

CHAPTER XIV.

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

CHAP.
XIV.

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.

Establishment of the Dutch West Indian Company.

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 intermarriage 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 expence, and who, if they were not thus usefully employed abroad, would probably be dangerous at home. Christianity, as usual, was perverted to serve

CHAP.
XIV.
1622.

CHAP.
XIV.
1623.

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.

Barleus.
p. 10.
G. Giuseppe
p. 57.
Cespedes.
l. 5. c. 14.

*A fleet
equipped
against Bra-
zil.*

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 Portugueze should fall.

G. Giuseppe
p. 57.
Cespedes.
l. 5. c. 14.
c. 19

*The fleet
separated.*

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 ¹. 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-

CHAP.
XIV.
1623.

St. Salvador taken.

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.

CHAP.
XIV.
1624.

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 ²; 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.

G. Giuseppe
60.
Céspedes.
5. 19.

The Dutch
strengthen
the city.

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

CHAP.
XIV.

1624.

*The Portu-
guese rally.**Cespedes.*
5. 20.
R. Pitta.
4. § 33.*The Bishop
appointed to
the com-
mand.*

CHAP. hundred and fifty Indians³; he took post upon the Rio Ver-
 melho, about a league from the city, and fortified his camp with
 XIV. the guns of a ship which had escaped capture by striking up
 1624. 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 Fran-
 cisco 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 situa-
 tion, 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 cou-
 rage of his people; and by virtue of his office as Commander
 in Chief, he knighted Padilha and three other officers who had
 distinguished themselves.

*Jornada da
Bahia. c. 23.
Cespedes.
3. 28.*

*Expedition
of Heyne
against
Angola.*

Yet notwithstanding these reverses, which ought to have repres-
 sed their confidence, the Dutch conceived themselves to be so
 strong, the Brazilians so weak, and Spain so supine, that Wil-
 lekens 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

*Cespedes.
3. 20.*

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 he made upon Espirito 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.

CHAP.
XIV.
1624.

*Espirito
Santo at-
tacked.*

*Jornada da
Bahia c. 21.*

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. D.

*Measures of
the Spanish
Government.*

*Brito Freire.
§ 238.*

*Cespedes.
5. 20.*

*Jornada da
Bahia, c. 5.*

CHAP. FRANCISCO DE MOURA went in one to take the command in
 XIV. Bahia, another was destined to Pernambuco, the third to Rio
 1624. de Janeiro, the fourth to Angola. The Portuguese were aware
 of the value of their colonies; a hundred thousand crowns were
 given by the city of Lisbon towards the expences of govern-
 ment 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, per-
 ceiving 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 em-
 barked 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 Portuguese
 force, consisting of four thousand men in six and twenty
 ships⁴; they were to join the Spaniards at the Cape de Verds.

*Zeal of the
Portuguese.*

*Jornada da
Bahia c. 9.*

*G. Giuseppe
p. 64.*

*Jornada da
Bahia c. 4.*

⁴ F. Bertolameu Guerreiro enumerates the stores of this armanent: 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, 209 *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 Portugueze waited nearly nine weeks, at a heavy expence 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 harassing 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 Portugueze 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

CHAP.
XIV.

1624.

*Relaçam
que fez hum
Emb. de
Veneza
Disc. 6.
§ 24.*

1625.

*Cespedes.
5. 20.**The Bishop
is superseded,
and dies.**Jornada da
Bahia. c.24.
Cespedes.
5 20.*

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.*

CHAP. six months in the field, during three of which he held the com-
 XIV. mand ; the unusual fatigues of a military life, and of such service,
 1624. were more than he could bear, and he died soon after the arri-
 val of Francisco Nunez. As he died in the field they buried
 him in a little chapel at Tapagipe, from which he had driven
 the Dutch ; no stone was placed to mark his grave in those
 times of confusion, and afterwards when the Portuguese would
 have shown due honour to his remains, the spot was forgotten.

*Rocha
 Pitta.
 4. § 35—37.*

*Arrival of
 the Spanish
 and Portu-
 guese fleet.*

1625.

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 apprehen-
 sive that they might have arrived before him. Having ascer-
 tained that this was not the case, he entered the Bay with trum-
 pets sounding, colours flying, the ships pavaised 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. Fadri-
 que, who saw the strength of the place, and knew that the fleet

*G. Giuseppe
 p. 68.*

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 harrass 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.

CHAP.
XIV.
1625.

*Jornada da
Bahia. c. 26.*

*Cespedes.
6. 11.
G. Giuseppe
p. 68.*

*The Dutch
make a suc-
cessful sally.*

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

*Cespedes.
6. 12.
G. Giuseppe
p. 69.*

CHAP. bodies of three hundred men each, surprised the camp, and made
 XIV. considerable slaughter before he thought it prudent to retire.
 1625. The Camp-Master D. Pedro Osorio fell in this affair.

*Mutiny of
 the Dutch
 troops.*

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 farther 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

*The Dutch
 capitulate.*

honourable as well as politick conduct they are deservedly praised by the Portugueze themselves. But the Negroes and New Christians, that is to say the Jews, who had been compelled to profess Christianity, who trusted to the Hollanders 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.

CHAP.
XIV.
1625.

BritoFreire,
§ 163.
Cespedes.
6. 13.

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.

Ereceyra,
l. 2. p. 50.

Difficulty of
sending the
Dutch to
Europe.

CHAP. XIV. 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 Portugueze 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.

Cespedes.
6. 13.

*A Dutch
fleet arrives.*

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 Portugueze. 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 ^s were disposed to join with

Cespedes.
6. 14.

^s 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.

CHAP.
XIV.
1625.

Berredo.
§ 517—18.
555.

G. Giuseppe
p. 76.
Cespedes.
6. 14.
Borlaus.
p. 16.

*Disasters of
the Portu-
guese fleet.*

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 Pitagoares.

CHAP. XIV. 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 Admiral's ship reached the Island of St. George, and sunk immediately 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 Almirante 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 himself 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 expedition. The Spanish historian, Cespedes, remarks that this grant exceeded in liberality all that all the former Kings of Portugal had ever made; Ereceyra admits the extent and liberality of the grant, but he observes that it seemed as if Felipe had foreseen the emancipation of Portugal, and was therefore thus liberal at another's expence.

Cespedes.
6. 16.
G. Giuseppe
p. 79.
Ereceyra.
p. 50.

Effect of
these losses
in Holland.

Barlaeus.
p. 16.

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

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.

CHAP.
XIV.
1626.

Brazil still neglected by the Spaniards.

Brito Freire. § 301.

Oliveira Governor.

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

1627.

CHAP. sixteen ships which were in the harbour were, in fear of this visit,
 XIV. drawn up under the guns of the fort, and four of the largest were
 1626. 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 ⁶, 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 ⁷ of their vessels was

*Exploit of
Heyne at
Bahia.*

*Brito Freire.
§ 305.*

⁶ 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, inexcusable 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 Deffaitte de la Flotte Espagnolle dans la Baye de Todos los Sanctos, au Bresil, 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 atchievement 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 Portugueze; 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.

CHAP.
XIV.
1627.

J. de. Lact
p. 588.

BritoFreire.
§ 310.

* Cornelis Jol, a man of great celebrity in his day. The Portugueze 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 Portugueze.

CHAP. A reinforcement of Capuchin Missionaries for Maranham
 XIV. came out with Francisco Coelho, under Frey Christovam de
 1624. 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^o, 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 Commis-
 sary 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 imme-
 diate 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 ex-
 plore 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-

*Affairs of
 Maranham.*

Berredo.
 § 519—
 522.

Do. 529—
 533.

^o *Remove todas as merces das administraçoens das Aldeas dos Indios.* These *administraçoens* 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 Portugueze 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.

CHAP.
XIV.
1625.

Berreáo.
§ 546—
548.

Do. § 564.

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

*Attempts of
the Dutch.*

Berreáo.
§ 523.—27.

Do. 530.
542.

CHAP. the Rio de Felipe, destroyed two fortified magazines there, and
 XIV. razed to the ground a third, to which the fugitives had retired.

1625. 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.

Berrede.
563.

*Oppressive
conduct of
the Portu-
guez.*

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.

CHAP.
XIV.
1626.

Berredo.
566—68.

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 Tocujos; of what nation they were does not appear, farther than that the Commander was an Irishman, by name James Purcel¹⁰. 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-

Berredo.
578—81.

1629.

Berredo.
585—592.

¹⁰ *Gemes Porcel.*

CHAP. XIV. 1629. sisted in sending ships to these parts, and in forming settlements, for the sake of cultivating tobacco; and the trade of Para was materially injured by this competition.

*The Dutch
prepare an
expedition
against Per-
nambuco.*

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 state¹¹. 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

*G. Giuseppe
p. 89.
Castr. Lus.
2. § 3.*

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.

CHAP.
XIV.
1629.

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 Albuquerques; 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 ¹².

Mathias de Albuquerque sent out.

G. Giuseppe p. 90.

R. Pitta. 4. § 58.

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

Barlaeus. p. 65.

State of Olinda.

¹² Rocha Pitta says three caravels. G. Giuseppe only one. The former is too careless to be trusted, the latter too malicious.

CHAP. which Lancaster had captured, and which from its situation he
 XIV. called the Base Town. It had grown there, because within the
 1629. 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 Dutch¹³; 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 before¹⁴ 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

G. Giuseppe
 p. 91.

R. Pitta.
 4. § 62.

¹³ The preacher Fr. Antonio Rosada was a punster; his words were, *Sem mais differença que a de huma só letra, esta Olinda clamando por Olunda; e por Olunda ka de ser abrasada Olinda; que aonde falta tanto a Justiça da terra nao tardara muito a do Ceo.* B. Freire. § 337.

¹⁴ This is the language of Raphael de Jesus, .. it will a little remind the reader of Shakespere.

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.

CHAP.
XIV.
1629.

Cast. Lus.
2. § 5.
R. Pitta. 4.
§ 60.

Cast. Lus.
2. § 6.

*Arrival of
the Dutch
fleet.*

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 fleet¹⁵ 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 men¹⁶, 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

J. de Laet,
l. 15. c. 26,

¹⁵ 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.

CHAP. the interval, it had been debated whether any part of the inha-
 XIV. bitants or property should be removed; some advised this pre-
 1630. caution, 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 Loncq sent in was
 answered by a discharge of musquetry at the boat; a cannon-
 ading 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 six-
 teen 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 gun-
 boats only were retained, which carried in all eleven pieces of can-
 non. He divided his troops into three divisions, whose whole artil-
 lery consisted of four field pieces. It was now towards evening,
 and not chusing to advance rashly along a coast which was co-
 vered 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

Cast. Lus.
2. § 7.

J. de Laet.
1. 15. c. 26.

J. de Laet.

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 Portugueze 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.

CHAP.
XIV.
1630.

G. Giuseppe
p. 92.
Cast. Lus. 2.
§ 14. 15.
Do. § 21.

On the following morning Wardenburg began his march, the gun-boats accompanying him along shore. Some little annoyance 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 determined therefore to fall back and defend the passage of the river

Saturday,
Feb 16.
*Warden-
burg ad-
vances.*

B Freire,
§ 332.

CHAP. XIV.
 1630.
 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.

Cast. Lus.
 2. 16. 17.

*The Dutch
 enter 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 Portuguese 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 undeceived 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 Portuguese, whose name was Andre Pereira 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.

Cast. Lus.
 2. § 18. 19.
Rocha Pitta.
 4. § 66—68;
B. Freire,
 § 388.
J. de Laet.
 l. 15. c. 16.

*Mathias
 abandons
 Recife.*

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.

Cast. Lus.
2. § 20. 21.

*Attack of the
Forts.*

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

CHAP. ^{XIV.}
1630. 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 reinforcements¹⁷ arrived from Holland.

CHAP.
XIV.
1630.

G. Giuseppe
p. 93.
B. Freire.
§ 315.
Cast. Lus.
1. § 9—10.
Do. 2. § 21
—28.

Cast. Lus.
2. § 29
G. Giuseppe
p. 99.

¹⁷ 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.

Camp of Bom Jesus formed.—Calabar deserts to the Dutch, and turns the fortune of the War.—Negroes of the Palmares.—The Island of Itamaraca, Rio Grande, Paraíba, Tamaraca, the Camp, and Nazareth reduced.

CHAP.
XV.
1630.

*The Portu-
gueze rally.*

*Brito Freire.
§ 315.*

But in Pernambuco, as in Bahia, the Portugeuze 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 Portugeuze that the Dutch made conquests for gain and not for glory that they coveted Pernambuco for the sugar and tobacco which

it produced; the wisest plan of operations was therefore to maintain the country against them, and prevent them from cultivating it. Works were immediately begun upon a little eminence, equidistant 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 increased, some coming to take up their abode under its protection, 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 waiting for the assault, sent out a party to meet the assailants. The Dutch were not prepared for this; they could not resist the impetuosity with which they were attacked, and they fled, leaving forty upon the field.

CHAP.
XV.
1630.

B. Freire.
§ 355.

*and form the
Camp of
Bon Jesus.*

Bast Lus.
3. § 1—7.
G. Giuseppe
p. 95.

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 surrendered, 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 detachment from each side be sent to secure the road. The Portugueze now established a number of out-posts, communicating with each other, under officers, who from the bush-fighting which

Bush Companies formed.

B. Freire.
§ 374—375

CHAP. they were to practise, were called *Capitaens de Emboscadas*.
 XV. One was entrusted to the Jesuit Manoel de Moraes and his flock
 1630. 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 Vieira had the command of a party
 who were to keep the field night and day. The main force con-
 sisted 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 some-
 times 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.

B. Freire.
 § 360.

Cast. Lus.3.
 § 11. 12.

B. Freire.
 § 367.

Distress of
both parties.

Meantime the Dutch fortified themselves in their new posses-
 sions, which they were enabled to do without interruption, after
 the Portugueze had twice suffered severely in attempting to pre-
 vent 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 Portuguese keep the country. If they ventured out for food or fruits, they were cut off by the bush-fighters. The Portuguese 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.

CHAP
XV.
1630

B. Freire.
§ 367. 392.
385.

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 Portuguese. Bahia was better governed, because it was

Some Colonists incline to submit.

B. Freire.
§ 362.

Do. § 368.

Do. 336.

CHAP. the seat of Government, and none except the New Christians
 XV. there wished well to the invaders.

1630.

*Expédition
 against Isle
 Itamaraca.*

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 *Conceiçam*, or the Conception, consisted of only a hundred and thirty inhabitants, besides a garrison of sixty men, under Salvador Pinheiro, the Governor. 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 Portugueze immediately sent to strengthen it, and prevent the enemy from passing over.

