

CHAPTER XXVII.

Proceedings respecting Slavery in Para and Maranham. Plans of Vieyra. Ineffectual search for mines. Successful missions on the side of Seara, and in the Ilha dos Joanes. Insurrection against the Jesuits, their expulsion, and restoration.

Vidal had arrived in Maranham a few days before Vieyra, and had probably expressed his opinion of him, for the Chamber waited upon the Jesuit in a body to congratulate him upon his voyage, and thank him for the advantages which he had obtained for the inhabitants of that State. When the terms of the new law were made known, so intolerable was the slightest restraint upon that uncontrolled tyranny and insatiable cupidity to which they had been accustomed to give full scope, that the officers and clergy, who were the usual prime movers of all mischief here, began to stir up a popular tumult; but Vidal by his firmness and timely severity suppressed it at its commencement. The people of Para, meantime, taking advantage of the law of 1653, but without observing any of its provisions, had carried on their slave-trade with great success. Before any of their victims could lawfully be considered as slaves, they were to be examined before the Governor-General, the *Ouvidor* and *Prove-*

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Vidal takes possession of the Government.

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*Examination
of the captives at Be-
lem.*

dor, the Vicar of the Mother Church, Vieyra, as Superior of the Missions, and the Superiors of the other three Religious Orders which were established in that State. Vidal accordingly, that no diligence on his part might be wanting for the due fulfilment of the King's decrees, went to Belem, and Vieyra accompanied him. The number of Indians whom the slave-dealers had brought down was known to be not less than sixteen hundred, and believed to be as many as two thousand: every person who offered any for examination made oath that he presented all whom he had either brought or received from the interior; yet the whole number who were presented fell short of eight hundred, more than half having been concealed, and the men who brought these for examination, beginning their work thus with perjury. A scene of villany ensued which corresponded with such a prelude. Antonio Lameira da Franca, Captain of the fort of Curupa, was the first who came before the Junta; he presented eight and twenty Indians; Vidal examined them through some interpreters of their own tribe, and they replied, one and all, that they had been ransomed from the cord, having been prisoners to another nation, and destined by them to be eaten, as many of their companions had been. Now it was perfectly well known that cord-Indians were very rarely found; it seemed therefore so extraordinary that twenty-eight should have been ransomed at one time, that Vidal withdrew into another apartment, sent for these Indians one by one, and told them that he was the Governor, the Chief of all the Portugueze in that country, . . . that they might speak the truth freely, and without fear, and that every man who was lawfully free should immediately be set at liberty; but they answered one by one, as they had done collectively, that they were all cord-prisoners, and had actually been redeemed from slaughter. After this they were past over to the Ouvidor, to whom Lameira made oath that he had thus

legally procured them, and they repeated the same declaration. Eight days after this examination the Chiefs of some allied Indians on the Orellana arrived at Belem, to request that the Governor would release some of their people whom the Portuguese had taken away. They were desired to look for them and bring them to his presence; and after little search they came before Vidal with the same eight and twenty persons whom Lameira had past as slaves according to the law. The Chiefs pointed out the men who had kidnapped them, and who, being thus convicted, confessed the fact. The Indians were not only free men, but subjects of the King of Portugal, and such useful ones that they had come two hundred leagues from their own country to serve against the Dutch in Maranham, and had assisted in building the fort, and the church at Curupa. The leader of the party, upon being interrogated wherefore he had committed this flagrant offence, made answer that as he knew another person intended to do the same thing, he chose to be beforehand with him. The prisoners were then asked why they had so obstinately borne false witness against themselves; they answered, that their owner had threatened to flog them to death unless they persisted in giving that account, and no other. Lameira and the leader of the kidnapping party were two of the first persons in the State, and both had held some of its highest offices.

Another Portuguese, by name Amaro de Mendonça, was detected in suborning the interpreter. A youth whom he detained in slavery demanded his freedom, and Mendonça without hesitation made oath that he was his slave, being the son of one of his female slaves now dead. Enquiry was made, and the real mother of the youth, a free Indian woman, was produced. Mendonça was arrested for this perjury; the palpable conviction produced in him some sense of guilt or of shame:

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*Villainy of
the captors
and of the
judges.*

CHAP. "the truth is," said he, "that the lad is free, and that God has
XXVII. brought the Governor to this country for the salvation of our
1655. souls." But villainous as these men-stealers were, some of the
judges by whom their claims were to be determined were not
less so. It was notorious that the excessive cruelties which the
Portugueze had long exercised upon the Indians in these parts,
had completely terrified this unhappy race: under the impres-
sion of fear the prisoners said whatever their kidnappers bade
them say; and lest they should be emboldened by seeing that
some of their countrymen were set at liberty, the Portugueze
told them these times would not last long; . . . the Governor
would soon be removed, and men of a different stamp would
succeed him; . . . they themselves should be Governors and Chief
Captains in their turn. The manner in which the slaves were
procured was notorious also. The slave-traders, when they
came to an Indian settlement, bought what slaves they found
there, . . . if there were any they were generally few. They then
showed the inhabitants the stock of articles which they brought
out for barter, and saying their orders were not to return till all
had been disposed of, partly by promises, partly by threats, they
made them go and procure more prisoners; and these were the
usual wars in which the prisoners were taken, . . . wars made for
the sole purpose of taking them, and instigated entirely by the
slave-dealers. It was certain too that of the prisoners many
had been forcibly kidnapped by the Portugueze, or never paid
for; for men who carried out only twenty or thirty ransoms
brought back forty or fifty slaves: the payment, when it was paid,
consisted in hardware to the amount of eleven testoons (about
five shillings and sixpence) per head. All this was well known,
and could not be concealed: and the characters of the individuals
who brought prisoners for examination were so well understood,
that in some instances, as soon as the judges heard to whom

a lot of prisoners belonged, they looked at each other and said, All these will be Cord-Indians. There were however some Portuguese, who being perhaps less ferocious, relied upon the majority of the judges, and threw upon them the larger share of guilt; these persons presented their Indians simply as prisoners whom they had ransomed, and the Indians themselves said they had been taken in war and redeemed, but no account was given either of the nature or cause of the war. Vieyra therefore argued, that as it was not attempted to prove they had been captured in just war, which the law required, the safe opinion, according to all rules in casuistry, was to be followed, and therefore they ought to be set free. But the Superiors of the Carmo and of the Merces voted that they should all be slaves, because among Savages all wars were lawful. The Franciscan Superior began by saying he wished God would reveal to him by an angel whether those wars had been just or unjust: but he inclined to believe they were just, because the Doctors had laid down that there were twelve just causes of war, and among so many it was impossible that these men should not have fallen upon one. To this it was replied, the Doctors had also laid down that there were twenty-four unjust causes of war, and therefore upon his own premises the chances against his conclusion were precisely two to one. He, however, gave his vote that they should be all slaves, but that their children, if they had any, should be free. The Vicar gave no reason for his opinion, but merely pronounced "Slaves! Slaves!" this was his uniform vote, and his uniform manner of voting; and when he was once prest to explain the motives for his decision, he answered, that the men who presented these captives were Christians, and therefore it was not to be presumed that they would do any thing wrong; . . . that such had always been the custom in that state; . . . that if the Indians were declared free the men

CHAP. who had procured them would lose their labour, and there
 XXVII. would be a mutiny among the people. One of the Friars help-
 1655. ed him in this precious reasoning by saying, that the Indians
 lost nothing by becoming slaves, and that slavery was a prac-
 tice which originated in compassion, . . . as if, says Vieyra, it
 were the same thing to commute death for servitude as to de-
 prive a free man of his liberty. Vidal and the Ouvidor voted
 with Vieyra; and as a mode of accommodating the different
 opinions, Vidal proposed that those Indians whose case appear-
 ed doubtful should serve seven years instead of five before they
 recovered their freedom; but there were four votes to three in
 favour of perpetual slavery.

Antonio Lameira, after his villany had been detected in the
 first instance, presented a second batch of prisoners, who, like
 the former, all declared that they had been ransomed from the
 cord. Vieyra argued upon this case, first, that it was notorious
 that prisoners of this description were few in number: secondly,
 that it was morally impossible that all the prisoners belonging
 to one man, having been procured from different places, should
 be, without exception, in the same predicament: thirdly, that
 they had been procured in private expeditions sent out by La-
 meira, who had no authority so to do, and without any of the
 circumstances which the law required: lastly, that Lameira had
 been detected in flagrant perjury, and there was every reason to
 infer that the man who had thus acted like a villain in one in-
 stance was acting so in another. The case was indeed palpable,
 and so the Governor and the Ouvidor perceived; but the three
 Friars said the Indians were Cord-Indians by their own confes-
 sion; the Vicar as usual pronounced his emphatic opinion,
 "Slaves! Slaves!" and to slavery these poor creatures were accor-
 dingly condemned. Of the three Friars who voted thus wickedly,
 the one was known to be sharer in the trade, and to pass sentence

in his own cause ; and the second had been in like manner concerned, but had sold his share of the slaves before the examination, with warrantry no doubt that they should be condemned as lawful prizes. A considerable number of the Indians had been sent to Maranham, and there the examination terminated more equitably ; for the Ouvidor and the Vicar, who supplied the places of their brother officers in Para, voted with Vieyra and the Governor : such, however, was the temper of the three Friars in the minority, and so desirous were they of currying favour with the people, that they refused to sign the proceedings. Vieyra sent an account of these proceedings to the King ; there had been flagrant injustice, nevertheless some good had been effected, and whatever good was done, he said, was owing to Vidal. This led him to speak of that Governor. "Of Andre Vidal," said he, "I will now say to your Majesty what I have not ventured to say before, that I might not be precipitate, and because I have known so many men as to have learnt that much time is required for knowing one. Your Majesty has very few such men in your dominions as Andre Vidal. He is in every thing what he is as a soldier, . . . a true Christian, a friend of justice and of reason, active, zealous for your Majesty's service, a strict observer of your royal orders, and above all, entirely disinterested. For the support which he has given me in these missions I am bound to him ; but as touching the service of your Majesty, of which I cannot even here be unmindful, I must say that Andre Vidal is lost in Maranham, and that India would not have been lost if it had been entrusted to him."

It had not been in Vidal's power to punish the manifest crimes committed by the last ransoming party, nor to redress them at Belem, because his vote upon the examination had no greater weight than that of the nefarious colleagues with whom he was conjoined ; but where he possessed means of fulfilling

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*Carta de
Vieyra.
t. 3. IV.
Informaçam
que deu o
Padre Ant.
Vieyra.*

*Cartas, t. 1,
xiii.*

*Success of
the Jesuits.*

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*Andre de
Barros, L.
2, § 125.*

*Expedition
up the To-
cantins.*

the spirit as well as the letter of his instructions, neither the will nor the resolution was wanting. Under his protection Vieyra proceeded diligently with projects worthy of his Order and of himself. The chief settlements of the reduced Indians lay to the north of Maranham, where above fifty¹⁶ villages were established along an extent of four hundred leagues of coast. On this side all was flourishing; his desire was to form stations in like manner toward the South as far as Seara, connecting thus the Jesuits of Maranham with Brazil, and to pursue the same system of civilization up the great rivers, and in the islands in the mouth of the Orellana. It was to be seen whether an expedition conducted wholly by Religioners, without any means either of artifice or of violence, would succeed as well as those in which fraud and force were unsparingly employed. Two Jesuits, with an hundred Indian canoe-men, and no other person in their company except a Portugueze surgeon, went

¹⁶ There were three on the mainland, within a distance of twenty-five leagues; two villages in the district of Gurupy, within twenty leagues; seven in that of Camuta, within forty; six in that of Para, within fifty; twenty eight in the Boca do Rio, within an hundred and fifty; four in that of Camuci, within a distance which Andre de Barros could not ascertain. Besides these there were six villages in the Isle of Maranham. Andre de Barros says that the souls in these settlements were more than two hundred thousand: this would average between three and four thousand each, and therefore the estimate must be greatly exaggerated; for we have the census of the Guarani and Chiquito Reductions to compare with it; and though the River tribes were much less warlike and more docile than those of the interior, or of any other part of the coast, they had for that very reason been more rapidly destroyed. Vieyra affirms that since the Portugueze became masters of Maranham, they had in less than forty years destroyed more than four hundred Indian settlements, some of which were as populous as large cities, and more than two millions of Indians. It appears by Teixeira's voyage that the River tribes were very numerous, . . . but this statement must surely be overrated.

three hundred leagues up the river of the Tocantins to reduce a tribe of Topinambazes, . . whose high reputation for courage, as well as their name, marked their affinity to the bravest people who had opposed the Portugueze in the old Captaincies. The Catingas, who were also of the Tupi race, possessed part of the interjacent country; they were old enemies of the Para settlers, and during the night attempted to cut off some canoes which had fallen astern; but when they learnt from the boatmen that there were no other Portugueze in the party than the *Padres Obunas*, or Black Fathers, and for what purpose they were come, these very enemies followed the Missionaries, and agreed to send deputies back with them, who should treat concerning peace, and arrange measures for their conversion. When the Jesuits reached the nation of whom they were in search, and informed them of the new laws which entrusted the Company with the sole administration of the reduced Indians, they persuaded more than a thousand persons, of whom three hundred were warriors, to follow them. They descended the river in sixty canoes; Vidal, Vieyra, and all the people of Bellem went out to see them land; and Vidal, stern and inexorable as he was in war, is said to have wept for joy at beholding this wild flock brought within the fold of Christ. The Catingas soon followed, and were settled in the Captaincy of Camuta; and Vieyra himself went in quest of the remainder of the Poquiz, whom he had formerly seen so wickedly sacrificed, and brought them down to live under the direction of their spiritual fathers.

Good use was made of the prisoners who were set at liberty after the examination in Maranham. F. Manoel de Sousa took them under his charge, and went up the Orellana to restore them to their own countrymen. Men thus delivered became the best ambassadors: and F. Manoel, having his head-quarters at Curupa, made excursions to the rivers Xingu and Tapajos,

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Andre de
Barros, L.
2, § 134—
141, 165.

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*Outrage
against the
Jesuits at
Curupa.**The Juru-
únas.**André de
Barros, L.
2, 152—
163.**Fruitless
expedition
in search of
mines.**Vieyra.
Sermoens.
i. 4, p. 400.**André de
Barros, L.
2, 166—7
— 82.*

till the people of Curupa, impatient of laws which restrained them from their old practices, and abetted at least, if not incited, by their infamous Captain Lameira, tore down the royal edict, seized the Jesuits, forced them into a canoe, and turned them adrift upon the stream. Such outrages could not be committed with impunity under a Governor like Vidal; he sent to apprehend the criminals, they were brought before him in irons, and were banished from the State for life. F. Manoel being thus restored, proceeded farther up the river, and laboured among the Juruúnas, or Black-Mouths, a tribe who differed from all of Tupi stock in many things as well as in language. They were above the mean stature, and, unlike all other savages, they abhorred indolence. They distinguished themselves by a black mark, tattooed from the forehead to the upper lip, where it divided, and encircled the mouth with a black setting; the nobler the person the broader was the line, and the Chiefs had the whole face blackened. Among these people the Jesuit had good success: they sang litanies during the whole night of Good Friday, and flogged themselves in procession to his heart's content.

Meantime Sotto-Mayor, the man whose society had first induced Vieyra to devote himself to the Maranham mission, accompanied a party of forty Portugueze and two hundred Indians, who were sent to the Serras dos Pacajas in search of mines, and with such confident expectations of success that they took the name of the Golden Expedition. Samples both of silver and of gold had been produced by the promoters of the scheme, who were suspected of having wilfully deceived the Government, when after ten months search their hopes were frustrated: so many persons died of fatigue and hunger during this expedition, that the survivors could not return till a fresh party arrived to bring them back. During this bootless quest

Sotto-Mayor laboured among the Pacajas and the Pirapés; but as he was preparing means for bringing the latter tribe to a place of settlement, he slipt from a crag, and falling with his breast upon a sharp stone, received a mortal hurt. The body having been buried by the tribe among whom he died, was brought from thence by the Jesuits of Para: they found it, according to their report, exhaling the richest odour¹⁷ of sanctity when the ground was opened, and they removed it to Belem as a treasure which would one day prove a mine to the Church where it was deposited. During the night on which it reached their church the head disappeared; . . the thief, however, had some claim to it, for he by whom it was thus piously abstracted was Manoel de Vide Sotto-Mayor, brother of the dead, and at that time Sargento Mor of Belem. He inclosed it in a leaden case with quicklime, and carried it to Lisbon; after twenty years the case was opened, and the head in its dried state was from that time preserved in cotton as a relic by the noble family to which Sotto-Mayor belonged.

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Death of
Sotto-Mayor.

Andre de
Barros, L.
2, § 175—8.

Vieyra seeks
to open a
communication
with
Seara.

The failure of these golden hopes cast a gloom over the people of Para. Vieyra was at Belem when the news arrived, and he made it the subject of a sermon, congratulating his countrymen that their ill-judging wishes had been thus mercifully disappointed. The misery of labouring in mines was such, he ob-

¹⁷ During the noviciate of this good man it was discovered that he had lost the sight of one eye, and for this defect, according to the Nazarene spirit of Loyola's institution, he was dismissed. But he continued to live the life of a novice, and after a year's perseverance his merits of zeal and ability were thought sufficient to overbalance this accidental defect. (*Andre de Barros, L. 2, § 171—2.*) Two Memoirs upon the State of Maranhão, by his brother Manoel da Vide, are in the Pinheiro Collection of Manuscripts, and have supplied me with some valuable facts.

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Sermoens,
4, 4, p. 410.

served, that it was one of the punishments to which the Christians in old time were condemned by the cruellest of the Heathen persecutors. Had any been now discovered, by whom but Indians were they to have been worked? and if so many thousands of this wretched people had been consumed in so few years, and in labours which were comparatively light, where were they to be found for the severer and more wasting toil? Vieyra now in concert with the Governor, turned his attention to the southward coast. The Pernambucan war had made Vidal acquainted with the country about Seara, and the articles of commerce which were to be procured there. The *Pao Violete*, or violet-wood, was cut on the skirts of the Serra de Ibiapaba, where those mountains approached nearest to the sea, and much ambergris was cast upon the shores: to secure the trade in these commodities, he wished to build a fort at the mouth of the Camuci; but this could not be done unless terms were made with the Indians. The greater part of those natives who had sided with the Dutch had taken shelter among these mountains, after the expulsion of their European friends, and the bowels of the Jesuits were more easily moved toward them, as sheep who having been marked with the stamp of baptism, had more claim than others to the Shepherd's¹⁸ care. The difficulty was, how to communicate with them: the intervening country, an extent of more than four hundred miles, was possessed by hostile savages, and the voyage from Maranham to

¹⁸ As many of these Indians had served in Dutch regiments, and some of them had been born and brought up among the Dutch, they were supposed to be in a worse state than simple paganism, "for they had been conversant," says the Jesuit Barros, "with Jews, Calvinists, Lutherans, and other monsters of the different sects of the north, and the result of all had been a general Atheism, and a Geneva of the greatest monstrosity in their souls!"

Seara was more difficult and tedious than any known course upon the seas. A Tobajara Indian undertook the land-journey, and was dispatched with letters from the Governor, assuring them of the King's pardon for all offences committed during the Dutch war, and another from Vieyra, stating that the Jesuits, their first fathers, defenders, and teachers, were come to Maranham to be their protectors. When nine months had elapsed this messenger was given up as lost, and a vessel sailed from St. Luiz for the Camuçi, having on board two Jesuits, forty soldiers, and all things necessary for the intended fortress. The mode of navigation was to creep along the coast, catching the morning land-breeze, anchoring as soon as it failed, and awaiting its uncertain return. In this manner the vessel proceeded till all her provisions were consumed, and then after fifty days fruitless perseverance the crew put back, and in the course of twelve hours found themselves again at St. Luiz. Meantime Vieyra had attempted a longer voyage in the same direction with no better success. He sailed for Bahia, to lay the state of Maranham before the Provincial, and obtain more labourers for the vineyard; after more than seven weeks he also was on the point of putting back in despair, when the Tobajara messenger was recognized coming down the coast in a canoe, with ten Indians from the Serra, bringing letters from their chiefs; the letters were written on Venetian paper, and sealed with Dutch sealing-wax; these articles they had obtained from the Dutch, and probably it was from the heretics also that they had learnt to write: the writers, however, were Pernambucan Indians, who retained enough of their Catholic education to love the very name of a Jesuit, and expressed their willingness to live again under the tuition of the Company. With these messengers Vieyra joyfully returned. This second failure discouraged any farther attempt by sea, and two brethren, one of whom, by name F. An-

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 XXVII. undertook the more perilous journey by land. The first hundred
 1656. miles lay over a region of sand, called from its white appearance
 the Sheets; thus far they were accompanied by an escort of
 Portugueze against the wild Tapuyas; from thence they pro-
 ceeded with their own party of seventy Indians, who carried
 that preparation of mandioc which is called war-flour, (*farinha
 de guerra*) in a sort of basket upon their backs. At the end of
 the thirteenth day the Jesuits examined their stores, and found
 that the bearers, not contented with their due rations, had light-
 ened their shoulders by eating up the whole of what they car-
 ried: they would then fain have returned, but their masters
 insisted upon proceeding and trusting to Providence. They
 supported themselves upon land-crabs, and fish which they ob-
 tained from the Teremembes. One horde of these, under a
 Chief called Tatuguazu, or the Great Armadillo, laid a plan for
 murdering them in the night; but they discovered his intention,
 and decamped in time. They carried a canoe with them, with-
 out which it would have been difficult or impossible to pass the
 many rivers upon their way: in crossing the Piraminim the cur-
 rent carried them out to sea; and when, miraculously to their
 own belief, they had regained the river with the returning tide,
 they had nearly been swamped in ascending it by showers of
 sand, which the wind drove in such clouds as to fill the canoe as
 fast as they could bale it out with hats, hands, and paddles.
 When they lay down to sleep upon the sand, they were nearly
 buried in it before they rose. The whole distance which they
 travelled was computed at about five hundred and twenty miles,
 along the shore, without a tree to shelter them: but the waves
 cast up wood enough for fuel. After a painful journey of five
 weeks they reached the Serra de Ibiapaba.

*Andre de
 Barros, L.
 2, § 189—
 209.*

*The Mission-
 aries reach
 Ibiapaba.*

Ibiapaba is a Tupi word signifying the precipitous land (*ter-*

ra talha). The mountains rise from the shores about the Camuci, towering wave above wave, and extend into the interior for more than an hundred and sixty miles. At present this Serra separates the Captaincies of Pernambuco and Piauí. The height is considerable; but though clouds are said continually to envelope these mountains, water, from some unexplained cause, is very scarce there, and hence it is that the rivers between Seara and Recife are dry in summer, and that the whole intermediate country suffers so frequently from drought. The Missionaries were joyfully received here, a place of worship was soon erected, and Ribeiro indited in Tupi verse a summary of the Romish faith, set it to a tune, and taught the children to sing it. His services were soon required at Seara. Near that fortress, which was about sixty leagues from the station of the Jesuits, there were two villages of converted Indians, and two Tapuya tribes, who, though both at peace with the Portuguese, were at war with each other. A party of the Jaguaruanas, as the one were called, were in the forests cutting violet-wood for the Captain of the fort, when their enemies, the Guanaces, with some force from the villages, fell upon them, and carried off their wives and children. The Captain of the fort, as soon as he heard of this, hastened with a body of soldiers to assist the injured party. They found the Guanaces, about five hundred in number, fortified in a wood; one of the soldiers persuaded them to give up their arms, that they might retire under protection of the Portuguese; but the moment that they disarmed themselves the Jaguaruanas fell upon them, and massacred every man, the authority of the Portuguese not being sufficient to prevent the mischief to which they had given occasion. The evil did not end here: a general cry was raised among all the Seara Indians against the Portuguese; and they were despised for not having been able to protect the people whom they had

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*Vieyra quoted by Andre de Barros, l. 2, § 211—13.**Koster's Travels.*

CHAP. induced to lay down their weapons, nor to withhold those for
XXVII. whose forbearance their word had been accepted as security.
1656. In this movement of indignation the fortress was threatened,
and the Jaguaruanas, growing insolent with the joy of revenge,
prepared to take vengeance also upon the two villages of converted
Indians. In such an emergency the commander saw no better means
of relief than by requesting the Jesuits of Ibiapaba would hasten to
aid him with all speed. Ribeiro came, and succeeded in restoring
peace and confidence. He was less successful in attempting to reform
the abuses of the Christian villages, where the soldiers lived in open
adultery with the wives, while the husbands were employed by the
officers, in that spirit of rapacious avarice which at this time disgraced
the Portuguese. He went to Pernambuco to propose some remedy for
these things, but a deaf ear was turned to any proposal which could
in the slightest degree lessen the emoluments of office, however
iniquitously obtained. When Ribeiro returned to the Serra, he
received information from Vieyra that the Provincial had sent orders
for them to forsake the mission and return to Maranham. He called
together the Royalets, told them that such orders had been given,
and that he only waited to receive the Provincial's letters; and
represented to them that it would be to the service of God and of
the King if they also would remove to Maranham. One of the Chiefs
replied, that as for the service of the King, Ibiapaba belonged to
him as well as Maranham; nor could there be any reason why they
should remove in order to become Christians and serve God, for
God was in all places. By good fortune the Provincial's orders,
though sent by repeated messengers, did not arrive till after
eighteen months, and in that time instructions were received from
the Court, probably through Vieyra's interference, that the mission
should by all means be continued. It was in reality of great
importance, for

it opened the communication between Pernambuco and Maranham, which, if the natives in this part were hostile, would be impracticable. Vidal being at this time promoted to the Government of Pernambuco, performed the journey by land.

The death of Prince Theodosio was a severe loss to Vieyra; it was soon followed by that of the King; they were his best protectors and his dearest friends, upon whose perfect esteem and perfect confidence he could at all times rely. There still remained to him a powerful and steady friend in D. Andre Fernandez, Bishop of Japan, who was the Queen's Confessor; and it was probably through his influence that the General of the Company appointed him Visitor and Superior in that part of America. The same ship which conveyed this appointment brought out the new Governor, D. Pedro de Mello, a man of higher family than any who had held the situation before him, but in every moral and intellectual quality woefully inferior to his predecessor. At this time he knew the influence which Vieyra still possessed at Court, and therefore affected with peculiar interest to forward his plans. In the preceding year F. Francisco Vellozo and Manoel Pires had conducted a ransoming party as far as the mouth of the River Negro, and brought back six hundred lawful slaves from an expedition of more than four thousand miles. Pires went again in the same direction, having for his companion F. Francisco Gonsalvez, the late Provincial of Brazil; they now went up the Negro, which no Portuguese had ascended before them; they erected crosses where they penetrated, like the first Portuguese discoverers, and returned with six or seven hundred ransomed captives, after a voyage of fifteen months, the fatigues of which proved fatal to Gonsalvez. An expedition up the Tocantins was less fortunate; the Indians who accompanied the Missionaries were attacked, and some of them slain: this was one of the causes of lawful

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Andre de Barros, L.
2, § 220—251.

D. Pedro de Mello succeeds Vidal.

Expedition to the Rio Negro.

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war for which the ordinances provided ; a force, therefore, of forty-five Portugueze and four hundred and fifty Indians, with two Jesuits to preside in spirituals, were sent against the tribes who impeded the preaching of the gospel : they took some three hundred prisoners, and the Jesuits having accomplished this part of their errand, went a month's journey from the river to the Poquiguaras, of whom they brought away several hundred to settle among the Portugueze ; they then ascended the river as high as six degrees, and reduced some hordes of Topinambazes and Catingas ; the whole gatherings of the expedition amounted to more than two thousand Indians.

Andre de Barros, L. 2, 255—70—86.

The Ilha dos Joanes.

Vieyra himself was preparing a more important service to the state. In the mouth of the Orellana, between Point Tigioca and the Cabo do Norte, or North Cape, lies the great Ilha dos Joanes, or Ilha do Marajó, as it is now more commonly called by the Portugueze of Para. This island, which is between five and six hundred miles in circumference, seems to have been formerly connected with the main land ; but in great part of South America, the inclination toward the sea is so imperceptible that many rivers communicate with each other by natural channels, and a large branch of the Orellana, making its way southward, and joining the Rio dos Bocas and the Rio dos Tocantins, insulates this great track of land. The channel between the island and the Maranham shore is about six leagues wide, and widens to about ten at the mouth : it is broader on the Guiana side, where the great body of waters from the Orellana flows into the sea. The natives of this island, lying so near Belem, had been exposed to the usual aggressions of the Portugueze ; but they were well situated for taking vengeance, and had made the offenders feel how impolitic it was to provoke an enemy at their own doors. It was in reliance upon their good will that the English and Dutch had attempted to establish themselves upon the

Pimentel. Arte de Navegar.

great river, and the disposition of the savages toward these heretical interlopers alarmed the Portuguese even more for its religious than its political consequences. Before Vidal arrived the Government of Para had declared war against the Aroans and Nheengaibas, two of the island-tribes, and sent against them an expedition, consisting of seventy Portuguese and four hundred Indians, under Joam Betancor Moniz, a man who had acquired some reputation in such warfare, but who displayed little judgment on this occasion. He entrenched himself on the shore after the native manner, with an estacade, and dispatched part of his force to propose forgiveness and peace to a people who knew themselves to be the injured party, and were in no fear of their invaders. They cut off some of the detachment, and confined Moniz to his position, till sickness compelled him to retreat with farther loss. Vidal, a few days after his arrival, crossed to the island, and was so much pleased with the principal settlement of the Aroans, that in his dispatches to the Court he recommended it as a good situation for founding a city, and establishing there the seat of Government: the island abounded with fine pasture, the want of which was much felt in Para; he thought also that it had the advantage over Belem in its climate, its soil, and the security and defensibleness of its port; but he overlooked the dangerous nature of the coast.

Vidal, like his predecessor, attempted to reduce the Nheengaibas by force of arms. The Sargento Mor, Agostinho Correa, went against them with an hundred and twenty Portuguese and four hundred Indians; it was one of those cases which the spirit as well as the letter of the law allowed to be a cause for lawful war, and the two Fathers, Joam de Sotto-Mayor, and Salvador do Valle, accompanied the expedition; the state could not send out a stronger force, nor more experienced officers and men: but these natives were found, as they ever had been, un-

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1658.

Unsuccessful war of the Portuguese against the Islanders.

1655.

*Berredo, § 986—1002.**Failure of a second expedition.*

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1655.

*Cartas de
Vieyra, T.
2, p. 24.*

*Sotto-Mayor
leaves a cru-
cifix among
the savages.*

*Andre de
Barros, 2,
§ 145-50.
Do. 3, § 5.*

conquerable, such was their courage, their constancy, their wariness, and the skill with which they availed themselves of the ground, .. for the island was a labyrinth of rivers and woods; the streams intersected it with innumerable channels, and the thickets were impervious to all but an Indian; they were places, says Vieyra, where you could neither besiege the enemy, nor find, nor follow, nor even see them, while they were all the while aiming their arrows, under safe cover of the trees. The better to resist the Portugueze, these Indians broke up their villages, and made every family erect its hut apart, so that they could nowhere be taken at advantage; and the whole island was their fastness, its woods being their walls, its channels their fosses, every habitation a watch-tower, and every inhabitant a centinel ready with his trumpet to blow the alarm. Against such prudent enemies Correa was not more successful than his predecessors; the Nheengaibas knew when to fight and when to fly; they inflicted more evil than they sustained; and the Portugueze, having lost many of their men, were at the end of three months compelled by sickness and hunger to retire from the vain attempt. They had gone better prepared with chains and fetters to secure the slaves whom they hoped to take than with bandages for their own wounds, and Sotto-Mayor and his comrade tore up their shirts for this service. The character of the Jesuits was now so well known, that even when they accompanied an expedition like this the Indians offered them no injury. Before the Portugueze embarked Sotto-Mayor gave his Crucifix to one of the Royalets, telling him that from that moment the God whom he there saw represented took possession of the island and its inhabitants; that that God would soon incline their hearts to peace, and that he left him there in pledge. Sotto-Mayor was loudly censured by his countrymen for having thus with indiscreet enthusiasm exposed the sacred image to

insult and indecent treatment; it was certainly the act of an enthusiast, but he understood the nature of the men with whom he was conversing.

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1658.

Vieyra proposes to treat with them.

When D. Pedro de Mello arrived to take possession of the Government, he brought news that Holland and Portugal were then at open war. It was immediately apprehended that the Dutch would renew their intercourse with the Nheengaibas, and by their help again attempt to establish themselves at the Cabo do Norte, and in the Orellana; or perhaps make themselves masters of Belem and all Para, . . . an enterprize which might easily have succeeded. The Portugueze, uninstructed by frequent experience, urged the new Governor to attack the Indians with all his force before any Dutchmen should arrive among them: all the persons, civil and ecclesiastical, whose opinions were to be taken upon such matters, admitted the lawfulness and necessity of the war; Vieyra alone recommended that conciliatory means should first be tried, and offered to undertake the charge of negotiating. Hopeless as the proposal was deemed, there was yet so much risk in the intended war that he was allowed to try: . . . the only answer, it was said, which his messengers would receive would be at the point of an arrow, as had been the case for twenty years. Vieyra, however, wrote an open letter, which he addressed to all the Nheengaiba tribes, informing them that the new laws, which he had gone to Portugal to procure, had put an end to those wrongs and grievances of which they complained; he pledged his word that the old system of injustice was prohibited, and said that he was ready to receive them, or, if they desired it, to go among them himself; and he referred them to the messengers, who were of their own nation, and Chiefs of some Christian villages, as men who could testify the truth of his letter, and give them full information of the actual state of things. The messengers willingly

CHAP. departed upon this errand, expecting nothing less than martyr-
XXVII. dom for their reward ; and they told Vieyra, that if they did not
1658. return by the next moon he might conclude that they were dead
or detained in slavery. The moon waxed and waned, and another began its course : the old settlers, who had always augured ill of the embassy, were now satisfied that their prognostics had been fulfilled ; and this indeed was the general belief, when upon Ash-Wednesday the messengers entered the College, bringing with them a party of Nheengaibas and seven of their Chiefs. The Chiefs made a long harangue, wherein they attributed the past hostilities to their real cause, the injustice of the Portugueze, and their want of good faith : “ but,” said they, “ when we saw the paper of the Great Father, of whom we had already heard, how for love of us and others of our skin he had exposed himself upon the waters of the deep sea, and obtained for us all good things from the King, . . . although we understood no more of the paper than what our kinsmen told us, we gave it full credit ; and putting out of mind the wrongs which we have suffered from the Portugueze, we are come here to place ourselves in their hands, and in the mouths of their guns, knowing certainly that under the Fathers there is no one who will do us evil.” Vieyra would instantly have gone with them to the Island, but they said that at present their countrymen were living like beasts of the forest : that they would bring down a horde to the water-side, and that as soon as they had made a church, and a house for the Father, they would come for him with a greater escort, . . . appointing as the time St. John’s day, a name which the Indians knew, and by which they distinguished the winter from the spring. Accordingly, five days before that festival there arrived seventeen canoes of the Nheengaibas, and thirteen of the Combocas, another people of the same island : there came a Chief in each canoe, and so many followers that the fortress and the city were

alarmed, and secretly made ready for defence. Vieyra was at this time so dangerously ill as to have gone through some of the last ceremonies¹⁹ of the Romish Church. The Indians, therefore, returned without him; but on his recovery he followed them, in company with F. Thomé Ribeiro, departing from Comuta, one of the *Aldeas*, or villages of the converted natives, (as the Reductions were called in this part of the continent,) with ten large canoes, the chiefs of all the reduced Indians, and only ten Portuguese, that his entire confidence in the savages might be apparent. On the fifth day of their voyage they entered a river, which was then called Rio dos Mapuaeses, from the name of that Nheengaiba tribe which had promised to make the settlement. The Chiefs came out to meet him in a large canoe, which was richly adorned with feathers; they came sounding conchs, and shouting out their *pocémas*, or cries of joy. Some of them stepped into the Jesuit's canoe, and the first thing they did was to present to Vieyra the Crucifix which Sotto-Mayor had left among them. It had been reported that they had broken it in pieces, and applied the metal of which it was made to profane uses; but knowing it was an Idol,

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¹⁹ Two persons, one of whom was a military officer, had brought a scandalous charge against Vieyra, and raised a popular outcry against him. Being at this time, as he believed, upon his death-bed, and with the sacrament before him, he made oath of his innocence, and forgave his slanderers. But though this effectually cleared him in the public opinion, the Superior of the College insisted upon a legal investigation of the charge; the accusers were convicted of having borne false witness, and they confessed their falsehood. They were condemned to perpetual banishment from the State, and to appear in the Mother Church naked from the waist upward, and with a bit in their mouths; but this part of the sentence was remitted at the Jesuits' request.

Andre de Barros, 3, § 17, 22.

CHAP. they had revered it as such; and the Jesuits and their retinue fully believed that the pacific disposition of the Savages
 XXVII. had been produced by this Divine Missionary, as they called
 1658. the senseless image. From Vieyra's delay they had supposed him to be dead, and had agreed to meet again at a certain time, and go to Belem to ascertain what had happened, and if their fears should be verified, to weep over his grave. Upon landing, the Indians led their visitors to a church neatly constructed of palm-leaves, after the manner of the land; it was immediately dedicated to the Image, and Te Deum was sung. The Jesuit's house was only a few paces distant, well made, with its corridor and its cells, within an inclosure to which there was only one door, according to the form of *clausure* which the Missionaries observed among the Indians.

*Ceremonies
 at the sub-
 mission of
 the tribe.*

Before the neighbouring hordes could assemble at the summons of their Chiefs, a panic spread among the Portugueze and Indians of Vieyra's company, beginning in some silly omens, and heightened by their talk concerning the perilous situation in which they should find themselves if any treason were intended. When Vieyra understood this he told the leaders that their arguments were very good, and they might provide for their own safety by departing as soon as they pleased; but that the Nheengaibas had required to treat with the Jesuits, and he and his comrade would remain and conclude the business for which they came. The next day the Mamaynas arrived, the horde which had been most dreaded for their ferocity, and all suspicion was presently removed by their conduct. When a sufficient number of Royalets were assembled, the oath of obedience was administered with all possible ceremony; for the Missionaries knew how much these people were influenced by forms. On the right of the Church the Chiefs of the converted Indians were drawn up in their best attire, with no other weapon than their swords; the heathen

Chiefs stood on the left, naked and feathered according to their fashion, and with bow and arrow in hand ; the Portugueze were stationed between them. Over the altar was a picture of the Three Kings adoring the Infant Christ ; the altar was gaudily drest, Vieyra performed mass, and the Portugueze were edified at seeing the unregenerate natives kneel and beat their breasts during the performance of what in the Catholic superstition is called the Sacrifice. This done, he addressed them through an interpreter, explaining the duties to be incurred and the advantages to be obtained by submitting themselves to the King of Portugal, and receiving the faith of the true God ; and asking them if they would accept those advantages, and perform those duties. All answered in the affirmative, except a Chief named Piyé, who replied, that for his part he would not promise thus ; . . the question ought to be put to the Portugueze, not to the Indians ; for it was the Portugueze who had broken their promise and their duty, while he and his people had always duly observed the good faith which they had once plighted. The Chiefs approached the altar one by one, laid down their weapons at Vieyra's feet, knelt, placed their hands between his, and took an oath of obedience and of peace ; then embraced the Jesuits, the Portugueze, and the Christian Indians with whom they had lately been at war. The Jesuits chaunted Te Deum, during which all were on their knees : when they arose, the Christian Indians brought their bows and arrows, which had been laid without the Church ; the Portugueze drew the bullets from theirarquebusses, threw them in the river and fired with powder, and all the Indians broke their arrows, and cast them into the stream ; trumpets, conchs and tambours, and human voices, making the while an uproar of joyful dissonance. A process-verbal was drawn up, to which the Chiefs individually set their mark, every one being proud that his name was to

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reach the King of Portugal; and each in return received a patent, which, in confirming his rights, was the charter of his vassalage. A huge and well-made cross had been made for the occasion; no Indian of inferior rank was permitted to touch it; the three and fifty Chiefs bore it upon their shoulders to the place where it was planted. It was agreed that during the winter the Indians should remove from the woods, and build houses beside the rivers, and that in the ensuing summer the Jesuits would return and tarry among them. The collective number of the Islanders²⁰ who were comprized in this pacification was estimated at forty thousand, and there was also present a Chief of the Tucojus, a tribe on the Guiana side, computed at sixty thousand. Having effected this important object, the Jesuits reembarked for Belem, carrying with them Sotto-Mayor's Crucifix; and as Vieyra professed his belief that to this Crucifix the whole success was owing, it was determined when he landed at the city that it should be received in triumph: this, they said, had been the General, this the soldier, and therefore this was now to be crowned with laurels as the conqueror. The magistrates, the clergy, the religioners, and the people went out in procession to receive it, the bells rung, the guns were fired, and thus with every demonstration of public joy this Idol was deposited in the Church of the Jesuits' College, where it was long venerated with especial devotion.

Vieyra Cartas, t. 2, c. 2.
A. de Barros, 3, § 24—50.

²⁰ They consisted of three nations of different tongues, the Mamaynas, Aroans, and Anayas, under which were included the Mapuas, Gujaras, Pixipixis, Paucacas, and other tribes. (*Vieyra Cartas*, T. 2, p. 40. *Andre de Barros*, 3, § 46.) The Nheengaibas seem not to have been a Tupi race, or Vieyra would not have needed an interpreter when he addressed them. Hervas has collected less information respecting this part of America than any other scene of the labours of his brethren.

The peace effected with the Nheengaibas secured Para on that side, at a time when any invader might have conquered it by their help. It was believed that the Dutch, with their assistance on the north, or with that of the Tobajaras on the south, might have made themselves masters of these extensive and ill-occupied regions: both tribes had now been conciliated by Vieyra. The time occupied in this important business, and the delay occasioned by his illness, had well nigh produced much evil among the Ibiapaba hordes. They had sent the sons and brothers of their Chiefs to Maranham, among them the son of their eldest Royalet, by name D. Jorge Gomez Tieuna, or da Sylva, who was to visit Portugal. A long interval elapsed; the Tobajaras received no tidings of their relations, and a rumour obtained credit that Tieuna had been thrown overboard by the Portugueze, and that his companions were made slaves: the savages declared they would wait till Easter, and if no intelligence should have arrived by that time, they would take vengeance upon the Missionaries who resided among them. Tieuna had returned from Lisbon, laden with presents, and was at this time, with all his companions, on the way from Maranham, in company of Vieyra, who had resolved to visit and regulate the mission himself. After a painful journey of three weeks, the shortest time in which it had ever been performed, he reached Ibiapaba on the Wednesday of the Passion Week, barefoot and foot-foundered, having suffered dreadfully from weather, fatigue, hunger, and worse than all, the swarms of mosquitos and other insects, whom the rainy season brings into life. Notwithstanding his exhausted condition, the ceremonies of the week were immediately commenced, and on Good Friday the Passion was represented in the morning, and the funeral of the Redeemer after sunset, the youth and children of both sexes carrying crosses in the procession, and wearing crowns of thorns.

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*Vieyra goes
to the Serra
de Ibiapaba.*

A. de Barros, 2, 264.

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*The heretical
Indians
are removed.*

But it was not to preside at these religious pageants that Vieyra had undertaken so painful a journey; he came to investigate the state of the mission, and place all things upon a regular establishment. The instructions of the Dutch pastors had not been forgotten by the Pernambucan Indians; and there seems reason to suspect that the doctrines of the Reformed Church had made upon them a deeper impression than could easily be effaced by the mummeries of Romish superstition. They are accused of being dogmatists, . . . of having sucked in venom from the Calvinists, and instilled it into the other tribes; for this reason Vieyra removed them to Maranham. The œconomy of the mission was then regulated: the Tobajara Chiefs set the example of confining themselves to one wife; it was arranged that the children should go regularly to school, and that religious instruction should be given twice a day; and an overseer from among the Indians was appointed, with the significant title of the Arm of the Father. Having effected these things Vieyra embarked either at Camuci or Seara, and returned by sea.

*A. de Barros, 3, §
55-68.*

The Chamber of Belem remonstrates against the system of the Jesuits.

Hitherto no open opposition had been attempted to those laws under which the missions were flourishing, and by which the State had been delivered from its most active enemies. But the advocates of the former system were not reconciled to the change: the Chamber of Belem wrote to that of S. Luiz, proposing that they should unite for the purpose of depriving the Jesuits of their temporal authority over the Indians, and re-establishing the old practice; the proposed union was acceded to, and being thus encouraged, the Chamber addressed a remonstrance to Vieyra, representing the distress to which the State was reduced by the restrictions upon slavery. The King's revenues and his tenths, they said, were so much diminished that no person would farm them, and they were collected for the Government at great loss; it was necessary to call upon

the people to supply meal for the soldiers, and the appointments of the Vicar, and the pittance allotted to the Capuchins, could not be paid : men of noble lineage, who had aided in conquering that State, could not bring their children to the city, because they had no slaves to row their canoes, . . . the only communication, as was well known, being by water ; at the last Christmas their families had not appeared at mass, because the daughters were without fit clothing, and the parents, for want of slaves, had not wherewith to purchase it : many persons in Belem had no one to fetch them a bundle of wood or pitcher of water, and were perishing for want of men to cultivate their land ; . . . these evils all arose from the want of slaves, when there were so many in the interior who might be ransomed ! Such was the general distress, that even the principal men in Belem wore no better clothing than black cotton cloth, which bore the enormous price of three *testoons* the *vara*, being three times its former cost. The price of slaves was raised so excessively, that at the sale of a late settler's effects they had been purchased at seventy *milreas* per head. The remedy for all these evils was to send an expedition into the interior, and purchase captives ; and they entreated that his Paternity would administer this remedy to their sufferings.

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Berredo, §
1023-8.

Vieyra in his reply to this memorial observed, that they imputed to the want of slaves inconveniences which clearly arose from other causes : . . . first, from the nature of the country, which was so inundated and intersected with rivers that all communication was difficult and laborious : secondly, that game and fish, upon which the people chiefly depended for subsistence, became less abundant every year : thirdly, there was no market, no shambles, no arrangements of any kind for facilitating a supply of the necessaries of life, so that every family was compelled to provide all things for itself, . . . to have its huntsmen, its fisher-

Vieyra re-
plies to their
memorial.

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 XXVII. keep its own boats and boatmen. The fourth cause was to be
 1661. found in the circumstances of Portugal, which greatly enhanced
 the cost of all foreign commodities, while sugar and tobacco
 were fallen in price: and a fifth existed in that vanity which
 would not, as in former times, limit its expences by its means.
 As for slaves, it was apparent that however great the supply,
 the mortality was greater; every day's experience had shown
 this in Para; and in Brazil no remedy had been found till the
 inhabitants procured Negroes from Angola, the natives being
 less capable of labour, less able to endure illness, and so near
 their own country, that they either fled into the woods, or died
 for grief when they could not effect their escape. Great and
 successful efforts had nevertheless been made for procuring In-
 dians; in the last six years more than three thousand free set-
 tlers had been brought down, and more than eighteen hundred
 slaves. They complained that none of these had fallen to the
 share of the people of Para, and that they were sold at a price
 beyond what the inhabitants could pay. To this he must an-
 swer, it had been proposed that the Indians should be distri-
 buted among the different Captaincies of the State in proportion
 to the population, and sold at the price which had been paid
 for them in the interior, which, at the highest cost of iron, never
 amounted to four *milreas*; but they had neither chosen to sub-
 mit to this arrangement, nor agree to the price. He concluded
 by informing them that a mission was preparing to some To-
 pinambazes upon the Iguassu, which was to be attempted by
 way of the Tocantins; and that if they wished to try the Ara-
 guaya branch of that great river, where there were said to be
 many slaves, the expedition should take that course, for it was
 his desire in all things that he could to consult even their tem-
 poral interests.

This reasonable reply drew forth a second paper from the Chamber, wherein they complained that the free Indians whom the Missionaries brought down were of no use, and that the greater number of slaves were sold at S. Luiz and Gurupy. They could not, they said, perform impossibilities, and it was impossible to have shambles or market in that country. The expedition which he proposed promised nothing but destruction to those who should embark in it : but they required him not to be avaricious of the interior, which God had given them, and which they had conquered and subjected to his Majesty : they demanded that they might enter the Madeira, the River Negro, the Cambebas, and many other parts where there were slaves in abundance, who would be eaten if they were not ransomed ; this would be doing God service, for some of these slaves might have their souls saved by being in the hands of the Portugueze, even though they should pine themselves to death. Finally, they affected to dispute the temporal authority which had been vested in the Jesuits, and required him to produce his powers. The flagitious principles and the mutinous spirit of the Chamber were unequivocally manifested in this reply ; . . in reality these measures were designed as preparatory to an insurrection. They sent Antonio de Albuquerque Maranham (son of that Jeronymo by whom S. Luiz was won from the French) to be their *Procurador* at Lisbon, and they dispatched deputies to Maranham with copies of the correspondence to D. Pedro de Mello. The people had stood in much fear of this Governor when he arrived, from a supposition that as he was superior in rank to any of his predecessors, he would possess greater authority. His conduct had at first increased that fear by its insolent injustice. Though he possessed ships and numerous slaves, his avarice was insatiable : he took bribes, he suffered his servants to commit crimes with impunity ; and made himself first universally dreaded, then

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1661.

The Chamber dispute his power.

Berreão, § 1032—6.

Pedro de Mello encourages the discontented party.

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universally detested, till at length he perceived that the people in their hatred might ere long forget their fear : then dreading their vengeance, he began to court popularity ; and the surest method of obtaining it was by taking part with them against the Jesuits. For this purpose, while he affected a lively concern for the welfare of the missions, he secretly encouraged measures which were designed to overthrow them. Incited as the people were by his secret manœuvres, one apprehension alone withheld them from immediate insurrection, and deterred him from instigating them to it ; . . they knew the principles of the Bishop of Japan, and knew also that he possessed as much influence over the Queen Regent as he had enjoyed at court during the lives of Prince Theodosio and the King. Tidings of his death²¹ arrived at this juncture. The intelligence was not more afflicting to Vieyra than it was welcome to the Friars, and the Slave-party : nor could it ever have arrived at a more unfortunate time, for a Friar came out in the same vessel who by some sinister means had obtained certain letters written by Vieyra to the deceased Bishop, and depicting in true colours the moral state of these Captaincies. The rancorous spirit of the Mendicants was now gratified : they made the letters public ; and the people, inflamed by their spiritual guides, sure of the connivance of the Governor, and now also relieved from all fear of the Court, as-

*Death of the
bishop of
Japan.*

*Vieyra's
letters to him
are made
public.*

²¹ In the Life of Vieyra it is affirmed, that not long after his return from Ibiapaba his spirits for three days were so depressed as to make him believe some affliction had befallen which touched him nearly, and under this persuasion he performed a funeral mass for the friend, whoever he might be, who had departed. The time was noted, and the next ships brought advices that during those days the Bishop of Japan, his best surviving friend, and the chief support of the Missions, had been struggling with his last sickness.

