, p. 227.] Tupa, the Guaraní word, is thus explained by Dobrizholli, t. 2. p. 77. Hoc vocabulum e duabus particulis compositum: Té enim admirantis, pa interrogantis vox est. Caelo tonante metu percussi, Tupa exclamare solebant,... quid est hoc? This etymology, which, (as I learn from LaDau,) was first started by P. Antonio Ruiz, is not very probable.

60. The Devil, p. 227.] Herrera's description of the Devil in New Spain is worthy of transcription. Era tan conocido, que luego sabian quando hablava con ellos; conociendo porque no veian sombra. No tenia cejas ni cejas, los ojos redondos, sin mirar, y sin blancas; y estas se nas tenian para Conceerle.

2. 6. 15. ... "They were so well acquainted with him, that they knew him directly, when he spoke to them. They knew him because they never saw any shadow when he appeared. He had no joints at his knees, no eye brows, nor eye lids, and round eyes, without either whites or pupils, and by these signs they knew him." ... Certes, if he were like this, they could not easily mistake him for any body else.

61. Chiquitos, their low doors, p. 333.] D'Arvieux (t. 2. p. 25.) describes the houses at Rama as having doors only three feet in height, in order to keep out the Arabs; the precaution was efficacious, but he complains grievously of the inconvenience, even though the house in which he lodged had belonged either to Nicodemus, or to Joseph of Arimathea himself.

62. Nor could they venture in darkness without a firebrand, p. 229.] This precaution is not necessary against beasts in Brazil.

"About Sierra Leone the negroes have a small kind of drum about two feet long, hollow at both ends, and covered with skins, but contracted in the middle like an hour glass. This is carried under the left arm when walking, and is beaten upon with a stick; it probably was intended in passing through the woods to frighten snakes and wild beasts from the path; and this accounts also for the small bells, and other tinkling ornaments which the natives are fond of wearing."

Winterbottom's Account, 1. 112.

63. St. Thomas, p. 229.] Why, when the various provinces of the world were distributed to the Apostles, did Brazil fall to the lot of St. Thomas? Hear the reason, says Vieyra: "Some modern writers have remarked, that Christ enjoined the Apostles to preach the faith throughout the world, after he had reproved them for the fault of incredulity, in order that the labour which they had to suffer in preaching the faith, might be in satisfaction, and as it were penance for that incredulity, and the hardness of heart which they displayed in not wishing to believe. He upbraided them, it is written, with their unbelief; and he said unto them, 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature.' And as among all the Apostles St. Thomas was most guilty of unbelief, therefore in this division of the world the mission of Brazil fell to him, because where there had been the greater fault, it was just that there should be the heaviest
ed being born again; and also public confession, when their lives were in danger.

Herrera, 4. 10. 4.

66. Mandioc, p. 231.] Pauw, with his usual obliquity of mind, represents the use of this root as a proof of the horrid nature of America, and the wretchedness of its inhabitants. It faut avouer, he says, qu'il l'histoire de l'ancien continent ne nous offre pas d'exemple pareil, et quelle qu'y soit la somme des malheurs, on n'y voit point de peuple enter qui ait été contraint de tirer son premier aliment d'un vegetal venimeux, hormis peut-être dans des temps d'une disette momentanée et extraordinaire, où l'on a en recours à la racine de l'arau, qui est de toutes les plantes Européennes la plus approchante du mandib, par sa qualité coutumière, et nutritive quand on la prépare. T. 9. p. 5.

67. Capt. Boscov, p. 232.] The innocent species was however found in the Islands, though it was less common than the other. It was called Bo-nista, and Oviedo (l. 7. c. 2.) says, it must have been brought thither from the main land—an assertion for which he gives no reason whatever. This species must certainly be what Laitian means, when he says, quoting Du Tertre, that the Tapuyas and some other tribes, as well as animals, eat the most dangerous mandioc quite crude, and without any preparation. Il faut neanmoins qu'ils s'y fussent peu à peu, et qu'ils y soient accoutumés de bonne heure, sans quoi il leur nuirait comme aux autres. T. 9. 100.

68. Juice of the Mandioc, p. 232.] Oviedo says (l. 7. c. 2.) that the Indians boiled the juice two or three times, and then dipt their toes in it, as in any other pottage; but they refrained from it when it was cold, thinking that then it became bad of digestion. If it was boiled till only a third part remained, and then exposed to the air two or three days, it became sweet; a second boiling and exposure converted it into vinegar; but these uses were almost forgotten when he wrote, for the Spaniards had oranges and lemons, which they liked better. The old Indians were dead, and their miserable posterity, having lost the liberty, had retained little of the knowledge of their fathers. Sometimes, says Oviedo, parties of fifty or more will invite one another to destroy themselves that they may escape from servitude, and then they drink the Mandioc juice—there is no time for repentance after they have swallowed it.
69. *Drunkenness*, p. 234.] The Othomaces madden themselves with a snuff made from the grains of the Yupa. It is so powerful that any one accustomed to the most pungent tobacco snuff, cannot smell to the slightest portion of it, without a violent, and almost endless fit of sneezing. These savages take it before they begin battle, and this it is, says Gumilla, which has made them beat the Caribs. *T. I. c. 13.*

70. *Cost up upon the Cornish shore*, p. 236.] The sea-argon, says Carew in his Survey of Cornwall, is strowed with sundry fashioned and coloured shells, of so diversified and pretty workmanship, as if Nature were for her pastime disposed to shew her skill in trifles. With these are found moreover, certain nuts, somewhat resembling a sheep's kidney, save that they are flatter; the outside consists of a hard, dark-coloured rind, the inner part of a kernel, void of any taste, but not so of virtue, especially for women travailing in child-birth—if, at least, the old wives' tales may deserve any credit.

71. *Their knowledge of poison*, p. 237.] The poison, of which a portion so small as to be carried under a finger nail, will produce death, is said by Gumilla to be made from a large species of pismire, whose body is striped with black, yellow, and red. These insects are cut in half, and the head-part rejected; the rest are stewed over a slow fire, and the grease which rises to the top is the poison. An Indian told Gumilla that it could not be kept in a reed, for it would penetrate through, but it must be in the bones of a tiger, monkey, or lion. *C. 38.*

Stedman says nothing of the composition of this poison, but that the negroes can "carry it under their nails, and by only dipping their thumbs into a tumbler of water, which they offer as a beverage to the object of their revenge, they infuse a slow, but certain death; this," he says, "after the most scrupulous enquiry, and even ocular demonstration, he can assert as literally true." (Vol. 2, p. 277.) This ocular demonstration is not sufficient; it requires a clear case, well stated and observed through its whole course by a philosophic physician, to render the existence of such a poison credible.

The Curara is a poison prepared by no other tribe than the Caverres of the Orinoco. It is a tasteless syrup, and may be swallowed without danger; but Gumilla affirms, that the moment an arrow dipt in it scratches the body, instant death ensues; the blood coagulates, and the body instantly becomes cold, and is covered with a cold yellow foam. This is hardly probable. What he adds of the antidote is manifestly false; that if any person has a bit of salt in his mouth, the poison has no effect on him. *C. 37.*

The way in which the Curara is prepared is a fine story. It is made from a root of the same name, which has neither leaves nor stem, and grows only in the stinking mud of stagnant waters. These are washed, cut in pieces, and boiled over a slow fire. The most useless old woman of the tribe attends the kettle, till the vapours have killed her; another then takes her place. As the mass cools the greater is the danger, for then the old woman must press the roots, till all the juice be extracted. This usually costs the life of a second, but it is their natural death, and no objection is made to it. Another comes to boil it again, till it is reduced to two-thirds of its bulk, and then she calls the Chiefs to examine and prove it. A boy cuts his arms or leg, the Chief dips the point of a stick in the Curara, and puts it near the flowing blood; if the blood drawn back, the composition is good; if it only stands still, and ceases to flow, it requires but little more boiling; but if the blood flows as usual, it must be boiled some time longer.

An arrow dipt in this retains its poison for many years, requiring only to be wetted in the mouth before it is used. *Gumilla, c. 37.*

Ullon (Book 6. Ch. 5.) gives a less wonderful account of the preparation. But he says its quality is so frigorific, that it immediately repels all the blood to the heart, when the vessels burst, being unable to contain such a torrent as suddenly rushes into them. The most powerful antidote is immediately to eat sugar; but this specific, though often salutary, is not infallible.

The Panches tried their poison upon an old woman or a dog. *Herrera, 7. 9. 3.*

It is worthy of remark that those tribes who use the most exquisite poison upon their arrows against beasts, never employ it against their enemies. *Merc. Per. No. 79.*

Puuw (Recherches, t. 2. p. 310) says, "some arrows were tried in Europe a hundred and fifty years after they had been poisoned in America, and, to the astonishment of those who made the experiment, the poison was found scarcely to have lost any of its power.

72. *A custom formerly found among the savages of Europe and Asia*, p. 238.] Among the Iberians,
of Spain, the ancient Corsicans, and the Tiba-
reni, whom Apollonius Rhodius mentions, L. 2.
1012. Laftau says, the custom still existed in
his time in the French provinces near Spain,
where it was called faire couvade. Probably it
still prevails there.

Among some tribes the husband, on these occa-
sions, submitted to a fast of six weeks, so rigor-
ously, that he was reduced almost to a skeleton
by the end of the time, Laftau, 1. 257. Bet.
Voyage de la Terre Equinoxiale. 1. 3. c. 13. quoted.