*Cast. Lus.
 s. § 26.
 B. Freire.
 § 393.*

*Proceedings
 at Madrid.*

Meantime the Court of Madrid, though less solicitous for the recovery of Recife than it behoved them to have been, were not wholly unmindful of it. Nine caravels were dispatched at different 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

*B. Freire.
 § 385—86.*

themselves if they could, and expected that the harrassing 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 Albuquerque 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 war¹⁸. 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 cruize 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 expence was borne by Portugal. D. Antonio de Oquendo had the command; the fleet was destined for Spanish America, but was first to throw succours into Brazil. Ten caravels containing a thousand men, Portuguese, 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 Paraiiba, and eight hundred for Bahia. The fleet was ordered

Do. § 402.

G. Giuseppe
p. 112.A fleet sent
out under
Oquendo.

¹⁸ The manner in which Brito Freire mentions this report, shows how generally it was believed. He says, *Creyo, que só da malicia nasceu esta murmuraçam, mas como foi tam publica, os veneraveis respeitos da Historia me obrigaram a escrevella; querendo omitilla.* § 402.

CHAP. to make Bahia first, . . ill-judged instructions, unless there was no
 XV. design of meeting the enemy ; for it gave the Dutch Admiral time
 1631. 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.

B. Freirc.
 § 403—9.

Navalaction.

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.

*Death of the
 Dutch Ad-
 miral.*

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, Giovanne 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.

CHAP.
XV.
1631.

G. Giuseppe
p. 112.
B. Freire.
§ 407—23.

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 Potengi¹⁹. 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 Portugueze 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

The Dutch
burn *Olinda.*

¹⁹ The native appellation of what is usually called Rio Grande. It is to be preferred because the Portugueze name serves equally for the river, the province, and the principal settlement, and because there are many other Rio Grandes.

CHAP. to Mathias and asked if he would ransom the town, for other-
 XV. wise it should be burnt. Mathias replied, burn it if you cannot
 1651. keep it, we can build it better²⁰. 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.

B. Freire.
 § 423—27.
Cast. Lus.
 3. § 27—28.
G. Giuseppe
 p. 116.

Paraiba at-
tacked.

It was not long before the Dutch learnt how small the rein-
 forcement was which had reached the Portugueze, 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 Com-
 manders 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 Cap-
 taincy; 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 Portugueze 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 thou-
 sand men were dispatched to attack Paraiba. The ill conse-
 quences of having destroyed Olinda were now felt; while
 that place was in the hands of the Dutch, part of the Portugueze

Cast. Lus.
 3. § 32—34.

²⁰ 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 Captaincy. Figueiredo'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. Lichthart, 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 Portugueze 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 Portugueze 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.

*Lichthart
lays siege to
Fort Cabedello.*

*Brito Freira.
§ 440.*

CHAP. the Portugueze attacked and carried in the morning with the
 XV. loss of Jeronymo de Albuquerque Maranhã, brother to Anto-
 1631. nio 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.

B. Freire.
 § 434.

*The Dutch
 break up the
 siege.*

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 compleating 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.

B. Freire.
 § 428—40.
Cast. Lus. 3.
 § 35—37.
G. Giuseppe
 p. 117.

*Unsuccess-
 ful attempt
 upon Rio
 Grande.*

Their next attempt was upon Rio Grande. For this settle-
 ment, Portugal was indebted to the Jesuit Missionaries. The
 natives here had grievously infested Pernambuco: the Com-
 mander 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 Maranhã, 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.

CHAP.
XV.
1631.

Rel. Ann.
1603. ff. 113.

G. Giuseppe
p. 119.
B. Freire.
§ 442—43.

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 Naza-

Importance
of the port
of Nazareth.

CHAP. reth, from a mountain with a famous Church upon its summit
 XV. where an image of our Lady of Nazareth worked miracles and
 1632. 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 com-
 mand 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 Affogados.
 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 mer-
 chants 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 immedi-
 ately 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 Portugueze
 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.

Cast. Lus.
 § 38—39.
B. Fraire.
 § 444—9.

Do. § 446.

CHAP.

XV.

1632.

*Calabar de-
serts to the
Dutch*

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 Portuguese, 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 Portuguese 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 Portuguese 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

*He surprises
and sacks
Garassu.*

CHAP. with him four hundred negroes to load with the spoil. They
 XV. set out at midnight, went through the ruins of Olinda, and
 1632. surprised the town while the inhabitants were at mass. The ill
 May 1. success which the Dutch had hitherto experienced, made them
 treat the Portugueze 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 Portugueze 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.

Cast. Lus.
 3. § 40—41.
B. Freire.
 § 450—51.

*Rio Fer-
 moso sur-
 prised.*

Before the terror which this destructive expedition struck into
 the Portugueze 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 Feroso
 and surprised five ships which had nearly compleated their
 cargoes. Warned by this disaster, the Portugueze 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 Portugueze. 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 musquet 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 Portugueze 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 every where 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 Portugueze 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 Commissioners to Brazil, investing them with full powers either to eva-

CHAP.
XV.
1632.

B. Freir.
§ 452—5.

*Embarras-
ment and
indecision
of Bagnu-
olo.*

Cast. Lus.
§ 42.

*The Dutch
send out
Commissa-
ries.*

CHAP. cuate the country if they saw no prospect of greater success, or
 XV. to prosecute the conquest with fresh spirit. They brought with
 1633. 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.

Cast. Lus.
 3. § 43-5.
B. Freire.
 § 459-63.

*They as-
 sault the
 Camp, and
 are repulsed.*

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

Portugueze 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 Portugueze 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 musquet 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, sate 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 Portugueze, 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.

CHAP.
XV.
1633.

Cast. Lus.
3 § 46--48.
BritoFreire.
§ 464--77.

Isle of Itamaraca
reduced,

and Garassu
in consequence
abandoned.

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 Portugueze possessed; they now dispatched such a force as rendered resistance hopeless; the town of Conceiçam was yielded to them, and with it the whole Island. Mathias de Albuquerque was on his march to relieve it when intelligence reached him

CHAP. that it was lost; . . . in such marching and remarching were the
 XV. Brazilian troops exhausted both in body and spirit. Garassu
 1633. had been reoccupied by the Portugueze 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.

D. Freire.
 § 478.
 482—5.

*The Dutch
 attempt to
 besiege the
 Camp.*

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-
 gueze 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 Portugueze, 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 Nazareh. 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 Portugueze and their Indians were always on the watch.
 The river Capebaripe was at this time swollen 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 Portuguese 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 Portuguese 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.

CHAP.
XV.
1633.

B. Freire.
§ 494—8.
Cast. Lus.
3 § 51—2.

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 *Lagoas* 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 Portuguese. They came in sight off Paraiba, three leagues North of the bar, by the river Maman-

*Expedition
of Calabar
to the La-
goas.*

*Fate of the
succours
under Vas-
concellos.*

CHAP. goape, where a Portugueze officer was stationed, with some of
 XV. the best pilots of the coast, because this land was frequently
 1633. 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 Traiçam, and three Dutch ships bear-
 ing 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 Ferosa, 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.

B. Freire.
 § 507—11.

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 present 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

CHAP.
XV.
1633.

B. Freire.
§ 511—14.
513.
Cast. Lus.
3. § 55.

Rio Grande
reduced.

CHAP. sent for succour to Paraiba, that being the nearest station.
 XV. Strong as the fort was, it had the great disadvantage of being
 1633. commanded by a sand hill, which all the labour of the Portuguese 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.

Brito Freire.
 § 515—17.
Cast. Lus.
 2, § 56.

*Fidelity of
 an Indian
 Chief.*

An Indian called Jagoarari by his countrymen, and Simam Soares by the Portuguese, 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 Portuguese 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 Portuguese 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.

B. Freire.
 § 516—21;

But the Dutch also found allies among the natives, and the Portuguese 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, unsuspecting of this dreadful attack.

CHAP.
XV.
1633.

*The Dutch
make allies
among the
savages.*

*BritoFreire.
§ 522—4.*

*The Pal-
mares.*

The Portuguese 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 chuse 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

CHAP. both harvests with a week's festivity. Some appearance of Christi-
 XV. anity was kept up amongst them; . . a religion which they had
 1633. 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 faci-
 litated the escape of their brethren, and allowed of that inces-
 sant 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.

Marcgraff.
 J. 9. c. 1.
B Freire.
 § 525—8.

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 enterprize 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. Martin 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.

CHAP.
XV.
1634.

*Attempt to
surprise
Recife.*

*P. Freire.
§ 540—6.*

*Narrath
attacked.*

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

CHAP. the siege, but meaning to draw the attention of the Portuguese
 XV. to this point, and put them off their guard at Cape St. August-
 1634. tines, 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 dis-
 patched 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.

*The Dutch
 pass the bat-
 teries and
 win the
 town.*

Tapoam, as had been supposed, was the place where a land-
 ing 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, ven-
 tured 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.

*B. Freire,
 5347—53.*

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 Portugueze. 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 Portugueze 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.

CHAP.

XV.

1634.

*and gets the
ships out.*

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.

*B. Freire.
§ 558—9.**Fresh rein-
forcements
arrive from
Holland.*

Having thus saved their ships, they left two thousand men to defend the town. Nazareth 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 cloathing, 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.

B. Freire,
§ 560—71.

Paraiba
again at-
tacked.

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 Felipea, 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.
1634.

CHAP. up the river, in low ground and surrounded with thickets: it
 XV. was therefore not a healthy place, and Fort Cabedello, which
 1634. 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 compleated; 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 hun-
 dred. Antonio de Albuquerque Maranham, 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 Ma-
 thias 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.

B. Freire.
 § 571—6.

Dec. 4.
Nieuhoff in
Churchill.
 p. 22.
Siege of
Fort Cab-
dello.

The Dutch appeared before the port with two thousand four²⁵
 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 brother²² 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

CHAP.
XV.
1634.

B. Freire.
§ 579—91.

²² *Para me succeder em o posto, ainda tenho este Irmam mais chegado.* There is more point in the speech than can be translated, for the Portugueze use the word brother (*Irmam*) as we use fellow.

CHAP. then put his left to the tiller. The launch effected her passage,
 XV. and both brethren recovered of their wounds; but the reputa-
 1634. tion which they obtained was their only recompence.

*The Fort
 surren-
 dered.*

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 musquet 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 any thing 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.

*B. Freire,
 § 592-600.*

*Paraiba,
 taken.*

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

CHAP.
XV.
1634.

Cast. Lus.
3 673—4.
B. Freire.
§ 601—4.

*Treachery
of Sylveira.*

CHAP. were useless, and nothing could be done. Two companies of
 XV. natives, raised from the nearest villages, deserted him and joined
 1634. 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 Paraiba
 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
 apprise 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 num-
 ber, 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 particu-
 lar 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 retreat-
 ed into Pernambuco, and because it would not have been poli-
 tick, 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 Cap-
 taincy of Tamaraca, which lies between Paraiba and Pernam-
 buco. 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 coun-
 try 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 com-
 mand, being headed like a hammer with one end sharp. The
 Dutchman seeing his opportunity, struck his unsuspecting cap-
 tor with this, and at the same moment clapt spurs to his horse
 and escaped.

CHAP.

XV.

1634.

*Siege laid
to the Camp
and to Na-
zareth.*

*Cast. Lus.
3. § 89.*

*The Camp
capitulates.*

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

CHAP.
 XV.
 1635.

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 ammunition 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 punishment of death against any person who should attempt to supply the Camp, and promised liberty to all slaves who would give information of any such attempt. One Portugueze 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 circumstances it was impossible to hold out long, and after a three months siege the Camp of Bom Jesus was surrendered, on condition 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, because, 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 conquerors, 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.

CHAP.
XV.
1635.

B. Freire.
§ 600—35.
Cast. Lus.
3. § 86—92.

The other division of the Dutch army meantime was posted at the Ingenio dos Algodoes, 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 Ferosa, 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

*Attempts to
relieve Na
zareth.*

CHAP. single arroba ²³ of powder was now all that he had left, and to
 XV. conceal this want from his own men, he filled barrels with sand,
 1635. 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 shoul-
 ders, 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 Formosa; 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 repair-
 ed, 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.

B. Freire.
 § 636—40.

Bagnuolo
abandons
Porto Calvo,
and retreats
to the La-
goa.

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 compleated. Bagnuolo was informed of their

²³ 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, chusing 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.

B. Freire.
§ 641—2.

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

Heroism of
Maria de
Sousa.

CHAP. remaining sons, one of whom was fourteen years of age, the
 XV. other a year younger, and said to them: "Your brother
 1635. 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 re-
 venge 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.

B. Freire,
 § 643—5.

Nazareth
 taken.

The third bark had attempted four times to get from Serin-
 haem 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 Neapoli-
 tans, who had no interest in the cause which they were de-
 fending, and to whom Dutch pay or Spanish pay was alike indif-
 ferent. 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 suf-
 ferings, 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 sta-
 tion being the best place for their head quarters at present,

B. Freire,
 § 646—50.

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 ²⁴.

CHAP.
XV.
1635.
B. Freire,
§ 649-50.

CHAPTER XVI.

“ Rendida a constancia aos pes da impossibilidade, says Raphael de Jesus, 3. § 95.

— For a Cape... and Colabar put to sea...
successes met out under... also a...
to the... but... on a...
Court of... of... of the...
he... the... of... and...
the... of... to... to...

Mathias the Al... the... of...
of his... to... of the...
and... to... all... to...
for... number... under...
governors. The... for... to...
ingratitude of the... of...
Admiral... to... and...
had been done for his... it was a...
he was one of the... of the...
most... and... of...
from this... of...
for themselves. This was the...
assigned for... to the... and

CHAP.
XVI.
1635.
B. Freire,
§ 649-50.

CHAPTER XVI.

Emigration from Pernambuco.—Por'lo Calvo 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-Count of Nassau arrives as Governor General of the Dutch; his wise measures he pursues the Portugueze to the River St. Francisco, and Bagnuolo, abandoning the Captaincy of Serecipe, retreats to Bahia.

CHAP. XVI. 1635. *Emigration from Pernambuco.* 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 Carijó 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 dropt 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

CHAP.
XVI.
1635.

B. Freire.
§ 651—7.

*Treachery of
Souto to-
wards the
Dutch.*

B. Freire.
§ 658—9.

CHAP. men ; but the Portugueze were desired to be upon the watch, and
 XVI. take advantage of the opportunity which the writer said, he
 1635. would run all risks to give them.

*Porto Calvo
 recovered.*

July 12.

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 compleat 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.

CHAP.
XVI.
1635.

B. Freire.
§ 659—65.

*Calabar put
to death.*

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 condescended 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

CHAP. XVI.
1635. 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 slipt 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.

B. Freire.
§ 666—67.
Cast. Lus.
3. § 102.

*Mathias re-
treats to the
Lagoas.*

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.

B. Freire.
§ 657.
Do. § 668.
669.
Cast. Lus.
3. § 104.

*Alarm of
the Spanish
Court.*

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 Portugueze 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.

CHAP.
XVI.
1635.

G. Giuseppe
p. 169.

B Freire.
§ 670—3.

CHAP. XVI. 1635. 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 Curaoa. 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 Portugueze 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

Roxas sent
out with re-
inforce-
ments.

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 now 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. Seven

CHAP.
XVI.
1635.