Andre de Barros, L. 3, § 77—80.

sembled tumultuously, elected a *Juiz do Povo*, and declared their intention of proceeding against the Jesuits. D. Pedro affected to temporize, and to reason with the insurgents. According to his own statement, he had only five or six domestics on whom he could depend, to oppose more than as many hundred persons; and the tumult in the city, he said, was like the day of judgement. In this state of things, he put on a religious habit called the *Capinha de S. José*, and in this dress, while the mob were assaulting the College, he preached moderation to them from a window, advancing arguments which, he says, none but St. Joseph could have inspired, and which might have moved the very stones. He might as well have addressed the stones. A Governor in the short cloak of St. Joseph, preaching patience to a mob, was in reality fomenting the mutiny which he pretended to allay. There was thus neither civil nor military power to repress the multitude, and the fear which perhaps they might have felt, of ecclesiastical censures, was removed by the Vicar, who assured them that they were not incurring excommunication by their outrages against the Jesuits; and to confirm his opinion, he invited them to come daily and recite the *terço*, or third part of the rosary. The feeble remonstrances of the Governor were belied by all his actions: he had signed some blank papers, and given them to Vieyra to be filled up with such orders as might be necessary for the affairs of the mission: he now formally annulled any such orders, and protested against the use of his signature. Being thus encouraged openly as well as covertly, the mob dragged the Jesuits from their cells, compelled the Superior to resign his authority over the Indians into the hands of the Chamber, then forced him and his brethren on board ship, there to be kept prisoners till the Missionaries from all the other stations could be seized and deported with them.

Vieyra was on the way from Belem to Maranham, when

CHAP.
XXVII.

1661.

*Insurrection
at S. Luis.*

*Berreto, §
1032-36.
Do, 1039-
58-60,
Expulsam
dos Padres,
M.S. Pin-
heiro Collec-
tion, t. 6,
No. 13.
Carta de
D. Pedro de
Mello.
Berreto, §
1041.
Andre de
Barros, 3,
§ 86-7.*

CHAP.
XXVII.
1661.

Vieyra calls
upon the
Chamber of
Belem to
maintain the
laws.

he was apprized of the insurrection by a letter²² from D. Pedro, who advised him not to repair to the city, but to take shelter at Gurupy, where the *Capitam Mor* might be trusted. Here the municipality were well disposed, and when Vieyra declared his intention of returning to Belem, that if possible he might prevent the insurrection from breaking out there also, they insisted upon giving him an escort of three armed canoes. Immediately on his arrival at Belem, he addressed a memorial to the Chamber, informing them fully of all that had occurred, and requiring them not only to continue in obedience to the laws, but bear in mind that the principal object of those laws, as the King had himself explicitly declared, was the propagation of the faith, and the discharge of the King's own conscience. By means of the humane dispositions of these laws, and their due observance, he said, that great object was rapidly being effected, so that every day new souls were aggregated to the Church, and new vassals were subjected to the Crown. He reminded them how much during twenty years the State had suffered from the Nheengaibas, and that now no less than nine villages of that formidable nation had placed themselves under the tuition of the Jesuits. The Indians of Ibiapaba also, with whose alliance the Dutch might at any time become masters of Seara and all the country northward, had given him their oath of vassallage, and received Jesuits to be their teachers; the road to Pernambuco was thus opened, the sea was safe, and trade flourishing. All these advantages would be lost if the promise which had been pledged to the Indians were broken;

²² Berredo has inserted this letter, to prove the sincerity of the Governor. In my judgement, D. Pedro de Mello's letter exhibits duplicity as well as superstition and weakness.

and he exhorted the Chamber to remember that there were men among the Indians who could read the laws, and understand them as well as themselves. The Topinambazes had been brought down from the interior, . . . a people whose reputation would ensure the reduction of other tribes. He spoke of the expeditions which had been undertaken, and of others which were planned: the Missionaries, he said, preached with the Gospel in one hand and the laws in the other, and it was only through their reliance upon the laws, and their confidence in the Jesuits, that the Indians could be won: the laws and the Jesuits, as they believed, would secure them against the old oppressions which were so vividly remembered and resented so deeply; but if they should now see that neither the laws, nor the Jesuits could protect themselves, in what or in whom were they to trust for protection? As yet the news of the mutiny was not known, and the Chamber might easily retain the people of Para in obedience, especially if they would cut off the communication with Maranham, as was done with places infected with a plague, and intercept the agents sent from thence for the purpose of seducing them to a participation in guilt. The Chamber replied, that they had sent memorials to Lisbon, representing, that they were satisfied with the spiritual conduct of the Jesuits, but that the temporal jurisdiction which they assumed had reduced the Captaincy to the utmost distress; upon this ground they had appealed against the existing laws, and required that a judge might be sent from Portugal to decide between the people and the Jesuits, and to do justice. Meantime, while their petition was pending, they would endeavour with hearts, lives, and properties, faithfully to serve the King. The reply evinced how little they were displeased with the tumults at Maranham, and the advices which they received from D. Pedro de Mello encouraged them to proceed in a similar

CHAP.
XXVII.

1661.

CHAP.
XXVII.
1661.

*Insurrection
at Belem.*

*Vieyra is
seized and
expelled.*

course: for though the Governor exhorted them to observe the laws, he spoke of the compulsory resignation which the Jesuits had made of their powers, as a measure which would be ratified at Lisbon, and for which he had prepared the Court.

No precautions were taken to prevent the welcome intelligence from becoming public, because there was no desire to restrain the people. The Chamber had not affected to conceal their wishes, and the *Capitam Mor*, Marçal Nunes da Costa, (for after Vidal's promotion the State had been again divided) was one of those men who care not by what means they enrich themselves. As soon as the news was divulged the people assembled tumultuously and surrounded the College: Vieyra, who if he had not been intrepid by nature would have been rendered courageous by the cause in which he was engaged, came forward and faced the tumult. But reason and eloquence are of no avail against a headlong multitude; . . he was seized, ill-treated, and insulted; . . and one of the principal persons of the city asked him in mockery where were all his learning and all his genius now, if they could not deliver him in this extremity! The other Jesuits were put in confinement, some on shipboard, some in the city; he was separated from the rest, and closely imprisoned in the Chapel of St. John the Baptist. An Indian woman, who remembered with gratitude for what cause he was persecuted, was the only person who ventured to make way through the centinels and carry him food: they threatened to burn her hut, . . she answered, that if they did she ²³ would dress

²³ Marianna Pinta was her name. The Jesuits, in gratitude for her conduct, educated her only son with such care that he was ordained, and became a *Cura* in this very city of Belem. The General of the Order sent her from Rome a

his victuals in the street. It was determined to rid themselves at once of Vieyra by sending him to S. Luiz, and dispose afterwards of the other Jesuits as Maranham might set the example. When he arrived at that island he was immediately removed to a caravel, and closely confined there: he demanded a conference with the Chamber, either in their usual place of meeting, or on the shore, where he might be heard from a boat; their answer was, that they would have no conference with a man who dealt with the Devil. The dispatches which he had written to the Court from Gurupy had been seized by the ruling party, or perhaps delivered to them by the Governor, and the triumphant faction revenged themselves for this faithful exposition of their conduct by heaping upon him fresh indignities: he, though treated more cruelly than any of his companions, betrayed not the slightest mark of impatience or irritation; the evil consequences to the Indians, which he foresaw, wrung him to the heart, and made him envy the brethren who had fallen asleep in their labours; but as far as regarded himself, an heroic mind, a clear conscience, and an enthusiastic sense of duty, produced in him that peace which passeth all understanding. The Jesuits had been plundered as well as outraged; their dwelling-house, and even their church at S. Antonio de Alcantara, were destroyed; their property was sequestered, and when they were put on board two caravels for deportation, the Governor, laying aside the mask, took from their effects the amount of three hundred and twenty milreas, as the price of their forced passage. A privateer captured one of these vessels shortly after

CHAP.
XXVII.
1661.

Andre de Barros, 3. § 111—19—24.
Berredo, § 1055—7.
Expulsam dos Padres, M.S.

Carta de Irmandade, which entitled her to a share in the stock of good works belonging to the Company; and she was buried in the College-Church, at the Company's expense. *Andre de Barros*, 3, § 117—118.

CHAP.
XXVII.
1661.

Transac-
tions at Cu-
rupa.

they had sailed, and re-landed the Jesuits on the Isle of Maranham; the other, in which Vieyra was embarked, escaped, and reached Lisbon safely.

Vieyra, before his arrest, had sent letters to the Missionaries at their different stations, exhorting them to stay by their flocks as long as possible, even if it should be necessary to secrete themselves in the woods. Those who were in Para learning that Paulo Martins Garro, the Captain of Curupa, refused to follow the mutinous measures of the two capitals, thought it better to take shelter under his protection. This officer seems to have been appointed by Vidal as a fit person to restrain an ill-disposed settlement, when the former mutiny was quelled. The ruling faction at Belem had now resolved, like their confederates at S. Luiz, to expel the Jesuits without farther delay; and that they might rid themselves of the whole by one deportation, they sent the Maranham *Procurador do Povo*, Antonio Barradas de Mendoga, to excite an insurrection at Curupa, and bring prisoners from thence the Fathers who had taken shelter there. The enterprize proved more difficult than this representative of the people had expected. For no sooner had he left Belem, than Manoel da Vide, espousing with natural ardour the cause of that society in which his brother Sotto-Mayor had been so distinguished a member, found means to deliver the Jesuits from their confinement, and escape with them to Curupa, where this accession to the well-disposed party arrived in time to defeat the *Procurador's* project. The *Ouvidor*, with some persons attached to his department, arrived shortly afterward, and finding that Barradas was about to return with the news of his failure and collect a stronger force, he prevented him by attacking his canoes, which he captured, and put him and his secretary in irons. The people at Belem had vented their first fury upon Manoel da Vide's house and chattels; they

were roused to greater rage when intelligence of the suppression of the revolt at Curupa was communicated to them in an official dispatch by the *Ouvidor*, who at the same time suspended the tribunals, and commanded the *Juiz do Povo* and the *Procurador*, to lay down their offices on pain of the severest penalties. It has often been seen, amid the most illegal and unjustifiable proceedings, that men profess a respectful obedience to the law, and affect scrupulously to observe it; they hope that this may be pleaded in their justification should the day of reckoning arrive, of which they always live in secret fear; meantime it serves to gloss over their conduct in the eyes of others, and in some degree to themselves also. The *Juiz* and the *Procurador* obeyed the injunction, and resigned their offices: the Chamber immediately reappointed them, and evaded the other order of the *Ouvidor*, by obtaining a legal opinion that he had no authority to suspend the Tribunals. The people then embarked ninety Portugueze and four hundred Indians, in twenty-six of the largest vessels which were used in that country, and sent them under Pedro da Costa Favella, to reduce the Captain of Curupa, and bring away the Jesuits. The arrival of this force encouraged the malcontents. One of the Captain's sentinels was killed: the Jesuits, who lodged in the Carmo Convent, being cut off from the fort, were taken; and Pedro da Costa called upon the *Ouvidor* to release his prisoners; but the fort held out, and not thinking it prudent to engage in farther hostilities, he fell down the stream. As soon as he reached Belem, the Fathers were removed from his boats to the ship which had been made ready for transporting them, and which would have sailed immediately, if the hatred of the people had not prevented it: for it so happened, that when they were seized at Curupa two of their number were absent upon a mission up the Orellana, .. a detachment had been sent to apprehend them, and the vessel

CHAP.
XXVII.
1661.

Berredo, §
1068—76.
Expulsam
dos Padres,
M.S.

CHAP. was now detained till they also should arrive, that the Slave
 XXVII. Party might at once cast out the whole of the hated order.

1662.

Ruy Vaz
 de Sequeira
 appointed
 Governor.

Meantime Vieyra and the Jesuits who were deported with him reached Lisbon, one of the leaders of the hostile party going in the same vessel as *Procurador* for the people. The Queen Regent, in the first impulse of indignation, gave order that two hundred soldiers should be embarked, to seize and punish the authors of this scandalous insurrection. Upon reflection it was thought better to employ policy than force, the facility with which force might be resisted in such a country being duly considered. Ruy Vaz de Sequeira had already been appointed Governor, . . . a soldier who had distinguished himself at Elvas, and was thus rewarded for his services. Patience, dissimulation, and firmness, were required from the man who undertook the charge at this arduous time; and in neither of these qualities was he deficient. It happened to be Lady-day when he arrived at Maranham, . . . one of the greatest festivals in the Romish church. The Vicar-General was preaching when the signal was fired for ships from Portugal, and the church was instantly deserted. Some Friars went off to look for some of their fraternity, whom they expected by this fleet; and as they past the Governor's ship, in which they supposed the Jesuits had returned, they threatened them with popular vengeance, in the most insolent language of vulgar brutality. When it was ascertained that neither Jesuits, nor Sindicant, nor troops had been sent out, the *Juiz do Povo* and the *Procuradores*, went to congratulate Sequeira on his arrival; they told him that if either Jesuit or Sindicant had been on board, the people would have risen to resist him, and they demanded leave to require certain conditions from him in the Chamber. Sequeira, in pursuance of his instructions, dissembled so well as to make it believed that he was also hostile to the Company, and he made no attempt to land, till the Chamber signified

their readiness to acknowledge him. They received him on the shore, under a canopy as usual, and conducted him first to the Church, afterwards to their Council Hall, where he presented his patent. The *Juiz do Povo* then produced a written paper, requiring him if he had any instructions concerning the Jesuits, to manifest them now, otherwise, in the name of the people, he protested they should be null and void; and they insisted also, through him their representative, that the Governor should at no future time adopt any measures respecting the Company without their consent and approbation. The Chamber showed him a resolution to this effect which they had entered in their books; he signed it without hesitation, .. and then the people, who had discovered some inclination to turbulence at the commencement of these proceedings, kissed his patent.

D. Pedro de Mello was nearly related to Sequeira, .. he had previously assured the prevailing party, that every thing would be according to their wishes; and he now assured his successor, that it was impossible to re-establish the Jesuits, and that the mere attempt would endanger his own personal safety. But circumstances were less unfavourable than this weak and guilty man pretended. Sequeira soon found, that the nobles (as they are called) and the lower class of settlers, were ill in accord: the former had originally instigated the insurrection, and taken an active part in it; but affecting always to act under compulsion, in the hope of screening themselves from responsibility, they had made men of inferior rank assume the direction of affairs, idly supposing that they could retain the secret management themselves. The event was in this as in all similar instances, that the agents having more courage, and as little principle, chose to preserve the authority of which they had got possession, and the prime movers of the mischief were now repining under a tyranny which they had themselves set up. Under such

CHAP.
XXVII.1662.*Expulsam
dos Padres.
M.S.**Temporizing
policy of the
new Govern-
nor.*

CHAP. XXVII. 1662. circumstances it was not difficult to reestablish order, especially for one who accounted every kind of craft allowable in state affairs. The Jesuits from Curupa had reached Belem only three days before Sequeira arrived at S. Luiz, and on the day after his landing, a boat came with news of their arrest, .. a day too late for the messenger to receive the reward of his good tidings as he had expected. Francisco de Seyxas Pinto had come out in the fleet as *Capitam Mor* of Para. Sequeira proposed to send him immediately to Belem with forty soldiers, who to prevent farther tumults should bring the Captain, the Ouvidor, and Manoel da Vide from Curupa, and convey them with the Jesuits to Maranham. The Chamber insisted that no Jesuits should approach S. Luiz, and the Governor finding it necessary to yield, gave orders to bring the other parties, and place the imprisoned fathers under Pinto's inspection at Belem ; .. a measure which answered the great object of securing them from the populace. It was supposed that a peremptory order for restoring the Jesuits to their College would not have been resisted in Para, but that the knowledge of such an order would have excited an immediate rebellion in Maranham.

*Expulsam
dos Padres.
M.S.*

*Proceedings
at Belem.*

The news of Sequeira's proceedings reached Belem, and the people persuaded themselves that the expulsion of the Jesuits would be confirmed ; they argued, that in the then existing state of Portugal, the Government would never send out orders to execute or chastise a whole people ; and being sure of impunity, they began to think themselves worthy of reward. Francisco de Seyxas conducted himself so as rather to encourage than correct this imagination. He ventured after a while to propose that till the Jesuits should be embarked, they might be permitted to officiate in the churches ; the people would not allow this, holding it a point of honour not to be less mutinous than their associates at S. Luiz ; and intimidated at this refusal, he

suffered those Fathers who were still on board ship, to remain in that miserable state of durance, . . . an act of cruelty for which political cowardice affords but a disgraceful excuse. This condescension to the popular temper was not less visible, when Manoel da Vide and the Ouvidor, having heard that an escort was on the way to bring them down, set forth without waiting for its arrival, and presented themselves at Belem. A guard was sent on board their bark, which proved a needful precaution; for at midnight two canoes went off with intent to seize, and probably to murder them, so violently were the multitude incensed against them for the brave manner in which they had stood forward against the sedition. The next day they were brought on shore, and imprisoned separately, with a rigour which gratified their enemies as much as it surprised their friends. When the soldiers returned, bringing with them the Captain from Curupa, all three were embarked for S. Luiz, orders being given that they should have no intercourse with each other upon the voyage.

CHAP.
XXVII.
1661.

*Berreto, §
1092.
Expulsam
dos Padres.
M.S.*

Sequeira meantime was persuading the people to reestablish some order in their municipal government, and gradually convincing them that they reckoned erroneously upon the weakness and difficulties of the Government at home. He sought more especially to win the soldiers, and this he effected by means of affability and just discipline. One of his edicts forbade any person to draw his sword in a quarrel, . . . soldiers, on pain of corporal punishment; inhabitants, of an arbitrary fine: the first offender was a soldier who from the personal offices which he performed about the Governor, might have expected some indulgence; intercession was made for him, but the sentence was fairly executed, and such an act of justice produced great effect in a country where justice had been unknown, except during the short administration of Vidal. The most sedulous, though

*Mello seeks
to counteract
the measures
of his suc-
cessor.*

CHAP. secret opposer of his measures, was D. Pedro de Mello, who
 XXVII. thought his own misgovernment might be palliated, if he ren-
 1662. dered it impossible for his successor to govern better. He spake
 ill to the Governor of all the people; and to each of the better
 people, ill of the Governor, assuring them that he had brought
 out a list of persons marked for punishment. But Sequeira had
 already strengthened himself; the friends of good order attached
 themselves to him, and he had gained others among those who
 were weary of anarchy, fearful of punishment, or ambitious of
 reward. Relying upon them, he now represented how expedi-
 ent it was, both for the interests of the people and their late
 Governor, his kinsman, that D. Pedro should have the credit
 and merit of terminating a disgraceful state of disobedience,
 which had begun under his administration, and of restoring
 the Jesuits, whose expulsion was sacrilegious as well as illegal, ..
 for the very perpetrators, seeing the condition of the Indian
 villages, could not dissemble the greatness of their religious
 crime. And he offered to resign the Government into D.
 Pedro's hand while this should be done, for the benefit of all
 parties, being content himself to act as mediator. On the evening
 preceding a meeting of the Chamber, he went with a paper
 which he intended to lay before them, to D. Pedro's house,
 and communicated this proposed mode of proceeding, which
 might have appeared as beneficial to his kinsman, as it was
 honourable to himself. But no sooner had he departed from
 this confidential interview, than the Ex-Governor imparted the
 plan to his household, and dispatched his agents, the most
 active of whom was a Franciscan, to warn the Chamber, and
 excite the people to go on as they had begun. Some of the
 members informed Sequeira, and the treacherous conduct of
 his predecessor was thus fully proved.

*Expulsam
 dos Padres.
 M.S.*

Sequeira did not think it advisable to try his strength against

the opposition which was thus rallied. The Junta could not however be prorogued, because some business was to be settled there relating to the price of corn and of slaves ; so he went to the meeting with a guard of twenty harquebussiers, on whose obedience he could rely. A crowd had assembled round the hall, ready for mischief, as the Friar and the other agents of D. Pedro had prepared them : Sequeira turned to the Captain of his guard, and in a loud voice ordered him to occupy the door of the Chamber, and if any person laid hand on the bell-rope to ring the alarm, or raised a cry in the square, immediately to fire upon him, without waiting for a second command. This decisive order produced the proper effect of presently clearing the square. The Governor then entered, and addressed the Chamber. What he had intended to propose concerning the re-establishment of the Jesuits, he should postpone, he said, having understood that there still existed great difference of opinion upon that subject ; but they must understand that from this day he should begin to govern. Proceeding then to business, the Members of the *Camara* were called over, and when the *Juiz do Povo* was named, Sequeira demanded if there were any royal authority for the existence of such an officer in that city. It was admitted that there was not, and custom was pleaded as authority sufficient : the Governor then ordered the notary to draw out another list, and omitting the name of the *Juiz*, to insert the *Procurador do Povo* in its stead. The *Juiz* began to defend himself, but Sequeira cut him short, saying, he was not now called upon for his defence, but that he should be ere long. The next day he ordered all persons who held any appointment from the Crown, or from the former Governors, to produce their commissions ; the *Juiz do Povo* appeared among them, and his office was immediately annulled, as having no legal existence. It had been introduced in Maranham by D.

*Expulsam
dos Padres.
M.S.*

CHAP. Pedro²⁴, for the sake of its popular title; and it was under the
 XXVII. sanction of this officer that the most tumultuary proceedings
 1662. had taken place.

Sequeira
 effects the
 restoration
 of the Je-
 suits.

Sequeira beginning now to exercise as well as feel his power, prohibited all persons from having Indians of the villages in their service, or from going to the villages. He purchased a girl from a party of natives who visited him, and he had her baptized in public with the utmost solemnity, being present at the ceremony himself, . . . an act which has been justly commended as well-timed, when a criminal negligence of this duty was beginning to prevail, and the Portugueze, as one of their own countrymen observes, seemed to suppose that Christ had not shed his blood for the Indians as well as for them. Know-

²⁴ The cause of its introduction is curious. D. Francisco Manoel de Mello had lately published his *Epanaphoras*, the first of which is a history of the disturbances at Evora in 1639. The *Juiz do Povo* figured in those transactions; D. Francisco Manoel speaks of him as in some measure dividing with the *Escrivam do Povo* the functions of the Roman Tribunes of the People. A copy of this book had been sent to D. Pedro de Mello, who was of the same family; he circulated it in S. Luiz, and, like a weak man, instructed the people to look for lessons of insurrection, where they should only have learnt lessons of patriotism. It was this book which made him propose the election of a *Juiz do Povo*, and many of the most tumultuary proceedings during the anarchy were undertaken in imitation of the patriots at Evora! This curious circumstance is mentioned in the manuscript memoirs which in this part of the history supply the defects of Berredo's partial and faithless narrative. Having thus been led to speak of the *Epanaphoras*, I take this opportunity of observing, that the romantic story of the discovery of Madeira by Roberto o Machino and Ana de Arfet, which has been related in grave English works as matter of historical fact, has no better authority than a novel in this volume. D. Francisco Manoel has not (as has been asserted) printed a narrative composed by Francisco Alcaforado, . . . he has only referred to such a manuscript, . . . and both the matter and manner of the story mark it decidedly for a fiction. D. Francisco Manoel is also the *Melodino*, some of whose poems have lately been translated into English.

ing how much depended upon the attachment of the military, he lost no opportunity of gratifying them when it could be done consistently with justice and policy. One of the principal inhabitants, in contempt of the edict, drew his sword in a quarrel; he was condemned to pay an hundred milreas within four and twenty hours, and the fine was divided among the soldiers, at the rate of four ells of cloth to each, .. the commodity in which it was paid. Thus rapidly gaining ground, he employed the Vicar-General to influence the minds of the people in favour of the Jesuits. Men of their party, who did not yet venture openly to show themselves, consulted with the Governor at night; and he scrupled not to go out alone and meet them in solitary places, sometimes not knowing²⁵ the persons with whom he conferred. Sometimes he went out in disguise, that he might discover the popular mind by listening wherever groups of people were assembled; and thus he became at last perfectly acquainted with every man's opinion. At length the people themselves, being won by his management, required him to call a meeting, to take into consideration the question of restoring the Jesuits. Holy-Ghost Sunday was appointed, on which day in the preceding year the worst outrages had been committed: the Church of the Misericordia was the place, and the Governor personally saw that it was properly prepared and adorned for the occasion. After hearing mass in the Mother Church, they adjourned to the place of meeting, where the soldiers were drawn up; the Church was full, and a crowd was assembled before it; the Governor then ordered that a proposal for re-admitting the Fathers of the Company should be read with a

May 29.

²⁵ The author of the manuscript relates this upon Sequeira's own authority.

CHAP.
XXVII.
1662.

June 2.

Berredo, §
1099.

Expulsam
dos Padres.
M.S.

loud voice at the door: a great majority voted in the affirmative, but D. Pedro, who was present, got round him a knot of turbulent spirits: they endeavoured to rouse him to resistance, declaring that they would stand by him; and a tumult would have arisen, if Sequeira had not given orders to ring the bells and fire a salute, at the same time taking hold of his treacherous predecessor and leading him away. D. Pedro retired to hide his disappointment and shame among his friends the Franciscans, and remained with them till he embarked for Portugal. The people, who in such cases are always ready to convert the golden calf of yesterday into the scape-goat of to-day, excused themselves by imputing all the past disorders to his misconduct; and the Governor politickly gave ear to their excuses, and proclaimed in the King's name a general pardon, . . . this being the easiest way of preserving his authority over people whom it might have been difficult or impossible to punish. Nothing more was determined at this meeting than that the Jesuits should be re-admitted into their Colleges; the other points were left for after-consideration: but if any person meantime should attempt to counteract what had been thus agreed, it was declared that he should be punished as a disturber of the commonwealth; if a citizen, in a fine of a thousand *cruzados* for the soldiers, and five years' service in Africa, whatever might be his privileges; and if a man of lower rank, that he should receive corporal punishment, and be banished for ever from the state. The people were still farther conciliated by having a ransoming party dispatched to the Orellana, . . . and these arrangements were concluded when the detachment arrived, bringing from Curupa as prisoners the persons who had so bravely and with such hazard discharged their duty, and who were now released from durance, and treated as their courage and fidelity deserved.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Barreto Governor of Brazil. Tumults in Rio de Janeiro and Pernambuco. Small Pox in Brazil. Peace with Spain. The Guerens ravage the borders of Bahia, and the adjoining settlements: they are expelled by the Paulistas. Discovery and conquest of Piahi. Foundation of Nova Colonia. Disputes with Spain concerning the left bank of the Plata. Pestilence.

After the triumphant termination of the Pernambucan war, Barreto, who had borne so conspicuous a part in the victory, was appointed to succeed the Conde de Atouguia as Governor General of Brazil. He had now the less gratifying task of calling upon the people to raise their proportion of the annual sum which was to be paid the Dutch: the manner in which it was done shows that a considerable degree of practical constitutional freedom existed at this time. His instructions informed him that the proportion to be supplied by Brazil was 120,000 *cruzados* yearly, for the sixteen years: it was probably considered in this assessment, that as no persons had been so much interested in the contest as the Brazilians, none would so readily, or ought so justly to discharge their full share of the reckoning; but as nearly half the contribution was looked for from this country, the demand shows the relative wealth and importance of Brazil. Barreto convoked the Senators, and

CHAP.
XXVIII.
1657.

CHAP.
XXVIII.
1657.

Barreto
Governor
General.
1662.

CHAP. XXVIII.
1662. these yearly magistrates, upon hearing the royal commands, replied that they would propose the matter in the Chamber to the good men of the Council, whose opinion, according to law and custom, was taken on such occasions in the presence and with the consent of the people¹. They were called upon at the same time to contribute toward the dowry of the Infanta D. Catharina, on her marriage with the King of England. The *sizas* in Portugal had been doubled for two years to raise this sum; but 600,000 *cruzados* were still wanting, and a free gift was requested toward the deficiency. The Chamber readily consented to the assessment, and voted toward the dowry an annual contribution of 20,000 *cruzados*, for the like term of sixteen years. Six persons were named to consult with the *Vereadores*, and apportion the tax. Of the 140,000 *cruzados* which were to be raised, Bahia took 80,000 upon itself; the remaining sixty were divided² among the other thirteen Captaincies.

¹ This is curious language in the history of a Portuguese colony. It is literally from Rocha Pitta, and is one proof of many, that Portugal and Brazil, to obtain a full relief from all their political grievances, have only to remove the abuses under the filth and rubbish of which their wise laws and old liberties are smothered. I add the original passage. “*Convocou o Governador a Palacio os Senadores, que aquelle anno tinham o governo do Corpo Politico da Republica, e propoedolhes a carta, e ordens Reaes, achou nelles o agrado e zelo que a Nobreza da Bahia sabe ostentar em todas as accoens do serviço dos nossos Monarchas. Responderam, que proporiam a materia no Senado da Camera aos homens bons, e da Governança, com cujo parecer por dereito e estylo se costuma tomar assento em negocios semelhantes, com assistencia, beneplacito, e concurso do Povo, esperando que nam haveria duvida mais que na forma em que se haviam de repartir por todas as provincias do Brazil os 120,000 cruzados.* AMERICA PORTUGUEZA, L. 6, § 8.

² The proportions would have afforded a fair standard for estimating the relative state of the different Captaincies; . . . but Rocha Pitta has not given them, and he is here the only authority.

Rio de Janeiro, with the parts to the South, was at this time separated, like Maranham, from the general Government, and Salvador Correa de Sa e Benavides was appointed Governor General of the Southern Repartition. He had rendered signal service to Portugal by recovering Angola from the Dutch; the city of the Rio was founded by one of his family on the ground which he had won from the French, and the victory had been purchased by the life of another member of the same distinguished lineage; he had therefore every claim, hereditary and personal, to the respect and affection of the people over whom he was placed. But Salvador Correa retained for the Jesuits that attachment which his ancestors had naturally formed when they were the associates of Nobrega and Anchieta, and had seen their patriotism and political wisdom so well approved. In the tumults excited against them he had stood their friend, and when they had been expelled from Santos and S. Paulo, he exerted himself strenuously in their behalf; and succeeded in re-establishing them in their College and possessions. The Paulistas resented this conduct so strongly, that the Chamber of S. Paulo wrote on one occasion to the *Camara* of S. Vicente, urging them to arrest him, upon a charge that he intended to desert to the Spaniards. This calumny, which was confuted by the whole tenor of his life, produced no effect: but when he departed from the Rio for Santos on an expedition in search of mines, the opposite faction took advantage of his absence. A kinsman, by name Thomé Correa de Alvarenga, who had formerly been Governor, was left with the command. The malcontents, abetted or excited by the members of the Chamber, assembled tumultuously at daybreak in the Town-hall, passed a vote for deposing Salvador and his deputy, and for depriving all the family of the public offices which they held, and declared that Agostinho Barbalho Bezerra should administer the govern-

CHAP.
XXVIII.
1658.

Sept. 17.
Rio de Janeiro separated from the general government.
Chapter 22,
p. 207—11.

Vol. 1, p.
301.

1659.

Insurrection against Salvador Correa.
1660.
Nov. 8.

CHAP. ment jointly with the *Camara*. Thomé Correa, the *Sargento*
 XXVIII *Mor*, the *Provedor*, and other persons attached to the Governor,
 1660. were seized and imprisoned. Barbalho, a man of rank, character, and integrity, took refuge in a Convent; he was dragged out, and compelled by the fear of immediate death to accept the illegal appointment: the officers of the garrison were convened, and in like manner compelled to recognize the election: passports were then offered to the partizans of the deposed Governor, provided they applied for them within two days; after that term elapsed, any persons who should be detected in forming a party in his favour, or even corresponding with him, were to be imprisoned and degraded for ten years to Angola. The leaders of the mutiny wrote to the Paulistas informing them what they had done, and soliciting them to unite with the people of the Rio in refusing obedience to the Governor, if they would escape from the greatest misery; for Correa, they said, had always earnestly endeavoured to procure the liberty of the Indians, . . . a measure which would be ruinous to S. Paulo; and they warned the Paulistas not to suffer him to enter their city, for he spoke the Tupi language perfectly, he was beloved by the Indians, and if he should appear in the fields of Piratininga, many thousand archers would be at his command, and enable him to give the law. The insurgents of the Rio laboured at the same time to persuade the Paulistas that in resisting the Governor they would not be acting illegally; his patent, they pretended, only gave him authority in matters concerning the mines; and moreover, he had neglected the custom observed from time immemorial, of having it registered in the *Camara* of S. Vicente. This latter argument had great weight; the hostile party at S. Paulo availed themselves of it, and compelled the Chamber to pass a resolution that the Governor should be resisted if he attempted to enter the town,

Salvador Correa was at Santos when he received intelligence of these proceedings. He forthwith registered his patent, and sent an official copy to the *Vereadores* of S. Paulo, which enabled the better part of the inhabitants to recover their ascendancy and restore order. He directed Barbalho to continue in the Government by virtue of the authority which he now delegated to him, not of his illegal appointment; and he issued a proclamation, containing offers of pardon and threats of punishment to the criminals. He then proceeded to S. Paulo, where in a short time he won the good will of the people by the active measures which he pursued for the public benefit, improving roads, stationing ferry-boats, and erecting bridges. These things made him so popular, that when he would have left the town and repaired to Ilha Grande, under pretext of accelerating the building a ship, but in reality for the sake of approaching the Rio, the inhabitants petitioned him not to remove; but concluded their petition with a declaration, that if he were resolved so to do, their persons, properties, and lives were at his service, and they were ready to accompany him to his capital. Such forces were not needed. The people were gradually returning to a sense of duty: the *Camara*, as being most implicated in the revolt, persisted in it with most obstinacy; they governed in their own name for a few months, then substituted Joam Correa, the son of Salvador, in his father's place, as an easy step toward the submission which they now perceived to be inevitable. Orders ere long arrived for arresting the *Procurador do Povo* and the officers of the seditious Chamber, and sending them to Lisbon; and the Governor shortly afterwards returned, to the great joy of the well-disposed inhabitants.

Barreto held the government six years, and was succeeded by the Conde de Obidos, D. Vasco Mascarenhas. In his time the

CHAP.
XXVIII.
1660.

He conciliates the Paulistas, and restores order.

Annaes do Rio de Janeiro, MSS. Mem. Hist. sobre o Rio, &c. Patriota, T. 2, No. 1.

1665.

Carmelites established at Bahia.

CHAP. XXVIII.
 1665.

Reformed Carmelites of S. Teresa came to try their fortunes in Brazil. The people of Bahia and the Reconcave presently enabled them to build a small *Hospicio*, as it was called, upon a spot bearing the appropriate name of *Preguiça*, or Sloth; but alms and endowments were ere long poured upon them in such abundance that they erected one of the most sumptuous Convents belonging to the order. This was a fatal year to Brazil. The small pox broke out in Pernambuco, and spread along the coast to Rio de Janeiro. The mortality was dreadful; families of forty or fifty persons sickened at once, so that there was not in the whole establishment one who had strength enough to assist the rest, go for medical assistance, or seek such remedies as were at hand. The medical practitioners were not numerous enough to attend the multitudes who now required their aid, and indeed they had little aid to give; the disease till now had scarcely been known in Portugueze America; they knew not how to treat it, and those persons who were left to nature had probably the best chance. It is in visitations like these that the Religioners of the Romish Church act with an heroic charity which entitles them to the admiration as well as the gratitude of mankind. The follies, the errors, and the evils to which their institutions give rise may then be forgotten or forgiven; for the spirit of religion, which at other times is concealed under mummies, or perverted into a noxious and destructive principle, casts off its trammels, and appears unencumbered and unpoluted in its beauty and its strength. The Brethren of the Misericordia, and of the different Orders, performed now the most painful offices of humanity; they visited the sick, administering to their bodily as well as their spiritual necessities; they fed the poor, and they carried the dead upon biers to bury them in the church-yards, which at other times were not used as places of burial, but the churches were filled with victims of the pesti-

Small pox
 in Brazil.

lence, and could contain no more. The disease became less fatal as it proceeded southward ; but its ravages were dreadful. Many *Engenhos* in the Reconcave lost all their Negroes, and wealthy proprietors were thus at once reduced to irremediable poverty. So great was the mortality that hands were wanting for agriculture ; many years of famine followed ; and Rocha Pitta, writing about half a century afterwards, declares that the effects of the visitation were still felt.

CHAP.
XXVIII.
1666.

Rocha Pit-
ta, 6, § 20.
—6.

Vidal had been removed from Maranham to the Government of Pernambuco, less to the advantage of Pernambuco than to the detriment of Maranham and Para. The long war had left rankling enmities in this Captaincy, with worse habits of insubordination and lawless violence. He is accused of having acted tyrannically towards men who were entitled to all the attentions of justice and of favour, as being his countrymen, and having been his comrades in the field : the charge may be interpreted to mean that he administered justice impartially ; for it was consistent with his known character to act thus, and such conduct would be the heaviest grievance of which such a community would complain. He banished some, and he displaced others ; but he was not here, as in Maranham, acting with uncontrolled authority, according to his own sense of duty ; the parties whom he offended were too many and too powerful for an individual who had only his own merits and his past services to support him. Barreto listened to his accusers, deprived him of his government, ordered Cardozo and another Camp-Master to govern in his stead, and sent troops from Bahia to arrest him, and a *Dezembargador* to sit in judgement upon him. Matters however were not carried to this extremity, for Vidal, finding that resistance could only end in ruin, made some required submission, and was allowed to retain his Government till its term expired. He was succeeded by Jeronymo Mendocça Fur-

Vidal Go-
vernor of
Pernambu-
co.
1661.

Rocha Pit-
ta, 6, § 11
—12.
Succeeded
by Jeronymo
Furtado.

CHAP.
XXVIII.
1661.

*Discontents
at Olinda.*

tado; this Governor also disagreed with the Pernambucans: the charges against Vidal are vague, and inconsistent with the whole tenour of his life; against Mendoc̃a they are specific and probable: he is accused of the vice which most easily besets men in his situation, . . a gross and scandalous regard to his own emolument, and an utter disregard of every thing else. This became so intolerable at last, that the chief persons in Olinda determined to seize him and send him prisoner to Portugal. During four months they waited in vain for an opportunity, for he apprehended the danger, and kept upon his guard: they secured him at length by a stratagem which might have involved them in serious consequences, inasmuch as it savoured of sacrilege. It was the custom for the Portugueze of rank to accompany the sacrament when it was borne to the dying; under this pretence the opposite party took the host abroad, and carried it by the Governor's door; he came out, attended it to the church from whence it had been taken, and was seized on his return by the *Juiz Ordinario*, Andre de Barros Rego, in the name of the King, the Nobles, and People of Pernambuco. He laid hand on his sword, and his servants and officers attempted to defend him: they were overpowered and ill-treated; and the *Juiz* assured the Governor that if he made the slightest resistance he would be put to death, the people being as determined to rid themselves of his tyranny as they had been to throw off the yoke of the Hollanders, which had not been more oppressive.

*Insurrection
against the
Governor.*

A French squadron of eleven sail, belonging to the newly-erected East India Company, was at this time lying in the harbour of Recife, having put in for refreshments on the way to their colony in Madagascar. The Governor had entertained them with great splendour, and made a public festival in their honour: at this festival a rope was stretched across the prin-

cipal street in Recife, and a ring suspended from it in the middle; sixteen Cavaliers, well mounted, and in gala array, ran at the ring, and this trial of skill was so difficult when practised in this manner, that only two succeeded: a pigeon was afterwards substituted in its place, and the two successful competitors vied with each other in the cruel attempt at piercing it. The sports concluded by the Cavaliers taking leathern shields on the left arm, and pelting each other with oranges. This had past a short time only before the arrest of the Governor; the people had not been made acquainted with the intention of arresting him, and upon the first news of what had occurred, they supposed he had been detected in a plot for betraying the province to the French; their old jealousy of this nation revived in all its force; they remembered their former attempts upon Brazil, . . . a danger of which the recent struggle with Holland made them more apprehensive, and they cried out that the French should be put to death. Of those who happened to be on shore, some took shelter with the Capuchins, and were besieged in the Convent; others were seized and disarmed: but the leaders of the insurrection interfered in time to prevent worse consequences; they scoured the streets on horseback, delivered the prisoners, and made excuses to the Commander. The Governor was sent prisoner to Lisbon: the manner of his arrest would have secured him at least a favourable hearing under any European government; but unhappily his elder brother Francisco, who was *Alcaide Mor* of Mouram, deserted at this time to the Castilians, for which crime he was beheaded in effigy, and the possessions of an old and honourable family were confiscated. Jeronymo was suspected of being privy to the treason; he was put to the torture; and though no confession could be wrung from him by these abominable means, he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in one of the fortresses in India, and in

CHAP.
 XXVIII.

1666.

Remesfort.
Hist. des
Indes Ori-
entales,
pt. 2. c. 4.
Do. c. 6.
Rocha Pitta,
6. § 46—
51.

CHAP.
XXVIII.

1668.

Peace with
Spain.

Settlement
of Cayrú.

that imprisonment he died. The people of Olinda thus escaped unpunished, and even without reproof.

The Conde de Obidos, having held the general government five years, was succeeded by Alexandre de Sousa Freire. The long struggle with Spain had now been terminated by a treaty which formally recognized the independence of Portugal; but while the mother-country was at peace, and all danger from external hostility had ceased, Brazil was again disturbed by its indigenous enemies. The back settlements of Bahia and Ilheos were infested by the savages, and they became bold enough seriously to distress some parts of the coast. Near the southern boundary of the latter Captaincy, six considerable rivers, communicating with each other about five leagues inland, surround a track of some twelve leagues in circumference, and where they enter the sea, make the three bars of the Morro de S. Paulo, Tobatinga³, and Boypeba; the first of these has depth for large vessels, the last for small craft; the Tobatinga will only admit boats. These labyrinthine waters form in the midst of the territory which they compass and intersect, two principal islands, Tinhare, or the Morro, which has six leagues of coast, and is three and a half in depth; and Boypeba, which contains about

³ *Tobatinga* signifies *white-face*: the fitness of the appellation appears from the description of this coast in the Brazil Pilot. "Bound for Brazil in the September monsoon, land must be made in latitude 12° S. This land is distinguished by banks of white sand along the coast, appearing like linen hung out to dry, .. *que parecem estendedouros de lancoes.*" Pimentel, p. 281. *Brazil Pilot*, p. 5. Pyrard also (*Part 2*, p. 197) says that this land is "*fort blanche, et paroist comme des draps et des toiles que l'on seiche, ou bien de la niege; c'est pour cela que les Portugais l'appellent la terre des linceuls.*"

Boypeba is interpreted *Cobra espalmado* (*Jaboatam. Preambulo. Digr. 4. Est. 5, § 75.*) the Flat Boa, or the Great Spread Serpent, .. a significant name, which attests that the savages who bestowed it were no stupid race.

ten square miles. Between these, in the wide waters which separate them upon the coast, and about six leagues from each, is the Island of ⁴ Cayrû, about eight miles in circumference, consisting of high and rugged ground, ill adapted for cultivation. The main land, for an extent of some sixty or seventy miles, from the River Jaguaribe to the Gequia, is very fertile. In the early times of Brazil, Sebastiam de Pontes, a wealthy man who possessed two *Engenhos* in Bahia, established himself upon the Una, one of the principal streams in this rich district, and built a third *Engenho* there. Some Portugueze accompanied him, and he acquired influence enough over the natives to afford grounds, or pretext, for an accusation that he was called King, or Royalet of Brazil: upon this charge he was sent to Lisbon, thrown into the common prison, and forgotten there, till after many years of hopeless captivity he was carried from the dungeon to the grave, and buried as a pauper! Early in the seventeenth century the town of Cayrû was founded as the capital of a district which included the Isle of the Morro, and the country between the rivers Gequia and Jaguaribe: the island was chosen for its situation, as being safe from the savages. During the contest with the Moors in Spain, relics and miracles were found the best defence for a new city, the hope and belief of miraculous protection attracting settlers enough to protect themselves. The practice continued in the peninsula after the motive had ceased; in Brazil the cause existed at this time,

* A corruption of Aracajuru, *Vaso e casa do Sol*, the Vessel and House of the Sun, because from the main the first rays of the sun are seen on its high lands (*Jaboatam. Preambulo. 4. 5, § 79*).. another instance of the highly figurative language of the natives.

CHAP. and Cayrú was favoured with a succession of such ⁵ prodigies as
 XXVIII. are easily provided by craft for credulity. The Governor

⁵ An *Ermida*, or Chapel of N. Senhora da Luz was founded upon the Morro, or highest point of the island: the builders were much inconvenienced for want of water, and the "good Chaplain," Simam Barreto, thought there was no means so likely to remedy the inconvenience as by praying to Our Lady, in whose service they were employed. Having finished his prayer, he walked upon the brow of the hill, and coming presently to a plashy piece of ground, plucked up a few flags, pulled out a handful or two of earth from below their roots, and behold a miraculous spring, which proved sovereign in diseases! When the building was completed the inside could not be fitted up for want of money; but the Goddess had already been bespoken, the carpenter had brought her home, she had been painted and drest, and was at that time in the Chaplain's hut, waiting for installation when her altar should be ready. F. Simam naturally applied to her in this emergency; *Senhora*, said he, the money is all gone, and your devotee and benefactor (*o vosso devoto e bemfeitor*) cannot so soon supply more. If you chuse to remove directly to your own house, give us wherewith to make it ready; it does not look well that your Chapel should be finished, and that you should still take up your abode in my unworthy and indecent hovel! After this reasonable representation to *Nossa Senhora*, which was made with all dutifulness upon his knees, he arose, and walked the whole day upon the shore to look for ambergris; and coming home at night he found a piece of more than four pounds weight, the produce of which supplied all that was wanted.

This "good Chaplain" was an adept in his art. In 1628 some Dutch vessels, detached from a squadron which had committed great depredations upon the coast, appeared off the bar as if threatening the island; but they suddenly put back and sailed away, because when they approached, the whole hill seemed covered with men drawn up in good military order, to the number of more than two thousand, being "no doubt commanded by the Empress of Angels and Queen of Men." F. Simam however, not being apprized of this manœuvre of the Goddess, took her image from the altar to save it from the hereticks, placed it with all its ornaments in a chest, hid it in the thicket, concealed himself with it, and passed the night there sleeping upon the chest, either for the sake of giving protection, or deriving it. In the morning he opened the chest to console himself with a sight of N. Senhora, and behold N. Senhora was gone! It was certain that no thief had been there, not only because it was impossible for any

General Oliveira built a fortress, within which a miraculous spring was enclosed, and the inhabitants of the new district not only furnished slaves to work at the building, but came in person and laboured zealously to complete it. They had the fear of the Dutch before their eyes ; but the place was of no import-

CHAP.
XXVIII.

1629.

Jaboatam.
Preambulo,
Digr. 4,
Est. 5.

human agency to have opened the chest without his knowledge while he was lying upon it, but because all her valuables were left there. Instantly divining that a miracle had been wrought, he ran to the Chapel, and found the Magna Mater in her place !

S. Antonio at this time was equally upon the alert at the Barra de Tobatinga, where there was a Mother Church, and a town, both under his invocation. The Dutch squadron appeared, and the people, with Catholic propriety, before they made any preparations for opposing the enemy, went into the Church to implore the assistance of their Portugueze Saint and Patron. S. Antonio was not at that time commander-in-chief of the Portugueze army, .. an office to which he was afterwards appointed ; he might otherwise perhaps have thought himself called upon for personal service, like Santiago, or St. George. However, he exerted himself in a manner not less miraculous. The people went to their posts, and to their utter astonishment saw the enemy hoist in the boats which they had made ready for landing, make sail, and depart. Of course they returned to the church to give thanks for their deliverance, and there was S. Antonio in the act of supplicating the crucifix ; he had moved from his place, and laid himself upon his face on the altar, with his head at the foot of the crucifix, imploring " beyond all doubt" in this manner for his faithful people the deliverance which they had actually received.

There seems to have been an intention of bringing some other Saints into profitable odour at Cayrû. On the eve of St. Matthias's day, for twenty years after the town was founded, music both of voice and instrument was heard from midnight till day-break, moving as it seemed in the air, in a direction from East to West, and so exquisitely sweet as to charm all hearers, and prove that it must proceed from celestial quiristers. The relater appeals to many living witnesses for the truth of this account. S. Francisco Xavier also had his miracle-makers here ; he had a chapel on the Island, and during several years the inhabitants of the main saw many green lights moving round it in procession.

Jaboatam, Preambulo. Digr. IV. Est. 5, § 81—6.

CHAP.
XXVIII.

Vol. 1, p.
40.
*The Guerens infest
Bahia and
the adjoining
provinces.*

Vol. 1, p.
287.

1660.

ance as a military or naval station, and the attack came from a more tremendous enemy.

The neighbouring country had been found in possession of the Tupiniquins, . . a people ill-requited for the friendly disposition which they had shown toward the Portugueze. Such of them as escaped the tyranny of their European friends were driven out by the Guerens, a branch of the Aymores, who occupied this track, while their kindred hordes were devastating the Ilheos and Porto Seguro. When the Aymores in these Captaincies had been conciliated and tamed by the Jesuits, the Guerens seem to have withdrawn into the interior, and the Portugueze whom they had driven from this territory returned, but with sufficient caution to make their chief settlement on an island. They who ventured to establish themselves upon the main had reason to rue their confidence. For while the Pernambucan war continued the Guerens reappeared ; they came, it is said, from a part of the country six hundred miles inland, and usually chose the morning for their attacks, that they might have daylight for their retreat, being under no apprehension of pursuit. It was only in the three winter months that the settlers could fancy themselves safe ; during the rest of the year they were never for a moment secure. The Savages came on running, set up a dreadful war-whoop, and in an instant every person whom they had marked was pierced with their unerring arrows. Whole families were thus cut off together ; and when the nearest neighbours hastened to their assistance, all the assistance which could be rendered was to lay them in the grave. An alarm was given that the Savages had been seen going toward the house of the *Sargento Mor*, Bartholomeu Lopes da Franca ; the neighbourhood repaired to his succour ; they found the slaves, who had been surprized at their labour, lying dead in the field, the master of the family, his wife, and his four sons lying dead round their

dinner-table, quilled with arrows, and every domestic in the house in the same condition, not a soul being left alive. Barreto during his government endeavoured to stop these ravages by giving every family a guard of soldiers, from three to eight in number; . . . during eight years that the experiment was tried, not a soldier ever got shot at a Savage, or even sight of one, though some of the soldiers were pierced with arrows when they imagined themselves safe in their own quarters. This shocking state of things continued many years, the few settlers who did not take shelter in the islands being compelled to convert their dwelling-houses into so many fortifications. Alexandre de Sousa thought the most advisable remedy was to erect a fort, and man it with a company of infantry drafted from the garrison of Bahia, and to be relieved every three months: the spot chosen was near the Mother Church ⁶ of Cayrú, a place which the Guerens had never yet reached in their incursions. Manoel Barbosa de Mesquita the Captain of this garrison, went one day with seven of his soldiers to the Church, it being a great festival, where the women of the country were assembled in holiday attire, with their sons and husbands in fitter plight for attending them upon this public display than for defending them in case of danger. An alarm was given that the Guerens were approaching, and presently their terrific war-whoop was heard. The first impulse of the affrighted congregation was to fasten the church-door, . . . Manoel Barbosa made them open it to let him and his men out, that they might make their way to the station: the danger of the attempt was

CHAP.
XXVIII.
1660.