73. The father takes to his hammock, p. 238.]
Perhaps this ridiculous custom led to the false-
hood, which Pauw qualifies by the name of an
exaggeration, in his note, and yet takes enough
of the story to answer his purpose into the text.
Dans toute une province du Brasil, dit l'auteur
des Recherches Historiques, p. 372, les hommes seuls
allaient les enfants, les femmes n'y ayant presque pas
de sein, ni de lait. Pauw says, this fact is drawn
des relations du Brasil; it is not to be found in
any which I have perused. I do not, however,
doubt, that some lying traveller has said so. The
whole falsehood did not suit Pauw's theory, for
according to him the American women, in con-
sequence of their degeneracy, had an infinitely
greater quantity of milk than any others; and
their children in the southern parts were not
weaned till they were ten years old. (T. 1. 68.)
This assertion is supported by some fallacious
reasons to shew why it must be so; but proof that
it is so, is altogether wanting.

74. Crushing the nose, p. 238.] Our custom of
improving the beauty of bull-dogs and pugs, is
equally rational, and equally humane.

An opinion has very generally prevailed, says
Dr. Winterbottom (Vol. 1. p. 201.) in his very
able and very learned work upon the Africans about
Sierra Leone, that the flat nose of the negro is
occasioned by the mother pressing it down after
birth; this is just as false as the notion, that the
curvature of the thigh bone is occasioned by the
weight of the child resting on the nurse's arm;
both these are original formations, as they are
seen in the foetus. "Should we not deem it very
ridiculous, if a travelling or philosophic Negro
or Calmuck, in describing the particular forms of
our features, were gravely to assert, that our
midwives, mothers, or nurses, pulled us by the
nose during our infant days, in order to give it
the requisite length" (Camper's Works by Cogan).

Yet there is proof that this, which Camper
thought it would be so ridiculous to assert, was
actually once the custom in one part of Europe,
and that the flat noses of the Americans were
made so by art. De Lery, a writer of the highest
authority, uses these words, in his Latin version
of his own work. Speaking of the Tupinambas—
Quad ad illorum nasos attinet, sum apud nos obstet-
trices solent ab ipso puero orta, ut formas
iores ac produciores efficient, digitis extendere,
contrarium prorsus institutus apud Americanos nos-
tres obtinuit. Puorum enim pulchritudinem non
depressione metentur. Itaque simulum ex utero
matris produci, pollice natus est deprimetur, perinde
utque catellis in Gallia gubsum ad fieri soler.

And another French author; writing about sev-
ency years later upon the same subject, confirms
the fact with respect to the Tupinambas, and also
explains the age of long headed men in Europe.
Pour le regard de ce qu'ils (les Topinambas) ont
ordinairement le nez camort, cela provient de la
matrone qui leur enfonce, & le forme ainsi des qu'ils
sont nouveaux nais, comme plusieurs manient &
allangent ici la teste aux petits enfants incontinent
apres leur naissance, & contraignent la nature, prê-
nant ce qui est de folie et d' indenence pour de-
cence & beaute. Claude D'Alembert, f. 262.

It appears also that the Arabs moulded the
heads of their infants. One of the Mahommedan
travellers, whose very curious relations are pub-
lished by Renaudot, says of the Chinese. Ils las-
sent creuser leurs cerveaux, parce que les hommes ne
vendent pas arrondir la teste des enfants lors qu'ils
viennent au monde, ainsi que font les Arabes. Ils
disent que cela cause une alteration sensible dans le
cerveau, & que le sens commun en reçoit un notable
prejudice. P. 97.

75. Names of the savages, p. 239.] The peo-
ple of Misteco used a strange kind of nomenclau-
ture, and deduced a strange superstition from it,
Numbers were introduced into their names, and
the man could not marry a women, the number of
whose name was equal or superior to his own;...for instance, says Herrera, if she was
called Four Roses, and he Three or Four Lions,
they might not intermarry. 3. 3. 12.

76. Incontinence was not regarded as an offence,
p. 241.] A Missionary from Brazil whom Laft-
tau met at Rome, assured him that les Brésilien-
tes n'étaient si délicates sur la réputation, que si une fille
avait manqué a son honneur, non seulement elle ne
trouverait plus a se marier, mais elle ne verraît
pas mème en surte au milieu de sa parenté.

Laftau observes, that this is contradicted by all
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other testimony. It is however not improbable, that the Missionary may have spoken truly concerning the tribes with which he had been conversant.

The Surinam Indians, according to Warren, (ch. 10.) “are unfortunately ignorant of that innocent delight of kissing, ... but conversing so frequently with Christians, (he says,) and being naturally docile and ingenious, we have reason to believe they will in time be taught it.”

77. P. 242.] By an oversight in arranging the scattered materials of this chapter, I have omitted to mention the most remarkable ornament of these tribes. The Tupinambas were delighted with the beauty of the Nanda’s plumes, ... the ostrich of South America, and like more civilized nations, fancied that what adorned the bird so greatly, would adorn them also. They fastened the quills together as the centre of a circle, and the plumes then formed a broad shield or rose. But instead of transferring to the head an ornament, which Nature has placed at the other end, they suspend it behind them, just upon that place which would have been the natural situation of these feathers, had man been feathered like an ostrich. The Enduaup, as this ornament is called, is in itself so beautiful, that it appears so even in this ridiculous situation. But De Bry represents it as more beautiful in his prints, than it really is, painting from the African ostrich instead of the Nanda. The best representation of the latter is probably that in Azara’s travels.

De Lery, c. 8. Stand. 2. 16.

78. The women were skilful potters, p. 243. Pottery as beautiful and as fine as that of Faenza in Italy, was sold in the markets of Cholula in great quantities. Nothing, says Herrera, surprised the Spaniards so much as this. 2. 7. 2.

79. Plucking out the beard, p. 247.] Volney thinks it probable that the practice of eradicating the beard, originated from the design of depriving the enemy of such a dangerous hold on the face.

(Observ. on America, p. 418.)

Mr. Weld informs us (Vol. 2. p. 230.) that in some parts of Canada, a very great number of the white inhabitants have their beards extirpated in the Indian manner. The operation, (he says,) is very painful, but it is soon over, and when one considers how much time and trouble is saved, and ease gained by it in the end, it is only surprising that more people do not summon up resolution and patiently submit to it. Surely a more obvious and easy way to avoid the absurd annoyance of shaving the beard would be by wearing it.

80. Our forefathers left us nothing good, p. 247.] Some of the North American Tribes more wisely regretted the time when they had fewer wants. The old people, says, Lieut. Timberlake, still remember and praise the ancient days, before they were acquainted with the whites, when they had but little dress except a bit of skin about their middles, moccasins, a mantle of buffalo skin for the winter, and a lighter one of feathers for the summer.

81. A stronger race, p. 248.] I have known many of them, says our old Missionary speaking of the North Americans, run between eighty and one hundred miles in a summer’s day, and back within two days; they do also practise running races, and commonly in the summer they delight to go without shoes, although they have them hanging at their backs; they are so exquisitely skilled in all the body and bowels of the country, by reason of their hunting, that I have often been guided twenty, thirty, sometimes forty miles through the woods, in a straight course, out of any path. Roger Williams.

82. They sometimes buried their sick before they were dead, p. 248.] When one of the Pampa del Sacramento Indians is so ill that his life is supposed to be in danger, the Moharis or conjurer gets together a great number of people, who all sing a sort of charm addressed to the soul of the patient, ... the burden of which is, Do not go; do not go; and the weaker he becomes, the louder they sing, that the soul may hear them. As soon as he is evidently dying, the conjurer runs away to escape the slaughter of stakes and stones which the people let fly after him. Then different parties go to the dying man, and say to him, Whither art thou going? why dost thou leave us? with whom shall we go out against the enemy? and they remind him of the feasts which he has performed, of the slaughter which he has made, and of the joys which he is about to leave. When he is about to expire, the women fall upon him, some close his eyes by force, others his mouth, and they throw upon him whatever comes to hand, and literally kill him while he is dying. Meanwhile others run to put out the candle, and dissipate the smoke, lest the soul not knowing,
how to get out, should be entangled in the roof, ... and least it should come back again to the same dwelling, they collect all sorts of filth round about it, that the stink may drive it away. Mer. Per. No. 79.

Otras finalmente corren a apagar la candela y dispor el humo, no sea que no viento el alma el agujero por donde debe salir, quede encendida en las tizas del tacho. There must be some mistake in this passage.

83. Stained the holy black, p. 249.] The juice of the jaupepapo was used for this purpose.

A trick was sometimes played upon women with it, which they would not very soon forgive. It was mixed with rose water, or some of their cosmetics; and she who applied it to her face, remained with an inky complexion for a fortnight. J. de Last. Ann. ad Maragras. I. 3. c. 1.

This is probably the tree, which in Hayti was called Xagua, the juice of which was applied to the same provoking purpose. Oviedo, however, says, that he and his companions, who had made war on the main land, found great benefit in bathing their legs with this infusion, its astringent quality being particularly serviceable, because of the many rivers and waters which they had to pass. L. 8. c. 5.

The juice of the jaupepapo is said to leave a permanent black stain. Gumilla tells a story of the daughter of an European and Indian, who wished to marry a Negro, and he refused her, saying, that he feared she would not love him because of his colour. She went home, stained her face with this indelible dies, and returning to him, said, now then we are alike in complexion. . . . The marriage was a happy one. T. 1. c. 5. The story is ben trovato, but I do not believe that any indelible die for the human skin exists.

In the Nuevo Reyno de Granada, there is a black earth, with which the Indians die their cloaks. They say that it grows like a plant, if it be sown. Herrera. 8. 4. 11.

84. As often as we hear them, our hearts rejoice, and are strengthened, p. 249.] I made him no reply, says Leroy, for it would have been vain to contend with him, and the opinion of those persons came to my mind, who assert, that ghosts come to admonish their friends of their duty, and I judged this belief of the Barbarians to be the more tolerable of the two. For believing souls to be immortal, they are not so utterly foolish, as to fancy, that when once they have left the body, they can return to their haunts, . . . but only imagine the birds to be their messengers.