B. Freire.
§ 676—85.

Rashness of
the new
Commander.

CHAP.

XVI.

1636.

Jan. 0.

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 Portugueze historians for abhorrence rather than example.

E. Freire.
§ 686—93.

*He is defeated
and slain.*

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 Portugueze 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, Lagoa 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 Portuguese 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.

CHAP.
XVI.
1636.

CHAP.
XVI.
1636.

*Bagnuolo
succeeds to
the com-
mand.*

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 Artijoski 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 Bagnuolo'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 Bagnuolo'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. Bagnuolo'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 Hozes, 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; Hozes pleaded his orders, and nothing was done.

CHAP.
XVI.
1636.

Brito Freire.
§ 707—14.

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 Portugueze 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

*Porto Calvo
reoccupied
by the Por-
tugueze.*

*Cruelty of
the Dutch.*

CHAP.
XVI.
1636.

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 sanction¹. Hordes of the Tapuyas and Pitagouares were also let loose upon the Portugueze, and the Dutch are even accused of delivering children to these cannibals to be devoured by them.

B. Freire.
§ 711—23.
Cust. Lus.
3. § 119.

*Predatory
system of
warfare.*

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

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 coverts 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 Artisjoski 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.

Second emigration from Pernambuco.

B. Ffrire. § 724-30.

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

The Count of Nassau sent out.

CHAP.
XVI.
1636.

CHAP. authority. The tide of success had turned for awhile in favour
 of the Portugueze; the enemy retreated from their station at
XVI.
1636. 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 secur-
 ing their conquests. The expences of this Company from its
 establishment to the present time, amounted to forty-five mil-
 lions 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 expence 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 Bra-
 zil. 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

CHAP.
XVI.

1637.

*Measures of
Nassau.**B. Freire.
§ 735.*

with only four. In January 1537, twelve months after the defeat and death of Roxas, he reached Recife².

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-allowance³, 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

² During the voyage, a cod was thrown on board his ship by the waves off Dunkirk, and some partridges alighted there from the English coast. Barlaeus relates these things as omens that the sea and land were to obey him, though he offers something like an apology for recording them.

³ *Nec enim, sucti ad satietatem nutriri nostrates, in ediam ferunt, quam aliunde e confragosa et paupere terra veniens miles facile tolerat.* These are the words of Barlaeus.

CHAP. XVI. supplies. On inspecting the ammunition a deficiency of matches
 1637. was discovered, .. the fault of those who had given them out in Hol-
 land : 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.

Barlaeus.
 93—94.

*He marches
 against Por-
 to Calvo.*

When all things were ready, Nassau ordered a general sup-
 plication, and then began his march towards the enemy ⁴, 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 Albu-
 querque 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 advan-
 tageously opposed, were recalled, and two redoubts were be-
 gun, which, says Brito Freire, were of no use to any but the
 enemy, and in one of which, though it was never completed,
 three cannon were placed.

B. Freire.
 § 754—8.
Barlaeus 55.

*Bagnuolo
 abandons the
 place.*

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

⁴ Barlaeus 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 Barlaeus for exaggerating the numbers of the Portugueze ; he says of him, *Escreveo 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 Andrada, 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.

CHAP.
XVI.
1637.

B. Freire
§ 708-69.

Cast. Lus.
3. § 149.

CHAP. XVI.
 1637.
 Porto Calvo
 surrenders.

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^s. 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

Brito Freire.
 767—773.
 Barlaeus.
 p. 36—7.

^s *Arce* Povacaonam Barlaeus calls this fort. I fancy he has made the appellation by mistaking the word *Povação* 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.

CHAP.
XVI.
1637.

Bagnuolo had still a force of twelve hundred men besides Indians. The town of Madanella 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, crost the St. Francisco, and continued to fall back till he reached the city of Seregipe.

*Bagnuolo
abandons
the Lagoas.*

*B. Freire.
§ 775—8.*

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 crost 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 Portugueze were now driven out of Pernambuco, and it was his object to secure this river, and keep them out.

*Nassau pur-
sues him to
the San
Francisco.*

*B. Freire.
§ 779.*

The river St. Francisco is at its bar about eight miles wide;

*River San
Francisco.*

CHAP. its muddy waters stain the sea for four or five leagues off, and at
 XVI. the same distance the force of its current is felt. The tide flows
 1687. up about forty miles. Its bar is a bad one, which cannot be
 crost 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 barks 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 pro-
 duce 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
 Manoa 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 tra-
 vellers 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 con-
 ceals 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 Coll. of Contemporary Voyages, Vol. 6. P. 107.*

† 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.

had been undertaken from all the Capitaincies; 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. Joam Coelho de Sousa was the person who advanced farthest in the quest, and he got a hundred leagues ⁹ 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 ⁹ 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 Rock¹⁰, 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

CHAP.
XVI.
1637.

Noticias
MSS. 1—
20.

Fort Maurits erected.

* "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.

⁹ 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.

¹⁰ O *Penedo*, . . . from which Barlaeus has manufactured the Latin word *Openada*.

CHAP. not likely to inspire the inhabitants with courage, and they made
XVI. no resistance. Nassau perceived the importance of the situa-
1637. tion, and he erected a fort there which he called after his own
name, Fort Mauritz. He crost the river, and ordered the inha-
bitants 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 Portugueze against him, and that he
might lay waste that frontier for his own security. The tribes
who dwelt upon this river spak a language which none who were
in Nassau's army could understand ; by means of gestures how-
ever, and of gifts, he made them comprehend his meaning, and
engaged them to oppose the Portugueze if they should attempt
to re-enter the lost province. Having taken these wise mea-
sures, he went himself about fifty leagues up the river to explore
the country : the well watered savannahs through which it flow-
ed, and the herds, some of fifteen hundred head, some of many
thousands, which were pastured there, filled him with admira-
tion 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.

CHAP.
XVI.
1637.

B. Freire.
§ 780.
Barlaeus. 44.

Reform at
Recife.

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 Cuyaba¹⁰ upon this quest, assisted by Portuguese 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 Albuquerque had extracted much ore from certain mines in Pernambuco, and these were enquired for in vain. Equally in vain were the mines

The Dutch
seek for
mines.

¹⁰ *Missi in Couhaovenses* are the words of Barlaeus. I believe I have guessed rightly at their meaning.

CHAP. of Copaiba¹¹ sought. The Dutch historian thinks that the Por-
 XVI. tugueze deluded his countrymen by false reports, or otherwise
 1637. 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.

Barlaeus.
46—47.

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 controul 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 Barlaeus, 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.

Barlaeus.
47—48.

*Wise mea-
sures of
Nassau.*

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

¹¹ *Fodina Copavüenses.*

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 Portugueze 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 Portugueze 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

CHAP. the Portugueze entertained for their conquerors. To the native
 XVI. Brazilians also, he adopted a system of beneficence, though there
 1637. were not wanting men in power, who with all the national hard-
 ness 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.

*Delibera-
 tion con-
 cerning the
 seat of Go-
 vernment.*

It was at this time in deliberation whether the seat of Govern-
 ment 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 pro-
 duced 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 represent-
 ations 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 consi-
 dered; the Dutch were at this time too powerful to fear being be-
 sieged in Recife.

*Nieuhoff.
 p. 20.
 Barlaeus.
 52.*

*Captaincy
 of Seregipe.*

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 con-
 tained about a hundred houses, with four hundred stables for cat-
 tle, 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

*B. Freire.
 § 786.
 Nieuhoff. 7.*

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.

CHAP.
XVI.
1637.

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. Souto 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.

B. Freire.
§ 787—91.

Bagnuolo knew that fresh forces were arrived at Fort Mauritz, and it was of importance that he should know their number. Souto 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

Bagnuolo
abandons
Seregipe.

CHAP.
XVI.
1637.

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 Seregipe 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 snakes¹². Worn out by repeated sufferings, 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 occasion 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.

B. Freire.
§ 792. 802.

*Bagnuolo
retreats to
Bahia.*

At the Torre de Garcia de Avila, Bagnuolo found a messenger 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 enterprize, 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 Gieselin meantime advanced to Seregipe, burnt down houses and sugar works, destroyed all the fruit trees and plantations, and after this work of havock 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 havock 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.

CHAP.
XVI.
1637.

P. Freire.
§ 802—9
Barlaeus 63.
Nieuhoff. 7.

CHAPTER XVII.

St. Jorge da Mina attacked and taken by the Dutch.—Seara taken.—Nassau besieges St. Salvador unsuccessfully.—The Dutch throw open the trade.—State of their Captaincies.—A new city built by Recife.—Count da Torre comes out; he loses great part of his men by sickness, and after four indecisive actions at sea, is blown off the coast.—Wonderful retreat of Vidal and Barbalho.—Marquis de Monte Alvan, Viceroy.—Revolution in Portugal.—The Viceroy deposed.

CHAP.
XVII.
1637.

*Attack upon
St. Jorge da
Mina.*

During these transactions in Brazil, Nassau inflicted a heavier blow upon the Portuguese 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 Portuguese.

*Barlaeus 54.
Dapper
p. 281.
Barbot in
Churchill.
165.*

The remembrance of this event made the Dutch more cautious, and the Portugueze 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 crost to Africa with a prosperous passage, communicated with Van Yperen, and entered into a treaty with some of the native royalets, 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 Portugueze 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, stopt 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-

CHAP.
XVII.
1637.

June 25.

Aug. 25.

The Govern-
nor surren-
ders.

CHAP. XVII.
 1637.
 Aug. 29.

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.

Barlaeus.
 54. 60.
Dapper.
 233.
Barbct.
 167.

Seara taken.

Barlaeus.
 52.
B. Freire.
 § 822—4.

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 inhabitants¹. 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.

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 patrols 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

CHAP.
XVII.
1637.

*Barleus, 66.
B. Freire.
§ 813—14.*

*Proceedings
at Recife.*

CHAP. XVII.
 1637.
 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 tolerance gave a character of treachery, making them thereby deservedly more odious, sapped the only foundation upon which their power could have been established.

Barlaeus. 67.

1638,

Nassau was expecting succours when he recovered from his long illness. Unwilling to pass the interval in inaction, he travelled through the Captaincies of Paraiba and the Potengi, and repaired and new named such places as it was thought advisable to preserve. The town of Paraiba, 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

*Barlaeus.
 69-75.*

of their neglect; and he requested ships which would serve the double purpose of meeting the enemy's fleet, and carrying home sugar.

CHAP.
XVII.
1638.

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 Bagnuolo 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. Bagnuolo 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 Recon-cave and the City. They who suspect a bad motive in every generous action are always to be suspected themselves.

*Prepara-
tions against
Bahia.*

*Barleus. 76.
B. Freire.
§ 828—9.*

The people of Bahia in general were in a state of supine security. Bagnuolo on the contrary had been made wary by long

*Bagnuolo
marches
to St. Salva-
dor.*

CHAP. and disastrous experience; he too had his spies; they told him
 XVII. that the last dispatches from Amsterdam represented Spain as
 1638. 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 sta-
 tioned, 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.

B. Freire,
 § 830—1.

Exploit of
Souto,

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, crost above Fort Mauritz, Souto hav-
 ing appointed time and place for meeting them at the La-
 goas. 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, consist-
 ing 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 crost 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 Curu-
 ruipe, 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.

CHAP.
XVII.
1638.

B. Freire.
§ 832—4.
The Dutch enter the bay.

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 necessary, 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 believed that the Dutch were really about to attack the city, they appeared in sight. Their voyage from Recife had been remarkably 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 Portuguese, 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 following morning advanced toward the walls.

B. Freire.
§ 835—6.

The garrison of St. Salvador consisted of fifteen hundred men ; the troops from Pernambuco were something more than a thousand, .. right glad were the Governor and the people now, of these forces, which he had once so insolently refused, and which

Tumults in the city.

CHAP. they had lately so reluctantly admitted. Nassau halted upon
XVII. a rising ground; three brigades came from different posts, and
1638. 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-
nuolo 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

returned safely, having satisfied the mob by this dangerous compliance.

CHAP.
XVII.

1638.

Four of the
forts surren-
dered.

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.

B. Freire, p.
§ 844—6.

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,

Pedro da Sylva resigns the command to *Bagnuolo*.

CHAP. XVII. 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 Pedrô 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.

B. Freire,
§ 247—8.

*Exchange of
prisoners.*

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 displayed, made him now as much the object of admiration, as he had been formerly of hatred or contempt. He left Sylva to command in the city, and took his own post at the chapel of St. Antonio, 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 Custodio 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 accordingly. 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 eighteen; 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.

B. Freire,
§ 249—50.

*Consternation
of the
townsmen.*

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,

for 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 Portugueze 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 Portugueze 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 Bagnuolo's presence was no longer necessary there, he returned

CHAP.
XVII.

1638.

April 21.

B. Freire;
§ 851—5.*The city well
supplied.**B. Freire,*
§ 856—60.*The Dutch
open their
batteries.*

CHAP.
XVII.
1688.

into the city. 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 Palmias, 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.

Brito Freire.
§ 861—3.

Letters intercepted.

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 expences. These letters he sent to Bagnuolo, thinking that nothing would be so

B. Freire.
§ 863—7.

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 Portugueze 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 Portugueze 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

CHAP.
XVII.

1638.

*Battle in the
trenches.*

May 12.

*E. Freire.
§ 870—2.*

*Death of
Souto.*

CHAP.
XVII.
1638.

to, for burying the dead. The Dutch had left about five hundred on the field and fifty prisoners. The Portugueze 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 Sebastiam 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.

B. Freire.
§ 880—7.

*Cruelty of
the Dutch.*

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 Portugueze 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 war². After a week of this sullen perseverance they abandoned their

Barlaeus.
D. 82.

Piso describes this contagion. L. 1. C. 15. *De Fluxu alvi Hepatico.*

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 Portugueze 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.

CHAP.
XVII.
1638.
May 26.

The siege raised

*B. Freire.
§ 898—92.
Barlaeus, 84.*

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.

*B. Freire.
§ 898—900.*

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 panegyricizing historian observes that this expedition was but of little expence to the society, for the spoils which were taken, among which were four hundred Negroes, nearly defrayed

*Barlaeus,
p. 85.*

CHAP. XVII. the costs. Barlaeus knew to whom he was writing, and to none but
 1638. 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 con-
 fessed, 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.

Representations of Nassau to the Company.

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 atchieved 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 crost, 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.

Barlaeus.
 § 85 87.

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

CHAP.
XVII.
1638.

*The Com-
pany throw
open the
trade of
Brazil.*

CHAP.
XVII.

1638.

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.

Barleus.
37—90.

*Expedition
of Jol.*

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

Barleus.
91—7.

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.

CHAP.
XVII.
1638.

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 Portuguese were apprehended on suspicion of a conspiracy. When the business had been investigated, some were imprisoned, some sentenced to be

*Cameram
negociates
with the
Dutch.*

*Arms given
to the Dutch
Captaincies.*

*Barlaeus,
98—100.*

CHAP. transported to Bahia, others to a farther banishment. Farther
 XVII. enquiry produced no confirmation of the suspected plot, yet
 1639. because a rumour prevailed that a Spanish fleet was looked for,
 these men were neither acquitted nor condemned, but still kept
 in confinement.