Death of
Manoel Bar-
bosa.

⁶ It appears from the context that this church must have been upon the main land: when Rocha Pitta therefore says *Villa* in this place, he must mean the district, . . . as the Americans at this time use the word *town*, making it sometimes synonymous with *township*.

CHAP.
XXVIII.
1670.

imminent, but there was a possibility that some of them might effect their purpose, and this was the best or only chance for preserving the lives of all in the church. He had two pistols, a sword and buckler, and his men also were armed: the advantage of fire-arms, the dread which they occasion, and perhaps too the fear with which Savages are usually impressed by the resolute presence of men, however few in number, whom they know to be their superiors in power and knowledge, might have rendered the attempt as successful as it was adventurous; but five of his soldiers, as soon as they had discharged their pieces, ran away; the other two perished with their Captain, not however till they had made some havoc among the enemy, and till the leader of the Savages had fallen by Barbosa's hand: his death made the Guerens, according to their custom, retire; so that the object for which this brave Portugueze devoted himself was accomplished, though not in the manner⁷ which he had intended, nor by the means upon which he calculated.

Jaboatam.
Preambulo,
Digr. 4, Est.
5.
Rocha Pit-
ta, 6, § 64
-9.

The Paulis-
tas called in
against the
Guerens.

Manoel Barbosa was of good extraction and high character; he had married only a few months since into one of the noblest

⁷ Jaboatam's account (*Preambulo, Digr. 4, Est. 5, § 93*.) differs from Rocha Pitta's, and is much less probable. He says, that as the congregation were returning from church, Barbosa was informed that the soldiers in the Estancia had been cut off, and was advised to go back with the people into the church, and there fortify himself. But he replied, no man could be a captain without soldiers, and he must follow his men; and upon this absurd point of honour (if such it can be called) he went on to meet the enemy and be cut to pieces. Rocha Pitta, though he expressly says the savages would have had no difficulty in breaking open the church, in which case all the women would have been massacred, does not perceive that Barbosa took the only means of preventing this shocking catastrophe, and represents him as sacrificing his life to a false point of honour, instead of a true sense of duty.

families of Brazil ; these circumstances, and the heroic manner of his death, made a deep impression in Bahia : the evil had now, as it were, come home to them, and the Governor, with the advice of the chief persons, came to the only wise resolution, that there was no other way of securing the country than by completing the conquest of it. It was determined that the most vigorous means should be employed to crush these Savages. The Reconcave had so long been free from all such enemies, that there were neither leaders nor men who understood the proper mode of warfare. They applied therefore to the Paulistas, and engaged a body of these determined men, under a famous leader, by name Joam Amaro, who were to receive eight thousand *cruzados*, and be supplied with provisions and all things necessary. Before these arrangements were completed Sousa's term expired ; he was succeeded in the Government by Affonso Furtado de Mendoça, and a year or two more elapsed before the Paulistas could muster their forces and arrive at Bahia, that city being not less than a thousand miles from S. Paulo. The Governor then, in obedience to the law, convoked the chief persons of the Captaincy, civil and religious ; and they unanimously pronounced that the intended war against the Savages of the *Sertoens* ^s of Cayrú was just and lawful, and that all who should be taken prisoners in this war would legally become slaves. The Treasury was not able to defray the expence of so costly an expedition, so the inhabitants taxed themselves, and raised a large sum by voluntary contributions ; a detachment from the garrison was ordered upon this service, and the

CHAP.
XXVIII.1671.

1673.

^s This word requires explanation. *Sertam*, or *Certam*, (as it is sometimes spelt,) in the plural *Sertoens*, means the interior of the country. An inhabitant of the interior is called a Sertanejo. I do not know the origin of the word.

CHAP. whole force sailed for Cayrù, under Joam Amaro's command.
 XXVIII. It does great credit to the Brazilian administration, that no petty
 1673. considerations of private or local interests prevented them from
 giving this Paulista the entire management of the expedition. He brought with him such a body of experienced man-hunters as no other place in the world could have supplied, a large proportion of them being trained Indians, who, though less intellectual than their Mamaluco masters, were little less intrepid, and in activity, ferocity, and endurance, nothing inferior. The *Ordinança*, or local-militia of the district, joined them when they landed; and they went through the Sertoens westward to the River S. Francisco, and northward to the boundaries of Bahia, killing and capturing the Savages, destroying all their settlements, and opening roads, so as to make a communication with that Captaincy through the interior. The prisoners were sent to the Capital, and were in such numbers that the most promising subjects did not sell for more than twenty *cruzados* each, . . the greater number for less than as many shillings. Most of these poor creatures were bought for the service of the *Engenhos*, and in a short time grief, indignation, ill-usage, and hard labour destroyed so large a proportion of them, that the owners are said to have found them a bad purchase even at such a price. The necessity of the war was evident; and it is equally evident that the principles which mitigate the evils of war by the exchange and ultimate release of prisoners are not applicable to such wars as this. But if Joam IV. under whose law the captured savages suffered this slow death, could have foreseen that such consequences would result, humane and pious as he was, he would have paid head-money for the prisoners from the revenues of the crown, and have placed them under the tuition of the religious orders. Joam Amaro was not satisfied with once marching through the country; he did his work

*Destruction
 of the Sa-
 vages.*

thoroughly, explored it in all parts, and cleared it of the savages so that they were not heard of again for more than half a century. In reward for his services he received a large grant of lands, and the lordship of a town which he was permitted to found, and which he began on the side of Bahia, under the name and patronage of S. Antonio, .. a name which has by popular consent been properly superseded by his own. But a Paulista leader was incapable of existing in a state of inaction ; he sold his grant and returned to his native country, probably to pursue his old course of desperate but stimulating adventure. Many of his comrades obtained allotments in the new conquests.

CHAP.
XXVIII.
1673.

Rocha Pit-
ta, 6, § 70
—72. 79—
85.

The spirit of adventure by which the Paulistas were so pre-eminently distinguished, was found also in Pernambuco at this time. Domingos Affonso, a man of low fortunes, by dint of industry and enterprize had acquired wealth, reputation, and the rank of Captain : he possessed a large grazing estate on the northern side of the S. Francisco, at a station called *O Sobrado*, or the Terrace, and from thence sent out his people to explore far inland. The interior of Pernambuco, although capable in favourable, or even in ordinary years, of supporting large herds of cattle, is subject to droughts of long and fatal continuance : in such seasons its extensive and open *campinas*, and the sandy soil of those wide plains which are thinly sprinkled with trees, and called *taboleiros*, are parched like a desert, and vast tracts of country are rendered uninhabitable for man or beast. It is wonderful how soon the first rains cover them again with herbage ; but such visitations are frequent enough, and tremendous enough in their effects, to render this Captaincy the least habitable part of all Brazil. When therefore Domingos Affonso heard of an adjacent region abounding with the richest pasture, and not liable to the like calamity, it became an object of great importance to obtain possession of so valuable a land ; and he

Discovery
and con-
quest of
Piauhia

Koster's
Travels, 91.

CHAP.
XXVIII.

1673.

River Parnaiba.

Pimentel, Brazil Pilot, p. 31.

Rocha Fita, 6, § 73—77.

Search for mines.

soon found companions of his own stamp who joined with him to undertake the conquest. He himself assumed the surname of Sertam, in love of this adventurous course, and in confident hope of its beneficial result to his own interests and to the honour of Portugal, . . . a feeling to which no Portuguese is insensible. The country which he entered obtained the name of Piauí, from a river which though not of such magnitude that it might deserve to give name to an extensive province, is the largest on that side from which the Pernambucan expedition entered. Six other rivers, which like the Piauí are reduced in the dry season to a succession of pools in the midst of their parched beds, join it in its course, and their united waters form the copious river Parnaíba, which dividing itself into two channels, whereof the one retains the same appellation, and the other takes that of Igarassú, flows into the sea between Seara and Maranhão. The party had proceeded far into the country, fighting their way and driving the natives before them, when they met a troop of Paulistas, with their usual auxiliaries, under Domingos Jorge. It was a joyful meeting; they communicated their adventures and discoveries to each other; the land was wide enough for both, and they separated taking different courses, to complete the conquest of the country and clear it of the savages. They succeeded so well, that grants in this fertile territory were immediately coveted and solicited from the government of Pernambuco, settlers removed there, and in a short time Piauí became the great grazing country of this part of Brazil.

The settlement of Piauí and the expulsion of the Guereus were events of sufficient importance to distinguish Affonso Furtado honourably among the Governors of Brazil: but he hoped to signalize his administration in a manner which would procure him higher rewards at court. An inhabitant of the *Sertam*, as

1674.

the Brazilians call the interior of their country, came to him with intelligence that he had discovered a silver mine: he produced some bars of this metal, which he said had been extracted from the ore, and he affirmed that the vein was as rich as the richest mines in the Spanish possessions: the situation he refused to discover, but engaged to show the place when he should have received an assurance from the Court of an adequate reward; it was in a part of the country very remote from that wherein the mines of Roberio Diaz were believed to exist unknown. The man was of good character, nor was there any reason for doubting his story, seeing that he only stipulated for advantages which were to depend upon the fulfilment of his promise. The Governor gave him full credit, and sent his own son Joam Furtado de Mendocça to be the bearer of this welcome advice to Lisbon. The ship was wrecked on the coast of Peniche, and the specimens and dispatches, with most of the crew, were lost: but Joam Furtado escaped: his oral representations were deemed sufficient at court, and every thing necessary for working the mines was immediately shipped for Bahia. Before the vessel arrived the discoverer died in his own country; and it appeared that no person was acquainted with his secret, nor with any clue which might lead to the spot. The expedition however was not wholly in vain: fine amethysts were discovered, imperfect topazes, and crystals of great magnitude; but the disappointment, and the unmerited censure which seems to have been cast upon him for engaging the Government in expences upon such uncertain grounds, preyed upon the Governor's spirits so as to affect his health and bring him to the grave. Before he died he assembled the *Senado da Camara*, the nobles and constituted authorities, to appoint his successors till the pleasure of the Court should be known. The Chancellor of the *Relaçam*, the senior Camp-Master, and the senior Judge of the Camara

CHAP.
XXVIII.
1674.

Vol. 1, p. 358.

Death of
the Govern-
nor.

1675.
Three persons appointed to succeed him.

Rocha Pitta, 6, § 86—90.

CHAP. (a descendant of Caramuru) were chosen, and were afterwards
XXVIII. continued in their joint administration.

1676.

Three
bishopricks
erected.

Rocha Pit-
ta, 6, § 99.

1677.

A nunnery
established
in Bahia.

The religious concerns of Brazil were not neglected at Lisbon. The vigilance of a single Pastor, says Rocha Pitta, could not suffice for a flock of such innumerable sheep scattered over so wide a territory. Bahia, hitherto the only diocese, was elevated to the rank of a metropolitan see, and Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro, and Maranham, were made Bishopricks. In the ensuing year, four Franciscan nuns from the convent of S. Clara at Evora arrived to establish their order in the capital of Portuguese America. Noble families who could not portion their daughters suitably to their rank, wanted a nunnery in which they might dispose of them by shutting them up; . . . such institutions are always acceptable to a bigotted people, and thus pride and superstition united in soliciting this establishment. It was opposed by men of sounder judgement, upon the ground that in a colony thinly peopled and of such prodigious extent, all institutions which checked the progress of population must be injurious. These representations delayed the evil, but could not prevent it: Pedro, the Regent of Portugal, who had seated himself upon his brother's throne and married his brother's wife, while that brother was living in confinement, was a man whose conscience stood in need of those opiates which Popery administers to its benefactors: . . . so leave was given to build the nunnery at Bahia. When the Founders arrived the building was not ready for their reception: . . . to have lodged in any other habitation would have derogated from the sanctity of their character, they therefore remained on board: every carpenter and mason in the city was put in requisition, and in three days the cells and offices were in a state of sufficient clausure. These Nuns came out at the expence of the *Senado*; their arrival made a jubilee in the city, and alms poured in upon them for the completion of the edifice. At the expiration of nine years

they returned to Portugal, and were accompanied to the shore with civil, military, and religious honours. The number of sisters had been limited to fifty: but it soon became a cheap mode of rewarding services to allow those who had claims upon the government the privilege of placing one of their family as a supernumerary in the Convent. Such institutions are better receptacles than Bedlam for the largest class of maniacs. Under proper modifications they might be introduced into Protestant countries, with great benefit to the community; not merely as asylums for the weary spirit and the broken heart, but as palliatives for one of the greatest evils in our state of society, by affording an honourable retreat for well-educated women. But Catholic nunneries, fenced about as they are with the magic circle of superstition, and serving as prisons into which the young and the enthusiastic are decoyed or forced, ought never to be tolerated in a Protestant state.

CHAP.
XXVIII.
1677.

Rocha Pit-
ta, 6, § 102
—107.

The joint Governors accomplished the term of three years, and were succeeded by Roque da Costa Barreto. The first event of his administration was the settlement of the Italian Capuchins at Bahia; the second led to a long train of consequences. The treaty with Spain, which recognized the independence of Portugal, acknowledged its right also to all the former possessions⁹ of the Portuguese Monarchy, Ceuta alone excepted, which, not having been recovered from the Spaniards, remained in their hands. But the limits of these two Powers,

1678.
Roque da
Costa Bar-
reto Gover-
nor.

⁹ Charlevoix asserts, (*T. 2, p 191.*) that in the Treaty of 1668 it was agreed that the Province of S Vicente should be the boundary of Brazil on the side of Paraguay, and states his case as if the Portuguese proceeded in direct infraction of this article. There is no mention whatsoever of Brazil in the Treaty; (*Du Mont. T. 7, Part 1, P 70*) and if there had been, the point in dispute was not which province was the boundary of Brazil, but what was the boundary of S. Vicente.

CHAP. XXVIII
1674.

*Question
respecting
the bound-
ary of
Brazil.*

*Foundation
of Nova
Colonia.*

*Rocha Pit-
ta, T, § 6.
Silvestre
Ferreira, p.
11.*

*Alarm of
the Spa-
niards.*

in their American conquests had never been determined: while both countries were under the same sovereign the question was of little importance; it was equally immaterial while they were at war; but peace immediately revived the dormant cause of contention. Easy as it had been for Pope Alexander VI. to divide the undiscovered world by a line drawn upon the map, when that line was to be applied from a sheet of paper to the whole continent of South America, the ablest cosmographers found it difficult to ascertain its course. North of the equator, the Portugueze claimed to the Wiapoc or River Pinzon, and on that side there was no dispute with Spain: Southward they laid claim as far as the Plata; this was evidently an established opinion among them at a time when the point was not contested. In the interior, the Paulistas had made the limits the justification of their enterprizes against the Reductions, certainly not the cause; and it was in Paraguay and S. Paulo that the importance of the question was first felt. The Court of Portugal now thought it expedient to secure the debateable part of the coast, and the new Governor of the Rio, D. Manoel Lobo, brought out instructions to form a settlement on the left bank of the Plata, and erect a fort for its protection. Colonists were sent out from Lisbon; the number was increased by some indigent and criminal¹⁰ subjects from the Rio, and the Governor, after a short stay at his capital, followed to oversee and expedite the works.

D. Philippe Rege Corbulon, Governor of Paraguay, received the first intelligence of the expedition while its object was as

¹⁰ Charlevoix says that fourteen vessels were fitted out at the Rio for this grand establishment; and that the flower of the best troops in Portugal were sent off from Lisbon on this service. This is more likely to be misrepresentation than error.

yet unknown: the report was, that it was destined to occupy either the Isles of S. Gabriel, or some part of the adjacent continent, and that a land force was at the same time to attack the Reductions of the Parana and Uruguay, by which means they would be prevented from sending assistance to Buenos Ayres. No such intention existed; but the rumour would easily be believed by a people who had suffered so much from the Paulistas. Corbulon immediately dispatched one courier to the Governor of the Plata, D. Joseph de Garro, and another to the Parana Reductions. From the latter he was informed, that though they were not in a state to be in danger of surprize, they were by no means capable of resisting regular forces. For although the Jesuits had been successful in their dispute with Cardenas, his frequent memorials and the persevering charges of his Procurador Villelon, aided as they were by the party who opposed whatever might ameliorate the lot of the natives, had produced some effect; so that the fire arms with which the Guaranies had been entrusted were taken from them, pursuant to a decree of the Court, and deposited in the arsenal at Asumpcion, to be again distributed to them when called upon for the King's service, or threatened by the Paulistas. This decree had been revoked, but meantime most of the musquets had disappeared, and in the present emergency only two hundred and sixty could be allowed for all the Reductions, the troops in Paraguay, few as they were, not having enough for their own use. Two of the Guarani Corregidores however were honoured with the rank of Camp-Masters, and they were instructed to send out reconnoitring parties toward Brazil. Three detachments of four hundred men were dispatched; the one ascended the Parana in light canoes, while another proceeded by land toward S. Paulo, . . . doubtless with sufficient caution; no hostile movements were discovered, because no hostility had

CHAP.
XXVIII.
1679.

1661.

*Reconnoit-
ring parties
sent from
the Reduc-
tions.*

have expected that there was the River Plata in the way.

CHAP.
XXVIII.

1679.

The Guaranies capture the crew of a shipwrecked vessel.

Charlevoix, 2, p. 185-7.

been intended. The third made for the sea shore, and having reached it coasted along southward; near Cape S. Maria they fell in with a party of shipwrecked Portugueze belonging to a vessel which had been sent before the Rio de Janeiro fleet, and the Captain with eighty men was proceeding along the shore toward his place ¹¹ of destination. The Guaranies, who considered all Portugueze as their natural enemies, would willingly have taken vengeance for old wrongs by putting the whole party to death; but obeying the instructions of the Missionaries, they contented themselves with bringing them prisoners to Yapeyu, or Los Reyes, the nearest Reduction, which was about four hundred miles distant. On their arrival at Yapeyu, the Portugueze Captain required the Rector to supply him with guides and means for joining his General, who as he then learnt had arrived with his fleet at the Isles of S. Gabriel. He was referred to the Superior of the Missions, and wrote to him accordingly, complaining of the treatment which he had received, and reminding the Jesuit how greatly the Order to which he belonged was beholden to the Kings of Portugal. F. Christoval Altamirano, the then Superior, was a native of Santa Fé, descended from one of the first conquerors of Paraguay; he therefore had no predilection in favour of the Portugueze. He replied, that the Company indeed owed much to the Kings of Portugal, but not less to the august house of Austria; that it did not become him, a simple Religioner, to decide upon state affairs; and that his Catholic Majesty had a Governor at Buenos Ayres, to whom

¹¹ To Buenos Ayres, says Charlevoix, where the Captain supposed that the designs of the Portugueze had not yet been discovered. Charlevoix seems to have forgotten, that according to his representation of things, this would have been delivering up himself and his people to imprisonment; and he seems likewise to have overlooked that there was the River Plata in the way.

the determination naturally belonged. Accordingly the whole party were sent down the Uruguay to Buenos Ayres, under an escort of four hundred Indian soldiers. They were received with much civility, except that their escort were made to exhibit before them a sham fight between the Spaniards and Portugueze, in which the latter were defeated. When these festivities were ended, the Governor courteously informed his guest that he could not permit him and his men to depart without rendering himself amenable for a breach of duty.

CHAP.
XXVIII.
1679.

Charlevoix,
2, p. 187—
9.

Meantime the Portugueze expedition had arrived at its destined port, and laid the foundation of Nova Colonia, the new colony. It was situated immediately opposite Buenos Ayres, where the islets of S. Gabriel contribute to shelter a haven capable of receiving vessels of no great burthen. The Spanish Governor, while the Guarani troops were sent toward the frontier, had dispatched a brigantine to reconnoitre the river: the Captain examined every creek and bay below Buenos Ayres, to the very mouth of the river, but neglected to examine the Isles of S. Gabriel, not dreaming that the Portugueze would establish themselves directly in front of the city. He returned therefore without intelligence; but a few days afterwards, some men who were going to cut wood on the northern bank, behind the largest of these Isles, perceived buildings there, and hastened to inform the Governor. An officer was forthwith ordered to perform the formality of demanding who the settlers were, and with what design, or by what right, they had intruded upon the territories of his Catholic Majesty. D. Manoel Lobo replied he had been instructed to occupy the spot, which appertained not to the Spanish but to the Portugueze demarcation. He was then required to evacuate ground of which it was affirmed the Kings of Spain had been in possession during more than a century. The Spanish Governor in the next place convened a council of

*The Portu-
guese re-
quired to
evacuate
their new
settlement.*

CHAP.
XXVIII.

1679.

all the theologians and lawyers in Buenos Ayres, and referred to them the question concerning the demarcation: they drew up a memorial in favour of their own claims, and supported it by the authority of Dutch maps, which were sent with the memoir to D. Manoel Lobo. A Portugueze map was produced on the other side, and the opposition of arguments and authorities ended by a reference on the part of the Portugueze to their own Court, and by a determination on that of the Spaniards to refer it at once to the last resort. For this purpose, while the tribunal at Lima and the Audience at Chuquisaca were passing sentence concerning the limits, troops were levied in Tucuman and in La Plata, and three thousand Guaranies were collected in the Reductions, with a well furnished hospital, five hundred baggage mules, as many oxen for drawing the artillery, and four thousand horses, designed like the horned cattle of the Caffres to be driven forward upon the enemy, if they should give battle in the field. This Indian force assembled at Yapeyu, where some Spanish officers were expected to join them and take the command; they waited for them many days, till the Missionaries seeing they were fast consuming their stores, and that sickness was beginning to prevail among them, determined to proceed without farther delay. Two hundred men were already dead, or invalided; their loss was supplied, and three hundred more were raised to fill up the companies, as should be needful: a third of this force embarked in thirty rafts upon the Uruguay, and the others marched along the banks, keeping pace with the rafts, that they who required rest or medical treatment might be received on board: in this manner they arrived within three leagues of Nova Colonia, and were placed under the command of the Camp-Master, D. Antonio de Vera Muzica.

*A Guarani
force raised
against the
Portugueze.*

*Charlevoix,
2, § 189—
94.*

1680.

Muzica's force consisted chiefly in these Guaranies. He had from a thousand to fifteen hundred men besides, of whom three

hundred were Spaniards, the rest being Negroes, and men of different shades ; it was not deemed expedient to draft a larger detachment from Buenos Ayres, lest the Portugueze, by way of diversion, should make an attempt upon the city. But the Portugueze garrison was composed of only two hundred men, divided into four companies ; and the works which in the course of seven months had been thrown up, were more fitted to protect them against the Minuanes, (for which, indeed, they were chiefly intended) than to resist a regular besieging force. D. Manoel Lobo dispatched letters soliciting aid to the Rio, to Bahia, and Pernambuco : the nearest of these points was far distant, and the enemy lost no time in assaulting his feeble fortifications. Garro came in person to direct the attack : his arrangements were curiously injudicious ; for he proposed that the four thousand horses should be driven before the troops to receive the first discharge of artillery from the works, and that the men, having thus been screened, should immediately rush forward to the escalade before the guns could be reloaded : he desisted from this strange project when the Guarani Camp-Master represented to him that the horses, instead of running forward against the wall, would certainly turn back, throw his own people into confusion, and afford the Portugueze the fairest opportunity of sallying and defeating him. The Portugueze were taken by surprize ; the besiegers approached the walls unseen, before day-break, and were to have assaulted the place simultaneously as soon as the signal should be given by firing a carabine ; but one of the Guaranies, venturing to ascend the ramparts, found the centinel asleep, and cut off his head ; another centinel, who happened to be awake, saw this, and fired his gun : the Guaranies, for it was too dark to distinguish from whence it came, mistook it for the signal, and one of their columns, under the Cacique Ignacio Amandau, leaped over

CHAP.
XXVIII.
1680.

CHAP. the works. The culverin which the garrison fired upon them
 XXVIII. was overcharged, and burst; this added to the alarm of the
 1680. garrison, . . the greater number took shelter in the fort and in
 the magazine; others took to the boats, in hopes of reaching
 some of the vessels which were still lying in the roads; one
 boat full was captured: the Guaranies swam off against ano-
 ther, . . it was too heavily laden, so that these amphibious ene-
 mies easily overturned it, and drowned the whole party. The
 panic of these men had not infected their companions, and the
 remaining Portugueze demeaned themselves in a manner worthy
 of the national character. Lobo was lying on a sick bed, but
 his officers did their duty with consummate courage: the Cap-
 tain Manoel Galvam, particularly distinguished himself; his
 wife fought by his side, refused quarter after he was killed,
 and received the death which she sought: she was not the only
 woman who chose on that day to perish with her husband. So
 desperate a defence made the Guaranies give way, and they
 would have fled, if their Cacique and Camp-Master Amandau
 had not brought them back to the charge by blows, as well as
 entreaties and threats. Their numbers and perseverance were
 finally successful, and only ten persons of the Portugueze were
 left alive, including the Governor: nine of these had taken pos-
 session of a rock upon the shore, . . a post sufficiently defensible
 to give them time for capitulating, and saving their lives. The
 Spaniards could scarcely prevent the Indians from killing the
 Governor in his bed, so heartily had they been taught to hate
 the Portugueze. He was sent to Lima with the other prisoners,
 and died there.

*Silvestre
 Ferreira,
 p. 12.
 Rocha Pit-
 ta, 7, § 8.
 Charlevoix,
 2, 195—8.*

It was now seen how well the Jesuits had acted for the in-
 terests of Spain in forming the Reductions; the efficient force
 for this service had been supplied from thence, and without the
 smallest expence to the Government. Congratulations and

compliments flowed in upon the Provincial, and the new Governor, D. Andre de Robles, who arrived at this time to supersede Garro, proposed to the Court that a new Reduction should be established in the vicinity of Buenos Ayres. His project was approved, and orders came out for drafting a thousand families from the old Reductions to form the new establishment: but upon the earnest representation of the Jesuits, this order, so incompatible with their system and with the well being of their hierocratic commonwealth, was revoked. Meantime reinforcements from Recife and Bahia arrived at the Rio on their way to Nova Colonia; but tidings of its capture had arrived before them. The dispute was now transferred to the Cabinets of Madrid and Lisbon, . . . whither indeed it ought to have been referred before the blood was shed. Neither government was desirous of war, and it was agreed that the question should be decided by commissioners, or by the Pope if the chosen arbitrators should not accord: that during the interim, Nova Colonia should be provisionally restored to the Portugueze, and occupied by them, the disputed territory being meantime common to both nations, and the Spaniards of Buenos Ayres entitled to hunt there; fish, feed their cattle, cut wood, and burn charcoal, as they were accustomed to do before the difference¹². The Com-

CHAP.
XXVIII.
1681.

Charlevoix,
2, § 199—
200.

Sobre o Ter-
ritorio da
Colonia,
MS.

¹² I am not acquainted with any Spanish account of these transactions. The Jesuits' story, which in this case is theirs also, is told by Charlevoix, and his statement differs *toto calo* from that given by Rocha Pitta, and by Silvestre Ferreira da Sylva. They affirm that Pedro demanded immediate satisfaction from the Court of Madrid in a high tone, threatening to declare war if it were not granted, and to command his army in person; that the army was made ready, and that Carlos II. in consequence sent the Duque de Giovenazzo as Ambassador Extraordinary to Lisbon, and concluded a treaty by which he agreed to restore Nova Colonia to the Portugueze, with every thing which had been

CHAP. missioners did not agree, and the Pope never pronounced sen-
 XXVIII. tence. This might have been foreseen, and was probably ex-
 1681. pected by both parties. Each seems to have been equally con-
 tented, one with the actual possession which it obtained, the
 other with the conditional terms of the restitution, which salved
 its dignity, and left it at any time the right of resuming its
 claims. D. Francisco Naper de Lancastro, who had been
 second in command under Lobo, and taken prisoner with him,
 was sent to reoccupy the place, in defending which, though un-
 successful, he had bravely distinguished himself. He enlarged
 the works, drove away the savages from the adjoining territory,
 and brought fields and gardens into a flourishing state of culti-
 vation.

Rocha Pit-
 ta, 7, § 13
 —14.

taken in it, and promised also to punish in an exemplary manner the Governor of Buenos Ayres for the aggression which he had committed. This, however, was not done, because the Portuguese Government interceded, and obtained his pardon. (*Relaçam do Sitio da N. Colonia*, p. 14—16. *America Portugueza*, 7, § 9—12.) Charlevoix denies all this, and affirms that Pedro only requested of the Spanish court permission to occupy Nova Colonia upon sufferance, as a harbour where the Portuguese might take shelter, in case of need, from bad weather, or from pirates: that this was granted as a favour, on condition that the territory was still to be considered as belonging to Spain; that not more than fourteen Portuguese families should reside there; that the houses should be built with wood and covered with straw, and that no fort should be erected; finally, that the Governor of Buenos Ayres should have a right at any time to inspect the place and the ships which put in there. Meantime the Commissioners were to examine, whether the Portuguese had any right or not to form a settlement upon the Plata, . . . or the matter should be referred to the Pope. The Portuguese moreover were to restore 300,000 Indians, and all the cattle which the Paulistas had driven away from the Reductions. (2, 203.) These opposite statements are equally overcharged, and bear the grossest and most ridiculous marks of partiality. Several manuscripts respecting Nova Colonia are in my possession, (for reams have been written upon the question,) and from these I have collected a more credible and consistent account.

Meantime the term of Roque da Costa Barreto's government expired, and he left Brazil "poorer in purse but richer in good name than many of his predecessors, having had as few examples in this disinterestedness, says Vieyra, as he would find imitators: the treasure which he bore away with him, therefore, was in no danger from the perils of the sea, neither would time consume it." He was succeeded in the general government by Antonio de Sousa de Menezes, of the Silver Arm, so called from the costly and inconvenient substitute which he wore for a limb lost in the Pernambucan war; he was of high family, and far advanced in life: it was hoped that years had given him discretion, and that being childless he would not be greedy of wealth. Unfortunately he had become familiar at Lisbon with Francisco Telles de Menezes, a native of Bahia, whom the Conde de Obidos had sent prisoner to Portugal; but who, being acquitted upon that accusation, had purchased for a trifling sum the post of Alcaide Mor of Bahia from the person upon whom the King had conferred it, and returning to his own country, scandalously abused his office by perverting it to the gratification of his private enmities. Neither rank, character, age, nor infirmities exempted those whom he disliked from indignities, outrages, and imprisonment¹³; for the Governor was entirely ruled by this insolent and tyrannical favourite. Many of the first persons of the city were cast into the common jail, and others only escaped by taking refuge in the Jesuits' College, which enjoyed the privi-

CHAP.
XXVIII.
1682.

Vieyra
Cartas, T.
3, p. 294.
Do. p. 299.

Do. T. 2,
p. 216.

¹³ It was hoped that when the Archbishop arrived his interference might mitigate this tyranny; but, says Vieyra, he well knows that among all our Lord's miracles he never cured any person of folly . . . *que entre os milagres de Christo nenhum se lê que curasse doudices*: and much as he loved his flock, he soon perceived that a shepherd's staff could not defend them against the wolf.

Cartas, T. 3, 318.

CHAP. lege of a sanctuary. A noble Bahian, by name Antonio de
XXVIII. Brito de Castro had given some such provocation to a nephew
1682. of the Alcaide as might have been followed by a challenge in
countries where duelling is the mode: in Portugal and the Por-
tugueze dominions such things are resented by assassination;
and the offended party, at the suggestion of his uncle (one of
the chief magistrates of the city) stationed himself with some
armed attendants in a house by which Antonio de Brito was to
pass, and fired at him and his brother as they went by. The
two brothers resolutely entered the house, drove out the cowardly
assassins, and compelled them to leap a wall and take shelter
in the College precincts; but Brito's arm was shattered in the
fray, and he never perfectly recovered its use. This was an old
quarrel; new wrongs had now exasperated the long-rankling
hatred, and Brito resolved to gratify at the same time the
general feeling and his own vindictive spirit, by putting the
Alcaide to death. Francisco Telles was warned of the danger
by a letter, which advised him as he valued his life not to stir
from his house that day: he carried this letter to the Governor,
who offered him a guard; but relying upon his connections, and
upon the terror which his authority inspired, he refused it.
Scarcely had he left the Palace before he was attacked by eight
men in masks, who fired upon his attendants, killing one of the
servants and wounding others; he rose in his palankeen either to
seek safety by flight, or to defend himself, when Brito approach-
ed, took off his mask that the Alcaide might know from what
hand the blow came, and stabbed him mortally in the neck; the
other assassins stabbed him in several places, and then walked
deliberately to the Jesuits' College, Brito showing his face openly,
as one who avowed and gloried in what he had done. The city
was now thrown into a state of utter anarchy. The Governor was
justly indignant at this outrage, but he acted according to the

blind impulses of passion, regarding law and justice as little as the criminal whom he sought to punish. Though the leader of the assassins had ostentatiously exhibited himself as a man, who beyond all doubt believed that he was committing a brave and honourable and meritorious action, the Governor, upon a suspicion which had no other ground than an old enmity on his part, ordered the Secretary of State, Bernardo Vieyra Ravasco, to be thrown into the common prison, and not permitted to communicate with any person. Ravasco is said to have possessed the highest character, and the most distinguished abilities, being, it is affirmed, the ablest man either in Brazil or in the Mother Country. He was brother to Vieyra, who after some sufferings and many vicissitudes of fortune, had lately returned to Brazil to pass the remainder of his life at Bahia. Vieyra was now between seventy and eighty years of age, nearly blind, his other senses impaired, and his memory also, but his intellect unclouded and vigorous as ever. This man, as venerable for his virtues as for his years and distinguished talents, the pride of his order and his country, went to the Governor as soon as he heard of his brother's imprisonment, and said he came to ask a boon, in which it appeared to him that he should render a service while he received a favour, for it was a matter of justice and of conscience. The Governor, not waiting to hear more, fell into a fit of rage, and replied, that though he was no Jesuit he had a better conscience than himself, and believed in God better than he did; and as the last reproach of obloquy which rancour could suggest to the heart of a Portugueze, he insulted Vieyra with the appellation of Jew. The old man calmly made answer that he had been treated in Palaces with different language, . . . not for his personal deserts, but for the sake of the rochet which he wore. This reply drew forth a fresh torrent of indignities, which were terminated by the Governor's turning

CHAP.
XXVIII.
1682.

*Rocha Pit-
ta*, 7, § 15
—25.
Vieyra,
Cartas, 2,
305—11.

CHAP. XXVIII.
 1660.

him out of the door, and forbidding him to enter it again. Antonio de Sousa completed his injustice by sending a complaint to Lisbon that F. Vieyra had insulted him; and he now asserted that the murder of the Alcaide had been concerted in the College by Vieyra and the other Jesuits, and that Ravasco had been summoned to this council of assassination.

*A. de Barros, 4, 5
 144—66.*

*The city
 send their
 complaints
 to the King.*

In this temper he drew a cordon of soldiers round the College, entered the houses of the inhabitants at night, and sometimes twice in the night, if he thought that any persons whom he wished to arrest were harboured there, and upon the merest suspicion, or pretext of suspicion, he persecuted persons whose innocence was as notorious as his own tyranny. This became intolerable at last. The *Vereador*, one of the principal fidalgos of Bahia, who had been seized and degraded by the Governor, and declared incapable of holding any office, was commissioned to go to Portugal, and in the name of the City supplicate the throne for redress. Gonçalo Ravasco de Albuquerque, the Secretary's son, accompanied him: guards were stationed to prevent their embarkation, but they eluded them; and escaping from this oppressed city, effected their voyage¹⁴ in safety. The Governor's complaints had arrived before them, and Gonçalo met with an appalling reception, wherein the King expressed his high displeasure against Vieyra for having insulted the Governor. When the old man received this intelligence, grief and indignation overpowered him, and he was seized the same day with fever and delirium. A letter from his constant friend the Duke de Cadaval proved the best remedy; Vieyra had still faithful friends at Court, though he had no longer any

¹⁴ *Esta frota vay mais carregada de queixas que de caixas*, was a pun current at the time.

personal influence with an ungrateful Prince; they were not wanting in this need, and the representation of the state of the city came with such force and from such authority, that the Ministry which for two years had been deaf to the cries of Bahia, gave ear at length. The discontent indeed was general, and threatened fatal consequences: the citizens even began to feel a want of provisions, because the country people were unwilling to carry their produce to a place where there was no longer any security either for persons or for property. It was not doubted that some serious commotions would soon have broken out, if Pedro, who was now become nominally as well as actually King by the decease of his imprisoned brother, had not sent out the Marquês das Minas, D. Antonio Luiz de Sousa Tello de Menezes, . . . names which attest his descent from three of the most illustrious families in Portugal. The title which he bore had been promised to his ancestor Francisco de Sousa, when Roberio Diaz solicited it, and this unjust preference of the Governor to the Discoverer is believed to have made Roberio frustrate the expectations of the individual who had intercepted the honour which he thought his due, and of the Court which had refused the reward to which he laid claim. The old promise however was remembered as constituting some claim in the Sousa family, and after an interval of fourscore years it took effect in the person of Francisco's grandson, whose son the second Marquis of the Mines was now appointed to supersede Antonio de Sousa before the expiration of his term, and to remedy the consequences of that Governor's misconduct. The public discontent was allayed by the removal of the public grievances; but individuals underwent all the vexations and protracted miseries of dilatory law. The Sindicant who accompanied the new Governor brought with him some of the prejudices and injustice of the old one. Upon evidence which originated solely in malice, he found Ravasco

CHAP.
XXVIII.

1682.

*The Govern-
or is super-
seded by the
Marquês das
Minas.**Vol. 1, p.
358.*

1670.

*Cetano de
Sousa. Me-
morias dos
Grandes de
Portugal. p.
161.*

CHAP.
XXVIII.

1683.

*Andre de
Barros, 4. §
172-6.
182-5.*

1686.

*Pestilence
in Brazil.*

guilty, sequestered him from his office, and even refused obedience to a letter from the King, directing that he should be absolved from this iniquitous and groundless charge. In the same spirit he condemned Vieyra, and referred him to his Superiors as a criminal upon whom they were to inflict punishment; but the Superiors expressed their indignation at this abominable perversion of justice; the case was re-examined before a competent tribunal, the innocence of the two brothers was substantiated and fully acknowledged by the Court, and the General of the Company, as if to mark the opinion of his Order respecting Vieyra, appointed him Visitor of the Province.

Bahia had scarcely begun to enjoy a regular and benignant administration when it was visited by pestilence. The disease began in Recife, where it carried off more than two thousand persons; it soon reached Olinda, and spread itself over the Varzea; and the contagion arrived at Bahia as soon as the news. From twenty to thirty persons died daily; . . . of two hundred who sickened in one day, only two persons recovered, so generally did it prove mortal. Not a house escaped without some sick, and in some houses not an individual. In the country it was neither so general nor so destructive. The disease exclusively affected the white race, and of them more particularly the sailors; they were mostly Europeans, and perhaps individuals and families were liable to it in proportion as they were more or less acclimated. For many years after it had ceased to be endemic, strangers who came from other countries, or from the interior to any of the cities where it had raged, still fell victims. The more robust the subject, the more certainly did the disease prove mortal. The streets were full of funeral processions, and the churches were crowded with dead, till at length no persons were found to accompany the Host to the apartments of the dying, . . . a custom by which contagion is propagated in Catholic coun-

tries as surely as by the fatalism of the Mahomedans. The Marquez displayed exemplary liberality during this dreadful visitation: he followed the sacrament to the bed-side of those who were in extremity, attended the victims who were of good family to the grave, and where such marks of honour would have been less acceptable, he left money in liberal sums behind the pillows of the sick. D. Francisca de Sande, an opulent widow, opened her house as an hospital when the Misericordia could no longer contain the stricken, fed them at her own expence, and nursed them herself; . . . a letter from the King, acknowledging this heroic charity, was thought sufficient reward. As the negroes and every variety of the mixed race were exempt from the contagion, none of that distress was experienced for want of attendance by which such calamities are so cruelly aggravated in Europe. When the inefficacy of medicine was perceived, and many of the medical men had fallen victims to the disease, and to the inadequacy of their own skill, it was determined that a Saint should be called in. The choice fell upon St. Francisco Xavier; he was carried in procession from the College through the principal squares and streets, and as at this time the pestilence was abating, having spent its force and consumed its objects, it was not doubted that this was owing to Xavier's interference. The *Camara* therefore, with the acclamations of the people, elected him *Padroeiro Principal*, . . . Chief Patron of the State: application for ratifying the appointment was made in due form to the Board at Rome, under whose cognizance such cases fell; it was confirmed through the influence of Cardinal Carpenha, and all the prerogatives and privileges were conceded to the chosen Saint which are granted to Saints in such situations by the Constitution of Pope Urban VIII. Accordingly from that time forth S. Francisco Xavier

CHAP. has been Patron ¹⁶ of Bahia, and his yearly festival is celebrated
 XXVIII. in that city on the tenth of May, being the anniversary of the
 1686. day on which his image was carried in procession and staid the
 plague, . . according to the belief in which a superstitious and
 deluded People have been confirmed by an idolatrous and de-
 ceitful Church.

Rocha Pit-
 ta, 7, § 33
 —46.

¹⁶ Xavier was already Tutelary Saint of Navarre, Naples, the whole East Indies, and Palermo; . . considering how young a Saint he was, this was good preferment, and he was in a fair way of becoming as great a pluralist as St. Peter or St. George, who are the most eminent of all Saints in this line. But the Magna Mater far exceeds them all, being Tutelary Goddess of thirty-five cities, states, and regions in particular, and of the whole world in general. Xavier had not obtained his appointment at Bahia when the Jesuit Antonio Macedo wrote his *Divi Tutelares Orbis Christiani: Opus singulare, in quo de Sanctis Regnorum, Provinciarum, Urbium Maximarum Patronis agitur.*

CHAPTER XXIX.

Affairs of Maranham. The Jesuits deprived of their temporal authority, and the Friars admitted to a share of the Aldeas. Report of Mines upon the River Tocantins: the expedition in search of them frustrated by the death of the Paulista Pascoel Paez. Conspiracy against the Governor Pedro Cesar. D. Gregorio dos Anjos first Bihsop of Maranham. The Jesuits restored to their full power, and Slavery once more abolished. Monopoly established. Insurrection of Manoel Beckman, and second expulsion of the Jesuits. Gomes Freire de Andrada Governor. Suppression of the revolt. Betrayal and execution of Beckman.

While these things occurred in Brazil, the younger and more turbulent state of Maranham was the seat of many changes and disturbances. Considering the habits of the people, their lawless condition, and the inability of the Government to enforce obedience, Sequeira had effected much in persuading them to re-admit the Jesuits: but they were only re-admitted to their spiritual functions; their temporal authority was suspended till the pleasure of the Court should be obtained, and meantime the *Procuradores* of the people were busily employed at Lisbon in pleading the cause of slavery and oppression. Their¹ represen-

¹ In the charges which they have presented against us, says Vieyra, (*Cartas*.

CHAP.
XXIX

*Triumph of
the Friars
and the
Slave-party.*

1663.
Sept. 12.

*New edicts
respecting
the Indians.*

tations and falsehood were powerfully opposed by Vieyra, and the arguments of this eloquent man, urged as they were with the strength of reason and the warmth of a generous heart, might again have proved triumphant, if one of those court-revolutions to which absolute governments are liable, had not deprived the Queen Regent of power, and given the reins of government into the hands of her son Affonso VI, .. then indeed of sufficient years to assume them, if manhood had brought with it discretion. Vieyra was included in the disgrace wherein her friends were involved; the Inquisition was let loose upon him, and that detestable tribunal took advantage of a harmless insanity to revenge themselves for his former efforts in behalf of the New Christians. The Slave-party and the Friars gained the King's ear when there was none to expose their faithless statements, and the King, on the same day that he confirmed the general pardon which Sequeira had granted, deprived the Jesuits of all temporal authority over the Indians, and directed that the spiritual management should be divided among the different orders of Religioners, it being just, he said, that all should labour in the Lord's vineyard. A member from each order in rotation was to accompany the ransoming parties, and he was prohibited from ransoming slaves either for himself or for the community to which he belonged; nor might the community possess any slaves purchased in that expedition till a year after

T. 3, p. 103,) there is not a word, nor a syllable, nor a letter, that does not contain a lie; but the minds of their friends are so disposed that all this is received as if it were gospel truth. The Devil and his agents laboured hard to prevent me from coming to Portugal upon this business; here I am at last, and still they obtain their end, .. a proof that the Devil is not less powerful in Lisbon than he is in Maranham.

its termination: by which rule it was vainly hoped all collusion might be prevented. All civil officers were in like manner forbidden to ransom slaves on their own account. The edict, in granting permission for the Jesuits to reside in the state upon these terms, excepted Vieyra, saying it was not thought convenient for the King's service that he should return there. A third decree enjoined the restitution of their churches and possessions to the Jesuits, the King declaring that he did this as Master of the Order of Christ, in whom the right of presentation was vested, and in proof of his satisfaction with their good conduct and zeal for the service of God.

CHAP.
XXIX.
1663.

*Berrado, §
1123—26.*

An epidemic disease raged at this time among the reduced Indians with fatal violence, and they who perished were more fortunate than the survivors. The Portugueze consoled themselves with the hope that there would be no longer any restriction upon their slaving parties, and that as in former days, the natives would be left to their mercy; and Sequeira, without waiting for instructions from home, indulged them in their guilty desires. One of these kidnapping missions, under the Sargento Mor, Antonio Arnau Villella, and the Mercenario Friar Raimundo, went up the Urubu, a river so called from the birds which frequent its banks. These conductors had neither character to win the confidence of the Indians, nor prudence to be upon their guard against an injured and revengeful people. The Caboquenas and Guanevenas persuaded them to land and dispatch a party into the interior in their company, to bring down slaves. Arnau fortified himself with a palisade, and sent ten soldiers with more than an hundred Indians in their service upon this rash errand. The whole detachment was cut off. The wily savages, pursuing their success, bound some of their companions, and leading them as slaves, presented themselves before the palisade, telling Arnau that his men had purchased

*A slaving
party cut off
by the na-
tives.*

CHAP.
XXIX.
1664.

*Vengeance
taken by the
Portuguese.*

*Berredo, §
1109—17.
1134—38.
Manoel
Guedes A-
ranta. MS.*

*Sequeira
suspends the
new edicts.*

these captives, and were gone forward to procure more: the incautious commander admitted them; and falling upon him and his men with their killing-sticks, the significant name by which their weapons were called, they slew him, and all who could not reach the boats. The conquerors proceeded with more than forty large canoes to attack another party, at the Aldea de Saracá, built beside a lake from whence it took its name, and which discharges its waters into the Urubu; but here they were defeated with great slaughter. This was but the prelude to a severer vengeance. Sequeira would have gone against them in person, if it had been proper to absent himself so long from the seat of government: he appointed Pedro da Costa Favella in his stead, who embarked with four companies of infantry and five hundred Indians, in thirty four canoes. They halted at the great Aldea dos Tabajos, upon the river of that name, where the force was increased by a junction with many allied tribes, who having fled from the two fierce nations against whom the expedition was directed, eagerly joined it for the hope of revenge. That revenge was complete. Three hundred villages of the offending tribes were burnt, seven hundred of their warriors slain, and four hundred, who were made prisoners, were paraded through Belem in chains.

The edict which deprived the Jesuits of their temporal jurisdiction vested it in the *Camaras*, and gave them also the right of appointing to the command of the slaving-parties. Favourable as these decrees were to the pretensions of the people, they imposed some restrictions upon avarice and rapacity, and were not received without some dissatisfaction. Sequeira too was dissatisfied that the appointment of the commanders should not be in his power, and that he was not permitted to enrich himself by the sweat and blood of the captured Indians, as his predecessors had done: so he proposed that the promulgation of

these laws should be suspended till the King's farther pleasure might be obtained, and that the Chamber of Belem should send *Procuradores* to consult upon the subject with those of S. Luiz. But the people of Belem were not disposed to cooperate with their neighbours; they were disgusted because Maranham, which had set the example of expelling the Jesuits, and, as they affirmed in a memorial to the King, by threats as well as persuasions urged them to follow it, should first have consented to re-admit the obnoxious Order: envy also had some share in their resentful feelings; when slaves were to be distributed, Maranham received a proportion of five to one; they complained that this was the more unjust, because it was Para which supplied canoes, stores, guides, and interpreters for every expedition: and they wished that their Captain, remaining subject to the Government of Maranham, like those of Pernambuco and the Rio to the general Government of Brazil, should like those subordinate Governors have authority to act upon his own judgement, without waiting for instructions from S. Luiz. In this temper they refused to concur with Sequeira's proposal, and declared that they were well satisfied with the law as it stood. The Governor upon this suspended Francisco de Seyxas from his command, for having encouraged the people in their refusal. A new *Capitam Mor* was appointed, and the dispute was for some time allayed. But at length the *Procurador*, Adam Correa, called upon the *Senado* no longer to tolerate the suspension of a law so beneficial to the general interest; a *junta* was convoked, to which the *Capitam Mor* and the Auditor were summoned; but when Correa proposed that the law should forthwith be proclaimed and put in force, he found himself in a minority. Being, however, sure of the people's support, he and his party raised the royal standard on the great holyday of the *Corpo de Deos*, forcibly released the *Vereador* from prison,

CHAP.
XXIX.
1664.

The Chamber of Belem oppose him.

1666.

CHAP. where he had been some weeks confined, and published the
 XXIX. law in defiance of the Governor. Sequeira felt how impru-
 1666. dently he had given occasion to this excess, and with some loss
 of credit compromised the dispute by having the law proclaimed
 in both capitals, with a reservation upon the obnoxious
 points.