85. They knew their path by a doglike faculty, p. 250.] A method of marking their way, which Gumilla (c. 19.) mentions, is by breaking down the boughs of trees. An Indian can tell how many years it is since a way has been trod by the shoots which the broken bough has put forth. . . . Another method is by inspecting the bark, when they discover which part is exposed to the North; if this is not sufficiently clear, they chip off a few pieces with their hatchets, and find the layers of wood always thickest on the northern side. Lefftau. 2. 240.

86. She swung a basket by a hand over the forehead, p. 256.] The portable cradle of the North American Indians is carried by means of a strap tied round the forehead of the mother. . . . Pains in the head, and in the muscles of the neck, are very common among the women, and attributed to the manner of carrying burdens. Recheywes de Larncourt, 1. 817. 223.

Label speaks, with extraordinary folly of the Negro nose and lips. On attri, he says, avec raison ces nez clérechant et ces grosses lèvres aux coups que ces petites créatures se donnent contre le dos de leurs mères, pendant qu'elles les ont attachées derrière elles, et qu'elles marchent ou qu'elles travaillent. Voy. du Ch. Des. Marchais. 1. 54.

87. The civilization of the different nations was precisely in proportion to the power of their Priests, p. 251.] In Mexico and Peru, this might be ascribed to the civil Government; in Yucatan it cannot. The extraordinary state of civilization in that country is passed over in silence by Dr. Robertson. What can the books of the Priests have been, which were buried with them? were they picture-hieroglyphics, such as the Mexicans used? Herrera. 4. 80. 4.

88. No better colonists could be sent out than the Clergy, p. 259.] So thought P. Labet, who, speaking of the miserable French Colony which attempted to settle at Cayenne in 1652, says, Le premier malheur qui lui arriva fut la mort de l'Abbé de l'Isle Marreyv. Il etoit comme l'âme de la Colonie, par la profondeur de sa science dans les matières Théologiques et Canoniques. Voy. du Ch. Des. Marchais. 3. 82.

89. Villegagnon compelled the women to clothe themselves, p. 275.] A grand corps de jouets is the expression of Dr. Leroy, who calls these poor slaves pauvre misérables, more, I believe, in com-
passion for their nakedness than their flogging. Instead of dressing savages in these latitudes, creoles would do wisely to undress themselves; more than is needful for decency is probably injurious to health.

90. Marana, a dishkeul breed, p. 293.] The Salivas on the Orinoco never rear twins... the mother always murdering one. This she does because the husband believes it impossible that both children should be his,... and because other women insult her, calling her a relation of the Bats, who have four at a time, &c. Gamilla, t. 1. c. 14.

91. He died in his 54th year, worn out, p. 310.] In the Imago Primi Secuti, the question why there are few old men in the company is examined, and the fact is admitted, and made, as it deserved to be, their bount. Habet adolescentes floreatissimos, et fortis excoloque animo juvenes; sedes atque quasi post vindemia recemos, admodum ruros. Scitae impotestat studiis & immortueth: conquisitaur laboribus ante diem, gloriosis, quidam illis, at assiduis & propo infinitis. Si quos forte benignor, servare naturae, alius vastante regionem pestilentiam, dem morientibus open fere, contagio absuntur: alius ut pictas ne abst a centra militia secumbit, ubi morbi solent gravisier liberar, & mors tam quam de suo messem copiosis legere. P. 35.

92. Ants, p. 319.] Pauw (Recherches, t. 1. p. 8.) says, that when the Dutch possessed their conquest in Brazil, a project for destroying the ants was presented to the West India Company, but that it was never made public. Il paroit, he adds, que le meilleur moyen servir d'encourager la multiplication du grand et du petit fourmillier. Unless, however, the Tamanandu should be domesticated for this purpose, it is so defenceless an animal, that man will soon destroy all in his neighbourhood, and Azara (t. 1. p. 255.) concludes, that it must be exterminated, as the country becomes peopled. The turkey is a great ant-eater, and should therefore be encouraged. It has been said, and regarded as a vulgar error, that ants cannot pass over a line of chalk: the fact, however, is certain. Mr. Coleridge tried the experiment at Malta, and immediately discovered the cause: The formic acid is so powerful, that it acts upon the chalk, and the legs of the insect are burnt by the instantaneous effervescence.

93. Gun matches were made of this Bark, p. 321.] The Chickasaws, in that desperate battle which they fought with Hernando de Soto, set fire to the huts in which the Spaniards were lodged by means of something resembling these Emberia matches,... ropes made of a certain plant, which burnt like a fuse, and being whirled through the air, blazed out like torches. They use fire arrows headed with the same thing.

El Inca Garcilaso, l. 3. c. 36.

94. Fish at Bahia, p. 322.] In 1584, a remarkable fish was left on the shore of Bahia; it was 37 palms in length, and so large, that a man standing by its side, could not see over it. It had only one eye, in the middle of the forehead: the skin was tough... like that of bacon, and of a greenish colour, and the bones were greenish also. A great quantity of oil was extracted from it. No such fish had ever been seen there before.

Noticios de Brazil, 2. 47.

This seems to have been a spermaceili whale... if the cavity in the forehead can be explained.

95. Whales, p. 322.] Monardes, though in general a trust-worthy writer, relates a good story of the way of catching whales. "The Indians, he says, doo fish for them and take them with the greatest cunning that may be imagined, which is after this manner: One Indian taking a long cord, and strong, made with certain gines, and shippeth himself in a little boat, maketh toward the whales and goeth to one of them and leapeth upon him and casteth his snare upon his snout. The strong young whale when he feeleth this, he goeth down to the depth of the sea, and the Indian hampered fast with him, for they are great swimmers, and can abide long in the water, and the young whale as he hath neede to breath returneth up to the height of the sea. And in the time that he cometh upward, the Indian carrying with him a sharp veige, and putting it through his nose where he breatheth, he striketh the wedge into him with his fist, in such sort that the young whale cannot cast it from him, and when he cometh up on high the Indian giveth him cord and taketh his boate, and goeth after the young whale, and as he cannot breath, he choketh him easily, and he cometh to the lande. It is surely a delicate and marvellous hunting." ff. 83.

Acosta (3. 17. tells the same story; he attributes it to the Indians of Florida, and refers to a credible person, as his authority. But he makes the whales as big as mountains, and never asks himself what legs would be necessary to bestride their necks!

NOTES.
Sea Apes, or Squeeze caught five the fishes, I says, it will not be remembered, is piscis Guolluli's absorption.

Dr. Pinkard relates it, and so it is a sort of manual of such cattle, of their hand, the callus, sea-apes bears which was exhibited instrument immediately singeing the part affected and poison, that if it.

Paracelsus has 326.

Generis. with the seal, but this last a collection the back, and is considerably larger, while the practice of edition.

It is fairly true, this word of monsters may be true, what a world of monsters were true, what a world of monsters there would be wherever there are wild beasts, or fields of battle.

Mermaid, p. 323.] Dr. Pinkard produces testimony to the existence of sea-apes off the coast of Guiana, and gives no other reason for doubting it, than that he assumes the liberty of an Englishman. A navy officer (a Dutch one I suppose) is mentioned as having eat a mermaid.

The plain fact in my humble opinion, says Stedman (Vol. 2. p. 7.) is this: that in many rivers between the Tropics, both on the coast of Africa and South America, a fish sometimes appears half above the water, that bears a distant resemblance of the human species, but is smaller, nearly such as in 1794 was exhibited in London. The colour is of a blackish green; the head is round, with a deformed kind of a face: a strong fin runs from near the eyes to the middle of the back, which something resembles flowing hair; and the two supposed arms and hands, are two fleshy fins, or rather digitated swimmers; the female has breasts assuredly like a womans', being a viviparous animal; while the tail is exactly that of a fish, in most of which properties it agrees with the seal, but this last has no fin along the back, and is considerably larger, while it never appears erect above the water like the former. The above information I had from several old Negroes and Indians, who all agreed perfectly in the description; some added that they sung, which I apprehend to be no other than a grunting noise, which they emit like most other tropical fish and amphibious animals. They concluded by assuring me, that though they were scarce, nothing was more dreaded by their wives and children, than the Wutra-Mama, which signifies the Mother of the Waters; and by which name, strange to tell, they distinguish their Sibyls'.

This mermaid which was exhibited in London, is described in a note to Gilbert's Hurricane, who says, he saw the animal "together with a young one taken in her arms. The length of the mother may have been four feet, and that of the child nine or ten inches. From the loins upward appeared to have been covered with flesh, and thence downward with scales. They were dried, having been caught five years before on the coasts of Italy and Sicily. The hands were webbed; and the fingers terminated sharp, like a monkey's."

I believe in hands and arms to the mermen, notwithstanding Stedman's authority, and they were to be found in this which was exhibited: but I am not sure from this account of poor Gilbert's, that it was not a manufactured monster.

The attestations from Scotland, which have appeared in our newspapers since the former part of this note was written, put the question now out of doubt.

Insects of Brazil, p. 326.] I have not found the Coya mentioned among the plagues of Paraguay or Brazil. It is found on the Orinoco. If Gumilla may be believed, this insect, which is of a bright red, and resembles in form and size a common tick, is full of such a poison, that if it be crushed upon the skin of man or of any beast, a swelling of the whole body is produced, and followed speedily by death. There is no remedy but by immediately singeing the part affected and all around it with a certain grass found there in abundance. Cattle, aware of their danger, never browse without first blowing strongly up the herbage. This is Gumilla's account, (c. 41.) his credulity tends to make his readers incredulous. Ulloa however confirms it. He says, this insect is common in Popayan; Muleteers will squeeze them between the palms of their hand, the callus, as he supposes, preventing the absorption of the poison. Book 6. c. 3.