*Artisjoski
 comes out,
 but soon re-
 turns in dis-
 gust.*

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 indignant-ly 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.

*Barlaeus.
 103—7.*

*State of the
 Dutch Cap-
 taincies.*

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 Iguaraçu, 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.

CHAP.
XVII.

1639.

Barlaeus,
122—3.

Do, 101

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 enterprising 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;

Want of
Colonists.

CHAP. here they may speedily enrich themselves. Three, four, and six
 XVII. florins a day, were the wages for builders and carpenters; that
 1639. 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 Com-
 pany, 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.

Barlaeus.
 p 125—6.

The Jews.

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 ex-
 cited 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

Barlaeus.
 131

The savages.

these commodities were now more easily attainable^a; 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 implementations 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.

CHAP.
XVII.
1639.

Barlaeus.
127.

Dutch Missionaries.

Force of the Dutch.

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

^a 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. *Barlaeus.* 129.

CHAP.

XVII.

1639.

Barlaeus.
139.*Barlaeus.*
138.*Barlaeus.*
154—5.*Nassau*
builds a pa-
lace.

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 supply Recife regularly on pain of death, . . . a decree which must inevitably 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 mandioc, under heavy penalties; lists of the land-occupiers were made out, and officers appointed to go round and see that the edict was observed: 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 expence would be immediate; the danger was remote, . . . 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

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.

CHAP
XVII.
1639.

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 Portugueze 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 Mauritas was given, in honour of its founder. A great work yet remained, to connect Mauritas 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 with wood, and the woods of Brazil were little less hard and durable. In two months it was compleated, and the bridge opened.

Mauritas
built.

Borleus.
147.

CHAP.
XVII.

1639.

Vieyra.
Serm.
t. 7. p. 326.

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 its 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 Mauritiás. 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*.

The Conde da Torre comes out.

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-

G. Giuseppe
p. 213.

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 third⁴ 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-

CHAP.
XVII.
1639.

Ereccyra.
l. 2 p. 36.

Vieyra.
Serm.
t. 5. p. 421.

Barlaeus.
159.
Cast. Lus.
3. § 143.

Four naval
actions.

Cast. Lus.
3. §—144.

⁴ Piso, in his chapter *de Morbis Contagiosis* (L. 1. C. 18.) speaks of this much like a Dutchman. Anno 1639.—*magno nostrorum commodo, juxta Sinum omnium Sanctorum, tertia pars classis Hispanica maligna et contagiosa febre extincta.*

CHAP
XVII.

1639.

Barlaeus.
180.

1640.

Vieyra.
Sermoes.
t. 5. p. 422.

G. Giuseppe
215.

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 advantage 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 Portuguese 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-manœuvred, 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, without 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. Juliens, 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 ⁵.

CHAP.

XVII.

1640.

Retreat of
Vidal and
Barbalho.Barlaeus,
188.

* Barlaeus (*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 necessitatis ac militiae lege!* Every man indeed was left where he dropt, and they whom the enemy

CHAP.
XVII.
1640.

*The Recon-
cave laid
waste.*

*Barlaeus.
181.*

Barlaeus.

*Cast. Lus. 3.
§ 153.*

*A viceroy
comes out.*

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 Portuguese 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 politically 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 havock 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 Mascarenhas, who came out with the title of Viceroy⁶. 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.

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.

CHAP.
XVII.
1640.

Cast. Lus.
§ 154-6.

Revolution
in Portugal.

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.

CHAP.
XVII.

1640.

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 Joam 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.

*The Viceroy
sent home
prisoner.*

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 Portugueze, 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.
XVII.
1640.

Ereceyra,
P. 134---7.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Affairs of Maranham.—Some Missionaries from Quito flying down the Napo, trust themselves to the river, and reach Belem.—Teixeira sent up the Orellana.—Acuna returns with him, and surveys its course.

CHAP. XVIII. 1630. *Attempts of the English in Para.* 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

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.

Berredo,
§598—604.

The next attempt of the English was still among the Tocujos, under Roger Fray¹. 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 expence 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.

CHAP. frustrated, and the city still remains in the same ill-chosen spot.
 XVIII. Paltry disputes between the people of Para and their Captain,
 1633. Luiz do Rego, and an attempt of Coelho's to form a new Cap-
 taincy 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 Por-
 tugal.

Berredo
 § 626—642.

1636.
Death of
Coelho.

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

1637.

Berredo.
 § 643—57.

lenity, 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 Maranham, 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 stupified 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.

CHAP.
XVIII.

1637.

Mission
from Quito.

The Missi-
onaries
reach Belem.

Acuna,
Engl. Trans-
lation. c. 13.
Man, Ro-
driguez.
l. 2. c. 5.
Berredo,
§ 658—63.

CHAP
XVIII.
1637.

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.

Teixeira ordered to explore the Orellana up to Quito.

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.

*Acuna.
C. 14.
M. Rodriguez.
L. 2. C. 6.
Berredo.
§ 663—9.*

He reaches Quito.

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 Castilians in that direction², being in the province of the

CHAP.
XVIII.
1638.

1638.

Aug. 15.

* 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

CHAP.
XVIII.
1638.

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.

Acuña
c. 15—17.
M. Rodrigues.
l. 2. c. 6.
Berredo
§ 679—87.

*A survey of
the river
ordered by
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

Acuña.
c. 18—19.
M. Rodrigues.
l. 2. c. 6.
Berredo.
§ 689—98.

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 Mercês accompanied them, one of whom, by name, Fr. Pedro de la Rua Cerne, afterwards established his order at Belem and at St. Luiz.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1638.

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.

Sources of
the Oré-
luna.

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

1639.
Feb. 16.
Teixeira re-
embarks.

Condamine
p. 17.

CHAP. XVIII.
 1639. 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 ³. 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 ⁴, 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 ⁵, he took possession of his discoveries for the

Berredo,
 § 705—9.
 Acuña. 50.
 M. Rodriguez,
 p. 122.

³ The *Senos, Becabas, Tamas, Chufias, and Ramos.*

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 Berredo 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 Felipe 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.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1639

Auto in Berredo
§ 710.

The Omaguas.

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 Tunuragua, 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

Condamine.

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

* The Abigilas, Jurussúnez, Zapatás, and Yquitús.

CHAP. XVIII. 1639. 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 ⁷. From this practice they call themselves Umauas, signifying flat-heads, the word which the Spaniards wrote Omaguas, and for the same reason the Portuguese 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

Ribeiro.
MSS.

Acuna.

Ribeiro.
MSS.

⁷ The *Μακροκεφαλοι* 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.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1639.

M. Rodri-
gues, p. 125.

Condamin.
p. 70.

It is from the Omaguas that we have received the *Caoutchouc*, or Indian rubber. The Portuguese 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 ⁹.

Condamin.
77.
Ribeiro.
MSS.

When Teixeira performed his voyage, the Omaguas possessed

⁹ They use it perhaps for some display of skill in drinking, . . . spirting 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.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1630.

*M. Rodrigue-
z.*
p. 123—4.

The Tucunas.

*Ribeiro,
MSS.*

*The Mayu-
runas.*

*Ribeiro,
MSS.*

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 Portugueze 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 Mayurunas by the Portugueze, 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 Iça, 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 warlike⁹ 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 its¹⁰ course lies through the least known part of South Ame-

CHAP.
XVIII.
1639.

M. Rodriguez p. 125.
Berredo,
§ 720.
River Iça.

M. Rodriguez 126.
Berredo,
§ 721.

River Yutay.

⁹ They were the *Yurunas* (who have been described), *Guataycus*, *Yacatiguaras*, *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*, *Guanarus*, *Ozuanas*, *Moruas*, *Naunas*, *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-

CHAP. XVIII.
1639. rica, though it is said to be easily navigable, having sufficient depth, and a gentle stream. The last settlement of the Omaguas 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 Teixeira came to the Yurua ¹¹, twenty-four leagues from the frontier island of the Omaguas, and thirty-eight from the Yetau. According to what Acuña understood from the Indians, these two rivers proceeded from one source, forming a Delta with the Orellana, into which they fall.

River Yurua.

*M. Rodriguez. 127.
 Berredo.
 § 722—3.*

The Curiciraris.

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 subject, 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 Peruvians who fled with the last Inca, and that they are worthy of having Missionaries 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 Yquiari, 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.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1639.

M. Rodrigues.
127—8.
Berredo.
724—5.

CHAP.

XVIII.

1639.

River Jupura.

Fourteen leagues below this village they came to the mouth of that river, which, in the Spanish map, is called the Gran Cacaqueta, but which the Portuguese 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 Acunai, 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 Iça. Above the falls, as far as the Portuguese have navigated it, there are, on the same side, the Cauinari and the Meta, which communicates with the Iça by the Perida. On the right hand side, it receives the little river¹² Maraá, the lake Cumapi, the little river Meuáa, which, by a short portage between their sources, communicates with the Urubaxi, 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-parana¹³ the Yacarapi, and the

¹² Called erroneously, a lake, by Condamine, who also errs in saying, that it communicates with the Urubaxi. *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 ¹⁴ than this has not been explored.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1639.

Ribeiro.
MSS.

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 Portuguese 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 Auateparana, 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 ¹⁵ lower streams issue from the Lakes Amana and Cudayas.

Ribeiro.
MSS.

so probable, these names have been imposed by the Indians of the Portuguese, or by the Portuguese themselves, in the Tupi tongue.

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

Ribeiro.

¹⁵ Acuña calls two of them branches of the river Araganatuba. They are inhabited, he says, by twenty-one nations; the Yaguanais, Mucunes, Mapianas, Aguainaus, Huirunas, Mariruas, Yamoruas, Teranus, Siguiyas, Guanapuris, Piras, Mopitynus, Yguaranis, Aturiaris, Macaguas, Masipias, Guayacaris, Anduras, Caguaraus, 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.*

CHAP. XVIII. 1639. *River Tefe.* *River Acari coara.* *The Jurimauas.* *M. Rodriguez.* *Ribeiro.* MSS.

Four leagues below the Jupura, the Tefe¹⁶ 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-coara¹⁷, which forms a bay of great extent, before its clear waters mingle with the turbid stream. The territory of the Jurimauas¹⁸ 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 ¹⁹, 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 Curigueres, 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.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1639.

River Perus.

M. Rodrigues,
p. 130.

Ribeiro,
MSS.

¹⁹ The Cuchiguara of Acuña, doubtless the same word as Cochiuvara, by which one of its channels is still called. This was the name of one of its tribes; the others were the Cumayaris, Guaquiaris, Cuyaciyayanes, Curucuruz, Quatauis, Mutuanis, and the Curigueres who are the children of Anak, mentioned in the text.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1639.

*Caripunas
and Zurinas.*

Their sculptors.

M. Rodriguez, p. 130.

River Negro.

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 Portuguese 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 Portuguese 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 Portuguese call it the Black²⁰, from the darkness of its waters, which because of their depth and clearness, appear to be of that colour when they join the turbid Orellana. The conflict of these two mighty rivers is tremendous. The Negro rolls right across the current of the other, and for many leagues its

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 Curiguacuru.

clear stream may be distinguished before it mingles and is de-
filed.

Up this river, and one which falls into it, and was called Pa-
rana-meri, or the little river, Acuña heard that there were
many nations²¹, the remotest of whom wore garments and hats,
from which he concluded that this fashion was learnt in conse-
quence 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 ascer-
tained beyond all doubt, and it is another proof of the extraordi-
nary 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 situ-
ations 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 counter-
acted²².

CHAP.
XVIII.

1639.

*Communi-
cation be-
tween the
Orellana
and Orinoco
known.*

*M. Rodri-
guez, p. 132.*

²¹ The Caniciures, Aguayras, Yacuncaraes, Cabuayapis, Manacuras, Iam-
mas, 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

CHAP.
XVIII.

1639.

Oct. 12.
The Portu-
gueze want
to make
slaves.

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.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1639.
Acuña.
c. 66. 67.

M. Rodriguez. 132.

River Madeira.

The next river which comes from the South, was called by the natives the Cuyari²³; but when Teixeira 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 Potosi, must be by this stream.

M. Rodriguez. 132.

Below the Madeira, but from the North, the Saraca enters²⁴, 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

River Saraca.

²³ F. Manuel Rodriguez (P. 133.) advances a curious etymology of this word. "It proves, he says, that the river comes from Peru, for *Cuyari* is a word of the Inca tongue coming from the verb *cuyani* 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."

²⁴ 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.

CHAP. highest. The natives²⁵ here were provided with iron tools, which
 XVIII. they received from tribes who lived nearer the sea, and who got
 1639. them, they said, from white men like the Portugueze, using the
Dutch tools. same arms, but differing from them in that their hair was red.
 By this description it was known that the Dutch were meant²⁶.
 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 in-
M. Rodriguez. 136. creasing in population.

*Tupinambas
 of the river.*

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 people²⁷ 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

²⁵ Acuña says, they were collectively called Carabuyanas, but were divided into sixteen tribes, the Caraguanas, Pocoanas, Urayaris, Masucaruanas, Quererus, Cotocarinas, Moacaranas, Ororupianas, Quinarupianas, Tuynamalnas, Araguaynas, Mariguayanas, Yaribarus, Yarucaguacus, Cumaruruayanas, and Ycuruanaris.

²⁶ 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.

²⁷ 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 Portugueze. 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 crost 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 Orellana, 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 chuse to encounter the fatigues and dangers of emigration.

M Rodriguez 134.

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 falshoods, 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

Fables reported by these Tupinambas.

CHAP. XVIII. 1639. 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.

M. Rodriguez. 135.

The Amazons.

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 satisfactory details. Six and thirty leagues below the last settlement of the Tupinambas, and on the North, is the mouth of the Cunuris, a river so called, from the first tribe upon its banks. Beyond 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 belonged, was her mate for the season. One Indian, who said, that in his boyhood he had been with his father on one of these expeditions, 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 concerning 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 investigation which can be made. When Condamine came down the

CHAP.
XVIII.
1639.

M. Rodriguez.
135—0.

*Testimonies
of the exist-
ence of a
tribe of fe-
males.*

CHAP. XVIII. 1639. 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 Cochiuvara, 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 crost 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 Punilha²⁸ 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 Cochiuvara, 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.

Condamine.
p. 100.

Ribeiro.
MSS.

²⁸ Ribeiro says, his name was Joze da Costa Punilha, and that he held the office of *Sargento Mor da Ordenança*.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1640.

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 crost. Among the Topayos²⁹, 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 these³⁰ 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 *Coug-nantainsecouima*, the women without husbands. An old soldier at Cayenne, told Condamine, he had been one of a party

Condamine.
102.

Condamine.
101.
Do. 137

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 plaindre de ma colique, puis qu'elle m'a procuré ce bonheur.* (Lett. 23.)