*Berredo, §
 1139-49.*

1667.
*Antonio de
 Albuquerque
 Governor.*

Things were in this state when the term of Sequeira's govern-
 ment expired. Dissimulation and craft, applied to a laudable
 object, had obtained for him a character of prudence at the
 beginning of his administration ; but it was afterwards perceived
 that he pursued his own selfish interests rashly as well as rapa-
 ciously. He was succeeded by Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho
 de Carvalho, son of the first Governor General of that state,
 Francisco Coelho, and Donatory of the Towns and Captaincies
 of Camuta, and Cumá or Tapuytaperá. The new Governor
 was of stern character and offensive manners : he did not dis-
 semble his disapprobation of Sequeira's conduct ; Sequeira was
 offended, and when he embarked for Portugal sent him a message,
 saying that if it pleased God to grant them both a safe return
 to Lisbon, he should there expect such satisfaction as a soldier
 was entitled to demand. Antonio de Albuquerque brought out
 a confirmation of the suspended laws, with this alteration only,
 that the annual allotment of Indians should be made by the
 senior Judge, instead of the *Camara*. It soon appeared that he,
 like his predecessors, regarded the laws no farther than they
 suited his own convenience. Excesses such as those which
 Vieyra had brought to light were committed by the slaving-
 parties ; and as the Governor nominated the Chiefs himself, who
 under the pretext of missionary expeditions, carried on the slave
 and the spice trade for his emolument, the Chamber of Belem,
 though they had themselves been guilty of the worst excesses,
 stood forward in behalf of the Indians, and commenced an op-

*Disputes
 with the
 Chamber of
 Belem.*

position to him as friends of humanity! At first they complained of those only who commanded the expeditions, .. a moderate and legal course, though it was well known at whom the complaints pointed. Their next act had a character of personal defiance. They assembled the Principals of the reduced Indians to inform them of the alteration in the law, and in their presence they notified to Antonio de Carvalho, a bastard of the Governor, and his Lieutenant at Camutá, that the villages in his Captaincy were subject to the same regulations. This produced an angry reprimand from the Governor, reminding them that Carvalho was to be treated as his son, and that Camutá was his property and inheritance. Growing more discontented, and bolder in their discontent as the Governor's conduct gave them more advantage, the *Senado* having occasion to congratulate the Regent Pedro, accompanied their address with complaints. They also called upon the Governor to punish the persons who now, in contempt of the King's edicts, were oppressing and enslaving the free Indians; and they required him to send up the rivers and recall the expeditions which he had sent out. Not daring to refuse the demand, he affected to concert measures with them for sending a fresh expedition upon this errand, and secretly threw so many impediments in the way as to frustrate it. The *Camara* pretended now that they had a right to summon their Governor before the King's presence, there to be confronted with one of their *Vereadores*, or of their Judges, as his accuser, and answer to the accusation; and they applied to the Duque de Cadaval to assist them with his influence in this extraordinary pretension. The Duke was as much distinguished for his virtues as his rank, and the Chamber perhaps expected that one who was the constant friend of Vieyra would befriend them when the liberty of the natives was the ostensible ground of their complaints. They also accused Carvalho to their

CHAP.
XXIX.
1668.

1669.

CHAP. *Capitam Mor*, Antonio Pinto de Gaya, of heavy crimes, demand-
 XXIX. ing that he should be arrested, and his process made and sent
 1669. to Lisbon with him. Unwilling to act in a manner which would
 affect the Governor so nearly, although he himself had wrongs to
 complain of, Pinto refused to appear forward in the business,
 but replied, that if the Chamber would instruct one of the ordi-
 nary Judges to perform the arrest, he would give him the aid of
 the military in case resistance should be attempted. Accord-
 ingly the *Sargento Mor* accompanied a civil officer to Camutá.
 Carvalho relied upon his father's power, and set the summons at
 defiance; he was then forcibly seized and brought before the
 Chamber; there he was charged with crimes of the most enor-
 mous nature, most of which he confessed, and to the astonish-
 ment of the tribunal, declared that he had committed them by
 his father's order. The confession was written down and signed
 by the criminal. The Chamber then sent information to the
 father of what they had done, apprized him that they should
 proceed farther, and observed maliciously, that he who so se-
 verely punished less offences must needs approve of them for
 following his example in this instance. The Governor restrained
 his indignation that he might indulge it afterwards with surer
 effect: he waited till the annual office of the men most active
 in this transaction should expire, when he might proceed against
 1671. them as private persons; then set off secretly for Belem and
 entered the city by night: but they who had offended him were
 on the watch, and fled in all haste up the river. In the bitter-
 ness of his anger he pursued them as far as Curupa, a voyage of
 eight days; but they eluded his pursuit; and when he returned
 to S. Luiz he was superseded by Pedro Cesar de Menezes.

Berrêdo, 5
 1159—80.

1672.
 Pedro Cesar
 Governor.

The new Governor received instructions to take measures for
 defending the State in case any of the armaments which were at
 that time preparing in Europe should be designed to strike a

treacherous blow upon this part of the Portugueze dominions. Twelve months elapsed before he was informed that the imaginary danger had passed over, and during this interval the means were not disposeable for any other service. The first which they undertook was a service of humanity. The Paulistas, finding it no longer expedient to attack the Reductions, which were now in an efficient state of defence, had directed their expeditions northward; and the tribes upon the Tocantins, grievously persecuted by these man-hunters, who were as remorseless as they were indefatigable, applied to Belem for protection. Francisco da Mota Falcam was sent with a force less able to protect the natives than it would have been to have warred against them: having advanced some way against the difficulties of this formidable stream, he found boats drawn ashore which were evidently not made by Indians; and it was soon ascertained that the Paulistas under their Camp-Master Manoel Paez de Araujo, were hunting down the tribes in the interior, having already enslaved the Guajaruz, a people whose appeal for protection had been most urgent, and who in consequence were more particularly recommended to the Commander's care. Mota Falcam therefore dispatched a letter to Pascoal Paez, stating that the river Tocantins was within the jurisdiction of Maranham, and that the Governor of this State had sent him to protect the Indian vassals of his Majesty: he reminded the Paulista that they were both subjects of the same Prince, who had so often and so decidedly forbidden all aggressions of this nature, and he requested a meeting with him. The Paulista returned a rude verbal answer, and to a second letter he replied in like manner, that as for meeting Francisco da Mota Falcam, he had no business with him, and that if any person pretended to oppose him in his plans against the Tapuyas, he would make them good by force of arms. Mota Falcam understood that he was actually

CHAP.
XXIX.1672.

The tribes on the Tocantins apply for protection against the Paulistas.

CHAP. preparing for hostilities, and he thought it best to return immediately to Belem. The Governor was justly incensed at his report, and prepared a larger expedition, which should be

XXIX.
1673.

Expedition to the Tocantins in search of mines.

Course of the Rio dos Tocantins.

strong enough to inflict upon Pascoal Paez the chastisement he deserved: it was destined to undertake a very different service. For when it was nearly ready to depart, Antonio Raposo Tavares, a priest of the habit of S. Pedro, arrived from Lisbon with a commission to explore the Tocantins in search of mines, information of which had been given by Pascoal Paez de Araujo, . . . the very man whom the Governor was about to punish for the most open and scandalous violation of the laws. Whatever might have been Pedro Cesar's feelings, no choice was left him; the mines were thought paramount to all other considerations, and the expedition which he had fitted out to act against the Paulista, was placed under Raposo's command to cooperate with him. There prevailed at this time an erroneous opinion, that the Tocantins and the Plata issued from the same lake: its eastern sources are in reality near those of the Parana, rising in the same mountains, in the Captaincy of Goyaz; those of its farther western branch, the Rio das Mortes, rise in the very centre of the continent, and the streams which flow from the other side of the same mountains run to that labyrinth of waters from whence the Paraguay proceeds. But the stream which supplies most water to the Tocantins is the Araguay, which rises in the Serra Seiada, and in the Serra de S. Marta. Where the Tocantins falls into the Para River, as that channel is now called upon which Belem stands, it is so wide that the one shore can scarcely be seen from the other; for many leagues upward the channel is full of islands, and the navigation is exceedingly difficult. Much Brazilian cinnamon was found there, mother of pearl, and pearls, the value of which had not then been ascertained, and has probably proved to be little. The climate along

its whole course is good ; and the Araray, one of its tributary streams, had obtained in addition to its native name, that of the River of Health, (*Rio da Saude*,) because its waters were believed to have the virtue both of preventing and curing many diseases. The Tocantins is not one of the largest secondary rivers of the continent, but at this time it had the reputation of being the richest in mines, nor was this opinion wholly unfounded, some of the most productive veins having subsequently been discovered in the countries where its fountains arise. Raposo began his voyage in full expectation of discovering a new Potosi ; but all his reliance was upon Pacoal Paez, and when he reached the place where he should have met this adventurer, he found tidings of his death. The expedition was thus frustrated.

Pedro Cesar had removed the seat of government from S. Luiz to Belem, that station being more favourable for collecting the natural produce of the country, as well as for prosecuting the discovery of the interior. Though a man of much prudence and suavity, he had not been able wholly to allay the discontents which had arisen under his predecessor. The law of 1663 was still the cause : the Governor, whose patronage and emoluments were curtailed by its restrictions, was desirous of suspending it as long as possible ; the *Senado* and the people on their part were equally desirous that it should be published ; and the Chamber at length, in direct defiance of the Governor, published it by their own authority. Pedro Cesar was so incensed that he instantly arrested the Senior Judge and the *Ve-reador*, put them on board a vessel which was about to sail, and sent them prisoners to Lisbon. No farther punishment was inflicted, but the Chamber received a severe reprimand from the King, and were at the same time reproved for their practice of summoning the Governor to the *Senado* upon any light matter, the *Camara*, it was observed, having no such power, and the

CHAP.
XXIX.
1673.

Berredo, §
1186—91.
Do. § 1200
—6.

*Manoel
Guedes A-
ranha*, MS.
*Pinheiro
Collection*,
Vol. 6, No.
14.

*Manoel Jesé
d'Oliveira*.
*Bastos. Ro-
teiro da Ci-
dade de Be-
lem pelo Rio
Tocantins.*

*Seat of Go-
vernment
removed to
Belem.*

*The King
reprimands
the Camara.*
Dec. 4,
1677.

CHAP. practice being unknown in any other part of the Colonies, and
 XXIX. derogatory to the authority and regalities of an office which
 1677. represented the royal person. When indeed the Clergy, the
 Nobles, and the People were convened upon some weighty
 business, then the Governor was to assist, not at their summons,
 but that the business might be better consulted and authorized
 by his presence. In cases of less moment, if he thought proper
 to require, the Chamber were ordered to wait upon him in a
 body at his own house. Three years elapsed after the offence
 which the Chamber had given; and Pedro Cesar, whose adminis-
 tration had on the whole been popular, believed that he had
 conciliated the good will of all parties and all persons, when he
 was informed by the Jesuit F. Francisco Velloso, that a con-
 spiracy had been formed against him. He had been invited to
 a comedy which was to be represented at the gate of the Con-
 vent of N. Senhora das Mercês, on the eve of S. Ramon Non-
 natus; and then he was to be seized. Some of the Nobles were
 in the plot, but the Friars and Priests were the chief agents², as
 usual in all commotions here. The information was well found-
 ed, for one of the conspirators had revealed the plot. Pedro
 Cesar immediately retired to the fortress, collected the troops
 there as secretly as possible, and then attempted to surprize the
 ringleaders. The Friars sheltered some, and assisted others to
 escape. The *Ouvidor*, being in pursuit of the criminals, met the
 Vicar of the Mother Church, F. Antonio Lameira da³ Franca
 and his brother, both implicated in the conspiracy: the Vicar,

Manoel
 Guedes A-
 ranha, MS.

² *Davam calor a todo muitos Religiosos e Ecclesiasticos, como succede commu-
 nemente nestas diabolicas assembleas.* BERREDO, § 1210.

³ Was this the *quondam* Captain of Curupa, whose villany had been detected
 by Vidal and Vieyra? If so, he had now taken orders, and remained as great a
 ruffian as before.

not satisfied with insulting the *Ouvidor*, drew his knife upon him; but the minister of justice was provided with a pistol which he pointed at the ruffian's breast, and made them both prisoners without farther resistance. Manoel Guedes Aranha, a man of good character, whose papers have supplied much information for this part of the history, pursued some of the criminals by water, till they escaped by leaping overboard and taking to the woods. Many however were arrested, of whom some were degraded to Curupa, and the three who were deemed most guilty were banished from the State and sent to Portugal. Search was still making for the other culprits when Pedro Cesar, after an administration of seven years, was superseded by Ignacio Coelho da Silva ⁴. The proceedings were then neglected, and the guilty soon ventured to return to their homes, where they found the impunity in which they trusted.

CHAP.
XXIX.
1677.

Berredo, §
1210—24.
1230.

1679.
Expedition
against the
Taranam-
bezes.

The new Governor directed an expedition against the Taranambezes, a tribe upon the coast who increased the dangers of its perilous navigation. They were such expert swimmers that they crossed wide bays of many leagues with no other support than an oar, if they even availed themselves of that: and when a ship anchored, as was usual, near a dangerous shoal called the *Coroa Grande*, they would swim off, and being incomparable divers, cut the cable, .. in the double hope, of profiting by the wreck, and eating some of the crew. Coelho had caught some of these savages in the attempt, when he himself was on the

⁴ Ignacio Coelho had distinguished himself at the battle of Montes Claros, where he took the Prince of Parma's timbrels, .. a military instrument which, according to Berredo, none but Princes and Generals were allowed to use in war, .. except such officers as had won them from the enemy: for this reason they were attached to Coelho's company. § 1225.

CHAP.
XXIX.
1679.

passage, and had shot them from the mouth of a gun. There was also a political reason which had its weight in determining him to extirpate this mischievous tribe; . . . interlopers, as the Portuguese called the ships of every other country, were trading with them for ambergris, in which these shores were rich, and for valuable woods, especially the *Pao Violete*, which abounded here at that time and was in great esteem. The command was given to the *Capitam Mor* of Maranham, Vital Maciel Parente, a bastard of the infamous Bento Maciel. He seems to have inherited the disposition of his father, . . . for no prisoners were made, and neither age nor sex was spared ⁵. After perpetrating this massacre, he proceeded to explore the river then called Paraguazu, and believed to communicate with the S. Francisco; . . . it is the Parnaiba, formed by the Piauhi and its sister streams.

Berredo, §
1228. 1231
—36.

The Jesuits
restored to all
their former
power.

When Vital Maciel returned from this expedition, D. Gregorio dos Anjos, the first Bishop of Maranham, was arrived to take possession of his see. This Prelate inspected the state of the *Aldeas*, or villages of the Christian Indians; and found them in a deplorable condition. The laws in favour of these poor deceived people were utterly disregarded, and what with desertions and the manner in which the labourers were consumed by inhuman avarice, a rapid depopulation was going on. The Friars also, who by no honourable means, and for no worthy motive, had obtained an equal part in the religious administration with the Jesuits, discharged the duty which they had undertaken in such manner as might have been expected from such men, . . . for they were the refuse, and not improbably the

⁵ Berredo says this massacre was in consequence of the law which again abolished Indian slavery; . . . but that law was not passed till the ensuing year.

degraded members of Orders which had long been the disgrace of the Romish Church, and the pest of Catholic Christendom. These things the Bishop represented to the Court, and the Governor seconded his representations, although he by his careless or criminal disregard of the existing laws, must in no slight degree have contributed to the mischief. The atrocious manner in which the slave trade had been carried on since it had been thrown open upon the expulsion of the Jesuits, was also laid before the King, and new laws were immediately enacted to remedy these grievous evils. By the first of these edicts, Governors were prohibited from engaging directly or indirectly in trade, from raising produce, and from collecting such produce as grew wild in the interior: neither were they to recover the debts of others, under which pretext the prohibition might have been evaded; nor were their servants permitted to engage in any of these things, for thus also might the intention of the law be frustrated. A law which had been enacted seven years before for Brazil, was extended at this time to Maranham and Para: it prohibited the Governors and officers of the treasury of justice or of war, from engaging in trade, farming any of the revenues, fixing a price upon any commodities, or determining the freight of ships. The next decree abolished Indian slavery, seeing that no regulations could prevent the abuses and cruelties connected with this nefarious trade: it was enacted, that any person who from that time forward might transgress the law, should be laid in close prison by the *Ouvidor*, notwithstanding any privilege which he might plead; that he should be sent home by the first ship, thrown into the common jail at Lisbon, and there punished according to his offence. All Indians who might be ransomed, were to be placed in the *Aldeas*. By a third law, the Indians in the *Aldeas* were to serve only for two months at a time, and by a fourth, the whole

CHAP.
XXIX.

1680.

Restrictions
concerning
trade.

Mar. 31.

Feb. 17,
1673.Slavery
again abo-
lished.

April 1.

Regulation
concerning
the *Aldeas*.

April 10

April 30.

CHAP.
XXIX.
1679.

superintendance, temporal and spiritual, was again consigned to the Jesuits, because of the inconveniences which had been experienced in the last seventeen years, since they had been deprived of an authority which they had conscientiously exercised. This law provided that they should always have at least twenty subjects in their noviciate, to keep up an adequate supply of members for the duty which they were now called to perform. Lists were to be made of the Indians in every *Aldea*; the men capable of service were then to be divided into three sets, one of which in rotation was to cultivate the land at home, so that a third part of the efficient male population should always be resident with their families; another was assigned to the Missionaries for the service of their expeditions, and the third to be impartially allotted among the settlers, according to the existing regulations.

Manoel
Guedes
Aranha.
c. 2, No. 14.
Pinheiro
Collection.
t. 6. MS.

Apologia da
Companhia.
MS.

These laws were most unpopular. The Chamber represented that the term of two months, to which the service of the free Indians had thus been limited, was so short as to be useless;.. the whole time, they said, would be consumed in travelling to and from the *Aldeas*; .. four months at least were necessary for labouring in the cane plantations, or indeed for any thing else. They sent a *Procurador* to Lisbon to solicit an amendment in this law, and use what means he could for procuring a repeal of the others. Meantime the term of Ignacio Coelho's government expired: he had exerted himself to improve the city of Belem, and liberally contributed to repair or build such churches as were fallen to decay. His successor, Francisco de Sa de Menezes, had displayed great personal prowess in the Spanish war, and had been Secretary to the Embassy in England under the Protector Oliver. The Ministry at this time had granted to some merchants at Lisbon the exclusive privilege of trading with Maranham and Para for the term of twenty years. This

Manoel
Guedes
Aranha.
MS.

Francisco
de Sa Go-
vernor.

Establish-
ment of an
Exclusive
Company.

monopoly was admitted at S. Luiz without opposition; the public attention indeed was diverted at this time by forming a settlement upon the river Itapicurú, and erecting a fort for its protection twelve leagues from the mouth of the river. But at Belem, where the interior supplied valuable produce, and trade was more flourishing, the people were fully sensible how injurious the monopoly would prove to their individual and general interests. The blind avarice of the contractors soon excited loud complaints; the price of every article which they imported was fixed by their contract; but the goods were damaged, and frauds were practised in weight and measure, as well as in quality. They had engaged to import five hundred Negroes every year, at a hundred *milreas* per head: . . . the first year elapsed, and not a slave had been introduced. Accidental as this might have been, it was imputed to design, and increased the general disgust. As Belem was the seat of government, and the people had been in some degree broken in to submission under two unpopular but resolute administrations, resistance was not thought of there, and the legal means were resorted to of representing their grievances to the King. It was otherwise at Maranham, when the effects of the monopoly began to be felt. The Portuguese, averse as they were to labour, engaged willingly, and even avidly, in trade: there were no prejudices against it in Brazil; it was even necessary, as has been seen, to restrict the Governors from trading, by law; and many of the Clergy who were in Maranham at this time a scandal to their profession, as they had been in Brazil during the first half century, were traders. These men were enraged at the loss of their accustomed emoluments, and inflamed the discontent of a people already prone to mutiny, and encouraged by the impunity which they had obtained for their former outrages. The Friars also were not inactive when mischief was to be done: the restitution to

CHAP.
XXIX.
1680.

Discontents
at Maranham.

CHAP. the Jesuits of their former full authority in the *Aldeas* had exas-
 XXIX. perated their hatred against an Order, the members of which
 1680. by their reputation, their ability, and their zeal, put them to
 shame.

Berredo, §
 1240—55.

1684.
 Indecision of
 the *Capitam*
Mor and the
 Governor.

Conspiracy
 formed by
 Beckman.

Domingos
 Teyxeira.
 Vida de
 Gomes
 Freyre,
 2. 2. § 69.

Balthazar Fernandes, formerly *Sargento Mor* of Maranham, was at this time *Capitam Mor*. The discontent of the inhabitants was public; and private information also was given him of the object with which dangerous men were irritating the minds of the people; but covering his irresolution with the cloak of a dissembling policy, he relied upon chance and the responsibility of the Governor. Francisco de Sa acted with equal indecision; he prepared to set out for S. Luiz; the preparations were merely a feint, and he also, deceiving himself into a fancied security with that facility in which statesmen and rulers indulge who are unequal to their station, suffered things to take their course; . . . so the discontented and the designing proceeded without controul. The most able and the most ambitious of these men was one Manoel Beckman, a native of Lisbon, but of foreign extraction, and distinguished in S. Luiz for his influence, his abilities, and his turbulence. He had been banished from the State under Coelho's government, upon a charge of seditious practices; but either the term had expired, or he had obtained a remission of the sentence; whatever grounds there may have been for the charge, the proceedings against him had been marked with the odious irregularity and injustice of despotism; his fortunes were grievously injured, and if his intentions were not originally dangerous, resentment had now made them so. The law also which placed the *Aldeas* again under the Jesuits, and thereby protected the Indians against the avarice of the planters, affected Beckman, who had an *Engenho* upon the river Meary, and had scarcely means to support it. To this *Engenho* he invited some of those

persons whose opinions he knew to be conformable with his own; they talked over their grievances when heated at the table; the Jesuits and the Monopoly were the two great evils; the obvious course was to represent the injuries of the people to the Court, . . . but the Governor would oppose the appointment of a *Procurador*; if therefore they would succeed, they must make up their minds to act in defiance of him, and exert themselves like men who knew their rights and were resolved to vindicate them. This discourse produced the effect for which Beckman had introduced it; the guests became conspirators, and elected him for their chief. Their first business was to enlist associates; letters were written to the most likely subjects and enclosed in cheeses, . . . the produce of a large dairy farm which was attached to the *Engenho*. Good progress having thus been made, Beckman went to S. Luiz to forward the plot and carry it into execution. His views were aided in no slight degree by a Friar who preached in the Cathedral against the Monopoly; this, he said, occasioned all the miseries of the State, and the people ought not to look for miracles to deliver them, when they had the remedy in their own hands; he even advised an insurrection, and hinted that he was willing to put himself at the head of one. This sedition was received with applauses by the greater part of the congregation, and past unreprieved by the *Capitam Mor*, who was present, and whom that spurious prudence, which is but another form of fear, withheld from exercising his authority. The *Provedor*, Francisco Teixeira de Moraes, who perceived the whole danger, warned him of what was brooding, and urged him to call upon the *Camara* to quiet the people, employ spies to discover the guilty, and disconcert their criminal designs by the easy means of setting night patrols: but Balthazar Fernandes was not to be roused from his state of timidity and torpor.