Diseases, p. 327.] Europeans, and European animals are said to be subject to a remarkable disease in the Province of Chichas y Tarija. They are seized with a sort of frenzy which
makes them run to the heights, and climb the precipices till a fall either kills or for the time cripples them. If they are only crippled, the disease leaves them by the time they recover from their hurt, and they are not subject to it a second time. The Mercurio Peruano positively affirms this to be the case, and notices its resemblance to the Lover's Leap of the Ancients, asking if some such fact be not the origin of that fable. T. 3. p. 49.

100. Ulcer of the anus, p. 328.] This disease is called mal do bicho, for the Portuguese people are fond of that theory of diseases, which ascribes them to be the action of animalcula; a motive upon which an old German physician, Dr. Christophanus Franciscus Paulinus, has written a book, De Morte Verminorum; a work equally credulous and loathsome. M. de Joussin supposes the disease to be gangrene in the rectum. It is still so common about Quito, that at the first attack of any malady, remedies are applied for this, the inhabitants being firmly persuaded that there can be no distemper which is not accompanied with the bicho. The remedy is a pessary composed of gun-powder, guinea pepper, and a lemon peeled; to be changed two or three times a day. Utica, b. 5. c. 6.

Labat, who represents it as infectious, says, it was carried from St. Thomas to Brazil, from thence to the French Islands by the Orifume which returning from Siam, touched at Brazil, picked up the disease there, and brought it to Martinique, where it was called in consequence, Mal de Siem, its birth-place being mistaken. It then reached the Spanish Main and Mexico. The havoc which it made, he adds, cannot be imagined; but in St. Thomas and Brazil it was disregarded, because they had found remedies of decoction of cassia with an equal quantity of citron juice, and citron-quadrents used as suppositories, to be specific.

Voy. de Ch. Des Marchais, 3. 6.

101. They used the cold water effusion in fever, p. 329.] It seems from a passage in Cardenas, (c. 15.) that the Spanish Physicians of the sixteenth century were acquainted with a more rational practice in cases of fever than afterwards prevailed. He says, "quantas vezes esta un miserable enfermo, abrasando de calentura toda la noche, esforçando todos los de casa que no le de mi por pensamento el sereno; y si acaso le aciertan a abrir de madrugada las ventanas, asis como comienza a gozar de aquél apasible, y regalado sereno de la madrugada, parece que sana y se alivia de todos sus males; que es como quando una toma con gran calentura una purga que le abrasa las entrañas, y piensen todos los de cosa que esa su vida y salud en quitarle el agua, no teniendo mayor remedio y refugio que beber, y agasar con ella el fuego de la ardiente y venenosa purga. Pero esto solo inumbe el concederla al sabio y bien escrito medico que conoce el deño, o provecho, que le puede hacer.

102. Herbari, p. 329.] Oviedo, (l. 11. c. 5.) laments that the knowledge of herbari in Hayti, perished with the old inhabitants. The generation which existed in his time were so avaricious, he says, of the little which they retained, that it was scarcely possible to obtain from them any of their secrets, especially if they were such as could be beneficial to the Spaniards.

103. Their Chiefs are their Physicians also, p. 334.] The Chief of the Guamos, is perhaps, of all others, subject to the most inconvenient sort of duty. For if any of his people are indisposed, he must anoint their stomaiche with his own blood.

Gumilla, l. c. 11.

104. They hold it unwholesome to be abroad till the dew have disappeared, p. 335. Why the dew (sereno) of the Indies is more unwholesome than that of other provinces, is the title of a chapter among the Problemas of Dr. Cardenas. The dew, he says, is a certain subtle and delicate vapour drawn up by day from the moisture of the earth, and condensed by night; it is more hurtful there because it is in greater abundance, and the bodies of those persons who live there are already superabounding with moisture, and utne simile facilis petitus a simili. It affects the brain first, because the brain is the moistest part of the whole body; and the first dew are the most baneful, because the pores of the body are then all open to receive their influence; whereas the night advances, they shrink and close against it. C. 15.

105. Eclipses, p. 335.] Gumilla explained to some Indians who were endeavouring to deliver the moon during an eclipse, the nature of that phenomenon, by the help of an orange, a candle, and a looking glass. They were completely satisfied. He says, it is scarcely to be conceived with what delight they listen to an account of the heavenly bodies, and their movements, the extent of the world, and the different nations who inhabi-
bit it: and he adds, that a Missionary cannot do
better than begin by winning their attention with
such topicks. C. 48.

106. S. Cruz de la Sierra, p. 337.] Supersti-
tion has invented another reason for the name.
Acosta {7. c. 27.} says, that a soldier fled from
the province of Chacras to the Indians in this
part of the country, to avoid punishment for his
crimes, so that there was a drought in the land;
the savages made use of their religious ceremonies
to obtain rain without effect; so upon which he
promised them rain if they would do as he should
instruct them. The offer was gladly accepted;
he erected a great cross, bade them fall down be-
fore it, and worship and pray for rain, and imme-
diately it rained. Upon this they forsook their
idols, took the Cross for their ensign, and re-
quested that Missionaries might be sent to in-
struct them; and so the province was called San-
ta Cruz de la Sierra.

107. Zarate supplied himself by plundering the
Indians, p. 344.] This is very fairly related by
the rhyming historian.

En este tiempo andaba con presteza
Juntando Juan Ortiz mucha comida;
El Argento lo movia sin pereza
De los Indios buscando la manida;
Y tanto calor pone y tal destreza,
Que la miseria en breve fenecida
Que el Indio tiene, deja y los hubios
Barridos de alto a bajo y mui vacios.

A qual Indio le toma la hancaca,
A qual el pellejuelo que tenia;
A qual si le replica allí le saca.
La manta con que el triste se cubria
Al fin, en la pared no deja estaca,
Y no contento de esta tal destruza,
Emojo da al que tiene muger moza.

Argentina. c. 10.

108. P. 346.] Melgarejo very unjustifiably,
while he was at St. Catalina, killed a monkey who
had been preaching a sermon. He relates the
story himself to Dr. Martin, and would have been
hanged for murder upon his own confession, if
Lord Monboddo had been his judge.

Mas quiero yo contar aqui primero
De monos una cosa mui galana,

Que cierto me conto este Cavallero,
Diciendo, que el lo vido una manana:
Estando en esta Isla, mui entero
El juicio y la razón mui libre y sana.
De Monos vio juntarse gran canalla,
Y el pusose a escondidas a miralla.

Un Mono grande, viejo, como Alano,
Estaba la quadrilla predicando,
Hería, y apuntaba con la mano,
Mudando el tono a veces y gritando:
El Auditorio estaba por el llano,
Atento á maravilla, y escuchando,
Y el subido en un alto y seco tronco
De dar gritos y voces esta ronco.

A su lado en el tronco des estaban.
A la otra siestera, y la derecha,
Aquestos la saliva le quitaban
Que gritando el Monazo vierte y echa.
Concluso su sermon todos gritaban,
Y la quadrilla y junta ya deshecha,
Aprietan por el Monte dando gritos,
Y de espacio vá el Mono y Pagecitos.

Ruy Diaz mui confuso contemplaba
El bruto razonar de aquel Monazo,
Y como el Arcabuz presto llevaba,
Tirando, le mato de un pelotazo.
Los dos monillos Pages que llevaba,
Concluso su sermon todos gritaban,
Aquestos la saliva le quitaban
Que gritando el Monazo vierte y echa.

Fue tanta multitud la que venia
De Monos á la muerte de aquel viejo,
Que la tierra do estaba se cubria
Y huec de temor el Melgurejo:
Un Indio del Brazil que allí venia.
Con sobrado dolor y sobreceje,
Le dice, y embebido en cruda sana,
Porque has muerto al Senor de la montana?

Entre los Indios era conocido
Aquel Monazo viejo y respetado,
Y por Senor y Rey era tenido
De aquel aspero monte despoblado.

109. The famine, p. 347.] There was only a
single dog left in this expedition, which was of
great value, and highly prized by his master.
The poor creature entered a woman’s hovel one
day and she immediately killed it, and calling in D.

Que cierto me conto este Cavallero,
Diciendo, que el lo vido una manana:
Estando en esta Isla, mui entero
El juicio y la razón mui libre y sana.
De Monos vio juntarse gran canalla,
Y el pusose a escondidas a miralla.

Un Mono grande, viejo, como Alano,
Estaba la quadrilla predicando,
Hería, y apuntaba con la mano,
Mudando el tono a veces y gritando:
El Auditorio estaba por el llano,
Atento á maravilla, y escuchando,
Y el subido en un alto y seco tronco
De dar gritos y voces esta ronco.

A su lado en el tronco des estaban.
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The poor creature entered a woman’s hovel one
day and she immediately killed it, and calling in D.
NOTES.

Martin, as he returned from saying mass, showed it him, and asked him what they should do with their prize: I replied, says he, Roast it, Lady, and let us eat. We ate it secretly, and then she began to think what she had done was very wicked, but I told her that the commandment not to steal was not broken in such cases, as is well explained in Scripture, and that among Sages, it was commonly observed that necessity has no law. *Argentina*, c. 17.

110. Juan Orte de Zarate, p. 347.] This must undoubtedly be the person whose conversation with the old translator is given in Note 14. From the different character in which his words and his actions represent him, it may perhaps be inferred that at the time when our countryman fell in with him, wine had given a warmth and generosity to his heart, which were not to be found there when he was sober.

111. Hides, p. 349.] In the fleet of 1587, there came 35,444 hides from St. Domingo; and from New Spain 64,350, .. which were valued at 96,532 pieces (pesos). *Acosta*, 4. 53.

Hides are mentioned three years afterwards in these instructions given by Master Edward Cotton, of Southampton, to the captain and merchant of a ship called after his own name, which was freighted for Brazil and the Plata.