CHAP. where they got them, replied, from the women who had no
 XVIII. husbands, whose country lay seven or eight days journey toward
 1640. the West.

Condamine.
102.

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.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1639.

Thirty six leagues below the Cunuris and on the north side, Acuña places the Uriximena, 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 mile³¹. 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 Portuguese have a fort on the northern bank, called St. Antonio, which they compute to be seventy-two leagues from the Madeira. The *pao 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.

Rio dos
Trombetas.

Berredo,
§ 732.

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

The Tapajos.

¹ Count Pagan calls this the Bosphorus of the river.

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 surprize, 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

Kidnapping
expedition of
young Ma-
ciel.

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.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1639.

Acuña,
c. 74.

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 nature³². 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

Acuña,
c. 75.

Berredo,
§ 733.

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 *opposiçam forte daquelle gentilismo*, he gives no hint of the villainy by which that opposition was provoked.

CHAP. 1745, been able to explore it farther than the first falls. Many
 XVIII. attempts had been made, for it was believed, that rich mines were
 1639. to be discovered in the mountains upon its course. Some stones
 had been found, which from their weight were supposed to contain 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.

M. Rodriguez. p. 138.

River Curupatuba.

Forty leagues below the Rio dos Topajos, and from the opposite shore, the Curupatuba³³ falls in, where the Portugueze 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 mountain ridge, called Yaguaracuru. 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 formerly 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 contained 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 oftentime explosions were heard upon it, a sign that there were precious stones there; in fact, fine crystals, octagon and triangular, are found there.

M. Rodriguez. p. 138.

Berrado. § 734.

³³ 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.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1639.

Sixty leagues farther down, and also on the North, Acuña notices the Ginipape³⁴, 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 Maranh, and he was far more interested in schemes for kidnapping the natives, than in providing against a dangerous enemy.

The river
Mapau.

M. Rodri-
guez. § 138.

They reach
Belew.

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

³⁴ The Urubueara, which falls in above it on the same side, is not noticed by Acuña, though it is a river of equal magnitude.

CHAP. XVIII. 1639. Orellana here and struck to the South across the mouth of the great river Xingu³⁵, 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 Portugueze 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.

*M. Rodrigues. 140
Berredo.
§ 736—9.*

*M. Rodrigues. 104.
Do. 141.*

Do 104

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

³⁵ 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 no where 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.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1639.

M. Rodriguez. 105.

*Food of the
tribes on the
River.*

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 potatoe was among their edible roots; they ate also a sort of³⁶ truffle, which they called *papas*. They had the plantain, the pine-nut, the cocoa, the date, and a sort of chesnut, so called by Acuña from its prickly husk, but in Peru, known by

³⁶ *Criadillas de tierra.*

CHAP. XVIII. 1689. 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 every where 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 *Cuña brava*, 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.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1639.

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.

M. Rodri-
gues.
§ 107.

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 galvanic eel, called *Paraque* by the natives, is found in these parts.

M. Rodri-
gues. 108.

The anta and peccary were numerous: the paca, a smaller species of llama, was also found. Acuña mentions deer, and the yguaña, *yagoti*, and *cocia*, 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

CHAP.
XVIII.

1639.

M. Rodriguez,
109.

*Plague of
insects.*

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 day light, 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 Mariuin, 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 cloathing 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.

Ribeiro,
MISS.

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 depicts 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 sarsaparilla, 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 andiropa 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.

M. Rodriguez 110.

Number of Tribes.

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

CHAP. land was, he thought it would have been insufficient to maintain
 XVIII. them all. He had forgotten, that while the banks of the rivers
 1639. were frequented for the sake of fish, the interior was left desert.

M. Rodrigues. 115.

The Throwing stick.

Many of these tribes fled at the approach of the Portugueze 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 is what 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 chissels, planes, and wimbles.

M. Rodrigues. p. 116.

Their Idols.

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.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1689.

*M. Redri-
gues. 117.*

Every where they had their Conjurors: 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 every where celebrated with drunkenness.

*Their Con-
jurors.*

*M. Redri-
gues. 117.*

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

CHAP. XVIII.
1639. 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 Portuguese 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 Portuguese 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.

NOTES.

HISTORY OF BRAIN

The history of the brain is a subject of great interest and importance. It is a subject which has attracted the attention of philosophers, physicians, and naturalists from the earliest times. The progress of knowledge in this branch of science has been rapid and continuous. The discovery of the functions of the different parts of the brain has been a gradual process, and it is only in recent years that we have begun to understand the true nature of the organ. The study of the brain is now one of the most important branches of medicine, and it is the duty of every physician to be conversant with its history and its functions.

NOTES

NOTES.

1. *Maranhã*, 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 naturals lhe chamam Para, e os Portuguezes Maranhã, 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 Almazonas; mas eu lhe chamo Rio das Almazinhas, . . . nam por serem menores, nem de menos preço, (pois todas custaram o mesmo) mas pelo desamparo & desprezo com que estam perdendo.*

2. *Cassia-fistola*, p. 8.] In 1574, when Monardes wrote, *cana-fistola* came in such quantities from Hispaniola and Puerto Rico, 'that not onely all Spayne is provided of it, but all Europe and well neere all the worlde; for that unto Levant from whence it was accustomedly brought, now there goeth moe 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, Hermolaus Barbarus*, a man most excellently learned, dooth saye, that it is gathered about

the place where incense is found, and that laude 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 beades.' *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 journies, 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 genteely 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 Tymáse, 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 Cheeowhee, as was proved by the branded deer-skins he produced afterward, . . . when he saw himself disfigured by the small pox, 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 shewed 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 sullenly on the bed, as if by those violent struggles he was overcome, 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 hoe-helve, 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 Mahomedan 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 scymeter, 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 *Antiq. Italicæ a Lud. Muratorio. Mediolani. 1783. fol. 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 mens' 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, scissars, 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 Tupinamba: 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. And who has all that he leaves behind him? 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 counsailed to go to certain Islands, which are between Puerto Rico and the Margareta, for that there is in them great quantities of Crabs, and they are the best of the world, because they are maintained by Pigeons eggs, which goe thither to lay, and of the young Pigeons 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 Poppingies 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. Douce's Illustrations*. Vol. 2. 36.

Acosta (l. 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 reyr, 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, 'Poppingies, Griffons, Apes, Lions, Ger faucons, and other kinds of Hawkes, Tiger's wool,' &c. (*English Translation*. ff. 1.) There must be some mistake of the translator here, which for want of the original I am not able to explain.

9. *Christovam Jaqucs*, 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 bullocks 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 redacti*. 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 Hanno, said to be the work of a Portugueze Pilot, which contains this remarkable passage: *è vietato il poter navigare oltra il capo di Buona Speranza a diritta linea verso il polo Antartico, dove è opinione appresso tutti i Piloti Portughesi, che vi sia un grandissimo continente di terra firma, la qual corra a levante e ponente sotto il polo Antartico: e dicono, che altre volte uno eccellente uomo Fiorentino detto Amerigo Vespuccio, con certe navi dei Re la trovò, e scorse per grande spazio, ma che da poi è stato proibito che alcun vi possa andare.* Bandini, p. lx.

It is scarcely possible, that this could have been written by a Portugueze. The words *excellente 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, towarde 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 communed of each other his country, it pleased him to say as followeth: My good friende, if you knew my sute unto the King's majestie, you would judge that I were a madman, and therefore to shorten oure way, I will declare

my attempted sute unto you. You shall understande, 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 neyther wife nor childe, and at this presente, God be praised! I have, in the Contractation house in the Citie of Sivill, in golde and plate, the summe of thirtie thousande Duckates, and I have also in Pirru in good lands and possessions the yearely rent of twelve thousande Duchates, whiche rentes and readye money is sufficiente to maintayne a poore Gentleman. But al this notwithstanding, I do now sue unto the King's majestie, to have licence and authoritie to discover and conquere a certayne parte of India, whyche adjoyneth with Brazile, 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 Emperour, considering that your Sepulchre attendeth for you. Nowe truly I thank you, quoth he, for of your judgement are most men: but I say unto you, considering that all flesh must finish, I seeke 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 succoure others, his poore brethren. Likewise doe 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 relieve such poore Gentlemen, do I now attempte this journey, with the adventure of my bodye and goodes; and for that purpose, I have in readinesse 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 meane to have in my company, say, oh happiest day, when old Zarate, for so is my name, brought us from penurie; yea, and from a number of perils 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: beleeve you me, this is the only sumptuous Tumbe that

I pretende to builde for my poore carkas. But yet I know there are some, unto whome I may compare the Bore that lyeth wallowyng in his stye, who will not lette to saye, what neede we any other world, honor or kingdome? 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 poore naybours. With this conclusion, the Gentleman ended his tale, the judgement whereof I leave to noble Gentlemen, his peeres, 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.*] *Montaña* 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 *cerro* and *cuesta*; ridges of mountains, *cordillera*; and if wooded, *cordillera de montaña*. These terms are explained by P. Manuel Rodriguez. *El Marañon y Amazonas. l. 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 exclaiming 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 Havannah, when he was on his way to Florida. It was so large a vessel that eighty horses were stowed on board. *El Inca Garcilaso. l. 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 carcase putrifies, and the birds called *urubus* 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. Vicente, 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, . . . the wood is white and remarkably dry, so that immediately when cut, it burns like a torch, till it is entirely consumed. *Entrevamente nos dio la vida hallar esta madera. . . the discovery of this wood absolutely saved our lives, says Pedro de Cieça. 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 Marañon y Amazonas. l. 1. c. 4.*

A good book concerning Peru is still wanting. There are sufficient materials, but those writers who have panegyricized 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.

M. Rodriguez. El Marañon. 3. 2.

21. *The yguana, p. 88.*] Gumilla, whose head was full of all odd theories, never could be persuaded to taste a yguana, though he saw every body else eat it; because he had found, that if you pinched

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. *Maize*, 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 vittale of much substance, and that these are in the midst between flesh and fruit. Truth it is, that they be windie, but that is taken from them by roasting, chiefly if they be 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 sowed of the same plantes that are sette, the smallest of them, or peeces of the greatest, in the earth that is well tilled, and they grow very well, and in eight monthes, 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 journies, or to keep at home. Prepared in this manner, they have something of a mealiness, 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 Curiy, 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 chesnuts. 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 palmarum*, 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 *grogroo*, 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.

V. 2. 118.

26. *Ayolas*, p. 73.] Azara asserts that Ayolas penetrated to Peru. t. 2. p. 356. 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 depreciated the authority of others.

27. *The Goaynazes*, p. 34.] A horde of the Machicuis, existing at this time in the Gran Chaco, form their habitations under ground. Azara (*t.* 2, p. 155.) has not mentioned which of their hordes. The Quioaeyé 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 individual was the only one remaining when Azara left Paraguay. 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 Guayquiries; 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 skeleton. C. 14.

Stedman calls it the *pery*, but says, there is no danger from it as long as you continue swimming. He also mentions the use which the Indians make of it in preparing skeletons.

31. *Aquatic Tribes*, p. 130.] These Aquatic tribes of the Paraguay adapted their mode of life to the country which they inhabited, far better than the Guaraunos of the Orinoco have done, and the Maracaybo Indians, who roost in trees amid the water.

32. *Sources of the Paraguay*, p. 131.] I have followed 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 probably right, or nearly so, in his observations, for Azara places the sources of this River in 13° 30'. But I suspect the Academician has confounded 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 between it and the Goyaz.

33. *Mandubies*, p. 134.] The Mandubi is produced 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, according to the species; they resemble almonds in shape and sweetness, and afford an oil which many persons prefer to that of the olive, or to any other substitute for, or kind of butter, which is to be found in South America. *Dobrizhoffer*, 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. *Dobrizhoffer*. 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 creatures 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 Abunes, 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 smoothness 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 extremity 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 beaus 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 caution 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 (*l.* 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. 59) 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 bouted 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 quisieres
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. 153.] 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'après quoi*, he adds, *il ne mérite guères d'être cru dans ses memoires, qu'on a fait imprimer pendant les deux années 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 *Yrala*, 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 serbiros Señor como es justicia,
A su querida y dulce patria amada,
Padres, hermanos, deudos y parientes ;
Ni que ya sus ligitimas y hazíendas
Estan de hecho todas consumidas,
Trocando por trabajos el descanso
Que pudieron tener sin sugetarse ;
Los dias y las noches que se ocupan
En pesados oficios trabajosos
Miserias y disgustos nunca vistos.

* * * * *

No traen consigo cosa que no sea
Hechura y obra de sus bellas manos,
El sayo, calçon, media y el calçado.
El jubon, cuello, capa y la camisa,
Con todas las demas cosas que alcançan,
La femenil flaqueza por su aguja,
De todo dan tan diestra y buena cuenta
Como si en coser siempre, y no otra cosa
Ubieran sus personas ocupado.

* * * * *

Y con esto ellos mismos por sus manos
Guisan bien de comer, laban y amasan,
Y en fin toda la vida siempre buscan
Desde la sal hasta la leña y agua,
Si gusto han de tener en la comida.
Ellos rompen la tierra y la cultivan
Como diestros famosos labradores.
Y como hospitaleros siempre curan
Las mas enfermedades con que vienen
Sus pobres camaradas, quebrantados
De los muchos trabajos que han sufrido.
Y cosa alguna aquesto les impide
Para que todo el año no los hallen,
A qualquier hora de la noche y dia,
Tan cubiertos de hierro y fino azero,
Como si fueran hechos y amasados
De poderoso bronçe bien fornido,
Trabajo que por mucho menos tiempo,
Quando diamantes todos se mostraran,
Los ubiera deshecho y acabado ;
Quanto mas a la misera flaqueza
Del que de carne y guesso esta compuesto.

Viven y passan casi todo el tiempo
Como si fueran brutos por el campo,
Sugetos al rigor del Sol ardiente,
Al agua, al viento, desnudez, y frio,
Hambre, sed, molimientos, y consancio,
Cujo lecho no es mas que el duro suelo,
Adonde muchas vezes amanecen
En blanca nieve todos enterrados.
Passan crueles y grandes aguazeros
Sin poderse alvergar en parte alguna,
Y secanse en las carnes los vestidos.
Sucedeles que llevan en costales
El agua para solo su sustento,
Algunas vezes hecha toda nieve,
Carambano la mas empedernido.
Sufren todos eladas de manera
Que ya por nuestras culpas hemos visto,
Rendir el alma y vida todo junto,
Al gran rigor del encogido tiempo.
No ay aguas tan caudales por los rios
Que no los passen, naden y atrabiessen,
Ni paramos, ni sierras, ni vallados
Que a puros palmos todo no lo midan.