CHAP.
XXIX.
~~~~~  
1684.

CHAP.  
XXIX.  
1684.

Feb. 24.  
Midnight  
assemblage  
of the peo-  
ple.

In the course of four days, Beckman had now increased the number of his associates to more than sixty. An Image of our Lord bearing his Cross was at this time to be carried in a night procession from the Carmo to the Misericordia Church, and it was thought that the concourse thus assembled would afford a favourable opportunity for beginning the insurrection. A scruple of conscience perhaps prevented this; but advantage was taken of the assemblage to summon the people secretly to a meeting within the enclosure of the Franciscan Convent, which they could enter because part of the wall had fallen down: the place was a little way out of the town, the situation lonely, and midnight was the time appointed. The summons was very generally obeyed, curiosity attracting some, and fear compelling others. Beckman took his stand in the porch of the Convent, and harangued them. Two things, he said, were necessary for the salvation of the State, . . . the abolishment of the monopoly, and the expulsion of the Jesuits: if they would avoid ruin they must at once execute these measures by their own authority; they should then instantly dispatch a just representation to the King by *Procuradores* of their own appointment, and take such other steps as the good sense of the people might judge most conducive to the common weal. Amid the general applause with which these propositions were received, one voice was raised in behalf of the Jesuits; upon which the President, as Beckman was now stiled, declared that if the speaker made this effort in their favour from any hope of promoting his own interest, it should cost him his life, . . . a penalty which should be inflicted upon any one who maintained the same sentiments. Thomas Beckman, younger brother of the President, a man of less ambition and better intentions, interfered and prevented consequences which might so easily have proved fatal to an innocent man. After this interruption the assembly was about

to disperse without coming to action, when one of the leading conspirators, by name Manoel Serram de Castro, drew his sword, and protesting that for himself there was no alternative but prompt execution of their purpose, or death, convinced his willing auditors that there was less danger in going on with the enterprize than in receding from it, and that success might demand impunity which would be refused to repentance. Accordingly they hurried through the breach by which they had entered, and hastening to the town, attacked the houses of all those whom private enmity or popular hatred had marked for victims. Some murders were committed, many outrages. The *Capitam Mor* attempted to act when it was too late: the officers who should have executed his orders were not to be found, and his own guards would not follow him; .. they feared the mob, and expected to be benefited by the destruction of the monopoly. Then as the mob were entering his house, he presented himself to them singly, in a state of mind which would have rendered death welcome. In the midst of the tumult Beckman made himself heard, reproached him for the criminal indifference with which he had disregarded the just complaints of the people, and for the not less criminal irresolution with which, knowing their discontent, he had suffered it to attain this height; and he told him he must remain prisoner in his own house, under his wife's keeping. Balthazar Fernandes, stung by the deserved reproach, and by the contempt which was manifested in this sort of imprisonment, protested that he would rather die than be thus disgraced; the wife however, in her pardonable fear, pledged herself that he should consider himself as a prisoner. Beckman then left him, summoned the soldiers, who all submitted to him, and before day-break he was master of the arsenal, the forts, and the whole city.

He now convoked a Junta of the Three Estates: the Vicar-

CHAP.  
XXIX.  
1684.

*Insurrec-  
tion.*

*Imprison-  
ment of the  
Capitam  
Mor.*

*Berredo, §  
1264—79.*

*Proceedings  
of the victo-  
rious party.*

CHAP. General, and a Carmelite who had been Vicar-Provincial of his  
 XXIX. Order, represented the Clergy; Beckman himself and Eugenio  
 1684. Ribeiro Maranhã were deputed for the Nobles, and the People had their two representatives. They assembled forthwith, and without delay announced to the populace resolutions for deposing the Governor General and *Capitam Mor*, abolishing the Monopoly, and expelling the Jesuits. These decrees were received with acclamations, and the multitude tumultuously elected Beckman and Ribeiro for *Procuradores*. By this time it was day-light, and the Chamber had assembled in their Hall to receive the resolutions of the Three Estates. The newly appointed *Procuradores* notified these, and at the same time the arrest of the *Capitam Mor*, of the *Juiz dos Orfaõs* Manoel de Campello de Andrade, and of Antonio de Sousa Soeiro, who were accused of having encouraged the establishment of the Monopoly. Constituted bodies, in times of revolution, are either the criminal or the helpless instruments of audacious men; the Chamber ratified all that had been done, and Beckman then going to the door, enquired of the people where it was their pleasure that Balthazar Fernandes, late their *Capitam Mor*, should be confined:.. In the common Jail, was the answer. The *Juiz dos Orfaõs*, and Antonio de Sousa, had spirit enough to remonstrate against this brutal insult, and this virtue had nearly cost them their lives, so ferociously were they handled by the triumphant rabble. Beckman however saved them from death, and committing them to prison, suffered Fernandes to remain where he was, under his wife's parole. He then proceeded to the College, and notified to the Jesuits their banishment from the State, and also that until means for transporting them were provided, they must remain prisoners in the College, and have no communication with any of the inhabitants. The populace would now have robbed the warehouses of the Exclu-

sive Company, but from this they were dissuaded; . . . a sense of honour has often been found in the multitude, even when they were most inhuman. They contented themselves with fastening the doors, and one of their clerical ringleaders then led them to the Cathedral, and performed *Te Deum* for the success of the insurrection.

CHAP.  
XXXI.  
1684.

Berrede, §  
1279—85.

The insur-  
gents send a  
deputy to  
Belem.

On the following morning, the six persons who represented the Three Estates met, and resolved that three of the nobles should be named to administer the government in conjunction with the officers of the Chamber, till orders might arrive from Lisbon, after the Court should have been properly informed; and that the two *Procuradores* should have a right to assist at their deliberations, and watch over the interests of their constituents. Thomas Beckman was one of the triumvirate: the *Ouvidor* administered an oath to them, but they all protested that they accepted the charge under compulsion. The Secretary of the *Camara* was displaced as a suspicious person, and the officers of the garrison were also dismissed and their commissions given to men in whom the revolted could confide. The next measure was to dispatch emissaries to Belem, and invite the people there to join them in the rebellion. The boldest associates of Beckman, after they had accepted this mission, and actually embarked, shrunk from it; a Friar then volunteered, and took the opportunity of unfrocking himself. The Chamber of Belem received and registered his papers, then carried them to the Governor, assuring him of the fidelity of the people, and offering their service to inflict due chastisement upon the rebels, unless it should be averted by their speedy repentance. Francisco de Sa declared that he would go in person to S. Luiz; the Chamber dissuaded him, because if he went the whole military force and all the nobles must follow his person, and the Captaincy would thus remain exposed, and from its vicinity to

CHAP. foreign settlements, in more danger than Maranhão. They  
 XXIX. recommended that a Commissioner should be sent, naming  
 1684. Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho de Carvalho, as a man who for  
 his known talents, and for his family, being son, grandson, and  
 nephew of the former Governors of the State, would carry with  
 him much personal authority. This they represented in the  
 name of the people; Francisco de Sa was persuaded, and there-  
 by incurred the reproach of having yielded to his own indolent  
 or timorous inclinations. A more resolute conduct would have  
 accorded better with his military character; but he did not rely  
 upon the protestations of the *Camara*, or the fidelity of the inha-  
 bitants, and judged it more advisable to retain them in obedi-  
 ence by his presence, than in attempting to suppress the insur-  
 rection at S. Luiz, give occasion to another not less dangerous at  
 Belem.

Berredo, §  
 1286—93.

Fruitless  
 measures of  
 the Govern-  
 nor.

Advices arrived at this time from Henrique Lopes da Gama,  
*Capitam Mor* of Tapuytaperá, and from the *Senado* of the same  
 town, saying they had refused to join in the insurrection, and  
 that they abominated the proceedings of the insurgents in de-  
 posing the Governor and the Chief Captain, but that they  
 entirely approved of the suppression of the Monopoly, and  
 declared themselves neutral in the matter of the Jesuits; for  
 although they acknowledged the zeal and charity with which  
 these fathers administered spiritual food in the *Aldeas*, they  
 remembered also how deeply the public resented the despotic  
 power which they possessed, of allotting the Indians. Antonio  
 de Albuquerque, whose father was Donatory of Tapuytaperá,  
 was now dispatched to that Captaincy with letters commending  
 the inhabitants, and with a reply from the *Camara* of Belem to  
 the invitation of the revolvers, exhorting them to submission.  
 The rulers at S. Luiz, meantime, were far from feeling secure.  
 Beckman perceived that the authority had been delegated to



too many hands, and that though in the multitude of counsellors there might be safety, in the multitude of governors there was confusion. He therefore found means of dismissing the three nobles, the *Procuradores*, and the two *Juizes Ordinarios* of the *Camara*; the rest of the Chamber consisted of persons whom he could direct as he pleased. The tyranny which he exercised silenced all murmurers; but feeling that the popularity upon which it rested was on the wane, he imputed this inevitable condition of the guilty station in which he stood to the secret influence of the Jesuits, and gave orders for their immediate deportation. The day happened to be Palm Sunday; and the Jesuits, who knew how to profit by all occasions, deriving honour at least where no other advantage was possible, and ever demeaning themselves with dignity when circumstances were most adverse, went out from the College each with a palm-branch in hand, thus at the same time showing their observance of the festival, and exhibiting the emblematic reward of martyrdom. They were embarked under a guard, in two vessels: one reached Pernambuco, the other was taken by Pirates, who at this time infested the coast; the Jesuits were landed on the coast of Maranham, brought prisoners again to the city, and after a while transported to Belem.

Antonio de Albuquerque had now arrived at Tapuytaperá, from whence he apprized the existing government at S. Luiz of his mission, and requested a conference with them. This was refused, upon the pretext that it would expose him to much personal danger from the populace; but in reality, because Beckman dreaded the effect which his offers might produce upon the inconstant people, and the advantage which the well-disposed would derive from his presence. He was now in that miserable condition in which, sooner or later, all demagogues find themselves when the first intoxication of their triumph has past

CHAP.  
XXIX.  

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1684.

*Expulsion  
of the Je-  
suits.*

*Berreto, §  
1293—  
1302.*

*The Govern-  
nor attempts  
to purchase  
Beckman's  
submission.*

CHAP.  
XXIX.  
1684.

away. The arrival of two ships belonging to the Company, with goods and negroes on board, restored his popularity for a time: the people would have seized them as fair prizes, and Beckman was not unwilling thus to have gratified them; but the intention was opposed, a sense of equity prevailed, and sale was made on behalf of the Company by its agents. Meantime the Governor, understanding how little his first agent had effected, made another effort to re-establish his authority, by means more discreditable than his former irresolution. Miguel Bello da Costa went to occupy the post of *Sargento Mor*, and was admitted to land, in company with Hilario de Sousa de Azevedo. The latter was instructed to offer a full pardon to all persons, and to Beckman a gratuity of four thousand *cruzados*, with large promises of honours and offices: if Francisco de Sa intended that these promises should be performed, he acted wretchedly as a statesman; if they were designed merely as a snare, he acted wickedly as a man. Beckman was not thus to be reduced: he answered that he would obey the orders of the Sovereign, whenever they should arrive; but he rejected these offers with the semblance or the reality of pride. Sousa was ordered to quit the city, and accordingly retreated to Tapuytaperá, whence he returned with Albuquerque to Belem from their bootless errands. The only effect had been to raise the character of Beckman, who obtained credit as for an act of disinterestedness and magnanimity. Hitherto, under various pretexts, he had delayed the departure of his brother for Lisbon, whither he had been deputed as *Procurador*: it was now so strongly urged that he could delay it no longer; his own views did not accord with this mission, but there were many persons in Maranhão who desired the restoration of order; and the people themselves, in the natural process of such movements, began secretly to wish for any arrangement which might secure them from punishment.

Owing to this disposition, Miguel Bello had been permitted to take possession of his post, and collect the troops under his command: they had been broken up, and incorporated with the volunteers; but the volunteers growing weary of their new vocation, disbanded themselves in opposition to Beckman's wishes; and though the *Sargento Mor* was placed nominally under the Chamber, Beckman saw that this was the first step to his overthrow and ruin. The country people also, who had hitherto remained at S. Luiz to support him, returned to look after their own concerns; and if Francisco de Sa had possessed any vigour, he might now at any hour have restored Maranham to obedience by his presence. Feeling his insecurity, Beckman concerted measures for making the mob elect him Chief Com-

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*Danger of  
Beckman.*

mandant of the Captaincy; the *Sargento Mor* was apprized of the design the day before it was to be attempted, and disposed his troops in such a manner that Beckman's partizans dared not show themselves, and their leader retired to his own house, more solicitous now for self-preservation, than ambitious of retaining the miserable elevation to which he had raised himself; and not without apprehensions that those persons who desired to see the laws re-established would prepare the way by putting him to death.

Beckman was probably excited to revolt by resentment for his private injuries, a colourable indignation at the injustice of the Exclusive Company, conducted as its concerns were, and the remembrance of the perfect impunity which the culprits had obtained when the Jesuits were first expelled. But if he had proposed to himself not to overpass the limits of his predecessors in sedition, he was at the very outset hurried beyond them. The former revolt had been secretly encouraged by the Governor, and his authority had always been in some degree respected; Beckman had begun by imprisoning the *Capitam Mor*, and

*Berredo, 6  
1303—18.*

*He applies  
to a Pirate  
for assist-  
ance.*

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deposing the Governor General. These excesses would unquestionably enhance his guilt in the eyes of the Court, and it was also to be apprehended, that as impunity on the first occasion had led to a repetition of the offence, severer measures would now be pursued. Such apprehensions he could not conceal from himself; and despairing of safety by any other means, he had recourse to a desperate expedient. D. Joam de Lima, a Portugueze of high family, had in the course of a profligate life proceeded from crime to crime, and sunk from disgrace to disgrace, till at length he had turned pirate, and in this age of piracy commanded a squadron who infested these seas, carrying on their war against mankind with that ferocious cruelty by which the buccaneers were so execrably distinguished. To this man Beckman and the most guilty of his associates resolved to apply, and put him in possession of Maranham, as a place where he might deposit his booty, and with their assistance establish himself in defiance of Portugal or any other power.

*Domingos  
Tejeyra.*  
2. 2. § 163  
—4.

*Gomes  
Freyre de  
Andrada  
appointed  
Governor.*

Meantime the tidings of the insurrection had occasioned much uneasiness at Lisbon. The Government were well aware how difficult it is to suppress insurrections in a distant colony, and how impossible if the country be extensive, and the people determined upon resistance. They feared also lest the French, who had now after many ineffectual attempts established themselves at Cayenne, should renew their projects for obtaining a settlement in the Orellana, revive their claims upon Maranham, or set up a new one by right of conquest. Therefore it was deemed of the greatest importance that a man of known talents, integrity, and courage, should be sent out, and Gomes Freyre de Andrada was named to the King as one in whom these requisites were united. Gomes Freyre was one of those rare men who come up to the standard of what is esteemed great and good in their own age and country. He was of a family illus-

trious not only for its rank and military renown, but for the literary attainments of his uncle Jacinto Freyre de Andrada, whose reputation as the biographer of D. Joam de Castro has extended beyond the limits of his own language. It is indeed probable that the perusal of this book contributed in no small degree to form the nephew's character, and cherish in him the punctilious honour, the conscientious sense of duty, the proud loyalty, the noble disinterestedness, and the strict piety by which he was characterized. He was now in his forty-eighth year. His youth had been signalized by a chivalrous spirit of adventure; he had been knighted on the field at the early age of fifteen, and had distinguished himself by his courage and conduct in war, his prudence in state affairs, and above all, by an elevation of mind which proved that if he did not equal in reputation the old worthies of Portugueze history, it was only because opportunity had not been afforded him. The King sent for him; told him his services were required, and offered him his choice, either to go out to Goa and take the command there, or undertake the more arduous, less honourable, and far less profitable charge, of suppressing the sedition in Maranham. It was in the nature of Gomes Freyre to prefer that situation in which he could best serve his country; and it happened also that his domestic affairs, and the state of his health, much broken by a military life, rendered it desirable that he should be absent from Portugal as short a time as might be compatible with his duty.

Gomes Freyre had no connections with Maranham, and knew nothing more of its affairs than what Government could communicate, consisting of the most opposite statements, as contained in the dispatches of Francisco de Sa, and the representations of the *Procurador* Thomas Beckman, then in Lisbon. It was his custom to pass much of that time which is consumed by waiting at Court, in the Royal Chapel, where the ceremonies of the

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*Teyzeyra.*  
2. 2. § 74—  
79.

*Gomes Freyre takes out with him persons connected with Maranham.*

CHAP. Romish Church were celebrated with the utmost magnificence.  
 XXIX. Here he met the *Procurador*, who accosted him with the hope of  
 1684. prepossessing him in favour of the cause on which he was employed ; Gomes Freyre had wished for this opportunity, and by well directed conversation obtained from him the knowledge which he wanted. This interview was followed by another equally well-timed. Jacinto de Moraes Rego, a soldier of good family, who had served with him in Beira, came to communicate his anxiety respecting a son and other near relations in Maranham : he did not doubt their principles or their loyalty, yet in such perilous times the best intentioned men were sometimes liable to err, and the most innocent were too often involved in punishment. Upon farther conversation it appeared that Moraes was weary of soliciting the reward of his services, and being unable longer to support the expence of attending at Court, was about to seek his fortune in other countries, rather than be reduced to absolute beggary at home. The new Governor could not have found a more useful agent : he represented to him that he could nowhere be so advantageously employed for himself and his friends as in Maranham, where he might not only exempt them from punishment but enable them to deserve reward, and by his own services greatly increase his claims upon Government, and ensure attention to them ; and he offered to defray the expences of taking him out, which Moraes joyfully accepted. When it was known how courteously the new Governor gave ear to any individual who was interested in these transactions, many persons came to express their anxieties for children or kinsmen who were involved perhaps in the guilt, certainly in the danger of the revolt. Several of those who were thought worthy of confidence he invited to accompany him, offering them a free passage out and home ; and the event amply rewarded this politic humanity.

*Teyseyra,*  
 2. 2. § 83—  
 92.  
*Do.* § 131.

*An insufficient force  
 allotted him.*

While preparations were making for his departure, there were

persons in office who either from motives of envy, or of private views, endeavoured to disgust him and to make him throw up the appointment: upon such occasions he always went directly to the King; and by this manly and straight forward conduct baffled the mean intrigues of little minds. When the number of troops was to be fixed, it was proposed that he should take out only a hundred and fifty. Gomes Freyre remonstrated that this force was not sufficient; that his instructions required him to touch at the Cape de Verds, a place notoriously unhealthy; and that when he should arrive at Maranham his men would be diminished in number, many struggling with sickness and others invalidated by the voyage, so that there would not be enough remaining to ensure respect from the inhabitants, nor even to keep up the state which his office demanded. One of the Ministers replied, that Francisco de Sa had said he could take the city of S. Luiz with a hundred and fifty men, and would undertake, if such a reinforcement were sent him, to reduce the inhabitants, and the strangers too whom they might call to their assistance. Provoked at the invidious manner of the reply, and at the wilful blindness with which the force of his remonstrance had been overlooked, Gomes Freyre proudly answered that if Francisco de Sa had undertaken with so small a force to conquer a place which he had not been able to preserve in peace, he might certainly venture to effect it with a third part of the number. Many a well planned expedition, and many an important object has been frustrated by the fatal œconomy of attempting it with the smallest possible means, instead of sending such strength as, humanly speaking, might render success certain. In this instance, had there been more decision in the rebels, or less in the man who was sent against them, Maranham might have been lost to Portugal.

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1684.

*Teyxeira.*  
2. 2. § 93—  
114.

The same parsimony which underproportioned the force to the service, extended to the equipment of the ships: the stores which

*Court intrigues against Gomes Freyre.*

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were embarked were bad in quality, and had been kept too long; and the medicines had been turned over from some ships of war when they were paid off, and having lain a considerable time in Lisbon were supposed in great measure to have lost their virtue. Complaints were made of these things to Gomes Freyre by those who were likely to be the sufferers; and he, who knew how difficult it would be to get the evil amended in any other manner, ordered food and drugs to be laid in at his own expence, and in superabundance. When he accepted this appointment the King left him to chuse his own *Ministro da Alçada*, or Judge, who went out with a special commission to try the offenders. The situation required a man of courage and strict rectitude, and as such he had named Manoel Vaz Nunes, then *Provedor* of the district of Elvas. This point he considered as settled, when an intrigue was made to annul the appointment and substitute another person who possessed influence with some of the Ministers, upon the plea that Manoel Vaz was not of sufficient rank in his profession, and that grey hairs were required for such an office. Indignant at this, Gomes Freyre went to the King, represented that the *Desembargador* whom they wished to force upon him was a man whose age and past services deserved an appointment of more ease and greater dignity; and in temperate but strong terms, complained of the wrong which was offered to himself and the person whom he had nominated upon the King's promise, to whom his word had been given, and for whose firmness and integrity he could answer. One of the Ministers of whom he complained was present, beholding him with astonishment, the bodily strength and commanding stature of this high-minded Fidalgo giving effect to the becoming spirit with which he addressed the King. Pedro's answer has been preserved. . . . If Gomes Freyre for my service foregoes his own inclinations, risks his life, leaves his home and his children, and expends his property, showing



that he seeks in office for honour only, and despises the opportunities of emolument which office affords; . . . if I not only see this at a distance, but feel it palpably with my own hands, with what reason should I deny him that which he requires for the sake of serving me more effectually, or what cause should induce me to disgust so faithful a vassal, which would not leave a stain of ingratitude upon me both as a Man and a Sovereign? He concluded by directing the Secretary immediately to order Manoel Vaz to hold himself in readiness for the voyage, and to make out his appointment without delay, that he might not wait for it a single hour after his arrival in Lisbon. The King then asked Gomes Freyre whether any thing occurred to him by which the peaceable fulfilment of his object might be promoted, his earnest desire being that if it were possible to avoid it, force should not be employed against his own subjects. Such an opportunity was not let pass by him to whom it was offered. He made answer, that the instructions which he had hitherto received tied his hands, and there was danger that if he were thus fettered he should either sacrifice his life to the ferocity of a rebellious people, and of the savages whom they called to their aid, or return to Portugal without that honour for which he exposed himself. If instructions were to be thus precise, and implicit obedience were exacted, it was fitter to send out Monks and Friars as Governors, who professed obedience, than Soldiers who were accustomed to command. Dangers were more easily seen at a distance than remedies, and both in peace and in war occasions themselves gave the best indication of the course to be pursued. He reminded the King that all the statements which they had received from Maranham came from a great distance, and that every thing which crost the line underwent some change: proof it was how little they were to be relied upon, that two different statements of the same circumstances, coming from

CHAP.  
XXIX.  
1684.

*He requires  
discretion-  
ary powers.*

CHAP. opposite parties, represented them so differently that they  
 XXIX. scarcely seemed to recount the same story. He requested  
 1685. therefore a power of acting according to circumstances, upon  
 his own judgement: if he abused this power, he should either  
 bring back his head to Portugal where there was no want of  
 scaffolds and executioners, or he might be doubly punished by  
 being left in America, stigmatized there during his life as a  
 degraded man, and after death disinherited of the burial place  
 of his ancestors. This speech produced its due effect, and  
 ample powers were accorded him.

*Teyreyra.*  
 2. 2. § 115  
 —133.

*Gomes  
 Freyre ar-  
 rives at  
 Maranham.*

Gomes Freyre regarded the Virgin<sup>6</sup> as his peculiar patroness: he visited some of her images which were at that time in much fashion at Court, and having taken leave of them, embarked on Lady-day in the ship *Conceiçam*, a name according to his feelings of the best auspices, because it placed the ship also under the protection of the same powerful advocate. The King accompanied him on board, and then took leave of him. They lost many men while they were becalmed under the line, and the Governor administered food and medicine to the sick, with a fearless sense of duty which perhaps in no slight degree tended to preserve him from the contagion. During the time that the

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<sup>6</sup> In his childhood he fell into a tank, and being taken out apparently dead, and considered as such, was laid out by his mother on the altar of N. Senhora do Bom Successo, an idol in much repute for miracles. It was easily added, that a Lady clothed in celestial blue had appeared to the child and saved him, and so he himself had been taught. For this reason he was especially devoted to the Virgin, and the last words which he uttered were to this effect: "Lady, I know of a truth that you will restore to me the eternal happiness which at the age of five I was going to possess. Mother of Mercy, and Advocate of Sinners, you robbed me of the Kingdom of Heaven then, in compassion to my parents; let not my sins debar me now from that Heaven, to which in my innocence I was then entitled!" *Teyreyra. Vida de Gomes Freyre*, 1. 1. § 6. 7.

vessel rolled thus without advancing, the lading <sup>7</sup> shifted and laid her on her beam ends; and it is attributed to his example and personal exertions, that the crew were saved from destruction. At length, early on the 15th of May, they saw the coast of Brazil, and in the evening, as the weather would not allow them to enter, anchored among the shoals off the bar. A smaller vessel sailed in company with him, carrying back Thomas Beckman as a prisoner; but she had parted company on the voyage.

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Immediately a canoe came off from the city, to ascertain whether the vessel was from Portugal, or if it belonged to the pirate D. Joam de Lima, for whose appearance Beckman and the more desperate of his associates were looking anxiously. Gomes Freyre received the adjutant who came upon this commission,

*He obtains  
information  
from the  
city.*

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<sup>7</sup> Gomes Freyre began his career as a sailor, and having distinguished himself when a boy, in action against a pirate, had by the King's orders studied navigation, till the war in Alentejo invited him to a fairer field. A few days before he was to sail on this voyage he went on board the brigantine which was to carry him, examined her minutely, and praising many things, found fault with the manner in which she was laden, saying it would prevent her from steering well. The Captain replied, that the lading would neither impede the sailors in navigating the ship, nor the soldiers in defending her, and that he would answer for carrying the Governor to Maranham without delay and without danger. Gomes Freyre mildly begged him to make sail in the river, and see whether the vessel would answer to the helm as she ought to do. At this the Captain grew angry and said, *V. Senhoria* has embarked in two fleets; . . . I cut my teeth at sea, and changed them there, and have had experience enough to know when my ship is properly laden. This answer found its way to the Palace; and when Gomes Freyre came the next day to do homage for his appointment, the King said he understood he had not found his house furnished to his liking. The Governor justified the Captain, saying his own judgement might be erroneous; he might so easily have exerted and abused his influence, that this conduct is imputed to him as a virtue. The event proved that his opinion was well founded.

*Teyxeyra.* 2. 2. § 137—143.

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with the utmost affability, entertained him with all the delicacies which the ship afforded, and speaking as if he had no doubt of being dutifully received, talked of the sufferings of the people, and expressed nothing but compassion and good will towards them, and a desire of establishing all things in the manner most beneficial to the general weal. Finally, he embraced him at his departure, and requested he would take two passengers on shore who had suffered more than others upon the voyage, and expected benefit from landing: Moraes was one, the other was Francisco da Mota Falcam, an inhabitant of Belem. Soon after they were gone another canoe arrived, bringing the *Capitam Mor* of Tapuytaperá, who came off in hope that the new Governor might be on board. Gomes Freyre's instructions were to anchor at Tapuytaperá, where Francisco de Sa had engaged to be ready to co-operate with him, bringing as large a force as could be spared from Para. Henrique Lopes being informed of this, assured him there was not depth for the vessel, and that Francisco de Sa was out of health, and had not left Belem: to wait for him would be a ruinous delay, and indeed any delay must be disadvantageous, inasmuch as it would give the insurgents time to recover from their alarm, and concert measures for defence: at present they were altogether unprepared. Gomes Freyre listened to this with attention, and the Captain was desired to hold himself in readiness to assist him. Francisco da Mota soon returned with intelligence that the people were perfectly quiet, confiding in the success of their *Procurador* at Lisbon; that Moraes had found his brother holding the office of *Juiz Ordinario* for the year, and steadily employed in the King's service; that the two brothers were now embodying the Vianezes, . . . settlers from the north of Portugal, who were considerably numerous, and had always disapproved of the proceedings of the ruling party: and that the Adjutant's account of his reception,

and the name of the Governor, had given great hopes to the well-intentioned, and great alarm to the ringleaders of the sedition; all persons believing that a man of such high reputation would not have come to Maranham unless he had been sure of succeeding in what he undertook.

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1685.

*Teyreyra,*  
2. 2. § 161  
—175.

*Berredo,* §  
1320 - 21.

*Attempts to  
dissuade him  
from land-  
ing.*

Gomes Freyre now felt how completely his instructions would have crippled him if he had not solicited discretionary powers from the King; his orders directed him to anchor at Tapuytaperá, where there was not depth enough for his vessel, and expressly forbade him to anchor at S. Luiz, where it was evident that his immediate presence was required. At day-break he weighed anchor, meaning to cross the bar; but he was compelled to come to at the point of Joam Diaz, half a league from the city, lest the force of the current should drive him upon some near shoals. Just at this time a canoe was seen coming from the quay; the *Procurador* and the Secretary of the Chamber came in it in the name of the Senate and the People, to present their welcome and their first obedience to the Governor; but to request that he would not land that day, because they were not prepared to receive him with the usual ceremonies, which they were desirous of observing, and also because the government-house was not in a state to accommodate him. A man of less penetration than Gomes Freyre might have seen through this artifice. He replied in the most courteous manner, that he was fully sensible of the compliment which they intended to pay him, and esteemed it accordingly; but that the vessel must enter this tide, and as soon as it came to anchor he should land, for he was weary of the sea: and indeed what would the world say if the Governor of Maranham were to remain on board in the harbour merely for the vain pleasure of being received in the same state as his predecessor? The House of the *Camara* might accommodate him till his own was ready.

CHAP. He had been bred a soldier, and served in rougher countries  
 XXIX. than this : one therefore like him, who had past many a night in  
 1685. the field, with no other chamber-hangings than the herbs and  
 shrubs, the earth for his bed, armour for his blankets, the air  
 for coverlet, and the firmament for canopy, was not likely to be  
 fastidious about quarters. With this reply they returned, and  
 Beckman and his friends perceived that their only resource was  
 that of openly opposing his landing : and this they hoped the  
 people might be induced to do if they were persuaded to insist,  
 as the only condition of allowing him to land, that he should  
 proclaim a full pardon, without exception of persons, for all  
 which had been done during the insurrection. The *Provedor*,  
 Francisco Teyxeyra de Moraes, sent off his son with intelligence  
 of this intention ; he reached the ship when she was again under  
 weigh. Gomes Freyre received the tidings with unconcern, and  
 as soon as he dropt anchor in the port, embarked two officers  
 with fifty men in the launch, and ordered them to take posses-  
 sion of some batteries to which he pointed, saying that he would  
 follow them in person as soon as the boat could be hoisted out.  
 The messenger was sent back with directions for his father and  
 the *Sargento Mor* to join this party with all the force they could  
 muster, and the Governor was in the boat before the launch  
 had reached the land. These things past in sight of the asto-  
 nished people ; they had dreamt of no such decision ; and while  
 Beckman was preparing for resistance, the Governor landed, the  
 drum was beat from the batteries, announcing possession of  
 them, the soldiers, the Vianezes, and the bolder part of the well  
 disposed inhabitants, under Gabriel de Moraes, joined the first  
 detachment : the other party took to their canoes and fled, and  
 the rest of the people flocked to meet the Governor : the *Ca-  
 mara* in a body received him, and he took possession of the  
 government without the slightest opposition. From the Senate

*He surprises  
 the fort,  
 and enters  
 the city  
 without re-  
 sistance.*

House he went to the Cathedral, to return thanks for his safe voyage, and nothing was now heard but rejoicings. Women and children, the old and infirm who could not mingle in the crowd, came to the windows to bless him as the Father of the Country and the Restorer of Peace. He now appointed patrols and a double guard for the night, and set a watch upon the paths leading to the woods and the water. The night elapsed without disturbance, and in the morning the city was as tranquil as if public order had never been interrupted.

When the first alarm of the guilty had subsided, they took courage to appear again, and Beckman even ventured into the city, seeking to excite fresh commotions and recover his former ascendancy. The officers of the law received secret orders to arrest him, for his person was not known to the soldiers whom Gomes Freyre had brought out: secrecy was not observed; the ringleaders again fled, and many persons whom there was no intention of molesting forsook their houses. Their fears were removed by a proclamation granting pardon to all persons except those who had been instigators and heads of the rebellion. Eugenio Ribeiro, Manoel Serram, and Jorge de Sampayo, were apprehended; they had been conspicuous in the sedition, and the latter was believed by the Governor to be the most dangerous man in the State. At this time the vessel arrived which had Thomas Beckman on board; he had escaped at the Cape de Verds, and taken sanctuary; but the sanctuary had not been allowed to protect him, and he was now landed and put in prison. His brother Manoel on this occasion behaved well, and attempted to deliver him; the plan failed, and a second project was discovered and defeated: artillery was then planted to command all the streets leading to the prison, guards stationed by the guns with lighted matches, and orders given to fire if at any time they saw more than five men coming in that direction.

CHAP.  
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*Teyzeira.*  
2. 2. § 176  
—189.  
*Berredo,* §  
1322—25.

*Flight and  
apprehen-  
sion of the  
ringleaders.*

CHAP. Beckman perceived that his purposes were betrayed to the  
 XXIX. Governor, and an edict forbidding all persons to harbour him  
 1685. made him fly from the island and betake himself to his estates  
 upon the Miary, sixty leagues distant, where he hoped to be  
 safe. Among the rewards offered for his apprehension, was a  
 company in the *Ordenança* of the Nobles; it tempted a young  
 citizen, by name Lazaro de Mello, to whom Beckman had been  
 godfather and guardian. Taking with him a companion and  
 some slaves, he went to the Miary, and was informed at the door  
 that his guardian was no longer there. He was about to depart,  
 when Beckman himself, hearing who it was, sent to call him  
 back; .. he trusted the youth thus far, and yet with a feeling  
 which arose more from his own miserable state of fear than from  
 any suspicion that Lazaro would betray him, he received him  
 with a blunderbuss in his hand. The young villain remonstrated  
 with him for his want of confidence, and amused him in talk till  
 one of the slaves, a powerful man, seized him in his arms; Lazaro  
 and the others fell on him the next moment and bound him. The  
 factor and some of his slaves hearing the struggle, came to his  
 assistance; but they abstained from interfering when they were  
 required in the King's name not to interrupt the course of justice.  
 They carried him to the canoe, and put him in irons. He up-  
 braided his betrayer with indignation for the baseness of his  
 ingratitude; but he besought him as the only favour which he  
 would ask, to relieve him from the fetters, and pledged his word  
 that he would make no attempt to escape. This man must have  
 possessed some great qualities; for Lazaro trusted to the honour  
 of the benefactor whom he had so basely deceived, and though  
 frequent opportunities of escaping occurred during a coasting  
 voyage of more than two hundred miles, Beckman religiously  
 kept the word which he had pledged.

*Teyacyra.*  
 2 2. § 195,  
 202.

*Bervedo,* §  
 1337-41.

*Lazaro de  
 Mello loses  
 his reward.*

However desirous the Governor was of securing this dangerous



and guilty man, he regarded Lazaro de Mello's conduct with just abhorrence. Nevertheless the proclamation was observed, and the Traitor received his Captain's commission in the company of Nobles, as the price of blood. It served only to call forth a manifestation of general feeling; for when he was to perform its duties not a man in the company would follow him; and upon his applying to the Governor to compel them, Gomes Freyre replied he had fulfilled his promise in granting him the commission. Instead therefore of acquiring rank by his villainy, he lived detested and despised; and when after some years he came to an accidental and violent death, it was regarded as the judgement of Heaven, . . . a presumptuous conclusion, but arising from a good source. Beckman remained some time in prison, not so much from the usual dilatoriness of law under a government by which it had long been wretchedly administered, as from a repugnance in Gomes Freyre to give orders for his execution when it should be required. No man was less scrupulous of shedding blood where military service, or his own notions of personal honour were concerned; but deliberately by the stroke of a pen to take away the life of a fellow creature, was an act from which he shrunk. Beckman meantime, who had been laid in irons, was not idle: he began to file his fetters with a wet thread dipt in fine sand, and by help of a little boy who was permitted to attend him in prison, he had nearly in this slow process cut them through before it was discovered. The legal officers now urged the Governor so strongly to prevent further danger by ordering the prisoners for trial, that Gomes Freyre, however reluctantly, was obliged to consent. Beckman and Sampayo were condemned to death, as was a third of inferior rank, who escaped and underwent the luckier fate of being executed in effigy. When Gomes Freyre signed the death-warrant, his hand shook in such manner that the autograph bore no

CHAP:  
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*Beckman  
and Sam-  
paya are  
condemned.*

CHAP. resemblance to his usual writing. A more painful trial awaited  
 XXIX. him. The wife of Beckman, and his two unmarried daughters,  
 1685. solicited admittance; he went out into the antichamber to re-

*Interview of  
 the wife and  
 daughters of  
 Beckman  
 with the  
 Governor.*

ceive them: they were in mourning, with their hair loose, and they fell and embraced his knees. When the wife could sufficiently repress her sorrow to speak intelligibly, she said she was not come to entreat for her husband's life, because she knew that if it had been in the Governor's power to spare him, he would do it without entreaties; but she came to present two orphans to his compassion, and to beseech that he would send them to Portugal, in the ship which was about to sail, that they might be taken into his house, and wait upon his wife and daughters, and thus preserve their honour: for in Maranham, where wealth was more esteemed than birth or virtue, destitute as they now were, and regarded as the children of one who suffered death upon a gallows would be, their situation would be deplorable indeed! The unhappy girls themselves seconded this wretched petition, praying that he who in his public capacity made them orphans, would as an individual and a Christian so far supply the place of their father, as to grant them an asylum in his own family, even as slaves. The situation was singularly tragic, nor would such an appeal have been made to Gomes Freyre if he had been a man of ordinary character. He promised to serve them in the best manner he could, and dismissed them with an assurance which they could not doubt, from the emotion which he discovered. Accordingly, when Beckman's property, being confiscated, was put up to sale, he at his own private expence purchased the whole, and restored it immediately to the daughters, to be divided between them as their dower. Beckman suffered with firmness and penitence, confessing that he had attempted to shoot the Governor upon his landing. Sampayo suffered also. Thomas Beckman was ba-

*Execution  
 of Beckman.*

nished for ten years. The Friar who from the pulpit had excited the people to insurrection, was incarcerated in his Convent: the other criminals were only condemned in the costs of justice.

CHAP. XXIX.  
1685.  
Teyeyra. 2. 2. 231  
—245.  
Berredo, § 1342—8.

CHAPTER XXX.

View of the progress of Brazil during the seventeenth century. History and state of the colonies and establishments. Tobacco, sugar, gold, and other commodities. The Dutch conquest of Surinam. The Dutch conquest of the Cape of Good Hope. The Dutch conquest of the East Indies. The Dutch conquest of the East Indies. The Dutch conquest of the East Indies.

CHAP. XXX.  
1685.

Seventy years had now elapsed since the Portuguese established themselves in Maranhão upon the expedition of the French. During that time they had contended with a formidable foreign enemy, and their progress had been impeded by some natural calamities, many different connotions, and great misgovernment; but they had struck root in the land. This province, or State as it is denominated, was understood at this time to begin in latitude 4° S. South, near the Bay of St. Roque, and to terminate at the Village of Rio de Janeiro, where the Spanish demarcation should have commenced, in the Catholic Faith, and the heretical Hollanders had respected Pope Alexander's line. The site of Maranhão was well placed for the seat of government, being nearly in the middle. There were in the capital a Mother Church, four Convents, a Misericórdia, a second Church at this time nearly

Brazil  
of Maranhão  
1685

HISTORY OF BRAZIL

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## CHAPTER XXX.

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*View of the progress of Brazil during the seventeenth century. Maranham and Para: state of the revenues and establishment. Produce. Expeditions into the interior. Slavery. Seara. Rio Grande. Pernambuco. Transitory effects of the Dutch conquest. Bahia. Rio de Janeiro. S. Paulo. State of manners. Artifices of the Clergy. Audacious fables of the Jesuits. Life of F. Joam d' Almeida.*

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**CHAP.** Seventy years had now elapsed since the Portugueze established themselves in Maranham upon the expulsion of the  
**XXX.** French. During that time they had contended with a formidable foreign enemy, and their progress had been impeded by  
**1685.** some natural calamities, many internal commotions, and great misgovernment; but they had struck root in the land.

*Boundaries of Maranham.*

*Manoel Guedes Arranha, MS.*

*Population.*

This province, or State as it is denominated, was understood at this time to begin in latitude 4° 4' South, near the *Baixos de S. Roque*, and to terminate at the *Wiapoc*, or *Rio de Vicente Pinzon*, where the Spanish demarcation should have commenced, if the catholic French and the heretical Hollanders had respected Pope Alexander's line. The isle of Maranham was well placed for the seat of government, being nearly in the middle. There were in the capital a Mother Church, four Convents, a *Misericordia*, a second Church at this time nearly

compleat, which might serve for an hospital, and an *Ermida*, CHAP. or Chapel, over the sea, which was frequented every evening XXX. by devotees. The population of the whole State was estimated *Manoel Guedes Aranha. MS. Papel Forte. MS. Manoel da Vide Sotto-Mayor. MS. Aranha. MS. Nobles. Teyzeyra. 2. 2. § 277.* in 1648, at about four hundred Portugueze settlers, and eighty soldiers; in ten years they had increased to seven hundred, and in 1685 there were more than a thousand Portugueze in the city of S. Luiz alone. Many of these were nobles: it seems that all who had at any time held a commission in the *Ordennança*, or local militia, though it were only for three months, became nobles, and enjoyed in consequence not merely a rank above the people, but certain privileges also, which rendered the increase of this class an injury to the state. Tapuytaperá on the opposite side of the bay, contained four hundred inhabitants, a Church, a Misericórdia, and a Carmelite Convent: here the nobles had so multiplied, in consequence of these temporary commissions, that the brotherhood of the Misericórdia, which consisted of mechanics and men of inferior rank, was extinguished because all the members had at last been thus ennobled. The pride which these local distinctions fostered was increased by an act of Joam IV, granting to Maranham and Para the same privileges which had been granted to the city of Porto in 1490, by Joam II. For their own good deserts in conquering the forts of Curupa and Cabo do Norte, and in expelling the Dutch from S. Luiz, as well as for the merits of their fathers and grandfathers in the first conquest, it was decreed that no inhabitant of Maranham or Para should be put to the torture, except in such cases as rendered it applicable to the Fidalgos, with whom in this respect they were placed upon a footing; that they were not to be imprisoned for any offence, but like the Fidalgos, to be held upon their parole: and that they might bear arms for offence as well as defence. All the privileges also of the people of Lisbon were conferred upon them, except that

*Aranha. MS.**Teyzeyra. § 277. 1655. July 20.**Privileges of the settlers.*

CHAP. they might not ride upon mules, . . . to breed these unproductive  
 XXX. animals being judged an injury to the State. They were not  
 liable to be impressed either for the land or sea service, nor to  
 have their beasts taken, nor their houses, against their will, being  
 in these things privileged like the *Infançoens* and *Ricos Omes*  
 of old.

Aranha,  
 MS.

Revenue.

The revenue consisted chiefly in the *decimas*, or tenths, which  
 in 1658 were supposed to average five thousand *cruzados*. The  
 customs were very trifling, because ships which produced a  
 clearance from the ports of the mother country were exempted ;  
 if they had no clearance they paid a tenth of the value of the  
 cargo. There was a duty of four *milreis* per pipe upon wine ;  
 but very little was imported, because the people distilled <sup>1</sup> a  
 spirit from maize, and from the sugar-cane. A fifth of the slaves  
 taken in lawful war belonged to the Crown.

Sotto-Mayor  
 MS.

Intercourse  
 between S.  
 Luiz and  
 Belem.

From S. Luiz to Belem, the voyage was performed by canoes  
 coasting round thirty-two bays, some of which are of such extent  
 that the sight can scarcely reach across them. The distance  
 thus circuitously measured is about three hundred leagues ;  
 but these bays are connected by a labyrinth of streams and  
 waters, so that the way might be greatly shortened by ascending  
 one river with the flow, crossing to another, and descending with  
 the ebb : the voyage was thus performed in about thirty days.

Aranha,  
 MS.

Population  
 of Belem.

The city of Belem contained in 1685 about five hundred inhabi-  
 tants, with a prodigious clerical and monastic establishment,  
 of a Mother Church, a Jesuit College, a Franciscan, a Carmel-

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<sup>1</sup> At present the people of Maranhão and Pará make a good beverage from  
 the fruit of the Bacaba. (*Areca Bacaba* . . . a species of *Areca oleracea*.) They  
 call this drink *bacabada*, or *ticuara de bacabas*.

*Arruda. Sobre a instituição de Jardins, p. 33.*

ite and a Mercenario Convent, two other Churches, and one Chapel. There was a *Misericordia* also, an institution of humanity which is to be mentioned with praise. The tenths of Para and its subordinate Captaincies amounted to some four thousand *cruzados* yearly; but the salt-works produced two thousand more, and the fisheries in the Ilha dos Joanes and the other islands at the mouth of the river, another two thousand. The fisheries were rented, and the lessees paid a third in advance, making their payment in fish; nets and canoes were supplied them from the salt establishment: from hence Belem was supplied every month with from fifteen hundred to two thousand fish called *talinhas*. In the river Camuta the *talinhas* were remarkably abundant; they were caught there simply by shewing a light in the canoe after sunset, when they jumped in in such numbers, that it is said if the light were not extinguished in time they would sink the boat.

CHAP.  
XXX.  
Aranha.  
MS.  
Revenues.

Sotto-May-  
or. MS.

Aranha.  
MS.

Expendi-  
ture.

The salary of the Governor General was three thousand *cruzados*. The *Capitam Mor* of Para, and the *Ouvidor Mor*, had two hundred *milreis* each, the *Provedor Mor* two hundred and fifty. The *Escrivam* and the *Almozarife* (or Director of the Customs) at Maranham, eighty *milreis*; at Belem, seventy:.. when the seat of government was removed, it may be presumed that the superior officers followed the Governor, and the inferior appointments were transferred to S. Luiz. The *Provedor* at Belem had a salary of eighty *milreis*, the *Ouvidor* of sixty. About forty *milreis* were assigned to the Capuchins in Maranham, and the same sum in Para: and the expence of Indians, canoes, &c. being defrayed, the remainder of the revenue was divided among the military, including the Captain of Curupa and the *Vigarios*,.. a poor pay at the best, and uncertain. In 1658 the *Sargento Mor* was said to average from forty to fifty *milreis*, his brother officer in Para, from thirty to forty; the captain of

CHAP. infantry in Maranham from twenty-five to twenty-eight, and  
 XXX. the *Capitam Mor* of Curupa the same. Six, seven, or eight, might be the share of the common soldiers; but there was an account set against them for *farinha* and shoes at Maranham, and in Para for fish also; so that at the annual balance many found themselves in debt to the *Almoxarife*, and they who had been most frugal did not receive more than from five to ten *testoons*, . . . five shillings at the utmost! A government which paid its servants so ill had little reason to expect faithful services. There were three hundred effective soldiers in the whole State before the seat of government was removed; of these, one hundred and twenty were stationed at S. Luiz, and forty at Curupa. Four soldiers from Curupa were always cruising in a canoe with Indians, to watch the tribes along the coast as far as the Cabo do Norte: if they found any disobedience, as it is termed, which they were not able to repress, they hastened back for an adequate force; and in this manner interlopers were kept out, and the country held in subjection. The *Camaras* were so poor, that on all public occasions they were obliged to avail themselves of their private means. It was proposed to relieve them by levying for their use an additional duty of two hundred *reis* upon the *arroba* of native cinnamon, and half that sum upon the same weight of cacao; by requiring a fine of fifty *reis* for every *braça* of ground which the *Camara* should grant, and by permitting no person to go with free Indians to Curupa, or up the Orellana, unless he purchased a license . . . a regulation which, it was said, would prevent much inconvenience and evil.

Do. An opinion prevailed that Maranham was rich in mines; for  
 Papel Forte. MS. which reason, it was believed, other nations were so solicitous to effect a settlement in the river. Joam IV sent out a person named Bartholameu Barreiros de Ataide, with three miners, one a Venetian the others French, to search for gold and silver in

Sotto-Mayor. MS.

Aranha. MS.

Iron in Maranham.



the interior of this State. They went up the great river, and were absent two years, without success: but on their return to Maranham<sup>2</sup> they offered to supply the people with iron at a *cruzado* the *quintal*, if the State would engage to take at that price all they should produce; but it was not thought prudent to enter into any such contract. Had there been the same zeal for cultivating the earth as for ransacking it in search of the precious metals, these countries, favoured as they were by nature, would abundantly have repaid the industry of man. But it is one of the pernicious effects of slavery, a system of which all the effects are pernicious (perhaps even more pernicious to the master than the slave) that wherever it exists, labour is thought degrading to a free man. In one of the memorials which were written toward the close of this century, concerning the means of improving Maranham, it was recommended that more white colonists should not be sent out; because, said the writer, it is not the custom in any of our colonies for the white people to work themselves, or do any thing more than order slaves to work for them. "If," says Manoel Guedes Aranha, "the nobles in civilized countries are held in high esteem, with greater reason should white men be esteemed in a land of heathens, because they have been brought up with the milk of the Church and of the Christian faith. Moreover, different men are fit for different things: we are fit to introduce religion among them, and they are fit to serve us, to hunt for us, fish for us, and work

CHAP.  
XXX.

Aranha.  
MS.

Joam de  
Moura. MS.  
Pinheiro  
Collection,  
Vol. 6, No.  
17.

<sup>2</sup> Manoel Guedes Aranha says in his Memoir, the Island was so rich in iron ore that foreign cosmographers called it in their maps *Ilha do Ferro*. All persons, he adds, who had any knowledge of the subject, said that the ore was of the best quality; .. and yet this was neglected, important as it was to Portugal, which bought all its iron from other countries.

CHAP. for us." Even the humaner and more religious part of the com-  
 XXX. munity thought it perfectly right that the Indians should be com-  
 pelled to labour for the Portugueze, in gratitude for the instruc-  
 tion which they received. Manoel da Vide Sotto-Mayor recom-  
 mends that this should be explained to them when they were  
 allotted from the *Aldeas*, that they should be informed how  
 reasonable it was, and exhorted to conform to the tenor of the  
 King's laws with good will and like good subjects, seeing it was  
 for the advantage of the white men, to whom they were indebted  
 for the doctrines which they now enjoyed. The person who  
 reasoned thus was a good and religious man, attached to the  
 Jesuits, and brother to that Sotto-Mayor who had lost his life in  
 labouring for the conversion of the natives: if such then were  
 his sentiments, it may be supposed what would be those of the  
 slave-party. Some of the friars used to assert that the Indians  
 were wild beasts of the forest, and had no more souls than so  
 many dogs, till God infused a soul when they were baptized;..  
 such was their doctrine,.. and their practice corresponded to it.  
 The friars indeed, and even the secular clergy in these provinces,  
 were the very dregs and offal of their order and profession. They  
 are described as having no other qualification for their office  
 than the tonsure and the habit; greedy of gain that they might  
 return to Europe and purchase preferment, for this reason en-  
 couraging the inhabitants both by precept and example in all  
 their wickedness toward the natives, and exciting and fomenting  
 discontent against the Jesuits, whom they hated not only for  
 their learning and reputation, but for the decorum of their lives,  
 their disinterested zeal, and their virtues.

*Expulsam  
 dos Padres,  
 &c. MS.*

*Do.*

*Mortality  
 among the  
 Indians.*

A savage, in his own pursuits, is capable of the greatest en-  
 durance and the most extraordinary exertions; no European  
 could travel so far without intermission, nor sustain such priva-  
 tions and sufferings: but in proportion as they were hardy in

their own manner of life, they were found feeble in captivity. With the sense of free agency it seemed as if the main spring of the machine had lost its impulse; and the heart withered as if under the influence of witchcraft, or some slow poison. There are physical causes why a transition from the wild to the domesticated state should frequently prove destructive. The animal frame cannot with impunity bear a sudden and total alteration of diet, habits, and occupations. Unless birds are taken young they die before they can be accustomed to captivity; and even the difference which is thus made in their manner of subsistence is scarcely greater than that which man endures in passing at once from a wandering to a domesticated life. Frequent change of air seems to have been almost indispensable to a race who had never been stationary: in the Reductions, where no violence was offered to the Indians, no restraint imposed, but every thing was done which could contribute to the comfort and well being of the new settlers, a large proportion was always swept away in the first few months. . . What then must the mortality have been when the transition was to a state of compulsory labour, under merciless task-masters! . . . and no task-masters were ever more merciless than the Portuguese of the seventeenth century, not even their rivals the Dutch.

The horror of such a slavery was well understood by the unhappy natives. Even the cord Indians preferred rather to be eaten by men of their own country and complexion, than to be ransomed at the price of their liberty. In this perhaps a sense of honour had some share; for among the inhabitants in this part of Brazil, honour was attached to the subject of one of these abominable feasts, as well as to the giver. A ransoming party one day found a female Indian tied to a stake, and the savages dancing, singing, and carousing round her; they brought her drink occasionally, and as they danced so she moved her feet,

CHAP.  
XXX.

*Their horror  
of slavery.*

CHAP  
XXX..

Aranha.  
MS.

Aranha.  
MS.

and as they sung she sung also in an undervoice. This woman was clearly a cord Indian; and the Portugueze having arrived just in time to redeem her from butchery, thought it an especial instance of God's mercy. They bargained for her, and probably paid the dearer in consideration of the disappointment which the assembled guests consented to undergo; but when they came to untie her her contentment was changed to tears, and she lamented her fate, that instead of dying at so famous a feast, and leaving behind her a celebrated name, she was to become a slave among the white people. On another occasion, when the Portugueze wished to purchase a woman, the Royalet in the house of whose children she was then making merry, objected to selling her, saying she was dedicated for a feast which his sons were to make, and he was certain that she would not chuse to be ransomed; .. but the matter was left to her own choice, and the Portugueze were to have her if she would consent to accompany them. She replied that she would rather be buried in the bellies of her Lords and Masters, whom she loved because she had been bred<sup>3</sup> up with them. The preference of death to slavery, in these instances, was chiefly founded upon superstition. The pride of endurance created a like determination in the men upon like occasions; nor could the wisest lessons of stoic philosophy have given them greater support than they derived from their own wild and ferocious opinions. A prisoner in the interior of Para being destined to be eaten, was fastened during the preparations for the feast in a place where he was

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<sup>3</sup> This woman was probably the child of a male prisoner, .. bred therefore to be eaten, in consequence of their theory of generation! I did not know that women were ever eaten by these savages till I perused the manuscript of Manoel Guedes Aranha.

entirely exposed to the *Marimbondos*, the most voracious and venomous of all the winged insects of Brazil. Some Portuguese admiring his fortitude, for he betrayed no symptom of feeling while their bites covered him with blood, would have released him from his present suffering and from the death to which he was devoted; but the savage refused their intercession, and wiping away the insects from his face that they might see the smile with which he answered, said that he took pleasure in this pain, and by making it a pleasure was revenged upon his tormentors. This body, said he, is not I! It is composed of the flesh which I have eaten, the flesh of my enemies, . . . the parents, brethren, and children of this people. I do but inhabit it; and I rejoice that they should torment their own flesh and blood! . . . But when no such extraordinary feelings were called forth as inducements for chusing death rather than slavery, the Indians well knew what good reason there was for preferring death. There were instances when the man-hunters having surrounded whole families in one of their large dwellings, and endeavoured vainly to persuade them by fair promises to surrender, set fire to the house, thinking thus to force them out; and these poor Indians, parent and child clinging to each other, chose rather to perish in the flames than submit to the miserable state of existence which was the only alternative.

The slaves who were fairly purchased were very few compared with those who were kidnapped. Great numbers perished before they were brought down to the Portuguese settlements. It was the custom to turn them as they were caught, like cattle, into a pen, till a large herd could be sent off at once: they were thus miserably shut up for eight or nine months in a state of inaction, and entire exposure to the elements, which their habit of sleeping in rooms heated by constant fires rendered doubly prejudicial; and in this manner innumerable lives were destroy-