"At your coming to the Isle of Saint Sebastian, upon the coast of Brazil, you shall, according to your discretions, make sale of such commodities as you may think will be thereabout well vented, and likewise to buy commodities, without making longer stay there than your victuals be providing, but rather to bespeak commodities against your returne from the river of Plate; especially of amber, sugar, green ginger, cotton-wool, and some quantity of the peppers of the country there. Also for parats and monkies, and the beast called serrabrasa; also you shall barrell up of the leefe *called petune, two or three barrels; and to lose no good opportunity to gather of the Indian figges, and the grains of them to preserve dry, in such quantities as conveniently may be done; and touching the making of the traine, and preserving of the hides, I leave it wholly to the order and discretion of the Chief of the company. Also, that in any road where the ship shall ride, upon the coast of America, triall be made with the draggges for the pearl-oisters, and the same being taken, to be opened and searched for pearl in the presence of the captain, his lieutenant, the master, the pilot, and merchant, or three of them, whereof the captain or his lieutenant to be one, and to remaine in the custodie of the captain and merchant, under two locks, either of them to have a key to his owne locke, and that a true inventorie be delivered also to the master and pilot of the said pearls or other jewels of price gotten in the said voyaige, to the intent that no partie be defrauded of his due, and that no concealment be made of any such thing upon forfeiture, the partie to lose his share and dutie for the voyage that shall so conceale and not reveale it unto the officers above named. Also to doe your best intereade to try for the best ore of golde, silver, or other rich mettals whatsoever. Forget not also to bring the kernals and seeds of strange plants with you, the palmito with his fruit inclosed in him.

Hakluyt, has, on this account, placed it among his African voyages, though it contains no other information, than that which relates to Brazil.

Hakluyt, p. 355.

A letter written to M. Richard Staper, by John Whithall, from Santos in Brazil, the 26th of June, 1578.

Worshipfull sir, and welbeloued friend, M Staper, I have me most heartily commended unto you, wishing your health even as mine owne.

These few words may bee to let you understand, that whereas I wrote unto you not many dayes past by the way of Lisbon, howe that I determined to bee with you very shortly, it is in this countrye offered mee to marry, and to take my choice of three or foure, so that I am about three dayes aagoe consorted with an Italian gentleman to marry with his daughter within these foure dayes.

This, my friend and father in law, Signor Io. Dore, is borne in the citie of Genua in Italy; his.

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*Beefe in Hakluyt, by a printer's blunder.
kindred in well known amongst the Italians in London: also he hath but only this child, which is his daughter, which he hath thought better bestowed upon mee than on any Portugal in all the country, and doeth give with her in marriage to me part of an Ingenio which he hath, that doeth make every yeare a thousand rous of sugar. This my marriage will be worth to mee two thousand duketts, little more or lesse. Also Signor Joffo Dore, my father in law, doeth intende to put into my handes the whole Ingenio, with sixtie or seuentie slaves, and thereof to make me factor for us both. I give my loving Lord thanks for placing me in such honour and plentynesse of all things.

Also certaine dayes past I talked with the Proneor and Captaine, and they have certified me, that they have discovered certaine mines of siluer and gold, and looke every day for masters to come to open the said mines; which, when they be opened, will enriche this country very much. This place is called S. Vincent, and is distant from you two thousand leagues, and in 24 degrees of latitude on the south side of the Equinoctial line, and almost under the Tropike of Capricorne, a coutrie it is very healthfull without sickness.

Moreover, I have talked with the Captaine and Proneor, and my father in law, who rule all this coutrie, for to have a ship with goods to come from London hither, which have promised mee to give mee licence, saying that nowe I am free denizen of this coutrie. To cause a ship to come hither with such commodities as would serve this coutrie, would come to great gains, God sending in safety the profite and gaine. In such wares and commodities as you may ship hither from London is for every one commoditie delivered here three for one, and then after the proceed may be employed in white sugar at four shillings, and send her hither. With such commodities as would come to great gains, God sending in safety the profits and gaines. In such wares and commodities as you may ship from London is for every one commoditie delivered here three for one, and then after the proceed may be employed in white sugar at four shillings or lesse.

I meane also to have a friend in London to sende mee a ship of 60 or 70 tunnes, little more or lesse, with such commodities as I shall give advice for. This voyage is as good as any Peru-voyage. If you and Master Osborne will deal here, I will deal with you before any other, because of our old friendly friendship in time past. If you have any stomake thereto, in the name of God, do you espy out a fine barke of seuentie or eightie tunnes, and send her hither with a Portugal pilot to this port S. Vincent in Brazil, bordering upon the borders of Peru.

Also I herewith write unto you in what forme and maner you shall furnish this voyage both in commodities and otherwise.

First, you must lade in the same ship certaine Hampshire and Devonshire karsies; for which you must let her depart from London in October, and to touch in the Canaries, and there to make sale of the said karsies, and with the proceed thereof to lade fifteen tunnes of wines that be perfect and good, and sixe dozen of Cordovan skinnes of these colours, to wit, oragne, tawnie, yellow, red, and very fine black. I think you shall not finde such colours there, therefore you must cause them that go upon this voyage, to take saffron with them, to cause the same skinnes to bee put into the said colours. Also I thinke you shall finde oyles there. Three hogsheads of sweete oyle for this voyage are very necessary, or a hundred and fittie iarres of oyle. Also in London you may lade in the said ship these parcels of commodities or wares, as followeth.

Inprimis, foure pieces of holland of middle sort.

Item, one piece of fine hollond.

Four hundred elles of osenbrigges very fine.

Four dozen of sizzors of all sorts.

Sixteen kintals of pitch of the Canaries.

Twenty, dozen of great knives which be made in fardles, of a low price.

Four dozen of a small sort.

Sixe pieces of bayses of the lowest sort.

One very fine piece of bays.

Eight or tenne dozen of hats, the one halfe trimmed with taffata, the other plaine, with the bands of Cypress.

Sixe dozen of course shirts.

Three dozen of doublets of canvas.

Three dozen of doublets of stitched canvas.

One piece of fine Milanian fustian barred.

Sixe dozen of locks for doores and chestes.

Sixe thousand of all manner of fish hooks.

Four dozen reames of paper.

Two dozen of glasses of divers sorts.

Two dozen of Venice glasses, the one halfe great, the other middle sort.

Two dozen of mantles of frize, of the lowest price that can be.

Three dozen of frize gowness.

Four hundred pound of spice of the use of Portugal, most smal dishes and trenchers.

Four pound of silk of all colours.

Twentie pound of spices, cloues, cinamon, pepper, and saffron.
Two kintals of white sope.
Three pound of threed, white, black, and blew.
Three pound of fine white threed.
Item, half a dozen of northern karsies of divers colours.
Four sorting clothes, blew, red, yellow, and green.
Six northern dozens of divers colours.
One fine blew cloth of eight pound.
One fine flannel of tenné or twelve pound.
One fine sheeps coloured cloth of twelve pound.
One fine black karse.
One fine ponell karse.
Six yards of black velvet.
Three barrells of nailes for chests.
Two barrels of nailes for ships and barks.
Six kintals of Occorn.
Two dozen of velvet girdles without bangers.
Four yards of taffata red, blacke, and blew, with some greene.
Two dozen of leather girdles.
Six dozen of axes, hatchets, and small biles to cut wood.
Four masses of gitterne strings.
Four hundred or five hundred elles of some linen cloth, that is of a low price, to make shirts and sheets.
Four tunnes of Yroq.

These be such sort of wares as I would you should send, if you mean to deal, or send any ship hither. Have you no doubt, but by the helpe of God I shall put all things in good order according to your contentment and profit: for my father in lawe with the Capitaine and Promotor doe rule this countrey. My father in lawe and I (God willing) make a good quantitate of sugar every yeere, which sugar we intend to ship for London from henceforth, if we can get such a trustie and good friend as you to deal with us in this matter. I pray you presently after the receipt of this my letter to write mee answere thereof, and send your letter to M. Holder to Lisbone and he will convey it to me out of hand:

Besides the premises, send sixe yards of skarlet, parchement lace of divers colours.
Sixe yards of crimson velvet.
Sixe yards of crimson satten.
Twelve yards of fine puke blacke.

Here in this countrey in stead of John Whit hall they have called me John Leitoan; so that they have used this name so long tyme, that at this present there is no remedie, but it must remaine so. When you write unto me, let the superscription be unto John Leitoan.

Thus I commit you with all yours to the Holy Ghost for ever.

If you send this ship, I would have you give this order that she touch in no part of the coast of Guinea nor any other coast, but to come directly hither to the port of S. Vincent, and from the Canaries let her be dispatched in my name, to wit John Leitoan.

Also a dozen of shirts for my wearing let be sent if you send the ship.

Item. Sixe or eight pieces of sayes for mantles for women, which is the most necessary thing that can be sent.

By your assured friend

John Whithall.

112. Santos, p. 359.] It was my chance, says Knivet, going up and down from cell to cell in the college of Jesus, that I looked under a bed standing in a dark hole, where I found a little chest fast nailed, and the seams thereof were white with wheat flower. I drew it forth, and finding it of great weight, broke it in pieces, wherein I found 1700 rial of eight, each when of containeth four shillings English. This hole I took for my lodging, and no man knew of my good purchase: cloth, shirts, blankets and beds and such stuffe no man regarded.

113. Cavendish, p. 364.] The letter which he wrote when dying is very affecting. Those actions by which Cavendish has made himself remembered, assuredly justify the censure which Capt. Burney, as well as myself, has past upon him.... Yet this which follows will show that the heart of the unhappy man was naturally good.... And now to tell you of my greatest grieves, which was the sickness of my deare kinsman John Locke, who by this time was grown in great weaknesse, by reason whereof he desired rather quietnesse and contentednesse in our course, than such continuall disquietnesse, which never ceased us. And now by this, what with grieves for him, and the continuall trouble I endured among such hel-hounds, my spirits were cleane spent; wishing myselfe upon any desert place in the world, there to dye, rather than thus basely to returne home againe, which course I had put in execution, had I found an Hand which the Cardes make to be 3 degrees to the southward of the line. I sweare to you, I sought for it with all diligence, meaning (if I had
found it) to have there ended my unfortunate life. But God suffered not such happiness to light upon me, for I could by no means finde it, so as I was forced to goe towards England, and having gotten 8 degrees by north the line, I lost my most dearest cousin.