* * * * *

Y no cuidan jamas estos varones
De maestros y oficiales para cosas
Al militar oficio necessarias,
Ellos cortan las armas y las hazen
Para qualquier cavallo bien seguras
Sabien aderezar sus arcabuzes,
Y echarles lindas cajas por extremo.
Remallan bien sus cotas s escarçelas,
Y pintan sus zeladas de manera
Que quedan para siempre provechosas,
Y como diestros cirujanos curan
Heridas peligrosas penetrantes,
Y son tambien bonissimos barberos,
Y quando es menester tambien componen
De la gineta y brida las dos sillias ;
El aluzitar jamaç les haze falta
Porque ellos hierran todos sus cavallos,
Tambien los sangran, cargan, y los curan,
Domandolos de potros con destreza,
Y por ser buenos hombres de acavallo
En ellos hazen grandes maravillas,

* * * * *

Y aquesto muchas vezes sustentados
De raizes incultas desabridas,
De hiervas y semillas nunca usadas,
Cavallos, perros, y otros animales,
Inmuudos y asquerosos a los hombres.
Y por nevados riscos y quebradas,
Qual suelen los arados que arrastrados
Rompiendo van la tierra deshaziendo,

Qu. arnes?

Las azeradas rejas que enterradas
 Haziendo van sus sulcos 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
 Gaspar 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.

Llevava pues un perro que a mi lado
 Anduvo mucho tiempo, y que velava
 Quando denoche a caso me dormia.
 Y porque ya la hambre me affigia
 De suerte que la vida me acabava,
 Determine matarle; y dos heridas
 Le di mortales, con que luego el pobre
 De mí se fue apartando un largo trecho.
 Llamele con enojo, y olvidado
 Del vergonçoso hecho inadvertido
 Gimiendo mansamente y agachado,
 A mi bolvio el amigo mal herido,
 Lamiendose la sangre que vertia.
 Y assi con desconsuelo y lastimado
 Por agradarme en algo si pudiesse:
 Lamio tambien mis manos que teñidas
 Me puso de su sangre bien bañadas.
 Mirele puer señor y avergonçado
 De averle assi tratado y ofendido
 Con tan crasa ignorancia que no via
 Que fuego para assarlo me faltava,
 Bajè los ojos tristes, y bolviendo
 Del hecho arrepentido a acariciarlo,
 Muerto quedo a mis pies; con cujo susto
 Dexandole tendido y desangrado,
 Passe aquel trago amargo, y fuy siguiendo
 El golpe de fortuna que acabava
 La miserable vida que vivia.

Gaspar 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 Tabeite, 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 hammocks nor cots should be of European invention; the first we borrowed from the native Americans, the second from the Hindoos. Hammock is a Haytian 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 *cots*, 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 Portuguese fleet sent to recover Bahia, (*n. 4. p. 446.*) beds for the sick are enumerated. How then were the sound lodged? Among the Buccaneers every one *lay rough*, as they called it, that is, on the deck, the Captain himself not being allowed a bed. (*Snelgrave*). When was the hammock introduced 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 hæmorrhoids. 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

seeds 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'il desespéroit & mettoit sur le carreau les meilleurs buveurs d'Allemagne, & qu'il voidoit d'un seul trait une cruche de douze setiers de vin ou de biere.* The *setier* is twelve pints, and twelve *setiers* 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. *Baillet*.

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 vatum: vatum Sol, Phœbus, Apollo:
Jesseæ fidicen maximus ille lyræ.
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 Anchieta's miracles.

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

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

Pedro de Cieça. ff. 42.

Cabeza de Vaca (Nauf. 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, *et pense que, jamais Menelaus Roy & conducteur de l'armée des Grecs ne fut tant craint ou redouté des Troyens, que cestuy-ci 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 shipwreck 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' Arvieux (*t. 2. p. 11.*) mentions the same kind of trade as carried on in his time between the Turks at Caifa, 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. 325.

48. *The Macana, p. 205.*] The Indians about Surinam call their club *apootoo*. 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. 205.*] The bow is a more formidable weapon in the hands of a savage than the musquet, and Gumilla (*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 Fidalgo 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.*

l. 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 one end to a tree, and suspended at the other a weight of eight or ten stone. In this manner they made it resemble catgut.

El Inca Garcilaso. Hist. de la Florida, l. 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, l. 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 Holinshed, 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. Simam 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 chuses to work miracles, the waters may serve him for a knife. (§ 1. l. 2. 6) B. Tellez how-

ever, says, that *sem duvida*, 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 groan, 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 renegado, 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. da Comp. l. 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 Grynæus, 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 Cieça*, 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 boors enough in his own *harem* 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 *Carana*, and then fillagree themselves with bits of coloured matting, in intricate and splendid patterns.

Gumilla, t. 1. c. 7.

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 desgosto de perdellos
Com a intençam 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, . . . *cum neque capti, neque liberi ab injuriâ temperarent, parumque ad vescendum accommodati censerentur, quos eramus piscati, lancinantes, atque cruciantes, ut damnosis animantibus dignum erat, claud ferreâ mactabamus. Decisis aliquando brachiis, doliique circulo per candam trajecto, in mare projiciebamus, tum se ipsi jactantes quod diu non mergebantur, ingenti nos voluptate perfundebant. C. 3.*

P. Gaetano Cattaneo, in a letter which Muratore has printed in his *Cristianesimo Felice del Paraguai*, has a passage in the same spirit. He says of the sharks taken upon his voyage, . . . *altre volte dopo varj colpi di stanga nel capo per istordirlo, gli cavano gli occhi in vendetta d'esser egli tanto nemico dell'uomo; poi gli legano a traverso con una corda un barile voto e ben chiuso, con cui lo rigettano in mare; ed è uno spasso gustoso il vedere la battaglia del tuberone col barile; perchè allora il pesce altro non cerca che di profundarsi nel mare; e coll'impeto della prima caduta gli riesce; ma presto il barile ritorna a gala, tirandosi seco il pesce; e quello vorrebbe pur tornare a fondo. E perciocchè il barile lo tiene in cima, esso s'infuria, si dibatte, e si rivolta contro il barile, non potendoselo scuotere di dosso. E tanto va correndo per una parte e per l'altro, che finalmente si perde di vista, dopo aver nondimeno ricreato 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 Yameos, 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, *poettarrarorincouroac, . . heu-reusement pour ceux qui ont à faire à eux, leur arithmétique 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 Achaguas carry it. With them, *Abacaje* means five, and the fingers of one hand; *Tucha macaje*, ten, or all the fingers; *Abacaytacay*, twenty, or all the fingers and toes; *Incha matacacay*, 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 100, . . . 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.

When Pauw reasoned upon the ignorance of the Americans in numbers, did he suppress this

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 tin, 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, . . . *Quiso nuestro Señor, que tiene cuidado y siempre lo ha tenido, de proveer en la mayor priesa, que tope entre los Naturales de una Provincia que se dice Tachco, ciertas Pequeñuelas de ello, a manera de Moneda muy delgada, y procediendo por mi pesquisa hallé, que en lo dicha Provincia, y aun en otras, se trataba por moneda. Carta, 4. § 17. Barcia, 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 Guarani word, is thus explained by Dobrizhoffer, t. 2. p. 77. *Hoc vocabulum e duabus particulis componitur: Tú enim admirantis, pa interrogantis vox est. Celo tonante metu percussis Tupa exclamare solebant, . . . quid est hoc? This etymology, which, (as I learn from Lafitau,) 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; conociante porque no via sombra. No tenia choquecuelas en las conjunturas; viale sin cejas y sin pestañas, los ojos redondos, sin niñas, y sin blancas; y estas senales tenian para conocerle.*

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

penance; as if the Lord had said, the other Apostles who have sinned less in incredulity, shall go preach to the Greeks, the Romans, the Ethiopians, Arabians, Armenians, Sarmatians, Scythians; but for Thomas, who has sinned the most, let him go to the Heathens of Brazil, and atone for the obduracy of his unbelief, by teaching that nation, which is of all others the most barbarous and most obdurate. The effect has well shown this. When the Portuguezé discovered Brazil, they found the footsteps of St. Thomas stamped in a stone, which is at this day to be seen upon the shores of Bahia; but sign or memorial of the truth which St. Thomas had preached, they found none among the inhabitants. The barbarousness of the people cannot better be proved, nor more strongly exemplified. Traces of the preacher were found in the rocks, but not a trace of the doctrine in the people! the rocks preserved a memorial of the Apostle, but the heart preserved no memorial of the faith which he had taught."

Sermoens, t. 3. p. 400.

According to Pauw, a still more remarkable personage than St. Thomas has been carried to Brazil. *A la honte de l'esprit humain*, he says, *un théologien a prouvé que la chaloupe où s'embarqua Noë avec sa famille, pour se sauver d'une inondation survenue en Asie, alla s'arrêter sur une montagne du Brésil: les enfans de cet heureux navigateur firent à la hâte quelques enfans du côté de Fernamboué, et se rembarquèrent tout de suite dans une autre canot, pour venir rendre le même service à notre continent. T. 2. p. 38.*

64. *Footsteps of St. Thomas, p. 229.*] We came to a place called *Etaoca*, that is to say, the stone-house: as strong a thing as ever I saw, for it was a great huge rock, and it hath an entrance like a great door within it as any hall in England. The Indians say, that St. Thomas did preach to their forefathers there. Hard by standeth a stone as big as four great cannons, and it standeth upon the ground upon four stones, little bigger than a man's finger, like sticks. The Indians say that was a miracle which the Saint shewed them, and that that stone had been wood. Likewise by the sea-side there are great rocks, upon them I saw great store of prints of the footing of bare feet; all which prints were of one bigness. They say that the Saint called the fishes of the sea, and they heard him. *Knivet, p. 1219.*

65. *Baptism, p. 230.*] The people of Yucatan are said to have used a sort of baptism, which they call-

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. *Il faut avouer*, he says, *que 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 entier 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 eu recours à la racine de l'arum, qui est de toutes les plantes Européennes la plus approchante du manihot, par sa qualité caustique, et nutritive quand on la prepare. T. 9. p. 5.*

67. *Capt. Beaver, p. 232.*] The innocent species was however found in the Islands, though it was less common than the other. It was called *Boniata*, 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 *Lafitau* 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 néanmoins qu'ils s'y fassent 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 sops 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 Othomacos 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. 1. c. 13.*

70. *Cast up upon the Cornish shores, p. 236.*] The sea-strond, 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 consisteth of a hard, dark-coloured rind, the inner part of a kernel, void of any taste, but not so of virtue, especially for women travayling 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 tyger, 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 is 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 draws 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.*

Ulloa (*Book 6. Ch. 5.*) gives a less wonderful account of the preparation. But he says its quality is so frigidic, 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. 5.*

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.*

Pauw (*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 Tiberi, whom Apollonius Rhodius mentions, *L.* 2. 1012. Lafitau 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 occasions, submitted to a fast of six weeks, so rigorously, that he was reduced almost to a skeleton by the end of the time. *Lafitau*. 1. 257. *Biet. Voyage de la Terre Equinoxiale*. l. 3. c. 13, quoted.

73. *The father takes to his hammock*, p. 238.] Perhaps this ridiculous custom led to the falsehood, 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 Bresil, dit l'auteur des Recherches Historiques*, p. 372, *les hommes seuls allaitent les enfans, les femmes n'y ayant presque pas de sein, ni de lait*. Pauw says, this fact is drawn *des relations du Bresil*; 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 consequence 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 fetus. "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—*Quod ad illorum nasos attinet, cum apud nos obstetrices soleant ab ipso puerorum ortu, ut formosiores ac productiores efficiant, digitis extendere, contrarium prorsus institutum apud Americanos nostros obtinuit. Puerorum enim pulchritudinem nasi depressione metentur. Itaque simulae ex utero matris prodieri, pollice nasus eis deprimitur, perinde atque catellis in Gallis quibusdam fieri solet.*

And another French author, writing about seventy 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 Tupinambas) ont ordinairement le nez camart, cela provient de la matrone qui leur enfonce, & le forme ainsi des qu'ils sont nouveaux nais, comme plusieurs manient & allongent icy la teste aux petits enfans incontinent apres leur naissance, & contraignent la nature, prenant ce qui est de folie and d'indecence pour decence & beauté. Claude D' Abbeville. ff. 262.*

It appears also that the Arabs moulded the heads of their infants. One of the Mahommedan travellers, whose very curious relations are published by Renaudot, says of the Chinese, *Ils laissent croistre leurs cheveux, parce que les hommes ne veulent pas arrondir la teste des enfans 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 recoit un notable prejudice.* P. 97.

75. *Names of the savages*, p. 239.] The people of Misteco used a strange kind of nomenclature, and deduced a strange superstition from it. Numbers were introduced into their names, and the man could not marry a woman, 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 Lafitau met at Rome, assured him *que les Bresiliens etoient si delicats sur la reputation, que si une fille avoit manqué a son honneur, non seulement elle ne trouveroit plus a se marrier, mais elle ne vivroit pas meme en surete au milieu de sa parenté.*

T. 1. 582.

Lafitau observes, that this is contradicted by all

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 Nandu'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 Enduap, 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 Nandu. The best representation of the latter is probably that in Azara's travels.

De Lery, c. 8. *Staad.* 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, surprized 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.* 413.)

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 surprizing that more people do not summon up reso-

lution 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, mockasons, 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 of 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 conjuror gets together a great number of people, who all sing a sort of charm addressed to the soul of the patient, . . . the burthen 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 shower 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 feats 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 disipar el humo, no sea que no viendo el alma el agujero por donde debe salir, quede euredada en las tixerus del tacho. There must be some mistake in this passage.

83. *Stained the holy black, p. 249.]* The juice of the *jenipapo* 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 Laet. ann. ad Marcgrav. l. 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 *jagua* 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 die, 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 Lery, 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. *Lafitau, 2. 240.*

86. *She swings a basket by a band over the forehead, p. 250.]* 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 barthens.

Rochejoucault Liancourt, 1. 317. 323.

Labet speaks with extraordinary folly of the Negro nose and lips. *On attribue, he says, avec raison ces nez écrachés et ces grosses lèvres aux coups que ces petites creatures se donnent contre le dos de leurs meres, pendant qu'elles les ont attachées derriere 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. Labat, 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 Marivault. Il étoit comme l'ame de la Colonie, par la profondeur de sa science dans les matieres Theologiques and Canoniques.*

Voy. de Ch. Des Marchais. 3. 82.

89. *Villegagnon compelled the women to clothe themselves, p. 275.]* *A grand coups de fouëts* is the expression of De Lery, who calls these poor slaves *pauvre miserables*, 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. *Maraba, a doubtful 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. *Gumilla, t. 1. c. 14.*

91. *He died in his 54th year, worn out, p. 310.*] In the *Imago Primi Sæculi*, 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 boast. *Habet adolēscētes florentissimos, & forti excelsaque animo juvenes; senes autem, quasi post vindēmiā racēmos, admodum raros. Scilicet impalescunt studiis & immoriuntur; conficiuntur laboribus ante diē, gloriosis, quidē illis, at assiduis & prope infinis. Si quos forte benignior, servaret natura, aliis vastante regionem pestilentia, dum morientibus opem fert, contagio absumitur: alius ut pietas ne absit a castris militiæ occumbit, ubi morbi solent grassari liberius, & mors tamquam de suo messēme copiosam legere.* P. 35.