CHAP.  
XXX.

*F. José de  
Santa Rita  
Duram.*

*Caramuru,  
p. 161—6.*

*Aranha,  
MS.*

*Expeditions  
into the  
interior.*

CHAP.

XXX.

ed. A Portugueze seldom brought home more than half the number which had fallen to his share. There was also a great consumption of those who accompanied the slave-traders, a far greater proportion of Indians than of any other class dying in these expeditions. The proper season was during the first five months of the year; but covetousness would not wait for monsoons, and in the other months the means of subsistence were scarce, the water turbid and unwholesome, and the insects so intolerable, that very many Indians not having garments like the other races to protect them, died in consequence of this torment. The Portugueze themselves frequently returned in a wretched state, their limbs swoln and their livers diseased. The slave-traders, as well as the Jesuits, had penetrated at this time more than <sup>4</sup> two thousand miles into the interior, . . . such was the avidity of gain and the spirit of adventure. But they carried devastation with them. The banks of the great river which Orellana had found so populous were nearly deserted now, in consequence of these frequent inroads; and along the whole coast from Maranham to Belem and from thence to Curupa, there were now no Indians!

*Aranha.*  
MS.

*Expulsam*  
*dos Padres.*  
MS.

*Sotto May-*  
*or.* MS.

*The colonists*  
*dependant*  
*upon the*  
*labour of*  
*the Indians.*

The people of S. Luiz had requested when Vidal was appointed, that Para might be under the same Governor as Maranham,

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<sup>4</sup> Manoel Guedes Aranha bought a woman from the Rio Negro; the child learnt the Tupi and taught it to her mother. The *Lingua Geral* therefore did not extend in that direction. But when many of the slaves had a language to acquire, it seems ill policy that Portugueze should not have been made the acquired language of all. Since the abolition of Indian slavery things are so much altered in this respect, that the Tupi at present is not spoken by the Indians of the *Aldeas* themselves. *Koster's Travels*. Vieyra says, old people remembered when the Portugueze was not more commonly spoken than the Tupi, but that latterly a Jesuit was much valued at Bahia if he could speak the native language; it had fallen into disuse in proportion as the natives were consumed. *Sermoens*, t. 8, p. 520, 521.

because they expected thus to obtain a larger share of slaves, their own Indians having been nearly consumed. That men of European stock are perfectly capable of all the labour which in such climates is required for the well-being of man, is proved abundantly by the prodigious fatigues which the Portuguese underwent in seeking slaves to do this necessary labour for them. The first conquerors of America were the hardiest as well as the most inhuman of men: a great and general degeneracy had taken place in the Spanish colonies; but in Brazil the ardour of enterprize was unabated, and the Brazilians were not only acclimated by course of time, but owing to the great admixture of native blood their constitutions were originally adapted to the climate in which they were born: yet custom had made them dependent upon their slaves, even to a miserable degree of helplessness. The colonists in Maranham and Para dwelt at this time every family in its island, or upon one of those small streams which communicate with the larger rivers, and spread over the surface of the country like veins; in such situations they fixed themselves, each where the land seemed good, possession being sufficient title. The only way of communicating with each other, or with the city, was by <sup>5</sup> water, and they relied wholly upon their own means for defence and subsistence. There were no <sup>6</sup> pastures, for whatever land had not been cleared for plantations was thicket; game therefore was their only animal food, and their Indians hunted and fished for them. If the labour of the Indians had been confined to these occupations, and to the task of

CHAP.  
XXX.

Aranha,  
MS.

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<sup>5</sup> Some of their canoes were large enough to carry four or five hundred *arrobas* of produce (that is twice as many stone) and fifteen or twenty men.

Aranha. MS.

<sup>6</sup> The only natural pastures in this part of the country were in the *Ilha dos Joanes*, or *Ilha Grande*, as *Manoel da Vide Sotto-Mayor* calls it.

CHAP.  
XXX.

raising produce for the family and performing the necessary domestic work, slavery would have appeared in its least odious form; it would in reality have been only vassalage, and with this advantage over the vassalage of feudal Europe, that the condition of those who were brought to this state was materially improved by the change. Such an improvement the Court of Spain hoped to effect by the *Repartimientos* and *Encomiendas*; and upon this ground it is that slavery is still defended by the few advocates who have any learning or philosophy to pervert in its defence. They overlook the difference between a feudal and a commercial age. The feudal lord required only military service, and agricultural labour in which no lash was required to keep the labourer to his task, because from a sense of its necessity and fitness it was always willingly performed. The planter's object is gain: and avarice is as obdurate as ambition. The Indians at this time were worked to death in Maranham and Para, as horses are worked to death by unfeeling owners in England; or they were murdered by slow tortures and systematic cruelty, when the owners had something devilish in their nature. Humaner individuals must have existed, whose slaves were as children of the family; but that the general system was to the last degree flagitious, is proved not only by valid testimony, but by the unanswerable fact of depopulation.

*Fallacious  
defence of  
slavery.*

In Brazil then, as in England now, the impious argument was maintained that Slavery is not forbidden by any divine law; and the fallacious one, that it was a palliative of war, and in itself a benefit to the savage who was thus reclaimed from cannibalism and heathen superstitions. But it has been seen, that in the Indian as in the African slave-trade, wars were undertaken for the purpose of acquiring slaves; so that slavery, instead of being the palliative of war, was the cause of it. It is obvious that the custom of exchanging prisoners is not practicable with savages; that whenever they spare the life of an enemy it is for the pur-



pose of making him a slave; and that when they are unsuccessful, death or slavery is what they themselves expect. But among them the yoke is easy; the slave in reality is adopted into the family of his owner, and the difference between them, among the Brazilian tribes, was merely in name. And if it were fitting that a civilized and a Christian people should follow the customs of savages, whom it was their interest and their duty to influence by good example, . . . and if the argument that slavery or death was the only alternative, had in itself been just, it was not applicable in Brazil, where the Jesuits had provided a middle course precisely suited to the case. The system of the *Aldeas* would have been the best possible if there had been no compulsory labour, and if the children, who were born and educated as Christians, had been incorporated with the community. The Jesuits did not venture to propose this, and perhaps here as in Paraguay, wished to retain the Indians in a state of infantine docility. But Vieyra, who had a nobler intellect, reproaches himself for having compromised with injustice, in demanding from Joam IV. less than he ought to have required in behalf of an injured race.

CHAP.  
XXX.

Sermoens,  
4, p. 531.

The wild produce for which trading parties went up the rivers was of considerable value. Sarsaparilla, canafistula, and other drugs, were plentifully found; the American cinnamon also was abundant, and a species of nutmeg smaller than that of the Moluccas: it did not serve for exportation, because they had not discovered the means of properly extracting the oil, and unless it were perfectly extracted the nut was spoiled; but the oil was used as an external application in many complaints. The vanilla was asserted to be the best and largest in the world, and it is said that when the ground was cleared indigo was the first plant which would spring up. Cacao also grew abundantly in the interior; but they were at this time beginning to cultivate it

Wild pro-  
duce.

CHAP.

XXX.

Aranha.  
MS.Provision  
upon the  
expeditions.

at Belem, for they perceived that it was cheaper to raise plantations than send to a distance and gather it where it grew spontaneously. The *arroba* <sup>7</sup> of cinnamon sold for six *milreis*, and paid a duty of six hundred *reis*. The traders, or rather the gatherers, took with them upon these voyages no other provision than *farinha*, which is the mandioc meal, and salt; for every thing else they relied upon their Indians. When the boat was fastened one of these men went into the woods, another into the water, and caught game and fish where neither white man nor negro could have succeeded; for both the negroes and their masters were inexpert in swimming, and if they ventured into the woods were lost there, not possessing that sagacity of sense with which the Indians, like animals, find their way in such situations. The game which they found consisted of the anta, the capibara, herds of wild swine, deer, and smaller animals: the jaguar was the only beast <sup>8</sup> of which they stood in fear; for this creature, if provoked, would leap into the canoe, and attack them there to advantage. The tortoises had been so much molested in the rivers near Belem, that they had learnt caution; before they landed at evening to deposit their eggs they sent a centinel forward to spy the land; at the slightest alarm their scout retired to the water, and not one would go on shore in that place that night. Wild rice grew in the flooded lands; the natives were accustomed to go before the waters retired, and shake the ripe grain into their canoes.

Aranha.  
MS.

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<sup>7</sup> It was first found upon the river Gama, a branch of the Capim, by which course it was thought a way might be opened to Maranham by Maracú. There were some *Engenhos* here, but they were ill worked for want of slaves. Every river here, says Aranha, would almost accommodate a nation; but arms and tools are wanting, to clear the woods.

<sup>8</sup> *So os dos tigres nam aceytam de boa vontade*, says Aranha, when he speaks of their parties finding *veados, antas e outras caças*.

Of cultivated produce the cotton was the most important; that of Maranham was at this time accounted the best in America, and as the common clothing was manufactured from it, it constituted the chief medium of exchange. Mandioc satisfied the inhabitants so well that they were disposed to call in question the reasonableness of the preference allowed to wheaten flour, in its high privilege of being used exclusively for the wafer. It is remarkable that the culture of tobacco, which is now one of the easiest branches of agriculture in Brazil, should be represented as that which proved most destructive to the Indians: this however had now been disused for want of hands, and for the same reason the *Engenhos* in Maranham were falling to ruin. The high price of negroes rendered it of little use to import them. The labour of a negro during his whole life, says Manoel Guedes Aranha, would not be worth an hundred *milreis* in Maranham, and this was the lowest sum at which they could be purchased, though the importation was allowed at half the usual duty. But slaves were the only means of acquiring wealth, and those persons only who had some handicraft employment could subsist without them. There were many families in Maranham, descended from the conquerors, in which all the daughters remained unmarried because of the poverty of the parents; and this in a country, where if it had not been thought dishonourable for free men to cultivate the soil, all might have lived in affluence. Among the many plans which were suggested to government for the improvement of this province, an importation of nobles was recommended; a cargo of friars would scarcely have been more useless. If old families, said Manoel Guedes, who enjoy hereditary respect and possess hereditary claims, are so distressed for means that they cannot portion their daughters in marriage, what would become of a new set of nobles! They would be a burthen to the State, if the State were to support their nobility;

CHAP.  
XXX.Cultivated  
produce.

Vieyra.

Aranha.

Teyxeyra.

Distress of  
the settlers.

CHAP. but this it could not do, and nothing could preserve them from  
 XXX. penury and wretchedness. The removal of the seat of govern-  
 ment contributed to the decay of Maranham. There was no  
 want of commercial industry; on the contrary, laws were neces-  
 sary to restrain the civil and judicial officers from embarking in  
 trade, and the clergy were engaged in trading speculations; but  
 for want of agricultural industry the population, scanty as it was,  
 outran the means of subsistence, . . an evil which, wherever it  
 occurs, is the consequence not of a law of nature, but of the  
 errors of man. Many of the youth of<sup>9</sup> Maranham would have  
 removed to Para, had the communication by land been open.  
 The Portugueze ministry thought to accelerate the progress of  
 these countries by sending out colonists. Fifty families from the  
 isle of Fayal, whose property had been destroyed by a volcano,  
 were brought to Belem. The inhabitants, with proper hospital-  
 ity, received them into their houses till they could be settled;  
 and ground was marked out for them at a place called the Cam-  
 pina, where they were to build a street. They were taught to  
 expect that an allotment of Indians from the last ransom would  
 be given them; but the Governor, as usual, distributed among  
 his friends all whom he did not appropriate to his own service,  
 and the Islanders, (two hundred and thirty-four in number,)  
 were reduced to the utmost distress, and cast upon the charity  
 of the old settlers.

Aranha,  
MS.

1676.

Berredo, §  
1207—8.

Jealousy of  
the French  
and Dutch.

Joum de  
Moura, MS.

Para however was not so greatly distressed as Maranham. There were *Engenhos* in activity upon many of the nearest rivers; tobacco as well as sugar was raised, and among other

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<sup>9</sup> Manoel Guedes Aranha says people did not multiply so fast in Para as in Maranham, where the clime was so fecundant, that if there were but means of support, all America might be peopled from thence.

dies the <sup>10</sup> cochineal had been found there. There was still a great sense of insecurity in this settlement: with all their care they could not keep out interlopers. The tribes in the Ilha dos Joanes faithfully observed the treaty which they had made with Vieyra, which indeed seems never to have been broken, so that the island was settled peaceably by the Portugueze; but on the northern side they continued to trade with foreign ships. On this side the Dutch used to enter, and passing Curupa, they sometimes ascended fifteen days sail, as far as the Tapajos. The propriety of fortifying Curupa as a point which commanded the navigation of the Orellana, being indeed the key of the river, was strongly urged by all who wrote memorials upon the state of Maranham. Left as it was, any power might occupy it when they chose; and if it fell into an enemy's hands, it was said, all which the Portugueze had achieved in exploring the country would only serve to show others the way. Here it was, and in the Captaincy of Cabo do Norte, that white colonists should be settled. It was recommended that a good fortress should be erected at the Cape, upon one of the heights above the channel,

CHAP.  
XXX.

Aranha.  
MS.

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<sup>10</sup> This *Cochonilha sylvestre*, or wild cochineal, has been carried from Brazil to our East Indian possessions by the Company; but it is of very inferior value. (*Kirby and Spence's Introduction to Entomology*, p. 323.) In the same work it is said that the Court of Directors have offered a reward of six thousand pounds to any person who shall introduce the Mexican Cochineal into India. M. Thiery de Menonville obtained the insect in the year 1777 in Guaxaca, with much address and perseverance, and at considerable risk, and succeeded in transporting it to Port au Prince. If the insect were not destroyed during the troubles in St. Domingo, surely it might have been obtained while we were in possession of Port au Prince; and very possibly may still be obtainable. M. Menonville has given a very interesting and amusing account of his expedition; .. but it is not a little curious to observe his indignation at a report that he had stolen the cochineal!

CHAP. a situation, it was affirmed, suitable not merely for a fort, but  
 XXX. for a large and opulent city. The Dutch at Surinam, and the  
 French at Cayenne, were constant objects of jealousy in this  
 quarter; . . perhaps they dreaded the former the more, because  
 some of the Jews from Recife had removed to this new colony.

*Von Sach.*  
*p. 93.*

*Seara.*

While Para and Maranham were acquiring population and importance in spite of every political disadvantage, the adjoining Captaincy of Seara made no progress. The reef which extends along so great a part of the Brazilian coast, affords little protection here to vessels riding at anchor: there is neither river nor harbour; but a steep beach, a heavy surf, and an exposed anchorage. The land is as little favourable as the sea, being in itself the least fertile part of Brazil, and like the interior of Pernambuco and the coast southward, subject to long and fatal droughts. At this time its salt marshes, its ambergris, and its violet-wood, gave it all its value: these things were not coveted by the Indians; and the French, of whom the Court of Lisbon were now more jealous than of the Dutch, were not likely to attempt a settlement in so uninviting a country, and upon so unsheltered a coast. But as the seas were infested by pirates, Pedro gave orders to build a fort which might prevent these wretches from obtaining refreshments there. That which Martim Soares had erected before the Dutch war was merely a place of defence against the Indians, and during the war the inhabitants were but some thirty Portuguese. The population had no doubt increased in consequence of the security which the settlers enjoyed now that the Jesuits had conciliated the tribes of Ibiapaba: for as there was no way by water to that district, and no plantations near, the natives escaped the oppression which the Portuguese of Maranham and Belem inflicted upon all under their power, or within their reach. Seara had been originally colonized as a step toward the settlement of Maranham; but it was

*Koster's*  
*Travels. p.*  
*113—14.*

*Papel Forte.*  
*MS.*

*Jabatam.*  
*Preamb. §*  
*151.*

annexed to the Government of Brazil, from which that State was separate.

The neighbouring Captaincy of Rio Grande do Norte, (or the Potengi) was first settled in the beginning of the century, by Joam Rodriguez Colaço. He had been instructed to found a city there, which, as the order came from a Spanish government, was placed under the patronage of Santiago, and called by his name; but after the revolution the Portuguese, thinking perhaps that Santiago was too much in the Spanish interest, deprived him of his protectorship, and called the place after The Three Kings. When the Dutch took it, it was defended by the strongest fortress in Brazil; they strengthened the fort, and named it after its conqueror, Keulen; the town was destroyed, but was soon rebuilt at a little distance and on a more convenient site. The river is stated in an official Dutch report to have been at that time capable of receiving the largest ships; at present it is a difficult port, with a bar of shifting sand, deep enough only for vessels of a hundred and fifty tons. There were two *Engenhos* here when the Dutch conquered it, and the one was destroyed during the war. From the Potengi to the S. Francisco, the Dutch were in possession when the restoration of the Portuguese monarchy made them apparently secure in their conquests. This portion of Brazil was then called New Holland, in the maps; that appellation however was destined to designate a more extensive country in a different part of the globe; and the New Holland of the West India Company, like the Antarctic France of Villegagnon, soon became an empty name, exemplifying the shortsightedness of presumptuous ambition. The Dutch deserved to lose these possessions for the treachery with which they attempted to extend their conquests during the truce, the baseness with which they sought to take advantage of the helpless state of Portugal, their blind unfeeling avarice,

CHAP.  
XXX.

*Rio Grande do Norte.*  
*Suc. do Galeam Santiago. Hist. Trag. Marit. 2, 502.*

*Barleus, 123.*

*Koster, 69.*

*Pernambuco called New Holland by the Dutch.*

CHAP. and that brutal cruelty which in all their foreign territories has  
 XXX. characterized them : but they were not without some redeeming  
 qualities. Under Prince Mauritz of Nassau great efforts were  
 made for exploring the country, civilizing the Tapuyas, and im-  
 proving the general condition of the people. His bridges, his  
 palace, and his city, remain monuments of his wise and splendid  
 administration ; but they are not the only, nor the most durable  
 memorials. He took out with him scholars, naturalists, and  
 draughtsmen. His actions were celebrated in latin verse by  
 Franciscus Plante, and by Barlæus in a latin history worthy the  
 reputation of its author. The work of Marcgraff and Piso is the  
 first <sup>11</sup> which appeared upon the natural history of Brazil ; and  
 the views in Barlæus were the first graphic representations of  
 Brazilian scenery and manners.

*Antiquities  
 in Pernam-  
 buco.*

Elias Herckmann was sent by Nassau into the interior of  
 Pernambuco in search of mines. The attempt was unsuccess-  
 ful ; but he discovered vestiges of some forgotten people who  
 possessed the country before the present race of savages, and  
 of whom not even the most vague tradition had been preserved.  
 He found two huge perfectly round stones, manifestly rounded  
 by art, and placed by art one upon another, the largest being  
 uppermost ; they were sixteen feet in diameter, and the thick-  
 ness such that a man standing on the ground could scarcely  
 reach to the <sup>12</sup> middle : and on the following day he came to

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<sup>11</sup> It may be hoped and expected that an academy will ere long be instituted  
 in Brazil, and that the *Flora Pernambucana* of the late Dr. Arruda will be pub-  
 lished under its auspices. The specimens which have appeared show it to be a  
 work of first rate merit in its kind.

<sup>12</sup> Whether the middle of the upper or of the lower stone be meant, cannot  
 be ascertained from Barlæus. The existence however of such monuments in a  
 part of America where no vestige of antiquity had been supposed to exist, is a



some other stones, of such magnitude that it seemed impossible for any human strength to have moved them; they were piled up like altars, and Herckmann compares them to some monuments at Drent<sup>13</sup> in Belgium. In the same part of the country Mr. Koster describes a rocking stone. Here then in Brazil are found antiquities of the same kind as those in Britain and in the North of Europe; and it appears from the same traveller that written rocks exist in the bed of the river Paraiba. Rocks sculptured with the representations of animals, of the sun, moon, and stars, with hieroglyphical signs, and if an incurious Franciscan may be trusted, with characters also, have been recently found in Guyana, the most savage part of South America, and hitherto the least explored. These facts are highly interesting, though they baffle the curiosity which they excite, and lead to humiliating and melancholy thoughts.

Great and commendable zeal was shown, not only under Nassau's administration, but as long as the Dutch continued in the country, for promulgating the reformed religion. There

CHAP  
XXX.

Barlaeus.  
p. 217—18.

Koster's Travels,  
p. 90.

Humboldt's  
Researches,  
Eng. Trans.  
vol. 1. 153.

Zeal of the  
Dutch for  
religion.

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fact of such importance that it is proper to give the original passage. *Itaque devitatis montium acclivibus, incessere per planiora, ubi duo lapides molares exactæ rotunditatis, et stupendæ magnitudinis visi; quorum diameter sedecim erat pedum, crassities vero tanta, ut è terræ superficie vix media lapidis pars attingi extremis digitis ab erecto posset. Alter alteri superincumbebat, major minori. E centro, miro spectaculo, frutex se attollebat Karawata. Quo fini hos congresserint Barbari, in tantâ harum rerum ignorantia, non facile dixerim. (P. 217.)*

That this was not the work of any existing people is certain, because it was not the custom of any known tribes to erect such monuments; and Herckmann had in his company some Petiguares, natives of this very part of the country, who had been kidnapped from thence by the Portuguese.

<sup>13</sup> *Visi iterum magnæ molis lapides humano labore congesti, quales etiam in Belgio Drentia regio habet, quos nulla vectatione, nulla hominum vi illuc deportari potuisse ob magnitudinem credas: eâ formâ, ut Aras referre videantur. (P. 218.)*

CHAP. were protestant<sup>14</sup> ministers at Olinda, Itamaraca, Paraiba, Cape  
 XXX. St. Augustines, and Serinhaem, and three at Recife. Some of  
 them acquired the Tupi, and with what success they had labour-  
 ed among the Indians may be apprehended by the jealousy with  
 which Vieyra regarded those who had been under their pastoral  
 care. They laboured in civilizing as well as in converting them.  
 It has been seen, that in the Serra de Ibiapaba paper and seal-  
 ing wax were in use, and that there were Indians there as well  
 able to read and understand the laws as the Portugueze them-  
 selves. But although the government meant well toward the  
 aboriginal inhabitants, and some of the clergy did their duty with  
 eminent zeal and success, the conduct of the Dutch in general,  
 both to the Indians and Negroes, was marked with that deep  
 depravity which has characterized them in all their colonies.  
 During the war their privateers seized all the Indians whom they  
 found fishing, and kidnapped as many as they could catch on  
 shore, and sold them to the Sugar Islands. Of six thousand

*Du Tertre.*  
 t. 2. p. 484.

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<sup>14</sup> Franciscus Plante was one of the chaplains at Recife. The one at Paraiba was an Englishman, whose name, as latinized by Barlæus, is Samuel Rathelarius. Vicente Soler, an Augustinian monk who had abjured the errors of his former profession, preached in French. Fray Manoel do Salvador says that a daughter of this clergyman died of grief and despoite, because Prince Mauritz preferred the daughter of the *Sargento Mor*, Baia, for his mistress. Without attributing stricter morals to Mauritz than are usually found in men of his rank and situation, this piece of scandal may well be called in question. The daughter of a minister of the reformed church would be the last person with whom he, under his circumstances, would form an illicit connection; and the testimony of a Friar upon such a subject is the very last which should be admitted in evidence. (*Valeroso Lucideno*, p. 127.) David Doislerius is mentioned as skilled in the native tongue. The Dutch distributed copies of *El Catholico Reformado*, . . . a book, says Fray Manoel, written by a certain Carrascon, and full of all the errors of Calvin and Luther. (P. 31.)

four hundred <sup>15</sup> imported Negroes, more than fifteen hundred died within a year and half, and Nassau himself imputed this frightful mortality to their unwholesome or insufficient food on the voyage, and to their sufferings. It appears also that these wretched slaves frequently attempted to murder their inhuman masters, and when they failed in the attempt, delivered themselves by poison from a life of insupportable misery <sup>16</sup>.

CHAP.  
XXX.

Barlæus.  
322.

Piso, p. 39.

The conquerors introduced some improvements while they held the country. A people who were accustomed to such cleanliness at home could not tolerate the filth of a Portuguese city, and the streets <sup>17</sup> of Recife under their government were regularly cleaned. They cultivated culinary herbs, which were soon propagated in every garden, and found their way into every kitchen; but the war put an end to horticulture, and this benefit seems to have been only transient. They reared vines with great success, procured a succession of grapes, and made a wine the excellence of which is expressed by saying that it was not inferior to the Cretan. The soldiers preferred mandioc to wheat, thinking it a stronger food. In other points the Dutch were more tenacious of old habits. Though the Brazilians, as it was said, dreamt of disease and death if they dwelt upon the low

Improvements introduced by them.

Barlæus.  
303.

Piso, p. 5.

Do.

Barlæus.  
132.

<sup>15</sup> Barlæus says 64,000, but I have without hesitation corrected the obvious error; the importation would otherwise be excessive, and the deaths very much below the average mortality among any class of people in any part of the world.

<sup>16</sup> Piso expresses himself with some feeling upon this subject: *Mancipia illa ex Africâ huc deducta, ubi horrendi voti compotes fieri nequeunt, cum dominorum vitæ insidiantur, durissimæ servitutis jugi, inedia ac variarum calamitatum impatientes, ad unicam illam libertatis viam, nemini non perviam confugiunt. Veneno ubique obvio, sibimetipsis atroces manus inferunt, gratulentes sibi naturæ renuntiare, vindictamque dominis plus justo severis reponere.*

<sup>17</sup> *Ut nitide viveret exculta gens, et patrii soli elegantia assueta,* says Barlæus.

CHAP.

XXX.

lands, the Hollanders, with that obstinate attachment to swamps and standing water which has cost the lives of so many thousands at Batavia, built every where upon the plains and morasses. Such situations were suited to their mode of fortification, and they had need to fortify themselves. They experienced less injury than had been predicted, .. probably less than any other people would have done: their diet, which was more generous than that of the Portugueze, and their habit of smoking, serving to counteract the pernicious effects of marsh exhalations, and their constitutions also being habituated to such an atmosphere. Their women, however, suffered greatly from the change of climate; .. for they neither drank nor smoked; and, as was the case at first with the Portugueze women, they reared very few children. They found it necessary to have Indian or Negress nurses, whose custom it was never to wean the infant till the end of the second year, and rarely so soon.

Marcgraff.  
8, 1.

The climate  
injurious to  
their wo-  
men and  
children.

Piso 33.

State of the  
population.

Laet. in  
Marcgraff.  
p. 261.  
Barlaeus.  
217.

Laet. Do.

The whole country which they possessed, from the Potengi to the Lagoas, was cultivated only in patches. The cultivation usually extended from twelve to fifteen miles inland, seldom farther, and never more than one or two and twenty; but none of the Dutch settled more than eight miles from the coast, as much for fear of the savages and the Portugueze, as for the convenience of trade. Between one *freguezia*, or parish, and another, there was usually a solitary track of ten or twelve miles, perhaps of greater extent. Salt-works and fishermen's huts were sometimes found in these uncultivated parts, but all the rest was a wilderness, which the settled part of the inhabitants had never explored. The admirable industry of the Dutch had not time to display itself; and what branches of industry they found there suffered considerably during the war. A lucrative fishery upon the coast was entirely neglected after their conquest; they attempted to restore it during the truce, but the renewal of

hostilities put an end to it. The Portuguese government permitted only ten thousand *quintaes* of brazil to be felled yearly, that valuable wood being the property of the crown. The Dutch felled it without restriction, and cut down young trees as well as old: Nassau recommended that the Portuguese system should be observed, and that severe penalties should be inflicted upon those who destroyed the young trees. They were not acquainted with the process of making sugar when they arrived. When Vieyra argued for the cession of these provinces he urged this unskilfulness as a reason why the sugar trade would not be injured by it, that of the Portuguese captaincies bearing a better price and being in greater demand. But it is not possible that any nation can keep arts of this kind to itself, so as always to prevent other people, under circumstances equally favourable, from rivalling them. Upon the expulsion of the Dutch they carried with them some Negroes who were perfectly acquainted with the management of an *Engenho*; these men instructed the French at Guadaloupe, and thus enabled them first to compete with the Portuguese sugar, and soon to supersede it in many of its markets.

Before the invasion Olinda was the most flourishing of all the colonial possessions of the Portuguese, and perhaps, it is said, the richest. Ships of all sizes were continually arriving and departing, yet there was scarcely tonnage to carry away the sugar, more of which was raised at that time in Pernambuco than in Bahia. The ships from Peru which put back on their voyage, or which had evaded the duties in the port from whence they sailed, discharged the best part of their treasures here. They who were not served in plate were regarded as poor. The women were not satisfied with wearing silks and satins, unless they were of the richest embroidery, and they were so profusely decked with jewels that it seemed, says F. Manoel do Salvador,

CHAP.

XXX.

Marcgraaf.  
p. 1.Barlaeus.  
318.Papel Forte.  
MS.Du Tertre,  
1. 463.Flourishing  
state of Olin-  
da before  
the war.Pyrard.  
129.

CHAP.  
XXX.

*Valeroso.  
Lucideno,  
p. 8—9.*

*Sermoens. 5.  
437.*

*Growth of  
Recife.*

*Rennefort.  
p. 287.*

*Few inter-  
marriages  
between the  
Dutch and  
the Portu-  
guese.*

as if pearls, rubies, emeralds, and diamonds, had been showered upon them. Every new fashion in apparel, or in the furniture of swords and daggers, was instantly followed by the men, and the choicest delicacies of Portugal and the Western Islands were regularly imported for their tables. "The place," says the Friar, "hardly appeared like earth; it seemed rather an image of Paradise, as far as opulence and dissipation could make it so." The war proved fatal to this prosperity. "When first I beheld Olinda," says Vieyra, "the nobleness of her edifices, her temples and her towers, her vallies every where adorned, and her hills covered with green and loftiest palms, she seemed like a beautiful and most delicious garden, worthy of her name, and of being pictured that all the world might behold her. Now what is there but a desert, a solitude, a shapeless carcase, a dismal sepulchre without a name!" A flourishing city had arisen at the port, but Recife had not succeeded to the splendour of its former capital. When Rennefort visited it in 1666 it contained, according to his computation, about three hundred indifferent houses, besides some others so wretchedly constructed that he seems to have considered them as hovels unworthy of being included in the account. They were all of only one floor. There were about an hundred more in S. Antonio, as Mauritas was now called, the founder having given place to the favourite Saint of the Portugueze. But the works of that founder outlasted his name; the Governor resided in his palace; and the French traveller speaks with delight of the fragrance and beauty of the groves which Prince Mauritz had planted with such magnificence.

Though the Dutch were twenty-five years in the country, there had been very little intermixture of the two nations; the difference of religion was too great an obstacle, both parties being sincere, and regarding each other's belief with mutual

contempt, mingled however, on the part of the Papists, with the fiercest and most intolerant abhorrence. The few intermarriages which occurred were with Portuguese<sup>18</sup> women. Most of these would naturally follow their husbands upon their expulsion; but if the husbands chose to remain in the country among their new connections, if they did not conform themselves to the dominant superstition, their children fell into it of course, and in another generation no trace remained either of the religion, language, or manners of Holland. The ambitious struggle which the Dutch carried on so long, with such inhumanity, and such an expence of treasure and of blood, produced no other benefit than that of proving, as a warning for other powers, how impossible it is to effect a permanent conquest of Brazil. A people of such determined nationality as the Portuguese, in such a country, are invincible by any human force.

The population of Bahia and the Reconcave is stated, in the middle of the century, at three thousand five hundred, and the garrison two thousand five hundred;... the first is probably much under-rated, for it was more than two thousand, seventy years before, and many emigrants from Pernambuco and Paraiba had taken refuge there: and only twenty years later, Dellon thought

CHAP.  
XXX.

Valeroso.  
Lucideno.  
110.

Population  
of Bahia.  
Papel Forte.  
MS.  
Noticias, do  
Brasil. MS.

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<sup>18</sup> Fr. Manoel do Salvador boldly affirms that no Portuguese in Pernambuco married a Dutchwoman, or courted or even intrigued with one;... a tolerably bold assertion, unless the good friar had been conscience-keeper to every man in the province. About a score of Portuguese women married Dutchmen, he admits, or rather, as he distinguishes the case, became their concubines;... the men to whom they fancied themselves married being heretics. Nassau says that some of the wealthier men had intermarried with the Dutch. (*Barlaeus*, 237.) There could be few Dutch women to dispose of; and pride and principles would very generally, though not universally, deter the Portuguese men from such unions.

CHAP.  
XXX.

Vol. 3.  
p. 50.

P. 539.

Commercial  
prosperity.

the city nearly as large as Lyons, and better peopled. He speaks of fine streets, grand squares, well built houses, splendid churches, and a superb governor's palace; . . . a city of mean size or ordinary beauty, would not have been thus described by a traveller <sup>19</sup> coming immediately from Goa. At the end of the century, Dampier estimated the houses at two thousand, which he says were built of stone, covered with pantiles, and two or three stories high. A few years later, Frezier calls it very populous; and population must be greater than it appears to be in a country where the women seldom stirred from home, and indolence usually kept within doors. The city had twice in the course of a few years been severely afflicted with pestilence, and the general prosperity must have been very great for the population to have so soon recovered. One great cause of its prosperity was that it was a place of safety for the New Christians, a race who were persecuted with such devilish cruelty and inconceivable impolicy in the mother country and in Spain. Much as the Brazilians abhorred a Jew, and suspected all of Jewish race, they were by no means willing to have a Holy Office established in their country: the <sup>20</sup> attempts of that execrable institution to extend

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<sup>19</sup> As the Portugueseze prisons are infamously bad, it is curious that Dellon should describe that at Bahia as *le plus propre* of all he had been in before; and he had tried many in India. There were upper apartments for the rich, the less guilty, or the more favoured; and the chapel was so situated as that all could hear mass. The poorest criminals were preserved from actual want by charity. *T.* 2, p. 166. In 1802 Mr. Lindley found the Brazilian prisons in a state disgraceful to a civilized and Christian people. (*Narrative*, p. 3, 49.)

<sup>20</sup> Pyrard was at Bahia in 1610. "*L'on disoit alors que le Roy d'Espagne y en vouloit establir une (Inquisition) de quoy tous ces Juifs avoient grand peur.*" *P.* 200. Well they might, . . . and certainly if they had reason to apprehend this, it is very likely that they should have invited the Dutch. Dellon (2, 190) says, that many efforts had been made to establish the Holy Office there, but that they had always been resolutely opposed.



itself there had been successfully resisted, and Brazil has always been exempt from that which has been at once the opprobrium and the curse of Portugal. The New Christians were a despised race; but they were habitually patient under contempt, and it is the characteristic of the race to which they were allied, to be alike disregarding of obloquy or danger, where there is a sure prospect of gain. In the early part of the seventeenth century, many of them in that city were worth from sixty to a hundred thousand crowns, and there were some of even greater opulence; but no wealth could purchase the respect of their bigotted countrymen. Nine or ten years were sufficient at this time for realizing a fortune in Bahia. Pyrard, who came from India, had never seen silver so common in any city as in this; . . . it was smuggled from Buenos Ayres by an ingenious device; sacks full of the precious metal were fastened to the anchor, and the anchor was not heaved till after the revenue officers had left the ship; in this manner all the silver in Brazil and Angola was obtained from the Plata. When the two crowns were separated this influx must have ceased; but Bahia possessed in itself abundant sources of wealth. Its whale fishery was at one time the greatest in the world; under the Spanish government it was leased, and carried on by adventurers from Biscay: the flesh of these poor animals was eaten by the slaves; and they supplied all the oil which was burnt in Brazil during the seventeenth century. At the close of that century the fishery was rented by the Crown for thirty thousand dollars.

More than half a century elapsed after the foundation of the city, before the Bahians ceased to consider corn and wine and the oil of the olive, as necessaries <sup>21</sup> of life. These and all other

CHAP.  
XXX.

New Christians.

Pyrard. 200.

Influx of silver from Buenos Ayres.

Do. 141.

Whale Fishery.

Pyrard. 2.  
208.  
Dellon. 2.  
186.  
Dampier.  
3. 58.

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<sup>21</sup> Pyrard says, " *Ce païs est de peu de rapport, et ne suffit pas pour nourrir les Portugais, et pourtant toutes sortes de vivres y viennent soit de Portugal, soit des*

CHAP.  
XXX.

Sugar.

Pyrard.  
201.

European commodities are said by Pyrard to have sold at six and even eight times their European prices, the value of money having diminished in proportion as the quantity of specie increased. When the influx of silver was stopt by the rupture with Spain, and cultivation at the same time was extended, living then became as cheap as it had before been nominally dear<sup>22</sup>. The staple commodity was sugar, with which the French markets were supplied, when it was supposed to come from Madeira, or the island of St. Thomas<sup>23</sup>. The people of

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*Isles Assores et Canaries.*" (2, 201.) This "all sorts" I interpret to mean corn, wine, and oil, which to a European might seem every thing. Bread seems to have been commonly used in Dellon's time, (2, 171) when the flour came from Lisbon, or from the Rio, . . . raised probably at S. Vicente. Mandioc has now very generally superseded it.

<sup>22</sup> 1610. Pork, which was the best and commonest meat, and which the physicians prescribed in preference to any other, sold for ten *sols* the pound; the physicians were often New Christians, and might prescribe the forbidden food to lessen the suspicion of their Judaizing. Mutton, though very inferior in quality, bore the same price; beef seven *sols* six *deniers*; a fowl, a French crown; the Indian fowl, (meaning, I suppose, the Pintado or Guinea-fowl,) two crowns; five *sols* for a couple of eggs; forty for a pot of canary: "*il fait infiniment cher vivre en Brasil*," says Pyrard. (204.) A cheap wine, as he calls it, was made from the sugar-cane, for Negroes and Indians. Jerked beef came from the Plata at that time; this was before Seara supplied the market.

<sup>23</sup> The sugar from these places, Pyrard says, was "*fort peu de chose au prix de celui de Brasil*;" for in Madeira there were but seven or eight *Engenhos*, and four or five in St. Thomas, whereas there were nearly four hundred in Brazil; each, according to him, averaging 100,00 *arrobas* annually. The largest *Engenhos* in Pernambuco rarely make above 100 chests of about 50 *arrobas* each; in Bahia the *Engenhos* are larger, but Pyrard's average, I am assured, must be beyond the mark. There is very possibly an error in the press of 100,000 for 10,000; errors of this kind are so common, that it is more reasonable to impute carelessness to the printer than exaggeration to the writer, where no imaginable motive can be assigned for exaggerating. Manoel Ferreira da Camara, in his *Descripçam da*

Madeira, though they had the advantage of being so much nearer Europe, found the competition so injurious that by a wise and most fortunate foresight they gradually gave up the culture of the cane, and began to plant vines instead.

A population of from three to four hundred was scattered along the shores of Boypeba, Cayru, and Camamu, toward the middle of the century; . . . the ravages made among them by the Guerens could scarcely have been recovered at its close. There were about thirty settlers at the Rio das Contas. The town of Ilheos had declined: in the time of the Dutch war it had a fort with two guns, without ammunition, gunner, or garrison, and only some fifty inhabitants, besides a village of converted Indians. This captaincy possesses singular advantages of inland navigation, having natural canals by which barges may make

CHAP  
XXX.

Labat. Isles.  
5. 193.

Boypeba,  
Cayru, and  
Camamu.  
Papet Forte.  
MS.

Rio das Con-  
tas.

Do.

Ilheos.

Do.

Its inland  
navigation.

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*Comarca dos Ilheos*, read to the Royal Academy in 1789, says that the owner of an *Engenho* in any part of Brazil, who made 1000 loaves of three *arrobas* each, was "hum grande Lavrador." *Mem. Econan. T. 1, p. 317.* The *quintal* of four *arrobas* sold in Pyrard's time for about fifteen francs upon the spot; its retail price was two *sols* six *deniers* the pound. In 1676 the best sugar did not exceed two *sols* (Dellon). Dampier, in 1699, states the price at fifty shillings the clayed, per cwt., and the bottoms of the pans about twenty shillings. But it was dear at that time, there not being sufficient to load the ships which came for it. It was then much better than what we brought from our plantations: and Dellon says, it was as much superior to all other sugar as Champagne and Burgundy to the poorest Vin de la Brie.

Pyrard, I think, is mistaken as to the number of *Engenhos* in Madeira. The cultivation of the cane in that island certainly diminished rather than increased in the course of a century from his time, and there were many more *Engenhos* than he states when the *Historia Insulana* was written. Cordeyro has not specified how many, but he mentions so many as to establish the fact.

The sugar from the Rio was packed in skins at this time: "seroins, (*surroens*) or skins of sugar," are spoken of in the evidence on Quelch's trial for piracy, 1704. *Howell's State Trials, Vol. 14, p. 1076.* This was owing to the intercourse with the Plata. It came in chests from Pernambuco.

CHAP. their way to Bahia, a distance of more than thirty leagues, with-  
 XXX. out entering the open sea. But on the other hand, heavy dews  
 and almost incessant rain, render it an unhealthy and unplea-  
 sant country. There is scarcely any distinction of seasons ; the  
 trees bear flowers and fruit in all stages of its progress at the  
 same time, for this cause, that the temperature of winter is  
 never cold enough to check vegetation, nor has the summer  
 influence to call forth its full force. The perpetual moisture  
 occasions aguish diseases ; and yet if there happen to be a fort-  
 night of sunshine, the clayey soil parches and cracks, and fine  
 weather becomes a serious calamity.

*Manoel Fer-  
 reira da Ca-  
 mara.  
 Mem. Eco-  
 nom. da  
 Academic.  
 T. 1. p. 305.  
 308.*

*Porto Se-  
 guro.*

*Papel Forte.*

*ravaged by  
 the savages.*

Porto Seguro had fifty inhabitants during the Dutch war ; no  
 soldiers, no fortifications ; but it had three Indian villages. There  
 were also some forty Portuguese at the Rio das Caravelhas, a  
 place where cowries were shipt for Angola. These estimates  
 were made to show the weakness of Brazil, and how compleatly  
 it lay at the mercy of any bold invader, . . the numbers there-  
 fore would generally be computed at the lowest point. Cabral  
 had given Porto Seguro its name from the goodness of its har-  
 bour, which at that time admitted ships fit for the Indian voy-  
 age ; . . the harbours upon the coast were gradually filling up, and  
 it would now admit small craft only. A town had been founded  
 on the river Insuasema, but in 1664, it was abandoned on account  
 of the Aymores. There were in this part of the country some  
 Tupinambas and Tamoyos, . . the remains of those formidable  
 nations with whom the French were formerly allied, and whom  
 the Portuguese had subdued more by the influence of the Je-  
 suits, than by force of arms. These tribes had been enemies  
 to the Aymores, as being invaders of their country, but they  
 joined them now in resentment for the ill treatment which they  
 had long endured. The Tupiniquins, the most docile and faith-  
 ful of all the Brazilian tribes, stood by the Portuguese ; . . but

even with these allies they were far inferior in number, and a severe vengeance was exacted for old wrongs. The towns of S. Cruz and S. Amaro were totally destroyed; and the greater part of the inhabitants of Porto Seguro were surprized at mass on Good Friday, and massacred by the Aymores. The savages were afterwards driven into the interior, and the small pox made a great mortality among them; but the Captaincy had not recovered a century afterwards.

CHAP.  
XXX.

*Jaboatam.*  
69—70.  
20.

Espirito Santo had five hundred Portugueze in its district, and four Indian villages. During the war it was protected by a small fort, with a garrison of twenty-four men; its defences were afterwards greatly improved, and it was spoken of in the middle of the following century, as one of the good towns of Brazil, both for strength and prosperity. Between this place and the Rio, was a track of rich country, which, though level as the sea, is compared to the Elysian Fields for beauty. This country which is about an hundred miles in length, was called the Campos dos Goaitacazes, from three tribes who possessed it, the Goaitacaza Guazu, or Great Goaitacazes, and the Jacorites, and Mopis, each of whom prefixed to this distinguishing name, the generic one of the tribe from which they had separated. These, though originally one people, were always at war, and such was the deadly hatred which they bore to each other, that they would endeavour to dig up each other's dead, for the sake of gratifying this malignant passion, by breaking the skulls of their senseless enemies. The bones of those whom they had eaten, were laid up in piles before their houses, and the rank and estimation of a family was in proportion to the size of its heap. Some of the Goaitacaza Guazus in the interior had a different and even more frightful fashion. When F. Joam d'Almeida went among them, he found at the entrance of one of their woods, the whole skeleton of a man from which the flesh had recently been cut, placed

*Espirito Santo.*  
*Papel Forte.*

*Jaboatam.*

*Campos dos Goaitacazes.*

CHAP. against the foot of a tree ; . . it was their custom thus to treat  
XXX. their prisoners, that others might be deterred from attacking  
them. They were a tall and large-limbed race, of clearer  
colour than most of the coast tribes, and speaking a different  
language : . . perhaps they were of the same stock as the Ay-  
mores. Their huts, or nests were curiously inconvenient, being  
elevated like pigeon houses upon a single pole, very small, and  
the door so low that they could only enter by creeping ; it was  
without hammock or accommodations of any kind, unless it were  
a heap of leaves upon which they slept. Their weapon was the  
bow and arrow, which they pointed with shark's teeth, and  
for this purpose they made war upon the sharks with great  
courage and dexterity ; they went into the sea with a truncheon  
in the hand, sharpened at both ends, and tempting the shark  
into water of a convenient depth for their manoeuvres, they  
waited his attack, thrust the stick into his mouth when he dart-  
ed to make his bite, and having thus effectually gagged him,  
drew him aground. The only superstition which the Portu-  
guese observed among them was the singular one, that though  
there were running streams, and fine lakes of fresh water in their  
country, they never drank of them, but used the filtered water  
collected in pits which they dug with much labour in the shore.  
They subsisted chiefly, if not entirely upon flesh and fish, which  
they laid upon the coals, and ate as soon as it was hot, careless  
whether it were raw within. A great destruction was made of  
them in 1630, for an act of which they were innocent. A ship  
bound for the Rio had been stranded upon their coast, and the  
crew fearing with good reason to trust themselves on shore, took  
to their boats and escaped. The ship went to pieces ; the  
Indians of Cabo Frio on one side, and those of the Aldea Rire-  
tiba on the other, heard of the wreck, and hastened to save the  
men and the property. They found the Goaitacazes on the

shore, and seeing none of the crew, concluded at once that they had been killed and eaten; upon which, giving full scope to those old inclinations which their ghostly fathers had not eradicated, they fell upon them and put them all to death, and proceeding to their villages, killed every man, woman and child whom they could find, so that the nation was thought to be extirpated.

There was a settlement at Cabo Frio, which bore the name of city, . . . one of the many abortive ones of the new world. When the *Papel Forte* was written, it had a fort without men, some dozen Portuguese inhabitants, and one Indian village. The population of Rio de Janeiro at the same time, is stated at two thousand five hundred, with a garrison of about six hundred. In this respect it approached nearly to Bahia, but the city was very inferior <sup>24</sup> in beauty, and habitations were more thinly <sup>25</sup> scattered in the adjoining country, than in the elder

CHAP.  
XXX.

*Sim. de  
Vasc. Vida  
d'Almeida.*  
4. 11. § 2. 5.  
4. 12. § 1. 2.  
4. 14. § 7.  
*Jaboatam.*  
§ 21.

*Cabo Frio.*

*Population  
of the Rio.*

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<sup>24</sup> Fleckno describes it in 1648. It was originally built on the hill where the Jesuits' College stood, "as the ruins of houses and the great church yet remaining testify, till for the commodity of traffic and portation of merchandize 'twas by degrees reduced into the plain; their buildings being but low, and streets not above three or four, the principal regarding the haven." p. 67. One of the first inquiries instituted by the present King of Portugal on his arrival in Brazil was concerning the insalubrity of this city, and the means of remedying it. A report upon this interesting subject was accordingly published by Manoel Vieira da Silva, (1808) and one of the things which he advises is, that as the city increases, the new buildings should be erected upon the high ground, and not in the marsh, which had so unhappily been preferred in the seventeenth century. *Reflexoens, &c.* p. 10.

As early as Fleckno's time it was briefly called the Rio, having lost its name of S. Sebastians, to which convenient change the vicinity of the Ilha de S. Sebastians perhaps contributed. In the printed account of Quelch's trial, the name is written Ragineer.

<sup>25</sup> In Pernambuco, as has been stated, the parishes were ten or twelve miles apart; here solitary farms were one or two days' journey. "Along the coast," says Fleckno, (p. 78) "in that track which the Portugals have made to travel by

CHAP. Captaincy of Pernambuco. It was however rapidly advancing  
 XXX. in wealth and enterprise; and its fortunate position with rela-  
 tion to the mines, the long search for which was now on the  
 point of being amply rewarded, soon rendered it the most im-  
 portant city in Brazil. Ilha Grande, and the Isle of St. Sebas-  
 tian, had in the middle of the century about one hundred and  
 fifty inhabitants each; Santos had two hundred. These places  
 were without troops or fortifications of any kind. S. Paulo is  
 said to have contained seven hundred inhabitants at this time;  
 but the surrounding country must have been well peopled, or it  
 could not have sent forth those bands of adventurers who carried  
 devastation into Paraguay, and explored the centre of that great  
 continent. Had there been men among the Paulistas to record  
 their adventures, as there were among their contemporaries of  
 kindred spirit, the Buccaneers, we should possess ample accounts  
 of extensive regions which remain even to this day unknown.  
 Sixty of these intrepid freebooters, with Antonio Raposo for  
 their captain, and a party of natives, made their way to the  
 province of Quito, and did not retreat till they had sustained  
 several actions with the Spaniards; they then retired to the  
 Orellana, or more probably to one of its remoter tributaries,  
 and having constructed rafts, trusted themselves to the stream,  
 and reached Curupa, where the remnant of the party astonished  
 the Portugueze by their arrival a few years after Teixeira's  
 voyage. Knowing that gold existed in the land, for samples  
 of it lay under their feet<sup>26</sup> in their own city, they were inde-

*Ilha Grande.*  
*Ilha de S.*  
*Sebastian.*

*Santos.*

*S. Paulo.*

*Papel Forte.*

*A party of*  
*Paulistas*  
*reach Quito.*

*Berredo, §*  
*956—7.*

*Mawe's*  
*Travels, p.*  
*67.*

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land from place to place, you fail not every second day at most to find some  
 Ross (*roça*) or country farm of the Portugueze, where for your money you are  
 well accommodated with all sorts of pullen and fruit."

"The material with which the streets of S. Paulo are paved, is lamillary



fatigable in seeking it, far and near. Where they thought the ground promising, they dug about three or four feet deep, at which depth the *cascalho* is usually found, . . . a compost of earthy matter and gravel; if this lay upon a bluish soil, they considered their labour as lost; the substratum which they wished to find, was yellow, soft and soapy; their theory was, that by the operation of the sun, this was gradually dried, hardened and aurified, the metal as it ripened separating into grains and dust. The *cascalho* from such ground was placed in a canoe, or box of some such shape, with a large hole at either end; this they fastened lengthways in some running stream, and there stirred the rubbish; the earth was carried off by the water, and the particles of gold sunk with the heavier matter to the bottom. This was the method <sup>27</sup> of the earliest Brazilian miners; and their search had been so far successful, that in 1655, gold was coined in S. Vicente, and the ordinary currency in this part of Brazil was in this metal. The King had his fifths, and the adventurers sold the rest as they found it, or carried it to the mint to be coined.

CHAP.  
XXX.

Manner of  
searching  
for gold.

Sim. de  
Vasc. Fida  
d'Almeida,  
4. 4. § 11—  
13.

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grit stone, cemented by oxide of iron, and containing large pebbles of rounded quartz, approximating to the conglomerate. This pavement is an alluvial formation containing gold, many particles of which metal are found in the chinks and hollows after heavy rains, and at such seasons are diligently sought for by the poorer sort of people." *Mawe*, p. 67.

<sup>27</sup> A Paulista told Simam de Vasconcellos, that with twenty labourers, and in one search, he had collected about 700 *oitavas* in three months. Others had been equally fortunate. Vasconcellos says, that gold was found in all the mountain-streams between S. Paulo and the Alagoa dos Patos. Pyrard heard, in 1610, that some little had been found; "*vers la riviere de S. Vincent, il y a des mines d'or, qu'ils tachent à conquerir, et en tirent desja quelque chose.*" p. 143. And in 1648, Fleckno says a gold mine had lately been discovered in the territory of S. Paulo, and a vein of emeralds near Espiritu Santo.

CHAP. S. Vicente had two thousand inhabitants at this time; but  
 XXX. though the first discovery of gold, and the establishment of a  
 S. Vicente. mint made it flourish for awhile, this prosperity was of short  
 duration, and it fell rapidly to decay, in the beginning of  
 the next century, when greater discoveries of this kind drew  
 the population toward the interior. The vine succeeded here;  
 wheat was cultivated for the Rio market, and the people pre-  
 served their reputation for bacon, and hog-skin leather, . . . esteem-  
 ed better than any other for those magnificent chairs which were  
 then in fashion. To the south of S. Vicente, Vieyra only enu-  
 merates Cananea, with one hundred settlers, and some ten or  
 twelve Portugueze upon S. Catalina; . . . many attempts had  
 been made to form a settlement upon this delightful island,  
 but hitherto all had proved unsuccessful, and the Carijos were  
 still in possession of it.

Jaboatam, §  
 51.  
 Cananea.  
 Papet Forte.

Sim. de  
 Vasc. Vida  
 d'Almeida,  
 4, 9, § 1.

Trade of  
 strangers  
 with Brazil.

The population had as yet spread but little in the interior;  
 it took this direction when the mines were discovered, but till  
 that time trade was the ruling passion, and the settlements were  
 chiefly confined to the coast, and to the navigable streams which  
 afforded an easy communication with it. Strangers had been  
 prohibited<sup>28</sup> from trading here by Philip II. who extended to  
 Brazil the jealous monopoly which impeded the prosperity of  
 the Spanish colonies. The Braganzan government was for a  
 long time more liberal. Fleckno made a voyage to the Rio  
 for mere curiosity; the King gave him a free passage out and  
 home, and presented him with money also; and during his stay  
 of eight months he was entertained by the Jesuits with the most  
 benevolent hospitality, as a stranger whom the King had sent.

1648.

1699.

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<sup>28</sup> Pyrard says the prohibition was enacted "ten or twelve years ago,"  
 writing in 1610.

Dampier found an Englishman at Bahia, established there as a merchant in good repute, and having a patent as English Consul. But when gold in abundance was obtained by the short process of digging for it, both the government and the people were but too willing to neglect the slow and surer means of a healthier prosperity, and the ports of Brazil were closed against all foreigners.

CHAP.  
XXX.

An attempt was made toward the close of the seventeenth century, which had it been duly persevered in might have effected a curious change in commerce, and produced important benefit to Brazil. There prevailed an opinion that spices of the same kind as the East Indian had at one time grown in this country, and been extirpated by order of government, lest they should interfere with the Indian trade. If this act of unjust and barbarous policy were indeed committed<sup>29</sup>, the Portugueze had suffi-

*Attempt to  
introduce  
the culture  
of spices.*

<sup>29</sup> Vieyra's account is, that these plants were indigenous in the country, and that they were destroyed by Emanuel, who gave orders to eradicate them, and forbade their culture on pain of death: the ginger alone baffled his edict, . . . "*do qual se disse discretamente que escapara por se meter pela terra dentro, como raiz que he.*" *Cartas*, 2, 390, 268. Had they been indigenous it would have been impossible to eradicate them, and nugatory to prohibit their culture. Dr. Arruda states that they were brought from India under the Philips, . . . probably by some more curious or more enlightened individual, and afterwards extirpated for the reason which Vieyra assigns. A few cinnamon plants, Dr. Arruda adds, were preserved, notwithstanding the law, in Pernambuco, and cultivated in secret till this time. (*Discurso sobre utilidade da Instituicam de Jardins nas principaes Provincias do Brazil*. Rio Janeiro, 1810, p. 8) The edict, however, though very much in the spirit of the Philips, belongs either to Cardinal Henrique's reign, or to the latter years of Sebastian's; for the *Noticias de Brazil*, written in 1581, mention that ginger, which had been introduced from the Isle of S. Thomas, had been prohibited some time after the year 1573, as interfering with the Indian trade. (*See Vol. 1, p. 320.*) No other spice is mentioned in this most valuable manuscript. Pyrard says that ginger was marvellously abundant at Bahia, but

CHAP.  
XXX.

cient cause to repent it when the Indian empire was wrested from them by a stronger maritime power. So however it was believed to have been, and Vieyra advised Joam IV. again to introduce the plants, for if they could undersell the Dutch in an article of such value, it would destroy the very foundation of their power in the East. The King entirely approved the project, as perfectly feasible, and though slow in its effect, certain; but things were at that time in too precarious a state for putting it in execution, and Vieyra was charged to keep it secret till a fit time should arrive. That time Joam IV. did not live to see, and the project seemed to be buried with him. Several years afterwards our Charles II. observed, in conversation with the Portugueze Ambassador, that his brother in law, the King of Portugal, could ruin the Dutch if he pleased, without making war upon them; Charles did not chuse to explain himself, and the Ambassador communicated what had past to his brother Minister at Paris, Duarte<sup>30</sup> Ribeiro de Macedo, as a riddle which

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that the inhabitants were not allowed to dry the root, nor export it in any other form than that of a conserve, "*a cause que la grande quantite d'iceluy empescherait la vente de son poivre.*" P. 204, 139. That a writer so fully informed as the author of the Noticias should not have mentioned the extirpation of the spices, must in some degree weaken the credit of the tradition. Perhaps the plants in Pernambuco are the remains of Vieyra's experiment, which in all likelihood would be tried at Pernambuco as well as at Bahia. I have, however, met with a passage which refers them to an earlier origin. There was a tale current in the island of Guadaloupe, that one of the Dutchmen who came there with the outcasts from Brazil, brought with him a nutmeg plant, which flourished, and would soon have stocked the island, if another Dutchman, feeling like a true Hollander for the injury which would result to his country, had not rooted it up in the night and burnt it. Labat, who relates this story, (*Voyage aux Isles*, T. 4, 254,) says that he could not learn the history of the plant in Brazil, whether it were indigenous, or introduced by the Dutch. This latter supposition is impossible.

<sup>30</sup> Manoel Ferreira da Camara, in his Memoir upon the state of Ilheos,