And now consider whether a heart made of flesh be able to endure so many misfortunes, all falling upon me without intermission. I thank my God that in ending of me, he hath pleased to rid me of all further trouble and misshaps. And now to returne to our private matters, I have made my will, wherein I have given speciall charge, that all goods (whatsoever belong unto me) be delivered into your hands. For God's sake, refuse not to doe this last request for mee; I owe little that I know of, and therefore it will be the lesse trouble; but if there be any debt, that (of truth) is owing by mee, for God's sake see it paid. I have left a space in the will for another name, and (if you think it good) I pray take in my cousin Henrie Sacketford; he will ease you much in many businesses. There is a bill of adventure to my cousin Richard Locke, (if it happen that the other ship returne home with any thing, as it is not impossible) I pray remember him, for he hath nothing to show for it. I have given Sir George Cary the Desire if ever she return, for I have always promised him her; if she returned, I in a little part of her getting, if any such thing happen, I pray you see it performed.

To use complements of love (now at my last breath) were frivolous; but know that I left none in England whom I loved halfe so well as yourself; which you in such sort used me kindly at my departure.

NOTES.

pray see performed. I have now no more to say, but take this last farewell... that you have lost the lovingest friend that was lost by any. Commend me to your wife. No more, but as you love God, doe not refuse to undertake this last request of mine. I pray forget not master Careys Cockington; gratifie him with something, for hee used me kindly at my departure. Beare with this scribbling; for I protest I am scarce able to hold a pen in my hand.

Purchas. 1. 6. c. 6. p. 1200.

114. Manon, p. 372.] Gumilla, who is a believer in El Dorado, explains Manox to mean a lake,... and that when it is spoken of by that name, the city of the lake is meant. c. 25.

115. Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 373.] Raleigh cannot have believed the story which he told, because it was chronologically impossible. A brother of Atabalpe, he says, fled after the destruction of the Incas, taking with him so great an army of Orjoneses, that he conquered the interior of Guiana. When Diego de Ordas was attempting the conquest of the Orinoco, and had advanced some three hundred miles up the river to a place called Moriquito, his whole stock of powder was blown up. Provoked at the master of the Munition (whose name was Juan Martinez) for this negligence, he condemned him to death; intreaty was made for his life, and the utmost mercy which Ordas would grant was that he should be set adrift in a canoe, without food. The stream carried him down, and in the evening a party of Guianians fell in with him; they had never seen a white man before, and having thus caught one, blindfolded him, and led him a journey of fourteen or fifteen days through the country, to be wondered at from town to town, till they arrived at Manoa, the great city of the Inca. At the entrance of this city they took the bandage from his eyes. It was now when they entered it, he travelled along the streets till night, and the next day from sun rise till sun set before he came to the palace. Here he was detained seven months, and not permitted to go without the walls. Leave was then given him to return, and a party of Guianians, laden with as much gold for him as they could carry, were ordered to re-conduct him to the Orinoco. When they drew near the river the savages fell upon them, and robbed them of all the treasure, except two calabashes full of golden beads, which they suffered him to keep, supposing them to be filled with food. He got to Trinidad,
and from thence to St. Juan de Puerto Rico. Here he died, and at his death gave these beads to the church for the good of his soul, and left this account of his discovery. The court dress by his account was of gold dust, conformably to the usual fable of El Dorado. Ralegh cannot have believed this story, because the year in which Ordas ascended the Orinoco, was the same in which Pizarro conquered Peru.

Ralegh's conduct can only be explained by the design which I have imputed to him, of tempting vulgar curiosity and vulgar cupiditas. Hence the armadillo which he saw, with a white horn growing in his hinder parts as big a great hunting horn, which the natives use to wind instead of a trumpet. Hence his Ewaupanomas, a nation of Atephali, with eyes in their shoulders and mouths in their breasts, of whom, he says, it was not my chance to hear till I was come away, and if I had but spoken one word of it while I was there, I might have brought one of them with me, to put the matter out of doubt (p. 663). Hence his story, how at the conquest of Peru, a prophecy was found in one of the temples, purporting, that in time to come the Incas were to be delivered from their servitude to the Spaniards, and restored to their dominion by England: a prediction which he protests before the majesty of God, was affirmed by his prisoner Berreo (p. 662). Hence his assertion, that the common soldier shall here fight for gold, and pay himself instead of pence, with plates of half a foot broad; whereas, he breaketh his bones in other wars for provart and penny. (p. 660). Hence too his flattery to Elizabeth, that the Amazons shall plant and possess a soyle, where they may fructifie, increase and growe to good; thrie honourable and blessed bee the memorie of so charitable a deed, from one generation to another.

Hakluyt. 3. 686.

116. Famine ubi pepercrunt. &c. p. 379.] It is a proof how little Pauw can be trusted for accuracy, that from this fact he classes the Tapuyas and Tupinambas among those cannibals, qui ne touchoient qu'aux appendices du corps humain. T. 1. p. 282.

117. They ate their own dead, p. 379.] There are some remarks upon cannibalism in Bolingbroke's Voyage to the Demerary, a book remarkable for placing old subjects in a new point of view. It is there said, (p. 150.) 'at savages devour only their enemies; this practice of the Tapuyas is an instance to the contrary. It is also said, that we never eat those animals which we have domesticated. Many of the equestrian South American

* His friend Keymis also omits to mention, what he had heard of a sort of people more monstrous, because it is no manner of difficulty to get one of them, and the report otherwise will appear fabulous. But his marginal note informs us, that they have eminent heads like dogs, and live all the day time in the sea, and speak the Caribe language. p. 677.
tribes live upon horse-flesh in preference to beef, which is equally plentiful, and always at hand. Some of the Tatar tribes have the same taste. The head of his horse was the dainty with which theSoldan wished to have regaled the Cid... Mr. Belingbrooke's speculations are ingenious, but they look at the subject in one light only. Love as well as hatred leads to cannibalism, and Artemisia is admired for having given the same proof of her affection as every Tapuya widow... with this difference only, that she took her husband in what physicians of the present day would call a more elegant preparation.

118. The bones were reserved for enemies feasts, 379.] Those nations which are called Atrucis, which dwell on the south of Orononk, (of which place and nation our Indian pilot was) are dispersed in many other places, and do use to beat the bones of their lords into powder, and their wives and friends drink it all in their several sorts of drink. Sir Walter Raleigh.

119. The maids dancing and singing, each behind him whom she loved, p. 381.] It appears that there was no indecency in the dances of the savages.

Les danses ne sont si dissolues entre ces barbares comme elles sont entre les Christies, d'autant que les filles et les femmes ne dansent jamais avec les hommes, si ce n'est quelquefois en Caouinan, ou, buvant; mais encore se gardant bien alors de beaucoup de folies, d'attractions & deshonestetes par trop ordinaires & danses de par deca; car les femmes ne mettent que la main sur les espalades de leurs maris qui dansent; aussi ne voit-on tant de scandales & de malheurs qui arrivent icy par le danse & tells pleins de lubrietez & de dissolutions. Claude d'Abbeville, f. 299.

Dancing among savages, when not a religious ceremony, is as among children, mere sport; among corrupted people it becomes a mode of vice.

120. The Tribes of Tchipabo, p. 382.] Vieyra wonders that they did not supply themselves with fish from the sea, which was only twenty-five leagues distant, and salt them in some natural salt-licks, which extended above two leagues. He forgot that nations must be far advanced in civilization, before mountaineers a hundred miles from the coast can be supplied from thence with food. Vida do Vieyra, p. 231.

121. Porto Seguro, p. 385.] B. Tellez plays upon the same, saying there is no Porto Seguro in this life: but, that now as the savages were retreating to the woods, e os nossos murtherando nos costumes, can sendo agora este Porto mais Seguro de Aymures, e mais livre de incendios.

122. Bannished from Pernambuco, p. 394.] Men were too valuable in Brazil to be transported out of it... Besides, it appears that they were transported from one port to another. In the Noticia-as, p. 2 c. 67, a story is told of two Tupinambas, who were degraded from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro, and found their way back through the woods.

123. Taking with him six Tupinambas, p. 400.] These Tupinambas put into Falmouth on their way, and remained there six weeks. And there first seeing the use of money, they conceived a great contempt for the English, as for a people who gave nothing away. One day a boat came along side with oysters... one of the Indians seeing that none were to be had without money, picked up a black counter, and went joyfully to the friar to learn how many oysters he could get for it. When he was told that it was neither white nor yellow, and that therefore it was worth nothing, and he would be laughed at if he offered it, he took a piece of chalk and whitened it all over, and then offered it, and asked for oysters. It hardly need be added, that this proof of his talents for coining, procured him what he wanted from the good natured fishermen. Claude d'Abbeville, p. 298.

124. Three of them died, p. 400.] After having related the death of the three Tupinambas, ces erov, says Claude d'Abbeville, une belle question de demander, s'ils jouissaient maintenant du Paradis en qualite d'héritage, ou bien en qualite de recompense; car de douter de leur jouissance, il n'y a moyen, attendu les belles circonstances de leur mort. And he decides this belle question in favour of the heritage, these Tupinambas ayant rendu leurs ames a Dieu en leur innocence baptismale, & tout incontinent apres avoir este baptise. f. 346. It was lucky they did not die before they were whitewashed into this state of infantine innocence; for they had been tolerable cannibals in their time. One of them, by name Carypyra, the Kite, had no less than four and twenty names, won in battle, as the capuchin says, but in fact, for having brought four and twenty prisoners to the boucan after the battle.
He was more glorious in this, says Father Claude, than Scipio Africanus, or Caesar Germanicus, and what is most remarkable is, that these names were accompanied with their eulogies, which were written like so many inscriptions, not upon paper nor iron, nor the bark of a tree, but upon his own proper flesh. His face, his belly, and his two legs and thighs, were the marble and porphyry upon which he had had the history of his life engraved, with characters and figures so strange, that you would have taken his skin for a damasked cuirass. 