92. *Ants, p. 319.*] Paww (*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 paroît*, he adds, *que le meilleur moyen seroit d'encourager la multiplication du grand et du petit fourmillier.* Unless, however, the Tamandua 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. 253.*) 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 *Embira* 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.

Noticias de Brazil, 2. 47.

This seems to have been a spermaceti 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 ginnēs, 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 feelth 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 sharpe wedge, 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!

96. *Sea Apes*, p. 323.] So also Paracelsus before De Lery, *Concedi fas est quod in mari animalia quosque homini similia reperiantur; quæ etsi quidem hominem ad vivum non expriment, ipsi tamen quam animalibus cæteris similiora sunt. Cæterorum autem brutorum more animâ carent seu mente. Illa sese habent ut simia ad hominem; et aliud non sunt quam simia maris, diversi generis.*

V. 2. p. 478, Geneva Edition.

The wild theory of their origin which he advances is not unworthy of its author. All bodies, he says, which perish in the water *ab animalibus marinis devorantur & absumuntur. Jam si sperma in exaltatione constitutum mersione periret, et a pisce devoratum, iterum in se ipse exaltaretur, operatio certe aliqua fieret a natura piscis & spermatis. Ex quo colligi potest, maximam animalium partem humanam formam referentium, hoc modo prodisci.* He praises the practice of interment upon this theory, but he forgets notwithstanding that practice, if it were true, what a world of monsters there would be wherever there are wild beasts, or fields of battle.

97. *Mermen*, p. 323.] Dr. Pinckard 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.

Vol. 3. p. 7.

"The plain fact in my humble opinion, says Stedman (*Vol. 2. 182.*) 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 *Watra-Mama*, which signifies the Mother of the Waters; and by whichname, 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 or of Sicily. The hands were webbed; and the fingers terminated sharp, like a monkey's."

P. 51.

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.

98. *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.*

99. *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. 2. 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 animalculæ; a motive upon which an old German physician, Dr. Choistianus Franciscus Paulinus, has written a book, *De Morte Verminosa*; . . . a work equally credulous and loathsome. M. de Jussieu 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. *Ulta, 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 Oriflamme 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 Siam*, 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 lavements of decoction of cassia with an equal quantity of citron juice, and citron-quarters used as suppositories, to be specific.

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

101. *They used the cold water affusion 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 está un miserable enfermo, abrasandose de calentura toda la noche, estorvandole todos los de casa que no le de ni por pensamiento el sereno; y si acaso le aciertan a abrir de madrugada las ventanas, assi como comienza a gozar*

de aquel apazible, y regalado sereno de la madrugada, parece que sana y se alivia de todos sus males; que es como quando uno toma con gran calentura una purga que le abraza las entrañas, y piensan todos los de casa que esta su vida y salud en quitarle el agua, no teniendo mayor remedio y refugio que beverla, y agapar con ella el fuego de la ardiente y venenosa purga. Pero esto solo incumbe el concederla al sabio y bien experto medico que conoce el daño, o provecho, que le puede hazer.

102. *Herbary, p. 329.*] Oviedo, (l. 11. c. 5.) laments that the knowledge of herbary 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 stomachs with his own blood.

Gumilla, l. c. 11.

104. *They hold it unwholesome to be abroad till the dews 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 *omne simile facilius petitur a simili*. It affects the brain first, because the brain is the moistest part of the whole body; and the first dews are the most baneful, because the pores of the body are then all open to receive their influence; whereas as 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 inha-

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.] Superstition has invented another reason for the name. Acosta (*l. 7. c. 27.*) says, that a soldier fled from the province of Charcas to the Indians in this part of the country, to avoid punishment for his crimes, . . . that there was a drought in the land; the savages made use of their religious ceremonies to obtain rain without effect; . . . 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 before it, and worship and pray for rain, and immediately it rained. Upon this they forsook their idols, took the Cross for their ensign, and requested that Missionaries might be sent to instruct them; and so the province was called Santa 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 Sargento Mayor va 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 buhios
Barridos de alto a baxo y mui vacios.

A qual Indio le toma la hamaca,
A qual el pellejuelo que tenia;
A qual si le replica alli le saca.
La manta con que el triste se cubria
Al fin, en la pared no deja estaca,
Que todo quanto halla destruia,
Y no contento de esta tal destroza,
Enojo 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 D. 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 razon mui libre y sana.
De Monos vio juntarse gran canalla,
Y el pusose a escondidas a miralla.

Un Mono grande, viejo, como Alano,
Estaba à la quadrilla predicando,
Heria, y apuntaba con la mano,
Mudando el tono à veces y gritando:
El Auditorio estaba por el llano,
Atento à 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 dos estaban,
A la vanda siniestra, 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,
Aprieta cada qual dando mil gritos,
Y de espacio va 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,
Oyendo aquel terrible arcabuzazo,
Aprietan por el Monte dando gritos
Mas en breve acudieron infinitos.

Fue tanta multitud la que venia
De Monos à la muerte de aquel viejo,
Que la tierra do estaba se cubria
Y huie de temor el Melgarejo:
Un Indio del Brazil que alli venia.
Con sobrado dolor y sobrecejo,
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.

Argentina. c. 10.

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.

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 Ortiz 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. 33.*

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 Brazill, you shall, according to your discretions, make sale of such commodities as you may thinke will be thereabout well vented, and likewise to buy commodities, without making longer stay there than your victuals be providing, but rather to bespeake 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 serrabosa; also you shall barrell up of the leefe * called petune, two or three barrells; and to lose no good opportunity to gather of the Indian figges, and the graines of them to preserve drie, 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 the 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 dragges for the pearl-oysters, and the same being taken, to be opened and searched for pearl in the presence of the captaine, his lieutenant, the master, the pilot, and marchant, or three of them, whereof the captaine or his lieutenant to be one, and to remaine in the custodie of the captaine 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 voiage, 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 indeavour 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. Serve God, keepe good watch, and stand always upon your garde." *Hakluyt, Vol. 2. Part 2. 110.*

The ship, "through mere dissolute negligence," was wrecked off the coast of Guinea, and all the crew, except one man, perished miserably by hunger, disease, or the merciless Moor-Negroes. 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. 353.

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 haue me most heartily commended unto you, wishing your health euen 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 country offered mee to marry, and to take my choice of three or foure, so that I am about three dayes agoe consorted with an Italian gentleman to marry with his daughter within these foure dayes. This, my friend and father in law, Signor Ioffo Dore, is borne in the citie of Genua in Italy; his

* *Beefe* in Hakluyt, by a printer's blunder.

kindred is well known amongst the Italians in London: also hee hath but onely this childe, which is his daughter, which he hath thought better bestowed upon mee than on any Portugal in all the countrey, and doeth give with her in marriage to me part of an Ingenio which he hath, that doeth make every yeare a thousand rouses of sugar. This my marriage will be worth to mee two thousand duckets, little more or lesse. Also Signor Ioffo Dore, my father in lawe, doeth intende to put into my handes the whole Ingenio, with sixtie or seuentie slaues, and thereof to make me factor for us both. I give my liuing Lord thanks for placing me in such honour and plentifulnesse of all things.

Also certaine dayes past I talked with the Prouedor and Captaine, and they haue certified me, that they haue 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 enrich this countrey 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 countrey it is very healthfull without sicknesse.

Moreouer, I haue talked with the Captaine and Prouedor, and my father in law, who rule all this countrey, 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 countrey. To cause a ship to come hither with such commodities as would serue this countrey, would come to great gaines, God sending in safety the profite and gaines. In such wares and commodities as you may ship hither from London is for every one commoditie deliuered here three for one, and then after the proceed may be employed in white sugar at four hundred reis the rouse.

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 advise for. This voyage is as good as any Peruvoyage. If you and Master Osborne will deale here, I will deale with you before any other, because of our old friendly friendship in tyme past. If you haue any stomake thereto, in the name of God, do you espie 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 the 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 fiteene tunnes of wines that be perfect and good, and sixe dozen of Cordovan skinnes of these colours, to wit, orange, tawmie, 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 be put into the said colours. Also I thinke you shall finde oyles there. Three hogsheds 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 peeces of hollands of middle sort.

Item, one piece of fine holland.

Four hundred elles of osenbriges very fine.

Four dozen of sizzors of all sorts.

Sixteene kintals of pitch of the Canaries.

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

Four dozen of a small sort.

Sixe peeces of bayes of the lowest sort.

One very fine peece of bayes.

Four hundred elles of Manchester cottons, most blacke, greene, some yellow.

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

Sixe dozen of course shirts.

Three dozen of doublets of canuas.

Three dozen of doublets of stitched canuas.

One peece of fine Millan fustian barred.

Sixe dozen of locks for doores and chests.

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 gownes.

Foure hundred pound of tinne of the use of Portugal, most smal dishes and trenchers.

Foure pound of silke 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 northerne karsies of
 divers colours.
 Foure sorting clothes, blew, red, yellow, and
 green.
 Six northerne dozens of divers colours.
 One fine blew cloth of eight pound.
 One fine flannell of tenne or twelue pound.
 One fine sheeps coloured cloth of twelue pound.
 One fine black karsie.
 One fine flannell karsie.
 Six yards of black velvet.
 Three barrells of nailes for chests.
 Two barrells of nailes for ships and barks.
 Six kintals of Occom.
 Two dozen of velvet girdles without hangers.
 Foure yards of taffata red, blacke, and blew,
 with some greene.
 Two dozen of leather girdles.
 Sixe dozen of axes, hatchets, and small billes
 to cut wood.
 Foure mases of gitterne strings.
 Foure hundred or five hundred elles of some
 linen cloth, that is of a low price, to make
 shirts and sheets.
 Foure tunnes of yron.

These be such sort of wares as I would you
 should send, if you meane to deale, or send any
 ship hither. Have you no doubt, but by the helpe
 of God I shall put all things in good order accord-
 ing to your contentment and profit: for my father
 in lawe with the Capitaine and Prouedor doe rule
 this country. My father in law and I shall (God
 willing) make a good quantitie 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 deale 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,
 parchment lace of divers colours.
 Sixe yards of crimosin velvet.
 Sixe yards of crimosin satten.
 Twelve yards of fine puke blacke.

Here in this country in stead of John Whit-
 hall they have called me John Leitoan; so that
 they have used this name so long time, 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 stand-
 ing in a dark hole, where I found a little chist fast
 nayled; and the seames thereof were white with
 wheat flower. I drew it forth, and finding it of great
 weight, broke it in pieces, wherein I found 1700
 rials of eight, each whereof containeth four shil-
 lings 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 remem-
 bered, 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 griefe, which was
 the sicknesse of my deare kinsman John Locke,
 who by this time was growne 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 griefe for him, and the continuall
 trouble I indured among such hel-hounds, my
 spirits were cleane spent; wishing myselfe upon
 any desart 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 8 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 happinesse to light upon me, for I could by no meanes 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 indure 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 mishaps. 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 Sackeford; 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 always promised him her if shee returned, and 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 yourselfe; which you in such sort deserv'd at my hands, as I can by no meanes requite. I have left all (that little remayning) unto you, not to be accomptable for any thing. That which you will, if you finde any overplus, (yourselfe especially being satisfied to your owne desire) give unto my sister Anne Candish. I have written to no man living but yourselfe, leaving all friends and kinsmen, only reputed you as dearest. Commend me to both your brethren, being glad that your brother Edward escaped so unfortunate a voyage. I pray give this copie of my unhappie proceedings in this action to none, but onely to Sir George Cary, and tell him that if I had thought the letter of a dead man acceptable, I would have written unto him. I have taken order with the master of my ship to see his peeces of ordnance delivered unto him, for hee knoweth them. And if the Roebucke bee not returned, then I have appointed him to deliver him two brasse peeces, out of this ship, which I

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 Carey of 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. l. 6. c. 6. p. 1200.

114. *Manoa, p. 372.*] Gumilla, who is a believer in El Dorado, explains Manoa 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 Atabalipa, he says, fled after the destruction of the Incas, taking with him so great an army of Orejones, 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) in 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 noon 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. . . Raleigh cannot have believed this story, because the year in which Ordas ascended the Orinoco, was the same in which Pizarro conquered Peru.

Raleigh's conduct can only be explained by the design which I have imputed to him, of tempting vulgar curiosity and vulgar cupidity. 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. (p. 650.) Hence his Ewaipanomas, a nation of Acepali, 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. 653.) 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 penury.' (p. 660.) Hence too his flattery to Elizabeth, that the Amazons shall hear her virgin name, and his concluding, 'trust in God, that he who is King of all Kings, and Lord of Lords, will put it in her heart who is Lady of Ladies, to conquer El Dorado!'

P. 662.

The people of England had too much good sense to be duped by these tales of a golden country, and Keymis condescends to talk of brazil wood, honey, cotton, balsam and drugs, as articles more likely to suit the temper of his countrymen, 'because,' said he, 'our belief seemeth to be mated in these greater matters, and a certainty

of smaller profits is the readiest inducement to quicken our weak hopes.' (p. 683.)

This adventurer finely points out the policy of colonization to government. . . . If the necessity of following this enterprise doth nothing urge us, says Keymis, because in some case better a mischief than an inconvenience; let the conveniency thereof somewhat moove us, in respect both of so many gentlemen, souldiers, and younger brothers, who, if for want of employment they doe not die like cloyed cattell in ranke easefulness, are enforced for maintenance sake, sometimes to take shamefull and unlawful courses; and in respect of so many handycraftsmen having able bodies, that doe live in cleanness of teeth and povertie. To sacrifice the children of Beliel unto the common weale is not to defile the land with blood, because the law of God doeth not prohibite it, and the execution of justice requireth it to be so: but yet if the water-boughes, that sucke and feede on the juice and nourishment that the fruitfull branches should live by are to be cut down from the tree and not regarded; luckie and prosperous bee that right hand that shall plant and possesse a soyle, where they may fructifie, increase and growe to good; thrise honourable and blessed bee the memorie of so charitable a deede, from one generation to another.

Hakluyt. 3. 686.

116. *Famina ubi pepererunt, &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.) that 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 has heard of a sort of a 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 Caribs 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 the Soldan wished to have regaled the Cid. . . Mr. Bolingbroke'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 a 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 *Arucas*, which dwell on the south of *Oroonok*, (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 dances ne sont si dissoluës entre ces barbares comme elles sont entre les Chrestiens, d'autant que les filles et les femmes ne dansent jamais avec les hommes, si ce n'est quelquefois en Caouinant, ou beuvant; mais encore se gardent ils bien alors de beaucoup de folies, d'attraits & deshonestetez par trop ordinaires es dances de par deça; car les femmes ne mettent que la main sur les espauls de leurs maris qui dansent; aussi ne voit-on tant de scandales & de malheurs qui arrivent icy par le dances & balets pleins de lubricitez & de dissolutions.