he was unable to solve, and Duarte Ribeiro referred it to Vieyra, as the man who having been most in the confidence of Joam IV, was of all men most likely to understand it. Vieyra remembered the spices; his answer was transmitted to the Court, and the King immediately gave order that every ship which intended to touch at Brazil on its way from India, should bring out spice plants. For some time this was punctually obeyed; they were planted in a *Quinta*, or country residence belonging to the Jesuits, near Bahia, and two Canarins who understood the management both of cinnamon and pepper, were brought from Goa to attend to their culture. The Governor, Roque da Costa, was much interested in a plan which promised such beneficial consequences; and Vieyra, in his extreme old age, delighted to report to him the state of the plants and their increase. But Vieyra feared that care and perseverance would be wanting to go on with what had been so successfully begun, and the event verified his apprehensions. Succeeding Governors neglected it; there were no individuals of sufficient zeal or foresight to attend to this important object; and it was either forgotten or disregarded by the Court, which, when the mines were discovered, seems to have thought that no other source of prosperity could be wanting.

CHAP.  
XXX.

Vieyra Car-  
tas, 2, 268,  
382, 390.  
3, 314.

While the Paulistas were searching for mines, and in this pur-

State of the  
Engenho.

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quotes a manuscript of Duarte Ribeiro's, in which this story of Charles II. is related upon the authority of Lord Montague. Charles is said to have made the remark upon seeing a specimen of the Maranham cinnamon; holding such an opinion, it is likely that he would often allude to it. Vieyra's answer to Duarte Ribeiro is in the second volume of his Letters, p. 268. "*Esta, Senhor meo,*" he concludes, "*he a Pedra Filosofal em que cuido nos temos encontrado, tendo V. M. inferido esta consequencia de premissas tam remotas, como os ditos de El Rey de Inglaterra, e Grotius, ou havello eu proposto depois das noticias do Brazil, que entre os Antigos se referiam com sentimento, e hoje estaram ja quasi esquecidas.*"

CHAP. suit as well as in their slaving parties, exploring the interior with  
 XXX. indefatigable perseverance, the production of sugar was the chief  
 object to which the inhabitants of the coast applied themselves. An *Engenho* could not be well conducted unless artificers in every trade necessary for its concerns were attached to the establishment. Every *Engenho* therefore was a community or village in itself, more populous at this time than many of the towns which have been enumerated. About eight square miles were required for the service of an *Engenho*, half in pasture, half in thicket or woodland. A Donatory would give land to any persons who would settle on it and grow canes, which they were to carry to his mill for a fair price; and he would pay them for carrying wood there. In the large *Engenhos* from <sup>3</sup> fifty to an hundred negroes were employed. The black population in Bahia was so numerous that it is said a traveller might have supposed himself in Negroland. They were brought from India as well as Africa, and Negroes of any nation were preferred to the natives, not only as being robuster and more industrious, but because they had less temptation to make their escape, and were deterred by fear of the cannibal tribes from attempting it. Frezier guessed the proportion of the black <sup>32</sup> to the white in-

Manoel Fe-  
 lis da Lima,  
 MSS.

Pyrard,  
 203.

Frezier,  
 532.

Pyrard,  
 201.

Number of  
 Negroes.

<sup>31</sup> In Pernambuco, where the *Engenhos* are upon a smaller scale than in Bahia, Mr. Koster states the fair establishment to be forty able Negroes of both sexes, as many oxen, and as many horses. Manoel Feliz da Lima states it at an hundred Negroes; he had Bahia or the Rio in his mind, and perhaps includes all ages, whereas Mr. Koster reckons neither the old nor the young.

<sup>32</sup> One ship from Angola would bring out five or six hundred, and sometimes a thousand slaves! (*Vieyra, Sermoens, t. 6, p. 391.*) Vieyra says, (*Sermoens, t. 8, 522,*) that in Bahia alone 25,000 Negroes were catechized and instructed in the Ethiopic tongue, (by which the Angolan is meant,) besides the infinite number of those out of the city. The sermon in which he states this was preached after his last return to Brazil, and before the year 1689. And this passage proves that the Negroes are not included in the estimates of the population given in the text.

habitants of Bahia as twenty to one, and certainly did not overrate it; it was greater there than in any other part of Brazil, because the *Engenhos* were much more numerous, and upon a larger scale. He speaks with indignation of having seen the miserable Negroes exposed for sale in warehouses, stark naked, to be handled like beasts, purchased like beasts, worked like beasts, and he might have added, treated more inhumanly than beasts; . . . for in the treatment<sup>33</sup> of their slaves the Brazilians are said infinitely to have exceeded the English in cruelty. Would that the English, with whom this infamous comparison was made in the seventeenth century, were worthy to be compared at this time with the Brazilians for the treatment of their slaves, and the laws by which their deplorable situation is mitigated! Vieyra compares the lives of slaves in an *Engenho* to the sufferings of that Redeemer in whom he exhorted them to look for comfort; . . . bonds, stripes, wounds, and revilings; to be deprived of rest by night and day; to be stript, to be scourged, to be hungered, such he said were their sufferings; and if they endured them with pa-

CHAP.  
XXX.

Labat, *Isles de l'Amérique*, 2, 233.  
Cruel treatment of the slaves.

Sermoens, 5, 508.

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<sup>33</sup> "Presque tous ces malheureux sont traités par leurs maîtres, avec une cruauté tout-à-fait indigne des Chrétiens." (Dellon, 2, 183.) And of the Indian prisoners among the Portugueze, Dellon says, "la servitude affreuse à laquelle on les réduit, et les travaux excessifs que l'on leur impose, sont incomparablement plus terribles que la mort qu'ils font souffrir à leurs ennemis." P. 182. Labat, (*Isles*, 2, 233) observing that stomach-complaints and dropsies are common among the Negroes, says that they were especially so among those of Brazil; "peut-être que les mauvais traitemens qu'ils reçoivent de leurs maîtres, qui surpassent infiniment les Anglois en ce point-là, y peuvent contribuer beaucoup." But from whatever cause the diseases might arise, the remedy which the Portugueze adopted, according to his account, was to let the Negroes do with themselves what they would, and live upon what they could find; hunger made them fill themselves with the Acajou apple, which was most easily obtained, and was a specific in some of these complaints. "Je tiens ceci," says Labat, "de gens de probité qui ont demeuré long tems au Brazil."

CHAP.  
XXX.

tience, they would have the merit as well as the torments of martyrdom. Persons who had no lands to cultivate, bought slaves in order to live by their labour, and requiring from each a certain sum weekly, took no farther care of them, but let them provide for their own maintenance, and for their weekly poll-tax, as they could. If these wretches did not earn enough, as sometimes must have happened, or if they gambled away what they had acquired, (for they were greatly addicted to gaming,) they had recourse to robbery and murder; and though the magistrates punished such crimes with great severity, (being perhaps the only crimes which were punished at all,) they were so frequent that it was dangerous to pass the streets after night had closed. It is asserted that women of rank and character trained up their female slaves<sup>34</sup> for prostitution, for the sake of the profit obtained by thus employing them. The practices of our own Sugar Islands render credible this and every other abomination connected with slavery.

Dellon, 2,  
184.

Do. 190.

Dress and  
fashions of  
the Portu-  
guese.  
P. Gaspar  
Affonso  
Hist. Trag.  
Marit. 2,  
335.  
Puyard,  
205.  
Fleckno.

Rennefort,  
287.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the reduced Indians and the slaves appeared without the slightest clothing in the streets of Bahia. In the course of a few years the Brazilians corrected this indecency among their slaves, and drest them in a sort of frock, or made them at least cover their loins. The dress of the Portugueze in the great cities, toward the close of the same century, was much in the French fashion of that time, which generally prevailed in Europe, to the great injury of general taste, as well as the destruction of national costume.

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<sup>34</sup> " Je ne sçai si le libertinage est aussi grand par tout le Bresil, qu'il l'est dans la Ville de San Salvador. Les femmes les plus qualifiées, et celles qui passent pour avoir quelque vertu, n'y font point de scrupule de parer leurs esclaves avec beaucoup de soin, afin de les mettre en état de vendre plus cher les infames plaisirs bu'elles donnent; elles partagent ensuite le malheureux profit de la debauche de ces prostituées; en sorte que l'on peut dire avec justice, que la pudeur est presque entiere-ment bannie de cette ville, et que le vice y regne souverainement. Dellon, 2, 190.



Certain devotional appendages distinguished it here: a gentleman when he went abroad usually carried a rosary in his hand, and a little S. Antonio suspended from his neck or fastened on his breast, a long sword on one side and a long dagger on the other. Black was the prevailing colour; and in the form and fashion of the ordinary dress, there was no difference between the higher ranks and the artizans. The use of gold and silver lace was forbidden by a sumptuary law; so the Brazilians displayed their wealth in trinkets, and ornamented their Negresses with golden crosses, ear-rings and necklaces, and even plates of gold upon the forehead. The women were seldom seen abroad; it was only during Lent, and on the greater festivals, that they went to mass; and the women of rank are described as leaning, at such times, on their pages, lest they should fall, .. as if the fashion of indolence and seclusion had nearly bereft them of the use of their limbs in walking. Even the men in Bahia considered it derogatory to go afoot: the declivity on which the city was built was too steep for carriages, and they were too indolent or too stately to ride. The *serpentine*<sup>35</sup> therefore was used, a ham-

CHAP.  
XXX.

Frezier,  
534.  
Do. 538.

Val. Lucie  
deno.  
See page  
103.

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<sup>35</sup> "The gentry of Europe," says Vieyra, (*Sermoens*, 8, 436,) "go in litters and in coaches; those of Asia in palanquins; those of America in serpentines; and these two inventions are for going more easily and more comfortably to Hell. In Europe they go sitting, in Asia and America reclined and lying down; in Europe they are drawn by animals, in Asia and America carried upon shoulders of men, who, being burdened with captivity, violence, and oppressions, carry them more easily and deservedly to Hell, whither they are going." A difference between the palanquin and the serpentine is here distinctly marked. The latter, as now used in Pernambuco, (whether it retains its name I am doubtful,) is prettily represented in one of the prints in Mr. Koster's Travels: nothing can be more simple; the hammock is suspended from a straight pole, and a coverlet is thrown over the pole, so as to hang down on both sides; shade being all that is now required, and not concealment.

CHAP. XXX. moc suspended from a pole, in which the Cavalier reclined with one foot hanging carelessly over the side, and his head supported upon a splendid cushion. The bearers carried each a strong staff, having at one end a sharp iron whereby to fix it in the ground, and an iron fork at the other, like the rest for a match-lock; and thus, when there was no change of bearers, they relieved themselves. A slave attended with a parasol: but the women were shaded at once from sun and sight by a close canopy of rich texture; two Negresses walked beside to help them up, and put on their *chopins*, or high shoes, when they got out. The curtains, which were first devised for jealousy, and used by women alone, were subsequently adopted by the men also, for convenience.

Frezier,  
521.

Dampier,  
3-60.

Fieclmo, 77.

Jealousy.

The seclusion in which the women lived may be traced to Moorish manners, relics of which still existed in the mother country as well as in the colonies. A married woman never appeared at her husband's table in the presence of a guest, unless it were her father or her brother. Habits of such hateful and dissocializing jealousy presuppose a strong inclination to licentiousness, and certainly tend to excite it: but it is to the last degree improbable that the married women (as has been asserted) should be generally dissolute, in a country where discovery would be followed by almost certain death;.. such accusations are libellous to human nature; and here they seem particularly absurd: for on such occasions it was deemed meritorious in the husband to <sup>36</sup> murder his wife, and there was nothing to deter

Frequent  
assassina-  
tions.

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<sup>36</sup> Frezier says that more than thirty women had been thus murdered at Bahia in one year. (531.) There can be but little doubt that where adultery was an admitted justification for murder, it would frequently be made the pretext. Such an opinion, indeed, would place every woman's life at the mercy of her husband. But when Frezier accuses the Brazilian women of general and un-

him from so doing. Criminal law seems only to have existed for the slaves; and in all cases of jealousy or offended pride, assassination was the resort. When Vieyra employed his influence in behalf of Antonio de Brito, instead of resting upon the argument, that Brito was justified by the law of self defence in killing a man who intended to kill him, (which he asserts,) he defends him by the laws of honour and the world, and quotes the conduct of Joam II. on such occasions, calling him that most prudent Prince, who so regularly spared men for murders of this kind, that it became a proverbial saying, "Kill, for the King pardons." The Government rarely, or never punished such crimes, and even when the intention of committing them was publicly known, found it impossible to protect the intended victim. A Frenchman who had for some years practised as physician at Bahia, was called in by a widow to her daughter, who was young, beautiful, and rich. He had the good fortune not only to cure his patient, but to marry her with the mother's entire approbation; a match so disparaging, that the relatives of the family were not apprized of it till it had been compleated. They were exceedingly indignant, and a gentleman who had married the bride's elder sister, collected a party of his friends, attacked the physician's house in the night, broke in, and with his own hand murdered an unlucky guest whom he supposed to be the husband, and who had attempted to conceal himself. The Frenchman escaped, and obtained a guard from the magistrates for his protection; but it

CHAP.  
XXX.

Cartas, 2.  
349.

p 582.

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bridled licentiousness, and says that a daughter who had been seduced was usually punished by being turned out of doors, that she might become a common prostitute, he is entitled to no belief: still less in representing the mothers as universally conniving at and encouraging the intrigues of their daughters. (532.) I can have no hesitation in qualifying this as a foul and infamous calumny.

CHAP. was thought so certain that the attempt would be repeated, and  
 XXX. so impossible that he should elude the determined vengeance of  
 the family, that he was advised to sail for Portugal, and obtain  
 the Prince's permission for his wife to follow him with her effects;  
 nor could the guards venture to leave him till the ship in which  
 he embarked was actually under sail.

Dellon, 2,  
193.

Corruption  
of manners.

F. Manoel do Salvador describes the state of Olinda before  
 the conquest as lawless, or worse than lawless, the courts of  
 justice being so scandalously corrupt<sup>37</sup>, that they scarcely pre-  
 served even a semblance of decency in their decisions; any  
 punishment might be evaded by means of money; concubinage  
 and adultery were not only common, but public sins; quarrels  
 which terminated in death were daily occurrences, and thefts  
 and robberies were committed without pulling the hood over  
 the face. The Governors were always charged in their instruc-  
 tions to take care that the lives of the Portugueze should be  
 such as might tend by force of example to convert the heathen:  
 and in the same ships which convey these Governors, says  
 Vieyra, the settlers who are sent out are criminals taken from  
 the dungeon, and perhaps put on board in irons: . . . these per-  
 sons<sup>38</sup>, banished for their good deeds, and perhaps branded for  
 them, are the saints who are ordered here, that by their example  
 Christianity may be extended! The train of hungry depen-  
 dents who accompanied a Governor were perhaps more preju-

Valeroso  
Lucideno,  
p. 8—9.

Sermoens,  
A. 533.

<sup>37</sup> The wands of office, he says, bent double if four chests of sugar were placed upon them. "*Os ministros da justiça, como traziam as varas mui delgadas, como lhe punham os delinquentes nas pontas quatro caxas de assucar, logo dobravam; e assi era a justiça de compadres.*" P. 9.

<sup>38</sup> Of this also Adrian Duss complains from Pernambuco. "*Familiare hoc Hispanis, a quibus transmissa istiusmodi hominum perditorum fex, progeniem vitiosorem tulit.*" Barlaeus 125.

dicial to the community than even these convicts. Vieyra, in his usual strain of indignant satire, says that the sucking fish must have learnt their way of life since the Portuguese navigated the ocean, for every Viceroy and Governor who embarked for the colonies was surrounded with such hangers-on. It is indeed apparent, that the men in office were equally rapacious and corrupt; there were some splendid exceptions, but in general the principle of morality was to the last degree relaxed, and the principle of honour in private life seems to have been debased by punctilios, and perverted till it became a motive or a pretext for the blackest crimes. Thus the administration of justice, which in Portugal was infamously bad, became worse in Brazil, the evil being increased by the difficulties and delays in appealing to a tribunal on the other side of the Atlantic.

CHAP.  
XXX.

Sermoens,  
2, 233.

Vieyra,  
Cartas, 2,  
329.

To counteract the corruption of morals which so many causes concurred in producing, there was a religious establishment richly endowed, and maintaining unbounded dominion over the minds of the people, as far as related to points of faith and outward observances. But it was the religion of the Romish Church, which contents itself with the husk of superstitious ceremonies and the chaff of superstitious works, and supports its empire by the boldest arts of impudent imposture. The tricks by which Joam Fernandes persuaded the Pernambucans that the Saints had actually engaged in their behalf, were borrowed from the practices of a Church, which from the earliest ages of its history to the present day, has systematically juggled with the credulity of mankind. The monastic orders vied with each other in inventing fables, to exaggerate the merits of their respective Founders and Saints; and the wildest fictions of romance are not more monstrous than these legends, which were believed by the people, approved by the Inquisition, and ratified by the Church. It

Superstition.

Fraud of  
the priests.

CHAP. would be impossible to say which Order has exceeded the others  
 XXX. in Europe in this rivalry, each having carried the audacity of  
 falsehood to its utmost bounds : but in Brazil the Jesuits bore the  
 palm. The hostile Orders opposed with virulent animosity their  
 exertions in behalf of the Indians, and hated them as much for  
 their zeal as for their superior influence ; but they were unable to  
 rival them in reputation : few of their members made any pre-  
 tensions to sanctity, or even decency of life, and the Jesuits had  
 the field of honour to themselves. They made a full use of their  
 advantage. The murder of Azevedo and his companions gave  
 them at once a whole company of martyrs, who were canonized  
 without delay in consequence of the peculiar circumstances of  
 their death. In the latter part of the ensuing century, Anchieta  
 was made a candidate for Saintship ; and Simam de Vasconcel-  
 los, the Provincial of Brazil and historian of the Province, wrote  
 a history or rather a romance of his life, in which his wisdom as  
 a missionary, his labour in acquiring and methodizing a barbar-  
 ous language, and his abilities and services as a statesman, form  
 the least part of the narrative, and are regarded by the biogra-  
 pher as the least important : miracles make up the bulk of the  
 book. Some, says Vasconcellos, have called him the second  
 Thaumaturgos, others the second Adam, and this is the fitter  
 title ; because it was expedient that as there had been an Adam  
 in the Old World there should be one in the New, to be the head  
 of all its inhabitants, and have authority over the elements and  
 animals of America such as the first Adam possessed in Paradise.  
 There were therefore in Anchieta all the powers and graces with  
 which the first Adam had been endowed, and he enjoyed them  
 not merely for a time, but during his whole life ; and for this  
 reason, like our common father, he was born with innocence, im-  
 passibility, an enlightened mind, and a right will. Dominion  
 was given him over the elements and all that dwell therein. The

Vol 1, p.  
309.

Miracles  
attributed to  
Anchieta.

earth brought forth fruit at his command, and even gave up the dead that they might be restored to life and receive baptism from his hand. The birds of the air formed a canopy over his head to shade him from the sun. The fish came into the net when he required them. The wild beasts of the forest attended upon him in his journeys, and served him as an escort. The winds and waves obeyed his voice. The fire, at his pleasure, undid the mischief which it had done, so that bread which had been burnt to a coal in the oven, was drawn out white and soft by his interference. He had authority over man in all his parts, in his head, in his eyes, in his mouth, in his teeth; in his throat, in his breast, in his sides, in his entrails; in his hands and his feet; in his worldly fortunes, in his health, in his life, and in his soul. He could read the secrets of the heart. The knowledge of hidden things and sciences was imparted to him, and he enjoyed daily and hourly extacies, visions, and revelations. He was a Saint, a Prophet, a Worker of Miracles, a Vice-Christ; yet such was his humility that he called himself a vile mortal, and an ignorant sinner. His barret-cap was a cure for all diseases of the head; any one of his cilices, or any part of his dress, was an efficacious remedy against impure thoughts. Water poured over one of his bones worked more than two hundred miracles in Pernambuco, more than a thousand in the south of Brazil; and a few drops of it turned water into wine, as at the marriage in Galilee. Some of his miracles are commended as being more fanciful, and in a more elegant taste than those which are recorded in the Scriptures. Finally, as a Bishop said, the Company was a gold ring, and Anchieta was its gem. The book in which these assertions are made, and which is stuffed with examples of every kind of miracle, was licensed by the various censors of the press at Lisbon, one of whom declares that as long as the publication should be

CHAP.  
 XXX.

CHAP. delayed, so long would the faithful be deprived of great benefit,  
 XXX. and God himself of glory!

*Life of F.  
 Joam d'Almeida.*

The same author who has collected and attested all the fables which credulity and ignorance had propagated concerning Anchieta, has produced a far more extraordinary history of F. Joam d'Almeida, his successor in sanctity. It was written immediately after Almeida's death, when the circumstances of his life were fresh in remembrance, and too soon for the embellishments of machinery to be interwoven. This remarkable person, whose name appears originally to have been John Martin, was an Englishman, born in London during the reign of Elizabeth. In the tenth year of his age he was kidnapped by a Portuguese merchant, apparently for the purpose of preserving him in the Catholic faith; and this merchant, seven years afterwards, took him to Brazil, where, being placed under the care of the Jesuits, he entered the Company. Anchieta was his superior, then an old man, broken down with exertion and austerities, and subject to frequent faintings. Almeida used to rub his feet at such times, in reference to which he was accustomed to say, that whatever virtue there might be in his hands, he had taken it from the feet of his master. No voluptuary ever invented so many devices for pampering the senses, as Joam d'Almeida for mortifying them. He looked upon his body as a rebellious slave, who dwelling within his doors, eating at his table, and sleeping in his bed, was continually laying snares for his destruction; therefore he regarded it with the deepest hatred, and as a matter of justice and self defence, persecuted, flogged, and punished it in every imaginable way. For this purpose he had a choice assortment of scourges, some of whip-cord, some of cat-gut, some of leathern thongs, and some of wire. He had cilices of wire for his arms, thighs, and legs, one which fastened round the body with seven chains, and another which he called his

1593.

7. 3. § 2.

8. 8. § 8.



good sack, which was an under-waistcoat of the roughest horse hair, having on the inside seven crosses made of iron, the surface of which was covered with sharp points like a coarse rasp or a nutmeg-grater. Such was the whole armour of righteousness in which this soldier of Christ clad himself for his battles with the infernal enemy. It is recorded among his other virtues, that he never disturbed the mosquitos and fleas when they covered him; that whatever exercise he might take in that hot climate, he never changed his shirt more than once a week; and that on his journeys he put pebbles or grains of maize in his shoes.

CHAP.  
XXX.

3. 8. § 3.

3. 10. § 34.

3. 7. § 7.

His daily course of life was regulated in conformity to a paper drawn up by himself, wherein he promised to eat nothing on Mondays in honour of the Trinity, to wear one of his cilices, according to the disposition and strength of the poor beast, as he called his body, and to accompany it with the customary fly-flapping of his four scourges, in love, reverence, and remembrance of the stripes which our Saviour had suffered for his sake. On Tuesdays his food was to be bread and water with the same desert, to the praise and glory of the Archangel Michael, his Guardian Angel, and all other Angels. Wednesdays he relaxed so far as only to follow the rule of the Company. On Thursdays he ate nothing, in honour of the Holy Ghost, the most Holy Sacrament, St. Ignatius Loyola, the Apostles, and all Saints male and female. Fridays he was to bear in mind that the rules of his Order recommended fasting, and that he had forsworn wine, except in cases of necessity. Saturday he abstained again from all food, in honour of the Virgin, and this abstinence was to be accompanied with whatever might be acceptable to her, whereby exercises of rigour as well as prayer were implied. On Sundays, as on Wednesdays, he observed the rules of the Community. For his private devotions he used to pray three hours every day to the Trinity, the Sacrament, our Saviour, and the

3. 9.

CHAP. Virgin Mary. "These prayers," says he, "I perform in an ima-  
 XXX.  
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 ginary Oratory, fitted up in my heart, which I make use of night
 and day, wherever I may be, by sea or by land, in the wilder-
 ness or in the inhabited place. This Oratory is divided into
 three parts or altars; in the front that of the Trinity, on the left
 the *Custodia* with the Holy Sacrament, and on the right the
 Holy Virgin with St. Joseph, holding our Lord between them
 each by one hand. Here I and my Soul, with all my powers,
 memory, understanding, and will, kneel down with my face to
 the earth, and make my prayers, kissing the feet of each with
 the mouth of my soul, and of this sinful body, repeatedly ex-
 claiming Jesus, Maria, José, and at the end of each exclamation,
 Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost,
 and to the Virgin Mary, . . . an addition which he always silently
 made to the Doxology. Frequently, he says, he was unable to
 rise, or kneel, or stand, doubtless from the state of debility and
 disease which such a mode of life must have induced; and this I
 do, he continues, lying like a dead beast, covered with vermin,
 stenching and pestilential, as well as I can, and as well as this
 black carcass will permit, which troubles me, and of which I am
 ashamed, and for which I ask pardon." The great object of his
 most thankful meditations was to think, that having been born
 in ³⁹ England and in London, in the very seat and heat of heresy,
 he had been led to this happy way of life!

In this extraordinary course of self-torment F. Joam d'Almeida
 attained the great age of fourscore and two. When he was far
 advanced in years, his cilices and scourges were taken from him
 lest they should accelerate his death; but from that time he was

³⁹ On one side of his portrait is the figure of England, on the other that of
 Brazil, and under them these words: *hinc Anglus; hinc Angelus.*

observed to lose strength, as if his constitution were injured by the change; . . . such practices were become necessary to him, like a perpetual blister, without which the bodily system, having been long accustomed to it, could not continue its functions. He used to entreat others for the love of God to lend him a cilice or a whip, exclaiming, What means have I now wherewith to appease the Lord! What shall I do to be saved! . . . Such are the works which a corrupt Church has substituted for faith in Christ, and for the duties of genuine Christianity. Nor must this be considered as a mere case of individual madness; while Almeida lived he was an object of reverence and admiration, not only to the common people in Rio de Janeiro, but to persons of all ranks; his excesses were in the spirit of his religion, and they were recorded after his death for edification and example, under the sanction of the Superiors of an Order which at that time held the first rank in the estimation of the Catholic world. During his last illness the Convent was crowded with persons who were desirous to behold the death of a Saint. Nothing else was talked of in the city, and persons accosted each other with condolences as for some public calamity. Solicitations were made thus early for scraps of his writing, rags of his garments or cilices, . . . any thing which had belonged to him, . . . and the porter was fully employed in receiving and delivering beads, cloths, and other things which devout persons sent that they might be applied to the body of the dying Saint, and imbibe from it a healing virtue. He was bled during his illness, and every drop of the blood was carefully received upon cloths, which were divided as relics among those who had most interest in the College. When the bell of the College announced his death, the whole city was as greatly agitated as if the alarm of an invasion had been given. The Governor, the Bishop-Administrator, the Magistrates, Nobles, Clergy, and Religioners of every Order, and the whole people, hastened to his funeral. Every shop

CHAP
XXX.

7. 3. § 6.

Sept. 24,
1653.

s. 1. § 5. 6.

CHAP. was shut. Even the cripples and the sick were carried to the
 XXX. ceremony. Another person died at the same time, and it was
 with great difficulty that men could be found to bear the body to
 8. 2. § 2. the grave.

During the service the body was exposed in the middle of the church with its face toward the spectators, as was customary at the funeral of a priest; but when the ceremony was over, and they were about to inter the corpse, a cry arose that it should not be removed till the people had taken their leave of it. The chief persons, ecclesiastical and civil, then kissed its hands and embraced the body; the nobles and the people did the same, and the Governor found it necessary to place a strong guard while this was done, to protect the garments and even the body of the dead from the rapacious zeal of his admirers. The ceremony was performed at eight in the morning, and this continued till night closed. Men and women crowded to touch the body with medals, rosaries and cloths, and mothers brought their children to be sanctified in the same manner. More than four thousand articles were touched upon the dead saint; and two of the Company who were stationed to receive these things, and apply them for those who could not approach near enough to do it themselves, were at length exhausted with fatigue. The true odour of sanctity was distinctly perceived during these operations, and one person made oath, that while he was praying before the corpse, he saw it open its eyes. The guards could not prevent some pious pilferers from enriching themselves, some with a clove or flower from the bier, others from snipping pieces of his habit; one of his shoes was stolen, and when the body was removed, the pillow disappeared upon which the head had been raised. At length the corpse was placed in its trunk-shaped coffin, and the coffin deposited in the grave, and filled with lime. But at midnight some thieves of the house,

as Vasconcellos calls them, opened the grave, removed the lime, took out the body, cut off the hair close with a razor, secured the remaining shoe and the stockings, and leaving no more of the other clothes than according to their sense of decency was indispensable, re-interred the dead, and retired "rich with the spoils of this audacious, but pious and fortunate robbery." An official statement of the proceedings of the day was drawn up, to be a perpetual memorial; and the admiration of the Brazilians for F. Joam d'Almeida was so great, especially in Rio de Janeiro, that they used his relics in diseases, with as much faith as if he had been canonized, and with as much success; and for a while they invoked no other Saint, as if they had forgotten their former objects of devotion!

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8. 2. § 4. 8.
8. 3. § 1.

Such were the ⁴⁰ extravagancies to which the Catholic superstition was carried in Brazil. For the self-government which divine philosophy requires, it had substituted a system of self-torture, founded upon Manicheism, and not less shocking to the feelings or repugnant to reason, than the practices of the eastern Yogues. Its notions of exaggerated purity led to the most impure ⁴¹ imaginations and pernicious consequences: its abhor-

Corruption
of Christian-
ity.

⁴⁰ A Portugueze regarded F. Joam Lobato, who was a contemporary of Almeida's, with such reverence, that he erected a chapel to him while he was yet living, and prayed to him by the appellation of S. Joam, suppressing his other name; an act, it is said, of excessive devotion, and rash, .. but pious. *Vida d'Almeida*, 2, 5, § 6.

⁴¹ "Sed quibus ego jam verbis, quâ te voce commendem, Almeida, in pudicitia retinendâ laudabiliter pertinacem? Homo erat Almeida, Auditores amplissimi, a quo nihil est humani alienum; titillantem insidiosè cupidinem aliquando in præcordiis persentiscebatur. Verùm quid acerrimus continentia propugnator? Renuere? Gemere? Detestari? Nihil hoc; aliâ ratione illecebrosas insidias declinabat. Quid agebat? Exprompto flagello crudeliter in se ipse desæviabat? Hirto cilicio confecta ærumnis membra decoquebat? Parum adhuc: ad majora supplicia se

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rence of luxury was manifested by habitual filth, and in actions unutterably ⁴² loathsome; and let the Romish Church appeal to its Canons and Councils as it may, its practices were those of Polytheism and Idolatry. Nevertheless the essentials of religion could not be wholly destroyed. Notwithstanding the errors of popular belief, and the villainous impostures of the Romish clergy, that regeneration which nothing but Christianity can effect was not unfrequently accomplished; the sinner sometimes turned away from his iniquity; nor can it be doubted but that the peace of God was vouchsafed to the humble spirit and the broken heart which sought fervently and sincerely for consolation and forgiveness through faith. Charity toward the poor may also be men-

damnabat. Quid agebat? Horrentia sese implicabat in dumeta? Hiemales precipitabat in nives? Adhuc non multum; immanior in se erat. Quid agebat? Anreptâ forfice, Deus immortalis! partes corporis delicatiores inhumanus sui carnifex minutatim resecebat. O rem anteactis sæculis inauditam, venturis nunquam satis decantandam! In se irruit Almeida, bellator maximus, ne obruatur; se oppugnat, ne expugnetur: sibi manus admovet, ne det manus; se cædit, ne hosti cedat. Quam novum pugne genus! Quam beatum! O te fortem palestritam et unicum! Qui proprio sanguine, non oleo commadescis, ut in laborioso castitatis gymnasio adversarium eludas. Quam feliciter candidum in te puritatis lilium, non impudico inficiente cruore, sed pudico sanguine colorante, quem Divinus amor elicuit, puniceam purpurescit in rosam. Hinc inter rosas deliciosius quam inter lilia Divinum amorem pasci crediderim; siquidem dum lilium es, patitur hamatis illectricis voluptatis sentibus convulnerari, ut erubescens per vulnura pudicitiaæ cruentis in rosam." Incredible as such language must appear, it is literally transcribed from the oration in honour of the Venerable Father Joam d'Almeida, annexed to his Life by Vasconcellos! (P. 375.) It appears that Almeida had nearly lost his life by this act of madness, pois a mesma pureza que o obrigo do excesso, the impossibilitava o acudir aos remedios necessarios, 7. 10. § 3.

⁴² An achievement of Almeida's, *huma valentia* his biographer calls it, may be referred to, (2, 2, § 5) which is too filthy to be recited. It is compared to a still filthier exploit of Xavier; and indeed the Hagiology of this age abounds with such stories.

tioned as a general good, arising from a cause in other respects most mischievous: for alms being usually part of the penance imposed upon absolution, the poor were liberally assisted in their distress. Though there was no lack of idle hands in Brazil, it is said that none were so miserable as to be reduced to beg their food; and that even the poor who came from remote parts, or from other countries, found persons who supported them if they were unable to work. Rich families gave a general order, that all who came to their house for food should be supplied; and in this manner they entirely maintained many people, of whose names, numbers, and even existence, they were ignorant. The abundance of provisions rendered this charity inexpensive; it settled accounts with the Confessor, and was fashionable as well as convenient.

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There was no printing in Brazil, the Portugueze being in this point more illiberal than the Spanish government. It is therefore the more honourable to the character of the people that they should have written so much respecting public transactions, without hope of emolument or reputation, but from the pure desire of preserving as far as they could the knowledge which they had acquired, and leaving materials which might be found useful, and properly appreciated, by the few for whom they were designed. In compiling this history, when I have called to mind under what circumstances some of its documents were composed, I have thought of the men to whose disinterested labours I was beholden, with admiration, as well as with respect and gratitude.

*No printing
in Brazil.*

But though Brazil was in this circumstance less favoured than the Spanish colonies, it was far more fortunate in a point of the highest importance. The seeds of civil war had not been sown there by that wicked distinction of casts, which has produced so much evil in Spanish America, and must produce evil wherever it prevails. This was the result of necessity, . . . not of wiser coun-

*No distinc-
tion of Casts.*

CHAP. cils. Portugal, with its limited territory and scanty population,
 XXX. could not pursue the unjust and jealous policy of the Spaniards,
 and depress the Creoles for the sake of holding them more completely in subjection. The Mamaluco was as much respected, and as eligible to all offices, as the man of whole blood, or as the native of the mother country. There were no laws to degrade the Mulatto, or the free Negro, nor were they degraded by public opinion. And thus that amalgamation of casts and colours was silently going on which will secure Brazil from the most dreadful of all civil wars, whatever other convulsions it may be fated to undergo.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

CHAP. etc. Portugal, with its limited territory and scanty population, could not pursue the unjust and jealous policy of the Spaniards, and depress the Creoles for the sake of holding them more completely in subjection. The *Mameluca* was as much respected, and as eligible to all offices, as the man of whole blood, or as the native of the mother country. There were no laws to degrade the *Mulatto*, or the free Negro, nor were they degraded by public opinion. And thus that amalgamation of casts and colours was silently going on, which will secure Brazil from the most dreadful of all civil wars, whatever other convulsions it may be fated to undergo.

NOTES.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

NOTES.

1. *Tidings of the Revolution announced to Nassau, p. 1.*] There were persons in Holland who believed that the Portuguese Revolution was an act of refined policy on the part of Spain! The King of Spain, they said, finding himself incapable of defending Brazil and India, had concerted that Braganza should set up for King of Portugal, and in that character make peace with the Dutch; and so preserve the countries by stratagem which he was hopeless of preserving in war. A pamphlet was written to prove this by one whom Aitzema calls a sensible and learned man, notwithstanding the portentous absurdity of such a supposition. It obtained so much belief among the shallow and the ignorant, who are always the many, that the Portuguese Ambassador thought proper to complain of it as a libel upon his Master. *Aitzema, vol. 3, p. 103.*

It might appear incredible that so absurd an opinion should obtain currency, if we did not recollect that in France, and in many parts of the continent, Buonaparte is at this time generally believed to have been purposely let loose from Elba by the English!

2. *Reconquest of Maranham, p. 46.*] In the *Apoloogia da Companhia de Jesus, MS. (p. 118.)* it is said that the recovery of Maranham from the Dutch was owing in great part to the zeal, prudence, and exertions of Fathers Lopo do Couto and Bento Amadeo, both Jesuits, as was proved, the author says, by an authentic paper in their college at S. Luiz.

3. *Mauritz, p. 49.*] Sir William Temple relates a curious story of a Brazilian parrot, upon the authority of this Prince. (*Memoirs, vol. 1, p. 390.*) "When he came to visit me," says Temple, "upon my return, and before he went to his Government of Cleves, it came in my head to ask him an idle question, because I thought it not likely for me to see him again, and I had a mind to know from his own mouth the account of a common, but much credited story, that I had heard so often from many others, of an old Parrot he had in Brazil during his government there, that spoke, and asked and answered common questions like a reasonable creature; so that those of his train there generally concluded it to be witchery or possession, and one of his chaplains, who lived afterwards in Holland, would never from that time endure a Parrot, but said they all had a Devil in them. I had heard many particulars of this story, and assevered by people hard to be discredited, which made me ask Prince Maurice what there was in it? He said, with his usual plainness, and dryness of talk, there was something true, but a great deal false, of what had been reported. I desired to know of him what there was of the first: he told me short and coldly, that he had heard of such an old Parrot when he came first to Brazil; and though he believed nothing of it, and 'twas a good way off, yet he had so much curiosity as to send for it; that 'twas a very large and a very old one; and when it came first into the room where the Prince was, with a great many Dutchmen about him, it said present-

ly, What a company of white men are here! They asked what he thought that man was? pointing to the Prince. It answered, Some General or other. When they brought it close to him, he asked it, *D'où venez vous?* . . . From whence come you? It answered, *De Maranham.* . . . From Maranham. The Prince, *A qui estes vous?* . . . To whom do you belong? The Parrot, *A un Portugais.* . . . To a Portuguese. The Prince, *Que fais-tu là?* . . . What do you there? The Parrot, *Je garde les poulets.* . . . I look after the chickens. The Prince laughed and said, *Vous gardez les poulets?* . . . You look after the chickens? The Parrot answered, *Oui moy, et je le scay bien faire.* . . . Yes I, and I know how to do it well; and made the chuck four or five times that people use to make to chickens when they call them. I set down the words of this worthy dialogue in French, just as Prince Maurice said them to me. I asked him in what language the Parrot spoke? and he said, in Brazilian. I asked, whether he understood Brazilian? He said, no; but he had taken care to have two interpreters by him, one a Dutchman that spoke Brazilian, and t'other a Brazilian that spoke Dutch. That he asked them separately and privately, and both of them agreed in telling him just the same thing as the Parrot said. I could not but tell this odd story, because it is so much out of the way, and from the first hand, which may well pass for a good one; for I dare say, this Prince at least believed himself in all he told me, having ever passed for a very honest and pious man. I leave it to naturalists to reason, and to other men to believe as they please upon it."

Sir William Temple, in his *Treatise of Health and Long Life*, speaking of Jactation, says, "I remember an old Prince Maurice of Nassau, who had been accustomed to hammocks in Brazil, and used them frequently all his life after, upon the pains he suffered by the stone or gout; and thought he found ease and was allured to sleep by the constant motion or swinging of those airy beds, which was assisted by a servant, if they moved too little by the springs upon which they hung." *Vol. 1, 282.*

Mauritz had a most extraordinary escape in 1665. In crossing a wooden bridge at Franeker, with a large party of horsemen, the bridge broke and he fell into the water, which was five feet deep, his own horses upon him, and five men and horses over them. When he was taken out the people, seeing him fall on his knees, cried out, he cannot stand, his back is broken; . . . but he had knelt in the first impulse of his heart, thus publicly to bless God for his providential preserva-

tion. Aitzema has printed a letter which he wrote to his sister as soon as he was able to write: it shows him to have been a truly religious man. *Aitzema, vol. 5, p. 406.*

Mauritz lived to a great age. He fought under his kinsman William III, then Prince of Orange, at the battle of Seneffe, in 1674, and, as William told Sir William Temple, "with the greatest industry that could be sought all occasions of dying fairly in the battle, without succeeding, which had given him great regret. I did not wonder at it," Sir William adds, "considering his age of about seventy-six, and his long habits both of gout and stone." *Vol. 1, 390.*

Dr. Kinglake's treatment of the gout is well known; may not the application of hot water instead of cold, produce the same effect, without the same danger? An anecdote of this Prince which Sir William Temple relates would at least justify the experiment. It occurs in his *Essay upon the cure of that disease by Moxa.*

"Old Prince Maurice of Nassau told me he laughed at the gout, and though he had been several times attacked, yet it never gave him care nor trouble. That he used but one remedy, which was whenever he felt it, to boil a good quantity of horse-dung from a stone-horse of the *Hermeline* colour, as he called it in French, which is a native white with a sort of a raw nose, and the same commonly about the eyes. That when this was well boiled in water, he set his leg in a pail full of it, as hot as he could well endure it, renewing it as it grew cool, for above an hour together. That after it, he drew his leg immediately into a warm bed, to continue the perspiration as long as he could, and never failed of being cured. Whether the remedy be good, or the circumstances of colour signify any thing more than to make more mystery, I know not: but I observed that he ever had a set of such *Hermeline* horses in his coach, which he told me was on purpose that he never might want this remedy."

4. *Negroes three hundred patacas per head, p. 53.]* I have lately procured a copy of Nieuhof in the original: the price is stated there, as in the translation, at three hundred pieces of eight, and more. This term was, I have no doubt, inaccurately used for the *peso duro*; by which name my friend Mr. Koster informs me, the piece of 750 *Rs.* is usually called in Pernambuco; the *pataca* always meaning the piece of 320. He tells me that 300 *patacas*, or 96 *mitreis*, are not very much below the present price of a good slave.

5. *Debts of Portugal*, p. 55.] Aitzema, (vol. 3, p. 103.) states the debts of the Portuguese to the Company as amounting to fifteen million guilders, .. more than half their capital. What could be expected from such mispolicy but the consequences that ensued!

6. *Conduct of the Dutch*, p. 58.] The Dutch acknowledge their misconduct in Brazil. There came out, says Aitzema, (vol. 3, p. 30.) a book or relation, in print at this time, (1645) recounting many excesses and acts of injustice which we had committed against the Portuguese : .. this being true, that many of those who went thither from hence sought above all things to enrich themselves, whether by right or by wrong.

7. *The Dutch despised as a mere set of Traders*, p. 60.] It is curious to observe the contempt with which the Portuguese regarded their heretical enemies, even in an age when the courage and resources of those nations had been experienced to their cost. The Jesuit Bartholomeu Pereira, in his *Pacicis*, (an epic poem in twelve books, not upon the exploits of Duarte Pacheco in Malabar, but upon the martyrdom of F. Francisco Pacheco in Japan) addresses a characteristic Portuguese insult to a Dutchman.

I turpis Olande!

*I recors, sociis fida hæc responsa referto,
His dextris ferrum premitur, non caseus! Ito
Perfide, .. molle pecus mulge, compone butyrum,
Dum ferrum Lysii tractant, pelagoque triumphant.*

Lib. 8, p. 140.

"It is plainly seen, (says the author of the *Arte de Furtar*, speaking of Holland and England,) that the more we seek these nations with embassies and overtures, the more insolent and unreasonable they show themselves, repaying our courtesy with rudeness and robbery, because such courtesy savours to them of cowardice, and they imagine that we are afraid of them, and plume themselves upon it. If they who are Pirates and the *canaille* of Hell, send no ambassadors to us, why should we, who are the Kingdom of God and Lords of the World, send any to them? There can be no answer to this argument; and that which some politicians of the day give to it comes from raw cowards, who have not yet learnt that dogs must be tamed by blows. But they will say, we have not sticks with which to beat so many dogs. To this it may be answered, that formerly a single galleon of ours sufficed to attack a large fleet, and spitting fire and darting thunderbolts, defeated and

took the whole. Seven of our sailors in a small boat were enough to attack two galleys, and they took the one and made the other sheer off. A few Portuguese ill armed, and eating the skins of their trunks and the soles of their shoes, sustained sieges against many thousand enemies, whom they overcame; for it was always our glory to conquer many with few. We are the same people now, and therefore it is answered, that we have sticks with which to beat them all."

Chapter 23, p. 206.

Holland, says Vieyra, is the land which flows with milk, and Brazil is the land which flows with honey; and when the one is joined to the other, they become wholly and properly the Land of Promise, a land flowing with milk and honey. But with the favour of our Lady of the Rosary, if we know how to solicit and to deserve it, this sacred Land of Promise will not long be in the power of the Amorites. The shepherds of the Low Countries will return to their cheese and their butter, and the honey shall be Samson's, who when he has conquered the Belgic Lion, will take the honey-combe out of his mouth. *Serm. t. 5, p. 119.*

8. *He was born at Funchal*, p. 65.] The early part of Joam Fernandes Vieira's history is told with characteristic honesty by Fray Manoel de Salvador, in one of his fits of rhyme.

*A Pernambuco chega humilde e pobre
(Porque quem foge aos paes tem mil desgraças)
Porem como seu sangue he sangue nobre,
Para passar a vida busca traças;
Considera que o ouro, a prata, o cobre,
He o que mais se estima pelas praças,
E assi para buscar a honesta vida,
Serce a hum mercador por a comida.*

Sahese do Arrecife em continente

*Por nam vir nelle a dar a ser magano,
E nam ser visto alli da muita gente
Que hia e vinha da Ilha cada hum anno;
O coraçam cercado de ansias sente,
Hum engano o persegue, e outro engano,
Em resoluçam parte do Arrecife,
Que nam diz bem ser nobre e ser patife.*

Val. Luc. p. 158.

9. P. 106, note 5.] The work of Manoel de Moraes is quoted by Jan de Laet (in his *Notæ ad Dissertationem Hugonis Grotii de Origine Gentium Americanarum*, p. 216.) as a History of Brazil, not of America; it is not referred to in the *Novus Orbis*, .. which it would have been if Laet had

availed himself of its materials. But the *Novus Orbis* was published three years only after the capture of Olinda, and the manuscript most probably had not then come into his possession. The work was of some length, . . . the quotation being from the tenth book; it may possibly still be in existence, and might prove of considerable value, for Moraes was a Paulista, and had therefore great opportunities of obtaining information. Pinto de Sousa says he was a Jesuit, and that he abjured Calvinism in 1647, . . . two years after his conversion by Joam Fernandes. As this ceremony took place in Portugal, he had probably been sent there to be reconciled to the Church by the Inquisition.

10. *Antonio Cavalcanti*, p. 121.] Fr. Manoel says that they put into his hands a letter written by Antonio Cavalcanti, which told the Council not to disquiet themselves about the head of the rebellion, for that a woman who enjoyed the title of the Mother of the Twelve Patriarchs the Sons of Jacob, would overthrow this Image of Nebuchadnezzar; that if she failed, other means more easy and secret would be found; and that when the head was fallen, the body would soon moulder away to dust and ashes. By this riddle F. Manoel understood that Joam Fernandes was to be shot with a ball, or cut off by poison. *Bem conheceo o Padre que esta molher de que a carta falava, foi Balla, a qual na Sancta Escriitura foi chamada mai comua dos doze Patriarchas, e que debaixo deste rebuco se prometia aos Olandeses que huma balla de espingarda, ou arcabuz, tiraria a vida a Joam Fernandes Vieira, ou o matariam com peçonha, e que logo toda a conjuração da liberdade se acabaria.* *Val. Luc.* p. 193.

11. *Schoppe returned in this fleet*, p. 184.] The West India Company were possessed at this time of a capital of twenty-seven million of guilders, seven of which belonged to Zealand, and the rest to Holland. Half a million was voted for supporting the revolt when Schoppe went out, and three men were to be drafted out of every company in the Country's service, for Brazil. But there was a great disinclination among the men, and many deserted, chusing rather to become vagabonds, says Aitzema, than go to Brazil. *Vol. 3*, p. 89.

12. *Lichthart*, p. 189.] Lichthart complained loudly of his treatment, and called God to witness that he would rather serve the Turks than the

Company, saying an honourable man was too good to end his life in such an employment. He had some reason to complain, for upon one occasion, when he requested that he might have a firkin of butter for his own use, on account, from the Government, the answer which the High Magistracy gave him was, that if he had money they were willing to sell him some! *Aitzema*, vol. 3, 341.

13. *Villainy in the merchant service*, p. 207.] An English Catholic, whose name is written John Daranton (perhaps Dorrington), having suffered many losses, embarked from Portugal for Brazil, with his wife, four children, and the wreck of his fortune, amounting to ten thousand cruzados. The pilot, in collusion with the master and some of the sailors, removed the property out of the ship by night. They then set sail, and kept hovering about the coast for more than a week, in such a manner that the passengers at last suspected they were cruising for pirates in order to be captured, and required them formally to proceed upon their voyage. As the only other alternative, they ran the ship ashore; but they managed this so clumsily that she went to pieces immediately. The pilot and the rest of the thieves were drowned; and John Daranton with his whole family escaping, by the just judgment of God, came to the house of the sailors and there found his property. *Arte de Furtar*, c. 27, p. 223.

14. *State of weakness on both sides*, 1653, p. 235.] There was a report among the Dutch that Salvador Correa was coming with a great fleet to recover Recife, as he had done Angola. This seems to have excited great alarm, and they wrote great complaints to the Company. They had now been seven years, they said, in so miserable a state, that they had not ventured to walk a pistol-shot beyond their walls; and during that time had seven times suffered extreme famine. Goch, who was one of the *Hooge Regeringhe*, abused the Portuguese bitterly, saying they were the most faithless, most cruel, and most villainous people in the world. *Aitzema*, 3, 872—4.

15. *Recovery of Recife*, p. 242.] Schoppe was brought to trial for surrendering Recife. It was said, that having given up to the Portuguese nearly two hundred brass guns, of which one hundred and fifty were half and whole battering pieces, and from three to four hundred iron guns, estimated altogether at a million of rix dollars, the civil and military servants of the Company had stipu-

lated that their own private property should all be reserved, and had accordingly sold the whole, receiving instead of money, brazil wood, of which for some years none had been remitted for the Company, but great abundance was now come over on account of these individuals: in short, it was affirmed that Recife had been bought and sold. The clamour was very great against him, for many thousand widows and orphans had embarked their money in the Company, and there were hospitals also, whose funds were thus invested. Schoppe's defence was, that he was by his instructions subject to the civil authorities, and that under their orders he had acted. The court martial therefore decided that they could take no cognizance of the cause, unless the civil authorities also were made parties; for nothing could be more unjust than to let them go free, and punish the officer who justified himself by their orders. In this the Prince of Orange supported the military. This point was equitably adjusted, and Schoppe was confronted with Haecx, a leading member of the Council. Haecx acquired great credit for the calm and clear manner in which he justified himself, not attempting to criminate any person, and in some things even assisting Schoppe; but Schoppe was said to have defended himself as badly as he had done Recife. He was therefore sentenced to the forfeiture of all his emoluments from the day of the capitulation, and condemned to pay the costs of the process. *Aitzema, vol. 3, p. 1119. 1222.*

16. *Encomiendas, p. 259.*] Bartolome de las Casas, the Clarkson of his age, wrote a treatise to show that Kings had no authority to dispose of their subjects, by delivering them over to other Lords as Vassals, or upon the Encomienda system. This work was denounced to the Inquisition, as contrary to the doctrines of St. Peter and St. Paul concerning obedience, and the author was greatly harrassed in consequence.

Historia Critica de la Inquisicion de España por D. Juan Antonio Llorente. MS. Cap. 24.] It is to be hoped that this laborious and important work will not be withheld from the public. A fair history of the Inquisition, compiled from its own archives, by one who was secretary to that institution, and writes like a sincere Catholic, which places in its proper light the atrocious system of this accursed tribunal, may be expected to produce some effect in Spain, notwithstanding the prohibition which would be pronounced against it.

17. *In the spirit of avarice and cruelty it had been founded, and in that same spirit it was pursued.* P. 261.] F. Manuel de Vergara was preaching one day at Cuzco, when he took occasion to speak of the manner in which the Corregidores abused their power in the Indian settlements. As far, said he, as I can judge, and as public experience can teach, I believe that scarcely a man who holds one of these offices is saved. I say it again, and with a loud voice that all may hear, . . . open your hearts and your ears, for it is a matter of the utmost moment, . . . I believe that scarcely one of the Corregidores is saved. Such a speech could not have been ventured from the pulpit unless the abuse of power had been general and flagrant. *Peramas. De Sax Sac. p. 53.*

18. *The Payes, p. 275.*] It is most certain, says Harcourt (speaking of the Indians near the Wiapoc,) that their *Pecaios*, as they call them, priests or soothsayers, at some special times have conference with the Devil, the common deceiver of mankind, whom they call Wattipa, and are by him deluded; yet notwithstanding their often conference with him, they fear and hate him much, and say that he is naught: and not without great reason, for he will oftentimes, to their great terror, beat them black and blue.

Voyage to Guiana. Harl. Misc. vol. 3, p. 188.

19. *The heroic children of Loyola, p. 332.*] P. Manuel Rodríguez notices in his *Indice Chronologico*, that Loyola was born in the year before the New World was discovered. *Este mesmo año de 91, nació en Cantabria, San Ignacio de Loyola, Fundador de la Compañía de Jesus que parece le concibió su madre, quando en Colon estaban de parto aquellas noticias de las Indias, y al aprestarse à salir à buscarlas y descubrirlas, salio a luz aquel Grande Patriarca.*

Dr. Coke says, "some historians have attributed to St. Francis Xavier the first establishment of the Jesuits in the fertile provinces of Paraguay in South America, but on doubtful authority; for their licence from the Court of Madrid to preach the Gospel and to settle as Missionaries in the dominions of the crown of Spain in that country, bears date in the year 1580, which must have been about twenty-eight years after his death." (*Hist. of the West Indies, 1, 188*) I do not know what historians have made this blunder; but there are few subjects which have been treated with so much ignorance as the history of this

part of South America, . . . Dr. Coke being little better informed of it than the writers whom he corrects.

20. *The odour of an unclean congregation*, p. 341.] Muratori imputes this, evidently, to their complexion. "One day," says Dom Pernetty, "when we were at the Government House (at Monte Video) four Indians came to present themselves there: as soon as the Governor perceived that they were entering the court, he had the door of his apartments closed. We asked him the reason: If, he replied, they should enter the room, it would be infected for eight days; . . . they exhale an odour which fastens upon the very walls. This odour proceeds from a fetid oil with which they anoint their bodies to protect themselves from insects." (C. 11, p. 295.) It is not likely that this should be the cause of the nuisance to which Muratori alludes. The use of any such unction must have been in a great degree, if not wholly, rendered unnecessary by the clothing worn in the Reductions. Habits of cleanliness, perhaps, were not impressed as they ought to have been, and perhaps the Guaranies are to be classed among the fouxmarts, and not among the civets, of the human race. See *Omniana*, vol. 1, p. 144.

21. *Religious dramas*, p. 348.] A writer in the *Mercurio Peruano*, No. 117, affirms that he had seen a perfect musical drama represented by the Indians, upon the subject of the overthrow of the Incas, . . . made at the time, and still preserved among them traditionally.

The Peruvian poets are called *Arabicus*, and their elegiac songs *yaravies*. The writers at Lima say that in pathos and passion they exceed the songs of all other nations. The peculiar melody to which they partly attribute this superiority cannot of course be conveyed to our ears in Europe; but the *Mercurio Peruano* would have been far more valuable than it is if it had contained some of their poems, with literal translations. *Mer. Per. March 17, 1791. t. 1, f. 207.*

In No. 101, a Yaravi is given in Spanish verse; it is so exactly in the worst stile of Spanish poetry that it is not worth transcribing.

22. *Herb of Paraguay*, p. 360.] The Herb of Paraguay has been called St. Thomas's Herb and St. Bartholomew's, from a notion that it was poisonous before one of these Apostles miraculously changed its properties. *Lafitau, t. 2, 120.*

A tale is current in Paraguay, that when Philip

V. permitted the English to import two ship-load of Negroes annually to Buenos Ayres, and have an establishment in that city for carrying on the trade, among the articles with which they loaded home was the herb of Paraguay, which obtained such universal applause in London, that at last the tea-dealers conspired against it. Accordingly they hired a physician to deliver an opinion against it: he declared that it was highly injurious to health, beauty, and fecundity; and this opinion being carefully spread abroad, the poor herb of Paraguay was universally proscribed. Dobrizhoffer concludes this story amusingly enough. *Historisne, an fabulis adnumerandum id omne sit, ignoro. Illud certum, ab Hispanis me id accepisse, mihi que verisimillimum videri, perpensa Anglorum, quam de formâ fertilitateque suarum habent, religiosâ sollicitudine. T. 1, p. 121.*

Wesley tells us in his Journal, (No. 17, p. 49,) that in 1775 the herb of Paraguay was growing in Mr. Gordon's garden at Mile-end. But he says that it bore the frost, . . . which the tree will not do in its own country; and he describes the leaf as of a dirty green, . . . whereas the Jesuits compare it to the leaf of the orange tree, which is remarkably bright.

I have tasted this herb; but the infusion was made after the English method of making tea; and it was the *yerca de palos*. It was coarser and less agreeable than the coarsest tea; yet any persons who are accustomed to tea would soon be glad of the substitute, if they had nothing better. The Peruvian Spaniards believe that they could not exist without it. Ill consequences however are attributed to its excessive use. *Mense necum accubuit Hispanus senex, qui energumeni instar horrendos extremo a barathro edebat ructus identidem; hic, En Pater mi! ait, isti sunt herbæ nostræ fructus: ructo quoties spiro. Enimvero isti fructus sunt herbæ, quando hæc perinde ut aura hauritur momentis prope singulis. Novi profecto multos é vulgo Hispanos, qui vix decem pronunciare verba, vix pedem, maxumve movere norunt aliquoties, quin cucurbitam suam cum herba parata iterum, iterumque ori admoveant suo. Dobrizhoffer, t. 1, p. 116.*

Charlevoix, (2, 66,) says that Cardenas in one of his quarrels with Hinostrosa, ordered his Visitors to burn all the herb of Paraguay which they should find belonging to that Governor; and that his letters containing this order were produced before the Royal Audience. Additional proofs of the Bishop's vindictive character are not wanting; but this charge seems to imply that the Herb was inspected before its exportation was allowed,

and that such as was not thought fit for exportation was liable to be destroyed.

23. *He found himself the absolute director of a whole community, p. 362.]* "C'est de toutes les vanités humaines la plus louable qui les soutient," says the Abbe Raynal: and he repeats the speech of an ex-Jesuit, which bears every mark of authenticity; for if the old Missionary spake only of worldly feelings, it was because he knew to whom he was speaking. "Mon ami, me disoit un vieux missionnaire qui avoit vécu trente ans au milieu des forets, qui étoit tombé dans un profond ennui depuis qu'il étoit rentré dans son pays, et qui soupiroit sans cesse apres ses chers sauvages: mon ami, vous ne savez pas ce que c'est que d'être le roi, presque le dieu d'une multitude d'hommes qui vous doivent le peu de bonheur dont ils jouissent, et dont l'occupation assidue est de vous en temoigner leur reconnaissance. Ils ont parcouru des forets immenses; ils reviennent tombant de lassitude et d'inanition; ils n'ont tué qu'une piece de gibier; et pour qui croyez-vous qu'ils l'aient reservée? C'est pour le Pere; car c'est ainsi qu'ils nous appellent; et en effet ce sont nos enfans. Notre presence suspend leurs querelles. Un souverain ne dort pas plus surément au milieu de ses gardes que nous au milieu de nos sauvages. C'est à coté d'eux que je veux aller finir mes jours." T. 4, 281.