This tattooing in historical hieroglyphics, is practised in New Zealand. I have seen in the possession of my friend, Mr. Carlisle, a portrait of the king of that island drawn by himself, which is the most curious portrait in Europe... except that of the queen, by the same hand. Whatever the likeness may be in other respects, the royal artist has carefully attended to the history of his exploits, with which the whole face is covered.

155. That the Parisians might make a rare show, p. 406.] The Capuchin's description deserves to be preserved.

Mais qui eust jamais pensé que le peuple de Paris, tant accoutumé à voir des choses rares & merveilleuses, se fustencue comme il a fait pour la venue de ces Indiens?... voici qu'à la venue de ces guerriers Indiens, communa est universa civilitas, tout Paris est en émoi; un chacun reçoit en son cœur je ne sauray quelle renaissance, qui faisant que ne se pouvant plus tenir en ses bornes et limites, il se lassant qu'il sortit hors pour avoir le contentement de regarder de ses yeux ce qu'en passant son pouvoir et travail. Toutes les rues étaient pleines de peuple, qui courait en affluence pour voir ce qui ne pouvait quasi croire.

Notre Convent n'était point vide, mais a tout Paris. Il n'est plus comme un Convent, mais semblait une bale au tout monde allout plus de vingt lieues a la ronde... D'un penser vers vous, que procedût cette particulière devotion de ce peuple de Paris, aison de l'amour, et de la sainteté affectation qu'il porte a l'Eglise Catholique, Apostolique, & Romaine?... Claude d'Abbeville, f. 340.

126. Defeat of the French, p. 419.] St. Anthony and the Virgin Mary are said to have fought at the head of the Portugueze upon this occasion. The former may be excused for this inter-position on the score of his patriotism; but it would be difficult to say why the latter should interfere in a war between two parties equally Catholic. Fr. Apollinario da Conceicam hints at this miracle, and refers to a judicial deposition of the fact among the archives of the Carmo Convent at Maranhon.

Primazia Sacrificia na Regiam da America, p. 121. Labat, (Voy. de Ch. Des Marchais, 3. 62.) referring to these fruitless projects of his countrymen in South America, calls them Colonies Ephéméres, qui ont duré si peu, qu'elles n'ont servi qu'à montrer le chemin aux autres nations, leur défricher un peu le territoire, et leur faire connaître qu'on y pouvait faire des établissements solides, riches, et puissants dont notre légèreté naturelle ne nous a permis presque jamais de profiter.

127. Para, 427.] In my opinion, says Stedman, (Vol. 1. p. 56. N.) not only Parham's Point, but the Para Creek and the town of Paramaribo, may even the great water called the Golden Parima, or Parham Lake, took their names from Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, who received this settlement from Charles II, and was one of the first possessors of this beautiful country... Unluckily for this etymology, the Lake of Parima was laid down in maps by that name before Lord Willoughby was born... This word Para shows how far the Tupi or Guaraní language may be traced.

128. Free Jews were put to death, p. 451.] Cespedes (6. 14.) says that many persons wished the punishment of the perfidious Jews had been increased. "For although Christian compassion in such cases is not to be condemned, and it must be confessed, that in the eye of God there is no exception of nations, yet, who can ever deny, that to show mercy to that unbelieving rabble is more mischievous than it is praiseworthy, since we see living in their very entrails that horrible inclination to impious ingratitude, just as in Negroes, the inseparable tincture of their skin, of which, though they mix with the whites, their children always partake." This is but a feeble specimen of the language of Popery against the Jews in those days.

129. D. Fadrique de Toledo, p. 453.] D. Fadrique had drawn out his men to review them on a beautiful morning... when, as is not unusual at Bahia, and very common at Maranhon, in the course of an hour, the whole sky was overcast...
and it began to rain heavily. *In el Brazil hasta los Cielos miren*, the very heavens tell hes in Brazil, exclaimed the General, expressing thus of the climate, what he thought of the people.

Vieyra, Serm. i. 4. p. 295.

130. *Olimpo, p. 463.* The reef along the coast of Pernambuco supplied a fine stone for the monasteries and best houses at Olinda and Paraíba. (Piso, p. 3.) There was probably some difficulty in quarrying it, or it would have been generally used. Piso (p. 49) seems to imply, that this was the first place which the Portuguese colonized, but he overlooks the settlement made by Vespucci.

131. *The officers cast off their shoes, &c.* p. 474.] Stedman went barefoot, during his dreadful campaign in Surinam, according to the advice given him by an old negro, and he believes that he saved his life. It might be impossible to introduce this practice into an army, and dangerous to attempt it; but in long marches and bad weather, it would equally conducd to the comfort, health, and preservation of the men.

132. *The four sea-fights, p. 536.* The admirals' ship bore the brunt of these engagements, but S. Barbara had the credit. Pondedor says Vieyra in his Sermon upon this Saint, *no Galeão S. Domingos, Capitão Real de nossa Armada...* sustentado a bateria de trinta e cinco nous Olandezas: *e que he o que se via dentro e fora em toda aquella feriosa e temerosa fortaleza nos quatro dias destes conflitos? Juçava o Galeão sessenta meyos canhões de bronze em duas cubertas; tinha guarnecidas por hum e outro bordo o conêz, os castelos de popa e praia, as duas varandas e as garças com seiscentos mosqueteiros. E sendo hum Ethna que lentamente se movía, vomitando labaredas e ramos de ferro e chumbo por tantas bocas maiores e menores; dando todos e recebendo polvora, carregando & descarregando polvora, e tendo nas mesmas maos os mirroens com duas mechas acensas, ou os botafogos encendidos jun- to aos caruchos; *& que bastando qualquer fáscia para excitar hum total incêndio, e voar hum momenta- to toda aquella maquinha; que entre tanta confusão, e visinhaça de polvora e fogo, estréceu o Galeão tremolando as suas bandeiras tam seguro e senhor do campo, como huma roca batida só das ondas, e nam das balas; quem negara que supria ali a vigilância e patrocínio de S. Barbéra, o que nem huma procidentia humana podera evitar?* T. 7. p. 501.

133. *Barbalho's retreat, Note, p. 574.* The whole passage in which this extract is contained will interest many of my readers. "*Ja outra vez exo este pensamento, e agora me tomo a confirmar mais neste, que para se despacharem os soldados do Brazil, principalmente os que andam em campanha, nam tem necessidade de mais certidão, que tomar o capítulo onze da segunda Epístola de S. Paulo aos Coríntios, firmada e jurada por seus Generaes, que bem o poderam fazer sem apprehender, que não é a Apatate huma luta nem ha very comprida de seus serviços e trabalhos, e diz assim: in laboribus plurimis, in carceribus abundantius, in plagis supra modum, in mortibus frequenter, &c. Demodo por lido, e vamos aplicado. In laboribus plurimis: that soldados paixcem no mundo maiores trabalhos que os do Brazil? In carceribus abundantius: também muitas vezes são prisioneiros, e nas prisoms nem ha mais cruelmente tratados que elles. In plagis supra modum: quantas sejam as feridas que recebem, e quem contínuas, bem o dizem esses Hospitais, bem o dizem essas campanhas, e também os peito vivos podem dizer, que apenas se acharam algum, que nam emde feito hum críze. In mortibus frequenter: frequentemente mortos, porque nam ha guerra no mundo onde se mora tam frequentemente, como na do Brazil, de dia e de noite, no inverno e no veran, na trincheira e na campanha, nas nossas terras, e na do inimigo; e agora nesta jornada ultima e milagrosa, onde se nam deu quartel, o mesmo não ser ferido que morto, deixando os amigos aos amigos, e os irmãos aos irmãos, por mais nam podero, ficando os miseráveis feridos nesses maus, nes- safos estrados, sem cura, sem remedio, sem companheira, para serem mortos a sangue frio e cruelmente despedaçados dos alfange Olandezes, pelo Rey, pela Patria, pela Honra, pela Religiao, pela Fé. O valerosos soldados que de boa vontade me devemera em agora com vesco pregando vossoa gloriosas esquinas, mas cou depreza segundo aos que vo cem de serem, por dito. In itineribus sepe: quem nadou nunca, nem ainda correu com a imaginação os caminhos, que fazem estes soldados? Daqui a Pernambuco, daqui a Paraíba, daqui ao Rio Grande, e mais abaixo, por certeza de treszentas e quatrocentas legua, levando sempre as munições dos castas, e os mantimentos nos ferros dos chupas, e nas bocas dos arcabuzes. Perículis fluminum: atracassando rios tanto e tam contados, sem barca, sem pente, mais que os brasos a industria para os passá. Periculís latronum: saindoles os ladroes a cada passo. *Periculís ex genere: tendo Espanhois, a quem os Olandezes tem mortal odio. Periculís ex gentibus: arriscadosamil emboscados do Gento rebolde. Periculís in ei-
vitate: com perigos na Cidade, como o que tiveram nesta, quando a proeza de tantos vinhos a defenderam valerosamente. Périculis in solitudine: com perigos no deserto, porque som-sepostos os desperdios que passam, sem casa, sem gente, e muitas vezes sem resto de fera, nem de anguil, mala que Ceco e terra. 
Périculis in mari: com perigos no mar, que aiutá que atinga os nam avia, bem se sabe quan grandes foram os que se padeceram na Armada, e ainda nam se sabe tudo. Périculis in falsis fratribus: com perigos de falsos irmãos, porque nem com os nossos Portuguezes estão seguros na companhia, que o temor da morte os obriga a descobrir muitas vezes o que nam deveram. 
In frigore et nuditate: nós, despídos, descalços, ao Sol, ao frio, à chuva, às inclemências dos ares deste clima, que sim os mais agudos que se sabem. In fame, et siti, in jejuniis multis: jejunando, e padecendo as mais extraordinarias fomeis; e sedes, que nunca suportaram corpos mortos, sustentando a frite e animosa vida com as razões dos avos, com os bichos do mato, com os frutos agrestes e venerosos, e tendo-se por muy regulados, se chegaram a alcançar para comer moya libra de carne de cavalo. 
Ha mais invenctie paciencia? Ha mais dura e pertinaz constança? Se tido sabeis Olandezes, em que fundus cousas esperanças, como nam desistis da empresa, como nam desmignais, como nam vos ideis? Tendo os soldados de Julio Cesar situada a Cidade de Duracchis, chegaram a comer nam sei que pam feito de tronos, mas pam enfim; o qual como visse Pompeio, que era o Capitam situado, primeiramente disse que ali pélacava com feras e nam com homens; e logo mandou que aquelle pam nam aparecesse, porque se o vissem seus soldados, sem duvida desmigariam, e nem se atreveriam a resistir a gente de tante constancia e pertinacia, ... Nevis patienria et pertinacia hostis, animi sutorum frangerentur, dix Suetonio. 
Bem dago eu logo, Olandezes, se vedes o pam com que se sustentam nossos soldados, de cujo veneno morrerm em huna noite mais de vinte, se vedes esta paciencia, este constança, esta pertinacia, como vos atreveram um tal gente, como se nam quebram os amos, como nam desistis da empresa? T. 8. p. 401.