Claude d'Abbeville, ff. 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 Ibiapaba, 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 name, saying there is no *Porto Seguro* in this life: but, that now as the savages were retreating to the woods, *e os nossos melhorando nos costumes, vay sendo agora este Porto mais Seguro de Aymures, e mais livre de incendios.*

122. *Banished 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 *Noticias, 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*, *ceseroit*, says *Claude d'Abbeville*, *une belle question de demander, s'ils jouissent maintenant du Paradis en qualité d'héritage, ou bien en qualité 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 baptisé. ff. 346.* It was lucky they did not die before they were whitewashed into this state of infantine innocenee; 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 Cæsar 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. ff. 348. . . François was his twenty-fifth name, . . and the most glorious one of all, says his Franciscan eulogist.

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.

125. *That the Parisians might make a raree show, p. 400.*] The Capuchin's description deserves to be preserved.

Mais qui eust jamais pensé que le peuple de Paris, tant accoustumé à voir des choses rares & nouvelles, se fust esmeu comme il a fait pour la venue de ces Indiens? . . . voicy qu'à la venue de ces pauvres Indiens, commota est universa civitas, tout Paris est en esmeute; un chacun ressentant en son cœur je ne sçay quelle jouissance, qui faisoit que ne se pouvant plus tenir en ses bornes et limites, il falloit qu'il sortit hors pour avoir le contentement de regarder de ses yeux ce après quoy son pauvre cœur tresailloit. Toutes les rues estoient pleines de peuple, qui couroit en affluence pour voir ce qui ne pouvoit quasi croire.

Nostre Convent n'étoit point nôtre, mais à tout Paris. Il n'étoit plus comme un Convent, mais sembloit une hale ou tout le monde affluoit plus de vingt lieues à la ronde. . . D'ou, penseriez vous, que proceda cette particuliere devotion de ce peuple de Paris, sinon de l'amour, et de la sainte affection qu'il porte à l'Eglise Catholique, Apostolique, & Romaine? . . .

Claude d'Abbeville, ff 340.

126. *Defeat of the French, p. 419.*] St. Antonio and the Virgin Mary are said to have fought at the head of the Portuguese 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 Conceiçam hints at this miracle, and refers to a judicial deposition of the fact among the archives of the Carmo Convent at Maranham.

Primazia Sraçfica 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 Ephémères, qui ont duré si peu, qu'elles n'ont servi qu'à montrer le chemin aux autres nations, leur défricher un peu le terrain, et leur faire connoître qu'on y pouvoit faire des établissemens 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, nay even the great water called the Golden Parima, or *Parhum 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 Guarani language may be traced.

128. *Five Jews were put to death, p. 451.*] Céspedes (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 Maranham, in the course of an hour, the whole sky was overcast

and it began to rain heavily. *En el Brazil hasta los Cielos nienten*, the very Heavens tell hes in Brazil, exclaimed the General, expressing thus of the climate, what he thought of the people.

Vieyra, Serm. t. 4. p. 295.

130. *Olinda, p. 463.*] The reef along the coast of Pernambuco supplied a fine stone for the monasteries and best houses at Olinda and Paraiba. (*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 it 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 conduce to the comfort, health, and preservation of the men.

132. *The four sea fights, p. 536.*] The admiral's ship bore the brunt of these four engagements, . . . but S. Barbara had the credit. *Pondevos*, says *Vieyra* in his Sermon upon this Saint, . . . *no Galeam S. Domingos, Capitania Real de nossa Armada nas quatro batalhas navaes de Pernambuco, sustentando a bataria de trinta e cinco naos Olandezas: e que he o que se via dentro e fóra em toda aquella fermosa e temerosa fortaleza nos quatro dias destes conflitos? Jugava o Galeam sessenta meyoas canhoens de bronze em duas cubertas; tinha guarneidas por hum e outro bordo o convèz, os castellos de popa e proa, as duas varandas e as gaveas com seiscentos mosqueteiros. E sendo hum Ethna que lentamente se movia, vomitando labaredas e raios de ferro e chumbo por tantas boeas maiores e menores; dando todos e recebendo polvora, carregando & descarregando polvora, e tendo nas mesmas maos os murroens com duas mechas acesas, ou os botafogos fincados junto aos cartuchos; & que bastando qualquer faisca para excitar hum total incendio, e voar em hum momento toda aquella maquina; que entre tanta confusam, e visinhança de polvora e fogo, estivesse o Galeam tremolando as suas bandeiras tam seguro e senhor do campo, como huna roca batida só das ondas, e nam das balas; quem negara que supria alli a vigilancia e patrocínio de S. Barbara, o que nenhuma providencia humana poderá 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 tive este pensamento, e agora me torno a confirmar mais nelle, que para se despacharem os soldados do Brazil, principalmente os que andam em campanha, nam tem necessidade de mais certidam, que tomar o capitulo onze da segunda Epistola de S. Paulo aos Corinthios, firmada e jurada por seus Genevaes, que bem o poderam fazer sem nenhum escrupulo. Faz alli o Apostolo huma ladainha muy comprida de seus serviços e trabalhos, e diz assim: In laboribus plurimis, in carceribus abundantius, in plagis supra modum, in mortibus frequenter, &c. Demolo por lido, e vamos applicando. In laboribus plurimis: que soldados padecem no mundo mayores trabalhos que os do Brazil? In carceribus abundantius: tambem muitas vezes sam prisioneiros, e nas prisocens nenhuns mais cruelmente tratados que elles. In plagis supra modum: quantas sejam as feridas que recebem, e quam continuas, bem o dizem esses Hospitues, bem o dizem essas campanhas, e tambem os peitos vivos o podem dizer, que apenas se achará algum, que nam ande feito hum crivo. In mortibus frequenter: frequentemente mortos, porque nam ha guerra no mundo onde se morra tam frequentemente, como na do Brazil, de dia e de noite, no inverno e no veram, na trincheira e na campanha, nas nossas terras e nas do inimigo; e agora neste jornada ultima e milagrosa, onde se nam deu quartel, o mesmo foy ser ferido que morto, deixando os amigos aos amigos, e os irmams aos irmams, por mais nam poderem, ficando os miseravets feridos nesses matos, nessas estradas, sem cura, sem remedio, sem companhia, para serem mortos a sangue frio e cruelmente despedaçados dos alfanges Olandezes, pelo Rey, pela Patria, pela Honra, pela Religiam, pela Fè. O valerosos soldados que de boa vontade me detivera en agora com vosco pregando vossas gloriosas exequias, mas vou depressa seguindo aos que vos deixam, perdoaime. In itineribus sæpe: quem andou nunca, nem ainda correo com a imaginaçam os caminhos, que fazem estes soldados? Daqui a Pernambuco, daqui a Paraiba, daqui ao Rio Grande, e mais abaixo, por certoens de trezentas e quatrocentas legoas, levando sempre as municoens às costas, e os mantimentos nos ferros dos chuços, e nas bocas dos arcabuzes. Periculis fluminum: atravessando rios tantos e tam candalosos sem barca, sem ponte, mais que os braços e a industria para os passar. Periculis latronum: saindolhes os ladroens a cada passo. Periculis ex genere: sendo Espanhoes, a quem os Olandezes tem mortal odio. Periculis ex gentibus: arriscados a mil emboscadas do Gentio rebelde. Periculis in ci-*

vitae: com perigos na Cidade, como o que tiveram nesta, quando a preço de tantas vidas a defenderam vitoriosamente. Periculis in solitudine: com perigos no deserto, porque são vastíssimos os despovoados que passam, sem casa, sem gente, e muitas vezes sem rasto de feia, nem de animal, mais que Ceo e terra. Periculis in mari: com perigos no mar, que ainda que atêgora os nam avia, bem se sabe quam grandes foram os que se padeceram na Armada, e ainda nam se sabe tudo. Periculis in falsis fratribus: com perigos de falsas irmaons, porque nem com os nossos Portuguezes estam seguros na campanha, que o temor da morte os obriga a descobrir muitas vezes o que nam deveram. In frigore et nuditate: nus, despídos, descalços, ao Sol, ao frio, à churca, às inclemencias dos ares deste clima, que são os mais agudos que se sabem. In fame, et siti, in jejuniis multis: jejuando, e padecendo as mais extraordinarias fomes, e sedes, que nunca suportaram corpus mortaes, sustentando a triste e animosa vida com as raizes das arvores, com os bichos do mato, com as frutas agrestes e venenosas, e tendose por muy regalados, se chegavam a alcançar para comer meya libra de carne de cavallo. Ha mais invencivel paciência? Ha mais dura e pertinaz constancia? Se isto sabeis Olandezes, em que fundais vossas esperanças, como nam desistis da empresa, como nam desmayais, como nam vos ides? Tendo os soldados de Julio Cesar sitiada a Cidade de Dyrrachio, chegaram a comer nam sei que pam feito de ervas, mas pam emfim; o qual como visse Pompeo, que era o Capitam sitiado, primeiramente disse que alli pelejava com feras e nam com homens; e logo mandou que aquelle pam nam apparecesse, porque se o vissem seus soldados, sem duvida desmayariam, e nem se atreveriam a resistir a gente de tante constancia e pertinacia, . . . Ne visâ patientiâ et pertinaciâ hostis, animi suorum frangerentur, diz Suetonio. Bem digo eu logo, Olandezes, se vedes o pam com que se sustentam nossos soldados, de cujo veneno morreram em huma noite mais de vinte, se vedes esta paciência, este constancia, esta pertinacia, como vos atreveis a pelear com tal gente, como se vos nam quebram os animos, como nam desistis da empresa? T. 8. p. 401.

134. *The Ucayali*, p. 581.] It appears by the Mercurio Peruano (No. 152,) that the Spaniards are very solicitous to secure the mouth of the Ucayali, against the possible entrance of Portuguese vessels.

The tribes on this river, contrary to other savages, meet in silence when they fight. If they sound their horns it is a token of peace.

(Do. No. 75.)

The Tyger is said to fight the Cayman on the Ucayali, . . . he springs upon his amphibious enemy, and fixes his claws in the eyes; the other takes to the water, and both perish. The tygers here are also said to lay by a stock of tortoises, by turning them on their backs. This savours strongly of fable; it is, however, gravely affirmed in the Mer. Peruano. T. 3. p. 55.

135. *The Omaguas*, p. 587.] Some tribes who bordered on Louisiana were called *Têtes plattes*, from the same custom. By Lafitau's description, they must have exactly resembled the Omaguas. "Elles font consister leur beauté à avoir le front applati, et le sommet de la tête terminer en pointe, en façon de mitre, t. 595." He also says, that the custom prevailed among the Caribes 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*.

Lafitau, Do.

The Druses of Syria mould their heads, on the contrary, in the long fashion, according to D'Arvieux, T. 1. 358.

The Indians flatten 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 us *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 Mechiko) 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 fickle, 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, l. 1. 127.*

Hevea Guianensis is the objectionable name which has been given to the tree by French botanists.

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 Maranham) which is prefixed to Berredo's Annals, that the Missionaries ascertained this communication two years afterwards.

138. *Amazons, p. 609.*] *Le Pere Lamberte de l'Ordre des Clercs Reguliers, & Missionaire de la Colchide, pretend qu'il y a encore des Amazones parmi les Nations Barbares que habitent le Caucase.*

Lafitau. Mœurs Sauvages, t. 1. p. 52. Relatione della Colchide, cap. 28. p. 200. 201. referred to.

Columbus heard in Cuba of an island inhabited only by women, who sometimes held an intercourse with the Caribs, kept their daughters, and sent the sons to their fathers.

Munoz, English Tr. p. 253.

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, *Itá ac cerá*, 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 chrystal, 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.

L. 1. p. 51. 2.

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 underground, 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 abandoned their colony, after gathering a great quantity 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. *Techo.*

In the *Noticias de Brazil*, (l. 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 these emeralds, they put it upon the fire and so made it crack; . . . but this injured the colour and lustre of the stone.

I have not seen a more ridiculous story concerning precious stones, than one which Gumilla relates, (c. 25.) on the faith of another jesuit; . . . that, in the *Nuevo Reyno de Granada*, the poultry pick up brute emeralds, and keep them in their gizzards till they have polished them, . . . so that it was a common thing for a man who bought a fowl, to find one or two valuable emeralds when he came to cut it up!

140. *Poultry*, p. 617.] Acosta (l. 4. c. 35.) says, that the Peruvians had our domestic poultry before the discovery of the New World; his proof is, that they called the hen *gualpa*, and the egg *ronto*, 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 acceptance. 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 mosquitos 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 impossible. 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 mosquitos below me, nor even hear, from the incessant buzzing of these troublesome insects. *T. 2. p. 93.*

There is a peculiar substance formed by a species of bee in the *Orinoco* country, which the roosting tribes burn incessantly in their habitations, and which effectually protects them from all winged insects. They call it *Comejou*; Gumilla says, it is neither earth, nor wax. *T. 1. c. 9.*

"The seeds of the *arnotta*, being macerated in the juice of lemon, and mixed with water, and gum that exudes from the *mawna* 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 appearance 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 answered me in French, saying, my skin, Sir, is kept soft, too great perspiration is prevented, and the mosquitos 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, 1. p. 400.*

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

PRINTED
BY
WILLIAM POPLÉ,
OLD BOSWELL COURT,
STRAND.

PUBLISHED BY ROBERT SOUTHEY.

1. JOAN OF ARC, an heroic Poem, Third Edition, 2 Vols. Foolscap 8vo. Price 12s. Boards.

2. LETTERS WRITTEN DURING A JOURNEY IN SPAIN, AND A SHORT RESIDENCE IN PORTUGAL, Third Edition, corrected and amended. 2 vols. 12mo. Price 10s. 6d.

3. POEMS, vol. I. Fifth Edition, Foolscap 8vo. Price 6s. Boards.

4. ——— vol. II. Third Edition, Foolscap 8vo. Price 6s. Boards.

5. THALABA THE DESTROYER, a rhythmical Romance, Second Edition, 2 vols. Foolscap 8vo. Price 14s. Boards.

6. AMADIS OF GAUL, from the Spanish version of GARCIBORDONEZ DE MONTALVO. 4 vols. 12mo. Price 1l. 1s. Boards.

7. MADOC, a Poem, Second Edition, 2 vols. Foolscap 8vo. Price 12s. Boards.

8. METRICAL TALES, and other POEMS, formerly published in the ANNUAL ANTHOLOGY. 1 vol. Foolscap 8vo. Price 5s. 6d. Boards.

9. SPECIMENS OF THE LATER ENGLISH POETS, 3 vols. Crown 8vo. Price 1l. 11s. 6d. Boards.

10. PALMERIN OF ENGLAND, a new Edition, corrected from the original Portuguese of FRANCISCO DE MORAES, 4 vols. 12mo. Price 1l. 8s. Boards.

11. THE CHRONICLE OF THE CID, RODRIGO DIAZ DE BIVAR, THE CAMPEADOR, from the Spanish. 1 vol. 4to. Price 1l. 15s. Boards.

Speedily will be published,

12. THE CURSE OF KEHAMA, a Romance in rhyme, founded upon the Hindu Mythology.

45

L 002/003 R 35