135. The Omaguas, p. 587.] Some tribes who bordered on Louisiana were called Têtes plattes, from the same custom. By Laflèau's description, they must have exactly resembled the Omaguas. "Elles font considérer leur beauté à avoir le front aplati, et le sommet de la tête terminer en pointe, en façon de mitre, t. 595." He also says, that the custom prevailed among the Caraibes and most of the Southern Savages; this latter term, when used by the French, relates only to the country between the Orellana and Orinoco; and the tribes who thus disfigure themselves there are probably of the Omagua stock, according to the tradition of that people themselves.

There is a tribe in Canada called Garhagonronnon, or People of the Earth, whose fashion it is to round the head as much as possible, for which reason, the French call them Têtes de Boule.

Leflèau, Do.

The Druses of Syria mould their heads in divers forms, but it is chiefly the crown of the head they depress, in order to beautify themselves, as their wild fancy terms it; for they call un long-heads, by way of contempt. The Choktah Indians flatten their forehead, from the top of the head to the eye-brow, with a small bag of sand, which gives them a hideous appearance, as the fore-head naturally shoots upward, according as it is flattened; thus, the rising of the nose, instead of being equidistant from the beginning of the chin to that of the hair, is, by their wild mechanism, placed a great deal nearer the one, and farther from the other. The Indian nations, round South Carolina, and all the way to New Mexico, (properly called Mexhiko) to effect this, fix the tender infant on a kind of cradle, where his feet are tilted, about a foot higher than a horizontal position; his head bends back into a hole, made on purpose to receive it, where he bears the chief part of his weight on the crown of the head, upon a small bag of sand, without being in the least able to move himself. The skull resembling a fine car-
tilaginous substance, in its infant state, is capable of taking any impression. By this pressure, and their thus flattening the crown of the head, they consequently make their heads thick, and their faces broad: for when the smooth channel of nature is stopped in one place, if a destruction of the whole system doth not thereby ensue, it breaks out in a proportional redundancy in another. May we not, to this custom, and as a necessary effect of this cause, attribute their sickly, wild, and cruel tempers? especially when we connect therewith, both a false education, and great exercise to agitate their animal spirits. When the brain, in cooler people, is disturbed, it neither reasons, nor determines, with proper judgment. The Indians thus look on every thing around them through their own false medium; and vilify our heads because they have given a wrong turn to their own. *Adair,* p. 8.

136. Caoutchouc, p. 589.] Travellers form a sort of lamp of this elastic gum. They roll it into a ball, which they place in water to ascertain which part will float; and then draw out the surface into a sort of wick, which will continue to burn till the whole is consumed. *Azara,* t. 1. 127.

137. Communication between the Orellana and Orinoco, p. 599.] Gumilla complains (c. 24) that the Portuguese of Maranham had found their way in 1737 to the Orinoco, and began to carry off the inhabitants for slaves. It appears by a letter from P. Bento da Fonseca (then Procurador General of Maranhão) which is prefixed to Berredo’s *Anais,* that the Missionaries ascertained this communication two years afterwards.


139. Explosions, a sign of precious stones, p. 613.] As I was ascending the midst of this serra with my companion, says Vasconcellos, an extraordinary report was heard from the inner part of it. It was like the discharge of many pieces of artillery at once, and the rocks and hollows of the mountains made the sound more fearful. And asking one another what it could be, neither of us knew to what to ascribe so rare a thing, but inquiring of the Indians who were with us, they said, in the Brazilian tongue, *Ist ne cerr,* it seems an explosion of stone. And it was so; for after some days, the place was found where a rock had burst, and from its entrails, with the explosion which we had heard, like the groans of parturition, had sent to light a little treasure. This was a sort of nut, (huma pinha) about the shape and size of a bull’s heart, full of jewelry of different colours, some white like transparent crystal, others of a fine red, and some between red and white, imperfect as it seemed, and not yet compleatly formed by nature. All these were placed in order, like the grains of a pomegranate within a case or shell harder than even iron; which, either with the force of the explosion, or from striking against the rocks where it fell, broke in pieces, and thus discovered its wealth. The philosophy of these things is understood. For when the operations of the sun and nature are forming the most polished birth of such fine jewelry in the entrails of a hard rock, a greater quantity of the contents of that rock must needs be reduced to a smaller quantity of these stones which are to be produced; for the finer they are, the harder; and the harder they are, the more component parts must they necessarily contain in a smaller compass. Now nature will not suffer a vacuum, and it is not possible for the air to penetrate the thick rock and prevent one. At the very moment, therefore, when the force of the sun is so great, that it is on the point of forming a vacuum in producing the work which it has in hand, nature resists; in this struggle the rock bursts, and the production is left imperfect.

A similar account is given by Techo. The province of Guaira, he says, is famous for a sort of stones, which nature, after a wonderful manner, produces in an oval stone case, about the bigness of a man’s head. These stone cases lying under ground, when they come to a certain maturity, fly like bombs in pieces, about the air, with much noise, and scatter about abundance of very beautiful stones; for they are bright, some of the colour of amethysts, others violet colour, some a grass green, some like glass, some red, and some sharp like diamonds; in fine, such is their beautiful va-
riety, that to see the lustre of the stones, one
would take those cases for caskets of jewels.
But these stones are of no more value than our
Bristol stones; but before this was known, the
new planters of Guaira, are reported to have aban­
donned their colony, after gathering a great quan­
tity of these stones, with a design to return into
Spain, hoping to make estates of them. But
being stopped by the way, they were sufficiently
laughed at, as they well deserved. 

In the Noticias de Brazil, (t. 2. c. 75. ) it is said,
that the emerald is formed within crystal, and at
length bursts it. When the natives found a piece
of crystal which they supposed to contain one of
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made it crack; but this injured the colour and
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140. Poultry, p. 617.] Acosta (t. 4. c. 35.) says,
that the Peruvians had our domestic poultry be­
fore the discovery of the New World; his proof
is, that they called the hen gualpa, and the egg
ruuta, and that they called a coward proverbially
a hen, as the Spaniards did. I do not see that the
name of the egg can be adduced to prove any
thing, and it is not impossible, that gualpa may
have meant nothing more than hen in its general
acceptation. He adds, however, that these birds
were found in the Salomon Isles.

141. Insects, p. 619.] Sapor is said to have
raised the siege of Nisibis in consequence of a
plague of gnats, which came against him at the
prayer of St. James, the Bishop of that place. In
spite of the miracle the fact may be true.

Theodorit. l. 2. c. 30.

In one of Stedman’s dreadful marches, the
clouds of mosquitoes were such, that the soldiers
dug holes with their bayonets in the earth, into
which they thrust their heads, stopping the entry
and covering their necks with their hammocks,
while they lay with their bellies on the ground:
to sleep in any other position was absolutely im­
possible. He himself, by a negro’s advice, climbed
to the top of the highest tree he could find, and
there slung his hammock among the boughs, and
slept exalted nearly a hundred feet above his
companions, whom, says he, I could not see for
the myriads of mosquitoes below me, nor even hear,
from the incessant buzzing of these troublesome
insects. 

There is a peculiar substance formed by a spe­
cies of bee in the Orinoco country, which the
roosting tribes burn incessantly in their habitati­
s, and which effectually protects them from all
winged insects. They call it Comejou; Guimilia
says, it is neither earth, nor wax. 

“ The seeds of the annotta, being macerated in
the juice of lemon, and mixed with water, and
gum that exudes from the malvula tree, or with the
oil of castor, composes a scarlet paint with which
all the Indians anoint their bodies, and even the
men their hair, which gives their skin the appear­
ance of a boiled lobster: they also rub their naked
bodies with caraba, or crab-oil. This, it must be
allowed, is extremely useful in scorching climates,
where the inhabitants of both sexes go almost
naked. One day, laughing at a young man who
came from the neighbourhood of Cayenne, he an­
swered me in French, saying, my skin, Sir, is
kept soft, too great perspiration is prevented, and
the mosquitoes do not sting me as they do you;
besides its beauty, this is the use of my painting
red. Now, what is the reason of your painting
white? (meaning powder in the hair,) you are
without any reason wasting your flour, dirtying
your coat, and making yourself look grey before
your time. 

Stedman, I. p. 400.
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