24. *The object was accomplished, p. 363.]* It seems to have been the desire of the Jesuits every where as much as possible to keep their converts in ignorance. Thus in Canada, Charlevoix says, *L'experience a fait voir qu'il étoit plus a-propos de les laisser dans leur simplicité et dans leur ignorance; que les sauvages peuvent être de bons Chrétiens, sans rien prendre de notre politesse et de notre façon de vivre; ou du moins, qu'il falloit laisser faire au tems pour les tirer de leur grossièreté, qui ne les empêche pas de vivre dans une grande innocence, d'avoir beaucoup de modestie, et de servir Dieu avec une piété et une ferveur, qui les rendent très propres aux plus sublimes operations de la Grace.*

P. Charlevoix. *Hist. de la N. France, l. 8.*

25. *Snakes attracted by fire, p. 365.]* Bruce notices this propensity in the cerastes. "Though the sun was burning hot all day," he says, "when we made a fire at night, by digging a hole, and burning wood to charcoal in it, for dressing our victuals, it was seldom we had fewer than half a dozen of these vipers, who burn themselves to death approaching the embers!"

26. *The macana, p. 370.]* According to Piedrabita, *macana* is the name not of the weapon but of the wood whereof it is made. "*Es la macana una madera durissima, que se labra con el lustre y filos del azero; y assi en las picas, dardos, y flechas, que usan estas y otras naciones, ponen de macana lo que en Espana se pone de azero en las lanças y chuzos.* P. 16.

27. *The Jesuits speak of the multiplicity of languages as of a confusion like that of Babel, p. 378.]* "The river Orellana," says Vieyra, (*Serm. 3, 409.*) was called by some one the river Babel, because of the variety of languages spoken along its course; but the word Babel is as far short of expressing the confusion of tongues there, as the word River is of denoting the magnitude of the stream. At Babel, according to St. Jerome, there were only seventy-two languages; on the Orellana a hundred and fifty were already known at the time of Teixeira's voyage, many more have been discovered since, and yet only a small part of this immense region has yet been explored.

Il est a presumer qu'une si grande variété de langage est l'ouvrage du demon, qui a voulu mettre cet obstacle à la promulgation de l'Évangile, et rendre par ce moyen la conversion de ces peuples plus difficile." Lett. Édif. t. 8, p. 91. edit. 1781.

Vieyra, in a sermon preached before the Court after his expulsion from Maranhão, speaks of this difficulty in his peculiar manner, and with his characteristic power. "What a difficulty and what a labour it is," he says, "for a European to have to learn, not with masters and with books like the wise men of the East, but without book, without master, without principles, and without any document, not one language but many, barbarous, uncultivated, and horrid, is known only to him who undergoes it, and to God for whom he undergoes it.

"When God confounded the tongues at the Tower of Babel, Philo the Hebrew remarks that all remained deaf and dumb, because though all spake and all heard, no one understood the other. In the old Babel there were seventy-two languages; in the Babel of the River of the Amazons more than a hundred and fifty are already known, as different from each other as ours from the Greek: and thus when we arrive there we are all dumb, and they are all deaf. See now what study and what labour must be necessary in order that these dumb ones may speak, and that those deaf ones may hear! In the land of the Tyrians and Sidonians, who were also Gentiles, they

brought a deaf and dumb man to Christ, that he should cure him; and St. Mark says that our Lord withdrew with him to a place apart, that he put his fingers in his ears, that he touched his tongue with spittle taken from his own, that he raised his eyes to heaven, and gave deep groans, and then the dumb spake and the deaf heard. 'And he took him aside from the multitude, and put his fingers into his ears; and he spit and touched his tongue; and looking up to Heaven, he sighed and saith to him *Ephphatha*, that is, be opened.' (*Mark* 7, 33, 34.) Now if Christ did other miracles so easily, how came it that this miracle of giving speech to the dumb, and ears to the deaf, cost him so much trouble and so many circumstances? Because all these are necessary for him who has to give a tongue to these dumb, and ears to these deaf ones. It is necessary to take the barbarian apart, and be with him, and insist with him alone, for many hours and many days. It is necessary to labour with the fingers, writing, pointing, and interpreting by signs that which cannot be acquired by words; it is necessary to labour with the tongue, doubling it, and twisting it, and giving it a thousand turns, that it may attain the pronounciation of accents so difficult and so strange: it is necessary to lift the eyes to Heaven once and many times in prayer, and at other times almost in despair; it is necessary, in fine, to groan, and to groan with the whole soul; to groan with the understanding because it can see no way in such darkness; to groan with the memory, because among so many varieties it can find no resting place; and to groan even with the will, however constant it may be, because in the pressure of so many difficulties it fails and almost faints. At last, by pertinacious industry, aided by divine Grace, the dumb speak and the deaf hear, but the reasons for groaning do not cease even then; for although the labour of this miracle be so similar to that of Christ's, it has a very different fortune, and receives a very different reward. . . The bystanders seeing that miracle began to applaud, and to say, 'He hath done all things well; he maketh both the deaf to hear, and the dumb to speak.' So that it sufficed for Christ to make one dumb man speak, and one deaf one hear, to have it said that he had done all things well; . . . and for us it does not suffice to perform the same miracle upon so many deaf and so many dumb, but we are still held for ill-doers!"

"Quanta difficuldade, e trabalho seja haver de aprender hum Europeo, nam com mestres e com

livros, como os magos, mas sem livro, sem mestre, sem principio, e sem documento algum, nam huma, senam muitas linguas barbaras, incultas e horridas, só quem o padece, e Deos por quem se padece, o sabe.

"Quando Deos confundio as linguas na Torre de Babel, ponderou Philo Hebreo, que todos ficaram mudos e surdos, porque ainda que todos fallavam, e todos ouviam, nenhum entendia o outro. Na antiga Babel ouve setenta e duas linguas: na Babel do Rio das Almazonas ja se conhecem mais de cento e sincoenta, tam diversas entre sy como a nossa e a Grega; e assim quando la chegamos, todos nos somos mudos, e todos elles surdos. Vede agora quanto estudo, e quanto trabalho sera necessario, para que estes mudos fallem, e estes surdos ouçam! Nas terras dos Tyrios e Sydonios, que tambem eram Gentios, trouxeram a Christo hum mudo e surdo para que o curasse; e diz S. Marcos que o Senhor se retirou com elle a hum lugar apartado, que lhe meteo os dedos nos ouvidos, que lhe tocou a lingua com saliva tirada da sua, que levantou os olhos ao Ceo, e deu grandes gemidos, e entam fallou o mudo e ouviu o surdo: *Apprehendens eum de turbá seorsum, misit digitos suos in auriculas ejus, et expuens, tetigit linguam ejus, et suspiciens in caelum, ingemuit, et ait illi, Ephetha, quod est adaperire.* Pois se Christo fazia os outros milagres tam facilmente, este de dar falla ao mudo, e ouvidos ao surdo, como lhe custa tanto trabalho, e tantas diligencias? Porque todas estas sam necessarias a quem ha de dar lingua a estes mudos, e ouvidos a estes surdos. He necessario tomar o barbaro à parte, e estar, e instar com elle muito só por só, e muitas horas, e muitos dias; he necessario trabalhar com os dedos, escrevendo, apontando, e interpretando por acenos o que se nam pode alcançar das palavras: he necessario trabalhar com a lingua, dobrandoa, e torcendoa, e dandolhe mil voltas, para que chegue a pronunciar os accentos tam duros, e tam estranhos: he necessario levantar os olhos ao Ceo; huma, e muitas vezes com a oraçam, e outras quasi com desesperaçam: he necessario finalmente gemer, e gemer com toda a Alma: gemer com o entendimento, porque em tanta escuridade nam vê saída; gemer com a memoria, porque em tanta variedade nam acha firmeza; e gemer atè com a vontade, por constante que seja, porque no aperto de tantas difficuldades desfalece, e quasi desmaya. Em fim com a pertinacia da industria ajudada da Graça Divina fallam os mudos, e ouvem os surdos; mas nem por isso cessam as razoens de gemer; porque com e

trabalho deste milagre ser tam semelhante ao de Christo, tem muy diferente ventura, e muy outro galardam do que elle teve. Vendo os circumstantes aquelle milagre começaram a aplaudir e dizer, *Bene omnia fecit; et surdos fecit audire, et mutos loqui*: nam ha divida, que este Profeta tudo faz bem, porque faz ouvir os surdos, e fallar os mudos. De maneira que a Christo bastoulhe fazer fallar hum mudo, e ouvir hum surdo, para dizerem que tudo fazia bem feito; e a nos, nam nos basta fazer o mesmo milagre em tantos mudos e tantos surdos, para que nos nam tenham por malfeitosres." T. 4, p. 513.

"God," says Vieyra, in his Whitsunday Sermon, "appeared in a vision to the Prophet Ezekiel, and giving him a book told him that he should eat it, and go preach to the children of Israel all that was written therein. *Comede volumen istud, et vadens loquere ad filios Israel*. . . Eat this roll, and go speak unto the house of Israel. The Prophet opened his mouth, not daring to touch the book for reverence: he ate it, and he says that it liked him well, and that he found it sweet. *Comedi illud, et factum est in ore meo sicut mel dulce*. . . Then did I eat it, and it was in my mouth as honey for sweetness. If men could eat books at a mouthful, how easily would they learn the sciences and acquire languages. Oh how easy a mode of learning! Oh how pleasant a mode of studying! Such was the manner with which God in one moment instructed the Prophets of yore, and with which on this day the Holy Spirit in another moment instructed the Apostles, who found themselves suddenly versed in the sciences, learned in the Scriptures, ready in tongues, for all this was infused into them in that moment when the Holy Spirit descended upon them: *Factus est repente de Cælo sonus, tanquam advenientis Spiritus*: . . and suddenly there came a sound from Heaven as of a mighty rushing wind. But to have to eat the books leaf by leaf, to have to take in the sciences mouthful by mouthful, and sometimes with great dislike to them; to have to chew the languages noun by noun, verb by verb, syllable by syllable, and even letter by letter, . . . certainly this is a thing very hard, and very unsavoury, and very bitter, and which only the great love of God can render sweet."

"Appareceo Deos em huma visam ao Profeta Ezechiell, e dando-lhe hum livro, disse-lhe, que o comesse, e que fosse pregar aos filhos de Israel tudo o que nelle estava escrito: *Comede volumen istud, et vadens loquere ad filios Israel*. Abriu a

boca o Profeta nam se atrevendo a tocar no livro por reverencia, comeu-o, e diz que o achou muito doce: *Comedi illud, et factum est in ore meo sicut mel dulce*. Se os homens podessem comer os livros de hum bocado, que facilmente se aprenderiam as Sciencias, e se tomaram as linguas! Oh que facil modo de aprender! Oh que doce modo do estudar! Tal foy o modo com que Deos em hum momento antigamente ensinava os Profetas, e com que hoje o Espirito Santo em outro momento ensinou os Apostolos, achando-se de repente doutos nas Sciencias, eruditos nas Escrituras, promptos nas linguas, que tudo isto se lhe infundio naquelle repente, em que desceo sobre elles o Espirito Santo: *Factus est repente de Cælo sonus, tanquam advenientis Spiritus*. Mas haver de comer os livros folha a folha; haver de levar as sciencias bocado a bocado, e as vezes com muito fastio; haver de mastigar as linguas nome por nome, verbo por verbo, syllaba por syllaba, e ainda letra por letra; por certo, que he cousa muito dura, e muito desabrida, e muito para amargar, e que só o muito amor de Deos a pode fazer doce." T. 3, p. 407.

Again:

Vade ad domus Israel, et loqueris verba mea ad eos; non enim ad populum profundi sermonis et ignota lingue tu mitteris, neque ad populos multos profundi sermonis et ignota lingue, quorum non possis audire sermones. . . 'Go, get thee unto the house of Israel, and speak with my words unto them. For thou art not sent to a people of a strange speech and of an hard language, but to the house of Israel; not to many people of a strange speech and of an hard language, whose words thou canst not hear.' The word *hear* signifies *understand*, because that which is not understood is as if it were not heard. But among many nations of these conquests this word is verified in its natural meaning and acceptation; for there are languages among them, of a pronunciation so obscure and thick, that it may truly be affirmed the words are not heard, . . . *quorum non possis audire sermones*. It has happened to me sometimes to have my ear applied to the mouth of the savage, and even of the interpreter, without being able to distinguish the syllables, or to catch the vowels or consonants of which they were formed, one letter confounding itself with two or three kindred ones, or (which is more accurate) being compounded of a mixture of them all; some so thin and subtle, others so hard and rugged, other so inward and obscure, being rather choaked in the throat than pronounced by the tongue;

others so short and rapid, others so long drawn and multiplied, that the ears perceive nothing but the confusion, it being certain in rigorous truth that such languages are not heard, the sound of them alone being heard, and not articulate and human words; according to the Prophet, . . . *quorum non possis audire sermones.*

“ Nesta ultima clausula do Profeta, *Quorum non possis audire sermones*, a palavra *ouvir*, significa entender; porque o que se nam entende, he como se nam se ouvira. Mas em muitas das naçoens desta conquista se verifica a mesma palavra no sentido natural, assim como soa, porque ha linguas entre ellas de tam escura e cerrada pronunciaçam, que verdadeiramente se pode affirmar que se nam ouvem, . . . *quorum non possis audire sermones.* Por vezes me aconteceu estar com o ouvido applicado à boca do barbaro, e ainda do interprete, sem poder distinguir as sylabas, nem perceber as vogaes, ou consoantes, de que se formavam, equivocandose a mesma letra com duas e tres semelhantes, ou compondose (o que he mais certo) com mistura de todas ellas; humas tam delgadas e sutis; outras tam duras e escabrosas; outras tam interiores e escuras, e mais afogadas na garganta que pronunciadas na lingua; outras tam curtas e subidas; outras tam estendidas e multiplicadas, que nam percebem os ouvidos mais que a confusam, sendo certo em todo rigor, que as taes linguas nam se ouvem, pois se nam ouve dellas mais que o sonido, e nam palavras de articuladas e humanas, como diz o Profeta, . . . *Quorum non possis audire sermones.*” T. 3, p. 410.

Dobrizhoffer also expresses himself forcibly upon this subject. “ *Arduum est Europæo et aures et linguam peregrinis, distortissimisque vocibus assuefacere, quas Barbari jam lingua sibilando, jam naribus rhonchissando, jam dentibus stridendo, jam gutture strepitando enunciant adeo obscure, festinanterque, ut non hominum colloquentium verba, sed anatum in lacu garrientium voces audire tibi videaris, nullumque literarum vestigium vel attentissimus deprehendas.*” *Dobrizhoffer*, 2, 163.

An English missionary has well explained some of the difficulties which occur in attempting to methodize a barbarous language. “ My method,” he says, “ in learning what I know of the Faate, was by taking a pen and paper to it; first asking the names of things, and then entering them down in writing, which for the greater certainty and correctness, I demanded at different times and of several persons. But such teachers the Blacks are, that notwithstanding all this care used on

my part, I found some time after, upon revisal of my papers, that I had collected only an heap of falsities. For instead of giving a word by itself, they would either join with it a pronoun, or an epithet, or else a particle, or give the plural number for the singular, and sometimes join a substantive and verb together instead of speaking the one singly by itself. There is that impetuosity in their temper which makes them speak their words very quick. Besides, they utter themselves in a kind of melted voice, which makes their pronunciation more indistinct; and what renders it yet more puzzling, they will speak the same word different ways; as for example, to signify a tree they say *Idweah*, and *Eduah*, and *Edweah*. The matter is, they know they should speak something like it, but having no standard for their propriety of the language, the same person shall pronounce the word with these several variations.

“ This is a specimen of the misery of learning languages without either the help of books, or the instruction of a proper master.”

Thompson's Missionary Voyages.

Captain Flinders gives some curious instances of the difficulty of pronouncing foreign sounds. The natives of King George's Sound, on the East coast of New Holland, pronounced ship, *yip*; and of King George they made *Ken Jag-ger*. Yet they succeeded better in pronouncing English words, than the English did in imitating theirs. *Voyage to Terra Australis*, 1, 67.

The Jesuit Hernando de Villafañe was the first person who formed a grammar of the Guacave tongue, which is spoken all along the coast of Cinaloa. “ I have heard him say,” says P. Andres Perez de Ribas, (*L. 5, c. 23, p. 352*), “ that some particular modes and properties of speech which he required to know accurately, in order to explain the mysteries of our holy Faith, in a language which is so strange to it, had cost him disciplines as well as prayers, intreating light from heaven to acquire them.” For a master to flog grammar into his boys at one end, when it does not enter so readily as he could wish at the other, is an old custom which is still too much honoured in the observance; but this is the only instance I ever heard of, of a master flogging himself.

28. *He forgot them as readily as a last night's tale,* p. 378.] “ You,” says Vieyra, “ who travel about the world, and enter the palaces of princes, have seen in the plats and avenues of their gardens two kinds of statues very different from each other; some of marble, others of yew. The

marble statue costs much in making, because of the hardness and resistance of the material; but having been once made, it is not necessary to apply the hand to it again; it always preserves and supports the same figure. The yew* statue is more easily made, because of the facility with which its boughs give way; but it is necessary always to be re-forming it, and working upon it, that it may be preserved. If the gardener neglects it, in three or four days a branch shoots out which crosses the eyes, out pushes another and discomposes the ears; forth spring two which make the five fingers into seven, and that which a little while ago was a man, is now only a green confusion of yew branches. Such is the difference between some nations and others in points of religious instruction. There are some nations naturally obdurate, tenacious, and constant, who difficultly receive the faith, and are hardly persuaded to leave the errors of their forefathers: they resist it with their arms, they doubt with their understanding, they strive against it with their will, they bar themselves against it, they persist, they argue, they reply, they give great trouble before they yield; but when they have once yielded, when they have once received the faith, they remain in it firm and unchanged, like marble statues, and there is no necessity for labouring more with them. There are other nations on the contrary, (and these are the tribes of Brazil,) who receive all that is taught them with great docility and ease, without arguing, without replying, without doubting, without resisting: but they are statues of yew, . . . which when the gardener takes away his hand and his shears, presently lose their new figure, and return to their old natural brutishness, and become a thicket as they were at first. The maker of these statues must continually be present to attend them, sometimes to prune away the impediments which shoot from the eyes, that they may believe what they do not see; sometimes to cut away the excrescences from the ears, that they may not listen to the fables of their forefathers; sometimes to lop off what springs from the hands and the feet, that they may abstain from the barbarous actions and customs of the Gentiles. And only in this manner, by always labouring against the nature of the trunk and the sap which is in the root, can the non-natural

form, and the composition of the boughs, be preserved in these rude plants." *Sermoens, t. 3, p. 403.*

"Os que andastes pelo mundo, e entrastes em casas de prazer de Principes, verieis naquelles quadros e naquellas ruas dos jardins dous generos de Estatuas muito differentes, humas de marmore, outras de murta. A Estatua de marmore custa muito a fazer, pela dureza e resistencia da materia; mas depois de feita huma vez, nam he necessario que lhe ponham mais a mam, sempre conserva e sustenta a mesma figura. A Estatua de murta e mais facil de formar, pela facilidade com que se dobram os ramos; mas he necessario andar sempre reformando, e trabalhando nella, para que se conserve. Se deixa o jardineiro de assistir, em quatro dias sahe hum ramo que lhe atravessa os olhos; sahe outro que lhe descompoem as orelhas; sahem dous que de cinco dedos lhe fazem sete; e o que pouco antes era homem, ja he huma confusam verde de murtas. Eis aqui a differença que ha entre humas naçoens e outras na doutrina da Fé. Ha humas naçoens naturalmente duras, tenazes e constantes, as quaes difficultosamente recebem a Fé, e deixam os erros de seus antepassados; resistem com as armas, duvidam com o entendimento, repugnam com a vontade, serram-se, teimam, argumentam, replicam, dam grande trabalho até se renderem; mas huma vez rendidos, huma vez que receberam a Fé, ficam nella firmes e constantes como Estatuas de marmore, nam he necessario trabalhar mais com elles. Ha outras naçoens pelo contrario (e estas sam as do Brazil) que recebem tudo o que ensinam com grande docilidade e facilidade, sem argumentar, sem replicar, sem duvidar, sem resistir, mas sam Estatuas de murta, que em levantando a mam e a tesoura o jardineiro, logo perdem a nova figura, e tornam a bruteza antiga e natural, e a ser mato como dantes eram. He necessario que assista sempre a estas Estatuas o mestre dellas, huma vez que lhe corte o que vecejam os olhos, paraque cream o que nam vem; outra vez que lhe cercea o que vecejam as orelhas, para que nam dem ouvidos ás fabulas de seus antepassados; outra vez que lhe decepe o que vecejam as maos e os pes, para que se abstenham das aççoens e costumes barbaros da gentildade. E so desta maneira trabalhando sempre contra a natureza

* *Murta* (myrtle) is the original word: I have exchanged it for yew, that being the tree which in our climates has been preferred for these fantastic purposes.

do tronco, e humor das raizes, se pode conservar nestas plantas rudes a forma nam natural e composura dos ramos."

29. *Difficulty respecting marriage, p. 379.*] Of all missionaries, the Moravians seem to have considered the question of polygamy the most reasonably. St. Paul having said, "if any brother have a wife that believeth not, that is yet an heathen, and she be pleased to dwell with him, let him not put her away;" they have resolved that they could not upon any Christian principles compel a man who had before his conversion taken more than one wife, to put away one, or more of them, without her, or their consent; but yet that they could not appoint such a man to be a Helper, or servant in the Church.

Periodical Accounts of the Moravian Missions, vol. 1, p. 14.

30. *Papel en Verso, p. 435.*] *Papel en verso sobre el recibimiento del venerable Obispo D. Fr. Bernardino de Cardenas, y persecuciones que le suscitaron los Regulares de la Compania.* This is a *Romance* consisting of about nine hundred lines, first printed in the *Coleccion General de Documentos* upon this subject. The original manuscript was in the Convent of S. Hermenegildo at Seville. It was written at Asumpcion, shortly after Osorio's death and during the Bishop's reign; and it has all the pomp and pedantry of Spanish poetry in its worst age. These faults only render it the more amusing; and it preserves some very curious facts which are not noticed elsewhere. The author begins by invoking Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the Court of Heaven, Powers, Princedoms, Thrones, and Dominations, with all the Saints to boot, to inspire him; .. and doubtless he needed some such assistance to accomplish his modest desire, which was that his voice might serve as a trumpet whose sound should ring through the whole world! He then calls upon all the world to listen, and particularizes great part of it.

Two curious charges are made against the Jesuits in this singular poem. The one, that they had intercepted the Bulls, which at Lima, the author says, they did not scruple to acknowledge. This is palpably false. The other may possibly be better founded; .. that they instigated the Bishop to demolish the Dominican Convent. The Bishop at that time certainly favoured the Company, .. but it is more likely that he wished to throw the opprobrium of that action upon them after their quarrel, than that they were really

his advisers. The writer indeed hates the Jesuits so cordially, that he says they are worse than all other heretics.

*Atended, y lo vereis,
que Lutero es un enano:
no hablen los Anabaptistas,
y callen Calvino y Arrio,
y el Alcoran de Mahoma
es Pigmeo, comparado
á lo que quiero decir.
De Ingalaterra no hablo,
porque ya se queda atras
despues que hay bonetes anchos.*

He concludes by calling upon all states and princes to expel this abominable order, as a sure way of enjoying joy, peace, and glory in this world, and obtaining a place at the right hand of God in the next!

31. *Tobayaras, p. 513.*] Jaboatam gives rather a wild etymology of this name, from *toba*, the face, and *yara*, a Lord, .. interpreting it to mean that they were Lords of the coast, which was, as it were, the frontispiece, or face, of Brazil. *Sem duvida*, he says, they were revered by all the other Indians, *por primeiros.*

Preambulo, § 27.

32. *Good Friday, p. 528.*] I had the consolation, says F. Stanislaus Arlet, to see in the church more than five hundred Indians, who scourged their bodies severely on Good Friday, in honour of the scourging of Jesus Christ. But that which drew from me tears of tenderness and devotion, was a troop of little Indian boys and girls, who with their eyes humbly bent toward the ground, their heads crowned with thorns, and their arms applied to stakes in the form of a cross, for more than a whole hour, imitated in that posture the suffering state of the Crucified Saviour whom they had before their eyes.

This was among the Moxos.

Lett. Edif. t. 8, p. 50, ed. 1781.

33. *The small pox of 1665, p. 554.*] Rocha Pitta introduces this pestilence with a fine strain of philosophy. "An horrendous comet," he says, "preceded it, which during many tenebrous nights, being kindled in thick vapours, burnt with inauspicious light over our America, and announced to her the evil which she was about to feel; for although meteors are formed of casual conflagrations in which the atoms are burnt,

which ascending from the earth reach the sphere in a condensed state, the ashes into which they are resolved are powerful enough to infect the airs and make them diffuse disease, as well as to dispose human spirits for the perpetration of fatalities: and thus it has been observed that the greatest destruction of states and of individuals has always been forerun by such signs!"

America Portugueza, 6, § 20.

He notices also, as another equally inauspicious omen, that an extraordinary high tide recurring three days in succession, covered the shores of Bahia with innumerable small fish, which the people gladly collected, "being more attentive to their appetites than to the prodigy, not reflecting that when the elementary bodies go out of their natural order, human bodies suffer, alterations ensue in health, and ruin not only in material fabrics, but in empires." *Do.* § 21.

"The small pox," he says, "is a disease more natural to man than any other, for the physicians deduce its cause from the womb, and will have it that from thence all men derive their tribute to that malady. . . *Pois os medicos lhe deduzem a causa dos ventres maternos, de donde querem, que tragam todos este tributo àquelle mal.* *Do.* § 22.

34. *Miracle at Cayru*, p. 561, note.] It is thus related in a manuscript which Jaboaatam quotes, § 81.

"Aquelle celeste harmonia, ou Divino descante se deixou ouvir em o decurso de mais de vinte annos dos mais daquelle povo, que naquellas horas queriam velar, homens, mulheres, ecclesiasticos e seculares, dos quaes sam ainda muitos vivos; e aquelle regalado e mimoso povo nam deixava de fazer-se pregoeiro de tam estupendo milagre, e de mercê muy singular, e pela qual faziam como podiam, todos a huma voz, e cada hum por si, mil actos de submissoens e mortificaçam, compondose o estylo de vida muy ajustado com os dictames da razam; e tudo era naquelles principios huma sãa e santa doutrina, huma exhortaçam continua aos filhos, com grande frequencia dos sacramentos, e igual fervor na celebrade das festas do Senhor, de sua Mãi santissima, e de seus Santos; e assim hiam sahindo os filhos criados com aquelle docil e boa inclinaçam; que he muy certo o nascerem os cordeirinhos com as malhas das varas, que se deitam em os tanques, de que bebem os pays e mãys."

35. *Pestilence of 1686*, p. 586.] Rocha Pitta says that the symptoms of this disease were very

various, . . . acute pains of the head, or none; moist heat, or violent fever; a calm state of mind, or restlessness and delirium. The patients are said to have died on the third, fifth, sixth, seventh, or ninth day; a few only on the first or second. The last symptom was usually a vomiting of blood. The Brazilians called the disease the *Bicha*. A French ship of war, l'Oriflamme, coming from Siam with the wreck of the establishments which had been formed at Merguy and Bancok, touched at Brazil, got the disease there, and imported it into Martinique; for which reason the French called it the *Mal de Siam*. Labat, (*Voyage aux Isles de l'Amérique*, t. 1, p. 72—4,) describes it as beginning with great pain in the head and loins; the fever was very high, or it was not externally perceptible; . . . in this he agrees with Rocha Pitta: blood, he says, issued by every channel, sometimes even through the pores of the skin, and there were swellings in the armpits and the groins; these swellings were sometimes full of black, coagulated, putrid blood, and sometimes full of worms. *Quelquesfois on rendoit des paquets de vers de diferentes grandeurs et couleurs, par haut et par bas.* Labat saw the disease, and indeed had it severely himself; the Portugueze author writes only what he had heard half a century afterwards. *Ce que cette maladie avoit de commode*, says P. Labat, *c'est qu'elle emportoit les gens en fort peu de tems; six ou sept jours tout au plus terminoient l'affaire.* He knew two persons who struggled with it till the fifteenth day, and then died; one recovered after thirty-two. Some subjects in whom no other symptom had appeared than a slight pain in the head, fell down and died as they were walking out for air; and in almost every case the body became black and putrid immediately after death. There was at this time (1694) war between France and England: the English prisoners, whom the Flebustiers, he says, were capturing every day, carried it to their islands, and it was communicated in like manner to the Dutch and Spanish colonies.

This pestilence had been presaged by what Rocha Pitta calls a most tremendous eclipse of the moon, which had been beheld with horror in Pernambuco and Bahia. He describes this eclipse as a red and burning appearance, "as if the whole region of fire were concentrated in the orb of the moon." There had also been a solar eclipse some months before, "when the Prince of Planets displayed a cloud, or spot, which F. Valentine Extancel, a celebrated astrologer of the

Company of Jesus, called a Spider of the Sun! And upon these two eclipses this Religioner delivered a mathematical opinion, in a prognostic which hinted at great sickness in Brazil." Rocha Pitta then explains, according to his philosophy, in what manner such effects may be produced by eclipses. The causes of this pestilence, he says, ought properly to be ascribed to the sins of the people, who were corrupted by the liberty and wealth of Brazil: but other causes were looked for, and the one which was most generally acceded to was this: some barrels of meat had been returned from the island of St. Thomas to Recife, in such a state that the cooper who opened them died presently; several persons in the same house died also, and the contagion spread through the town. *America Portuguesa*, l. 7, § 32, 33.

If the historian had perused Vieyra's letters he would probably have allowed some share in the mischief to two comets seen in 1684, one of which appeared by day and divided the sun in half; and the other appeared by night, and had three stars in its tail: .. *Só falta que vejamos algum sinal na Lua, para que se verifique o Texto, .. Erunt signa in Sole et Luna et Stellis.* T. 2, p. 320.

36 Not a word, not a syllable, not a letter, which does not contain a lie. p. 590.] Vieyra had given the people of Maranham the same character to their faces, from the pulpit, in a right Vieyran manner. *Os vícios da lingua sam tantos, que fez Drexelio hum Abecedario inteiro, e muito copioso delles. F se as letras deste Abecedario se repartissem pelos Estados de Portugal, que letra tocaria ao nosso Maranham? Nam ha duvida, que o M. M. Maranham; M. murmurar; M. motejar; M. mal-dizer; M. mulsinar; M. mixericar; e sobre tudo, M. mentir; .. mentir com as palavras, mentir com as obras, mentir com os pensamentos, que de todos, e por todos os modos aqui se mente.*

Sermoens, t. 4, p. 295.

37. *The stores were bad in quality*, p. 620.] This, according to the anonymous author of the *Arte de Furtar*, was a common mode of roguery. "We see it," he says, "every day, in the stores of the Indiamen, and of the galleons and ships which our Lord the King sends to Brazil, Angola, and other parts. They are provided with rotten meat, stinking salt fish, biscuit of the worst quality, sour wine, and the lees of oil, because all this is laid in cheaper at first; but it turns out dearer in the end, for all the crew and

passengers fall sick, half of them die, the voyage is frustrated, and all is lost: .. *Porque foram providos com unhas de fome; e por pouparem o que se furta, fizeram com que o barato custasse caro a todos.*" C. 41, p. 330.

In the time of this author, whose work is said to have been written in 1652, no medicines were allowed to the ships. "What is the reason," he asks, "why no ship or galleon of ours, whether it goes alone, or belongs to the fleet, carries any drugs or medicines of any kind, for the fevers of the line, nor for wounds received in battle, nor for the Loanda disease, nor for any thing else? It must be one of two reasons, .. either ignorance or parsimony. Ignorance I do not believe that it can be, because no person is ignorant that men are more liable to diseases at sea than on shore, and suffer more from them. It is parsimony then, to save two or three thousand cruzados in things needful for the health and life of the crew and the soldiers, without which all is lost: the people are lost, the most precious of all things, dying like mosquitos, and cast into the sea in heaps; and every thing is lost, because every thing is left without any one to preserve it against the dangers of the sea, and the violence of the enemy. Foreigners have much the advantage of us in these things; we often see medicines and instruments in their ships, for the sick and wounded, which are worth many thousand cruzados, .. and we hardly carry out a barber, nor an egg for a dressing." *Do*, p. 333.

This book is absurdly attributed to Vieyra, in the title-page. The author seems to have been a native of Alentejo, .. probably of Villa Viçosa.

Linschoten, however, who sailed from Lisbon to India in 1583, and describes minutely the economy of their ships, reckons the Barber, (meaning the Barber-Surgeon,) among those who had no fixed pay; and says that sugar, honey, raisins, prunes, flour, (not rice, as the English translation has it,) and such like delicacies, were taken out for the sick: but he adds, that they got little of it, for the officers consumed it for themselves. P. 3.

38. *God infused a soul when they were baptized*, p. 638.] This notion, which originated in wickedness, has been advanced in England by learned bigotry. Dodwell asserted that the souls of men were naturally mortal, but that the immortalizing virtue was conveyed by baptism, given by persons episcopally ordained. This strange system, says Burnet, was in great credit among us, and several

little books were spread about the nation to prove the necessity of rebaptizing the dissenters, and that they were in a state of damnation till that was done. *Vol. 4, p. 354.*

"Of the natives or inhabitants, what shall I say," says Fleckno; "but if, as John Baptista de Porta says, every nation has resemblance to some certain beast or animal, certainly these Brazilians are most like Asses, dull and phlegmatic in *servitutum nati*, and only fit for toil and druggery, which is the reason Nature perhaps provided that country with neither horse nor ass nor any beast of carriage or burthen besides themselves; yet are they rather squat than robust, with broad bodies and little legs, small eyes, of sallow sickly complexion, ill featured, with black and greezy hair, nor curled nor dangling, but flagging ill favouredly about their ears, going for the most part all naked both men and women, they being all Christians, but such as put me in mind of that sentence of Holy Scripture, *Homines et Jumenta salvabis Domine*, that the Lord will save both man and beast; for surely they are both, having not wit enough to commit ingenious vices, nor temperance enough to abstain from brutal ones." *Fleckno, p. 75.*

Slaves in Brazil were called *Pessas*, . . Pieces; upon which Vieyra has an indignant passage in one of his sermons.

"Neste vosso mesmo Brazil quando quereis dizer, que fulano tem muitos, ou poucos Escravos, porque dizeis, que tem tantas, ou tantas Pessas? Porque os primeiros, que lhe puzeram este nome, quizeram significar sabia e christianamente, que a sojeiçam que o Escravo tem ao Senhor, e o dominio que o Senhor tem sobre o Escravo, só consiste no corpo. Os homens nam sam feitos de huma só pessa, como os Anjos e os brutos. Os Anjos e os brutos (para que nos expliquemos assim) sam inteireços; o Anjo, porque todo he espirito; o bruto, porque todo he corpo. O homem nam. He feita de duas pessas, alma e corpo. E porque o Senhor do Escravo só he Senhor de huma destas pessas, e a capaz de dominio, que he o corpo; porisso chamais aos vossos Escravos, Pessas. E se esta dirivaçam vos nam contenta; digamos que chamais Pessas aos vossos Escravos, assim como dizemos, huma pessa de ouro, huma pessa de prata, huma pessa de seda, ou de qualquer outra cousa das que nam tem alma. E por este modo ainda fica mais claramente provado, que o nome de Pessa nam comprehende a Alma do Escravo, e somente se en-

tende e se estende a significar o corpo. Este he o que só se cativa, este o que só se compra e vende, este o que só tem debaixo de sua jurisdicam a fortuna." *T. 6, p. 397.*

"Here in Brazil, when you mean to say such a one has many or few slaves, why do you say that he has so many Pieces? Because the first persons who used the name meant wisely and christianly to signify that the subjection of the Slave to the Master, and the dominion of the Master over the Slave, consists only in the body. Men are not made of only one piece, like the Angels and the Brutes. Angels and Brutes (if we may thus express ourselves) are entire creatures; the Angel because wholly a spirit, the Brute because wholly a body. Man is not thus. He is made of two pieces, soul and body. And because the Master of the Slave is only Master of one of these pieces, which is capable of dominion, to wit, the body, therefore you call your Slaves Pieces. If this derivation does not content you, let me say that you call your Slaves Pieces, as we say a piece of gold, a piece of silver, a piece of silk, or of any other thing which has no soul. And by this means it remains more clearly proved, that the name Piece doth not include the soul of the slave, but only means and extends to signify the body. This alone it is which is enslaved, this alone it is which is bought and sold, this alone it is which Fortune has under its jurisdiction."

39. *No task-masters were ever more mercèless than the Portugueze of the seventeenth century, p. 639.* Vieyra exclaims, when preaching before these Portugueze, "*Que Theologia ha, ou pode haver, que justifique a deshumanidade e sevicia dos exorbitantes castigos com que os Escravos sam maltratados? Maltratados disse, mas he muito curta esta palavra para a significaçam do que encerra, ou encobre! Tyrannizados devera dizer, ou martyrizados; porque serem os miseraveis, pingados, lacrados, retalhados, salmourados, e os outros excessos MAIORES QUE CALLO, mais merecem nome de martyrios, que de castigos.*"

The text upon which he was preaching was Exodus 3, 7, which is fuller in the vulgate than in our version. . . *Vidi afflictionem populi mei in Ægypto, et clamorem ejus audiri, propter duritiam eorum qui præsumt operibus.* In allusion to this he concluded his sermon. . . They are cruelly flogging the miserable slave, and he at every lash cries out Jesu! Maria! Jesu! Maria! and yet the reverence which is due to these names cannot

move to compassion a man who calls himself Christian! How think you then that these names shall be heard in the hour of death when you yourself invoke them? But be assured that God hears the cries which you will not hear, and that though they produce no effect upon your own heart, without doubt and without remedy they will have effect on your punishment.

Sermoens, t. 6, p. 427—8.

In another Sermon he says, *Nas outras terras, do que aram os homens, e do que fiam e tecem as molheres, se fazem os commercios. naquella o que geram os pays, e o que criam a seus peitos as mãys, he o que se vende e se compra. Oh trato deshumano, em que a mercancia sam homens! Oh mercancia diabolica, em que os interesses se tiram das Almas alheas, e os riscos sam das proprias.*

Vieyra Serm. t. 6, p. 392.

"In other countries trade is carried on in what the men sow and reap, and in what the women spin and weave; here, what the fathers have begotten, and the mothers have fed at their breasts, is what is bought and sold! O inhuman traffic, in which men are the merchandize! O diabolical merchandize, in which the merchant extracts his gain from the souls of others, and at the risk of his own!"

40. *They had penetrated more than 2000 miles, p. 642.]* In Vieyra's letter to the Conde de Erieyra, in which he points out to that author how erroneously he had spoken of him in his history, the following curious passage occurs. "I will also give your Excellency a piece of information which no one has possessed; and it is that the affairs upon which the King (Joam IV.) often sent me, were very different from what might be supposed, even among the confidential ministers, . . . the correspondence upon those affairs being carried on by a particular cypher, known only to the Secretary Pedro Fernaues Monteiro. And therefore my journies were subject to very erroneous opinions and conjectures, which are no matters for History, History being rather bound to correct them by stating the truth, if she knows it, and not by saying they had no foundation. For example, when I departed from Maranham, my intent being rather to risk my life for the King of Heaven than for an earthly Prince, many persons thought that this resolution was not mine, but the King's, and for a very different end. They said, *Este Maranham he Maranha*; . . . (an untranslatable play upon the word, implying that there was some secret design in his voyage) . . . and

the old Conde da Torre, talking with me upon it, his opinion was, &c." . . . Here is an &c. which Coke himself, the great unraveller of &c.s, could not have expounded. What follows is very remarkable. "Would to God that this information had not reached your Excellency, and that Potosi had not been a most rich proof of my frustrated undertakings." *Quiz Deos que esta noticia nam chegasse a V. Exc. para que o Potosi nam fosse huma riquissima prova dos meos negocios desvanecidos. Cartas, t. 1, p. 398.*

I have seen nothing in any work either printed or manuscript, which throws the least light upon this hint. Does it imply that there had been an intention of making an attack upon Potosi by way of the Madeira and the Mamore? According to the Abbe Raynal (*T. 4, p. 279*.) Teixeira's voyage had given occasion to a scheme for collecting the treasures of Peru, the Nuevo Reyno, Popayan, and Quito, by the Orellana at Belem, and from thence conveying them to Europe with the Brazil fleet. I know not upon what authority this is asserted, . . . (perhaps Gomberville's, whose work I have not been able to procure; but in that case farther authority would still be to be sought;) . . . but if such a plan had been entertained it must have been known to Joam IV. when he obtained the throne, and might have suggested the obvious thought, that the treasures of Potosi might be reached by the same route.

41. *The Dutch, p. 654.]* Du Tertre tells us what became of the Dutch settlers, when finally ejected from Brazil. The people from Recife, having leave to embark with their slaves and moveable property, sailed for the French Islands, all except one ship of fourteen hundred tons; and putting into Martinique, requested permission of M. Parquet to settle there upon the same terms as the French colonists. M. Parquet was very willing to receive such settlers, and had consented so to do, when the Jesuits interposed, and represented that nothing could be more contrary to the King's intentions, than that Heresy and Judaism should be received into his colonies. Their remonstrances were so strong that the Governor reluctantly retracted his promise, and dismissed them as civilly as he could. A cargo of Flemings, being of the Catholic faith, were admitted, and settled, to the number of two hundred, in the *Grand Cul de Sac Royal*. The situation was unwholesome; the savages plundered them, and sold the plunder to the French at Guadaloupe; burnt the houses, killed many of the people, and

forced the survivors to abandon the place. Some half a dozen Jews contrived to obtain a settlement; and M. Biet, in his *Relation du Voyage de Cayenne*, reviles M. Parquet for permitting this, and suffering them to hold their synagogues there. Du Tertre rebuts this accusation in the true spirit of a Dominican Friar: *C'est une imposture effroyable, et un mensonge enorme, de dire qu'on ait jamais donné la liberté aux Juifs de faire la moindre action de leur religion. M. Parquet ne se servoit des Juifs qui estoient venus du Bresil en son Isle que comme des esclaves pour le bien de son peuple, ainsi que l'on s'en sert à Rome, en Avignon, et à Metz.*

T. 1, p. 528.

The ship with the exiles from Itamaraca, more fortunately made for Guadaloupe, where there were no Jesuits, and where M. Houel joyfully received them. They were followed in a few days by a ship of the States, bringing the garrisons of that Island and of Paraiba, in all four hundred men, with Klaas, the Lieutenant Colonel of Recife, whom the Portuguese had excepted from the capitulation (for some nefarious cruelty, no doubt,) but who had escaped on a piperi, or small raft, with two negroes, to Itamaraca. More than nine hundred persons settled in Guadaloupe, having, it is said, immense riches in plate, money, and jewels. A Jesuit came from Martinique to turn them out; but he was drily received and dismissed by M. Houel. Three hundred of these settlers were good Walloon and Flemish soldiers; the others were masters of families, with three hundred slaves and two hundred women. There were some who understood the whole management of an Engenho, and undertook to make sugar as good as that of Brazil. Great preparations were made, and expectations formed; but the principal Dutchmen did not like their situation, and therefore left the island. They had been well fleeced on their arrival: they who remained, whether Dutch or Jews, had their full revenge, by setting up *gargoteries*, or drinking houses; . . . as long as there was either money or bullion to be obtained, they refused to take tobacco in payment; by this means, in the course of only three years, they got into their hands all the wealth which the fugitives had brought, and having stript the French, retreated with their gains. *Du Tertre, t. 1, p. 460—5.*

This writer says that the Refugees, both in Martinique and Guadaloupe, (for some settled permanently in both islands,) followed the Brazilian custom, of not providing food, clothing, or any thing else for their slaves, but gave them

land, and allowed them the Saturday to work for themselves. *T. 2, p. 515.*

Most of the Walloon soldiers entered the French service in the Islands. *T. 1, p. 432.*

42. *Whale fishery, p. 661.]* The number of whales had probably been much lessened within the preceding century. F. Gaspar Affonso, in his *Relaçam da Viagem e Successo que teve a Nao S. Francisco, 1596, (Hist. Tragico Maritima, t. 2.)* says that during four months of the year the Jesuits might have let the windows of their College at Bahia, as for a spectacle, such was the continual sport which the whales made, who during the spring and summer, for their own particular reasons (*por particulares respectos seus*), resorted at that season to the Reconcave, and spent the time in continual play, leaping and dancing, sometimes spouting up water, sometimes raising themselves straight up, as high in the air as nature would permit, then letting that great tower of flesh or fish fall splash upon the water.

P. 328.

43. *Porto Seguro, p. 664.]* Porto Seguro was the scene of a curious story. "There dwelt an honourable and right Christian man there," says the original narrator, "named Manoel da Cunha, with a wife and a large family of children, whom he managed religiously; but they were in such poverty that they waited one upon another, and were supported miserably enough by his personal labour, and by Divine Providence, which in such cases never forsakes those who put their full confidence in it, and which sometimes ministers to them supernatural assistance. One night, when these poor creatures were thinking that they had nothing to eat, they saw that there was food in the house; that the cooking was going on, and that every other part of the business of the family was performed by some invisible agency; . . . they saw the faggot come in at the door, the pitcher of water appear, the table lay itself, the beds make themselves, and the house swept without hands or brush; at which they were all astonished, and gave thanks to God for this great mercy, as that which could only come from his powerful hand, . . . an opinion in which surely I think they were right. The old man, seeing that this sort of catering and attendance was continued, began however to enter into new doubts upon the matter, because he was too unworthy a sinner for this to be done for him by Heaven: so he resolved to conjure the unseen servant, and

ask who it was who did for him these good offices, which were as strange in the world as they were unexpected. The answer was, that it was the Devil. Upon this the poor man, like one who feared God, was greatly amazed, and he conjured him the more, and in the name of the Lord required him to depart from his house, for he would not receive such services from such hands. To this the Accursed One replied, Do not fatigue yourself nor trouble yourself; for I shall not go from hence, and I shall not cease to serve thee. Seeing this, the good man had recourse to the remedies of the Church, as the only ones in our difficulties whensoever they oppress us; and having confessed himself and all his family first, called in the Priest, that with holy exorcisms he might drive this infernal disturber of his spiritual peace out of the house. The good pastor performed his part with all diligence, but was undeceived, and answered to the same purport, that the Evil Spirit would not cease to wait upon this poor man and all his household, but that there needed no fear that any hurt should be done either to soul or body. And accordingly the Devil did thus for sixteen years, with all diligence, quickness, and attention, without molesting him in spirituals or temporals, whereby it may be well understood that he did not do these things by his own good will.

"The manner in which this servant served was this; . . . he would bring him meal which he had never prepared, game which he had never hunted, fish which he had never fished for; . . . for he stole every thing, the meal from the mealman, game from the hunter, fish from the fisherman, and thus with every thing which is necessary for the support of human life. But his Master, who could not help all this, and in course of time came to understand all his ways, never made use of any thing without showing it to the owners, and they immediately knew who had been the thief, and contented themselves perhaps with dividing it, taking one half; the other, which was left for this poor family, must have been made up from what had been withheld in tythes. In this manner this Servant past sixteen years, without doing any injury, and without asking for any wages at his departure; and he is called the Devil of Porto Seguro . . . *bem nomeado nestas partes, e esta historia bem sabida.*"

Jaboatam, § 70.

If this be not a mere old wife's tale, it is a matchless instance of impudent and ingenious roguery.

44. *Trade of Bahia, p. 670.*] "The chief commodities that the European ships bring hither, are linen cloaths, both coarse and fine, some woollens also, as bayzes, searges, perpetuanas, &c. hats, stockings both of silk and thread, bisket bread, wheat flour, wine (chiefly port), oil-olive, butter, cheese, &c. and salt beef and pork would there also be good commodities. They bring hither also iron, and all sorts of iron tools; pewter vessels of all sorts, as dishes, plates, spoons, &c. looking-glasses, beads, and other toys: and the ships that touch at St. Jago bring thence, as I said, cotton cloth, which is afterwards sent to Angola.

"The European ships carry from hence sugar, tobacco, either in roll or snuff, never in leaf that I know of. These are the staple commodities; besides which here are dye-woods, as fustick, &c. with wood for other uses, as speckled wood, brazil, &c. They also carry home raw hides, tallow, train-oil of whales, &c. Here are also kept tame monkeys, parrots, parakites, &c. which the seamen carry home."

Dampier, v. 3, p. 54.

"The ships that use the Guinea trade are small vessels in comparison of the former. They carry out from hence rum, sugar, the cotton cloths of St. Jago, beads, &c. and bring in return, gold, ivory, and slaves; making very good returns. *Do. vol. 3, p. 59.*

"Many passengers embark from Madeira for Brazil," says the author of the *Arte de Furtar*, who speaks here of what he had seen in that island. "They who have no capital to pay for their passage, and provide themselves for the voyage, ask the merchants to lend them money, which they are to return in sugar. One of them answers, I sell cloth, and do not lend money, which I want for my trade: if *V. Merced* wishes to have cloth upon credit, I will let you have it, and you may find a purchaser, and serve your purpose with the money which you want. . . . As *V. M.* pleases; all is gold which is worth gold. . . . As it is an affair of credit, the price is fixed accordingly, and the bargain being made for as much as will produce fifty milreis by selling it again, the merchant adds, Now that *V. M.* may not have the trouble of going farther, I will take these goods of you at the price which I pay for them in London, and pay you the money immediately; . . . here is another advantage to be esteemed, and he abates upon every yard in buying more than he had added to its price in selling, and pays himself presently for the exchange, . . .

for he is to receive his debt the same year, good security being given for this. Thus these fifty milreis cost the passenger more than an hundred, and the merchant receives and resells the sugar from Brazil, with which he pays himself more than two hundred." *Ch. 26, p. 222.*

45. *By the operation of the sun it was gradually dried, hardened, and aurified, p. 669.]* This seems to have been the prevailing theory of the age. It is thus stated by John Burton, in his History of Eriander, the singular work of a learned, speculative, and able man. "In the production of minerals a concrete or coagulated juice, which is the seed of the metal, is wrapt up in the womb of the earth, is rarified and extended by a certain heat, (either inbred, or peradventure derived from the sun, and darted through the earth's pores into the mine;) and when it is augmented by super-addition of new matter, this heat concocts and converts it into the substance of such a mineral, whose form and essence it is apt to receive; and thus it is brought from its loose principles into a perfect consistency." *P. 58.*

46. *Flecko, p. 670.]* "A Relation of ten Years' Travels in Europe, Asia, Affrique, and America, all by way of Letters occasionally written to divers noble Personages, from Place to Place; and continued to this present year, by Richard Flecko. With divers other Historical, Moral, and Poetical Pieces, of the same Author.

"*Hæc olim meminisse juvabit.*

"London, Printed for the Author, and are to be sold by —"

Farther the title page sayeth not. The latest date in the book is 1655.

The Epistle Dedicatory is creditable to the author:

"*To all those Noble Personages mentioned in these following Letters.*

"To you with good reason I dedicate these Letters, to whom they were writ, and to whom I have dedicated myself: For whilst others were desirous of pleasures, ambitious of honours, or covetous of wealth, you were all in all to me, all my pleasure, all my honour, all my wealth; nor had I other desire nor ambition but of you: so became I more deserving, similitude of disposition best gaining and conserving friends, knowing you were not to be purchased but by worth, nor conserved but by merit. Never any man then gained more by his Friends than I, .. not without some acknowledgement to mine Enemies, (of

whom I should have fewer, if they would be content to stand neuters). Of which sort though I make no mention, yet had I ever some who added sharp spurs unto me of doing well, not to afford them the pleasure of my doing ill; as soldiers in battle are most commonly as much encouraged to fight, to deprive their enemies of the victory as to gain it for their friends. Accept then of this Dedication, and be still to me as you have ever been, so shall I study still to be always to you as I have been,

"Yours, &c."

To the Reader he says, "Tis for no vaunt nor boast that I write my Travels, I esteeming myself (I can assure thee) a far less Traveller now (having failed of seeing the East Indies, and consequently all the Eastern Monarchies,) than I did when I past over seas to Zealand first." The publication seems to have been designed to gratify his noble friends, and draw upon their bounty, which appears to have been given and received more with a feeling of reciprocal friendship and esteem, than with any pride of patronage on the one hand, or sense of dependence on the other. "Since fortune," he says, "deceived me, and brought me to my crutches, whom should I rely upon but the best able to support me? which they the more willingly do, perhaps because I lean so lightly on them, and always strive to afford them some pleasure for the profit I receive of them."

Flecko left England in the year 1640; for reasons which he expresses with some quaintness, and not without some felicity of language. .. "There are divers birds that fly away when storms and winter come; .. one of those birds am I; for all prognosticks mariners observe of ensuing storms, I have observed in England: the billows beginning to swell high, and those porpoises which, were the times fair and serene, should be o' th' bottom, dancing on the top. Meantime let your vast and strong built carracks ride out the storm for me, I'm too weak and slight built a vessel for tempestuous seas. Besides, educated as I am in the arts of peace, (music and poetry) and your musick of *Base, Superious, and Rector Chori*, or King, Peers, and Commons, being all disconsorted, the Base neither admitting of Master of the Quire to moderate it, nor *Superious* to consort with 't, without which 'tis rather a loud tumultuous noise than musick and harmony, .. England is no place for me. And for Poets, they are well feigned to delight in Hills and Mountains, where there are always some Eminences above *Lycurgus* vallies,

or fields of standing corn where all heads are equal; England begins to be a place too much overgrown with shrubs and underwoods for me."

The English Emigrants were not numerous enough to exhaust the bounty of those who pitied them, nor to incur any reproach for not having remained in their own country, and stood manfully forward in support of their own cause. Fleckno also had the recommendation of being a Catholic, . . . he carried with him the best introductions from England, made friends wherever he went, and found his music, in which he seems to have been profoundly skilled, of no little advantage to him. After residing some years in Flanders and Italy, he embarked from Marseilles in an English vessel, for Spain: on the way he was saved from some Barbary Corsairs, by a Dutch squadron sent on purpose to cruise against these Pirates, and gladly accepting the Dutch Vice-Admiral's invitation, he shifted his sea quarters and went with him into the Tagus, where he was landed at Cascaes. There the Governor suspected him for a spy, "or else," he says, "come thither upon some great design, and so presently he sent me to Lisbon with a soldier along with me, with express orders not to leave me till he had delivered me to the Secretary of State; who being altogether as great a politician as my Governor, made great difficulty of my staying in the country, till spying my lute, the suspicion I was a Musician as *clavis clavem pellit*, soon drove out of his head the suspicion that I was a Spy: so lodging me by way of caution in an English gentleman's house (a great confidant of the King) till he might inform his Majesty of me, who being an excellent Musician, was covetous of knowing all strangers of that profession. He no sooner understood of my arrival, but he sent for me to Court, and was so well satisfied with me, as (continuing my lodging in Mr. John Muley's, the same English gentleman's house, than which the whole town afforded not more noble accommodation,) the next day he sent for me again; where after some two or three hours' trial of my skill (especially in the composative part of music, in which his Majesty chiefly exceeded), I past Court Doctor, though Don Emanuel Sa, Grand Chamberlain to the King, swore 'twas rather a trial for a Doctor in an University than a Gentleman in a Court."

"Madam," says he in a letter where he merrily describes his life at Lisbon to the Countess of Berlamont, "I am not yet so heavenly minded to count all the world a prison, but I no longer ad-

miire those that do; since really I count myself as absolutely in prison here in not being able to go out of this kingdom for Flanders, as ever any did in a common gaol. To describe unto you my prison, and my company in 't (that you may pity me), I am here in Lisbon, a city of but nine or ten miles about, all built upon hills and dales, rising just like the great billows of the ocean; . . . when you are in the bottom, and wonder at the vastness of one, passing that, you find another as vast to wonder at. There I have a garden, no bigger than your park at Brussels, to walk in and take the air, where there's all sorts of fruits the East or West Indies can afford, or the Northern or Southern climate of the world produce, figs that make beccoficos of men, and melons both red and green, beyond their marmalades for meltingness; but alas! what are these to your pom-pions? Now for my company, I have none but such, one would be ashamed to keep company withall, . . . the King here, . . . a man of no estate, but only besides the Kingdom of Portugal and the Algarves in Europe, Lord of two or three Kingdoms in Affrique, of the Western Islands, the Madeiras, the Isles of Capo Verde, St. Thomas, the Empire of Goa in the East Indies, and of Brasilia in the West, alone bigger than all Europe together, . . . poor things, God wot, that with good husbanding might only yield about nine or ten millions every year."

Having remained some months in great favour at the Court of this benevolent Monarch, Fleckno was preparing in 1648 to return to Flanders, when, "just upon the point of my embarkment, he says to Mademoiselle de Beauvais, understanding of the loss of the battle of Lens, I thought it no ways fit to render the joy I hoped to conceive at sight of my friends in Flanders, abortive by their general sadness there: Wherefore casting about for some diversion for a year or so, till your losses might be recovered or forgot, there opportunely offered itself unto me the voyage to Brazil; which having proposed unto the King (without whose permission no stranger can undertake that voyage) his Majesty not only gave me permission, but two hundred crowns *aiuta da costa* for my voyage: when a hundred other considerations began to encourage me to the undertaking it, besides the ardent thirst I had of voyaging, which nothing but the whole ocean could quench. First, having seen so many rarities of the Brazils in Portugal, I thought it worthy my voyage thither to fetch you some of them. Secondly, according to the ancient expiation of fire and water, I thought it

fit to pass whole Oceans and the Torrid Zone, before I approached your presence. Thirdly, having somewhat in me of the philosopher and astrologer, I imagined it richly worth my journey, to see the stars of the other pole, and nature of the other hemisphere. And lastly, my desire to see all the world is so insatiable (whether the more one sees of it the less he is satisfied; or that it satisfies so much, as one has still a desire of seeing more), as just like another Alexander, not thinking one world sufficient, I am seeking another forth. Meantime, Mademoiselle, your goodness will pardon this presumption of mine (who ought not to stir out of one room into another without your permission), that I dare presume to go out of one world into another without your licence, being as I am, Mademoiselle,

“Your, &c.”

His voyage was prosperous, pleasant, and even luxurious. “For other commodities and delicacies you have on land,” he says, “we wanted none: our great cabins being large as your chambers, our beds as commodious, our decks spacious as your galleries to walk in, our kitchen our cellar as well furnished, herds of swine, flocks of sheep, and pullen of all sorts aboard, perpetually feasting, nor wanted we music to our feast, (besides an excellent set of trumpets,) the mariners having some fiddles among them to which they often danced to delight the passengers. And thus sleeping, eating, drinking, and recreating ourselves, we made our voyage secure from storms, secure from pirates and enemies; till making land about Cape St. Augustins, we might descry some three or four sail, which knowing to be Hollanders of Pernambuco, and not willing to encounter them, we steered to seaward again, being that night overtaken by one of them, who allarmed us as if their whole fleet had made after us, appearing on every side of us with fires on his main-mast, and about the wast of his ship perpetually burning (as a call it seems for his companions, if any were in sight) sailing away in the morning to find them out, and returning toward evening, ever endeavouring like a kite to snatch away our *Caravel* and *Pattachio*, which lay like chickens under our wings; till at last about the height of Bahia it left us, despairing to meet any of their fleet higher up.”

Thus prosperously they arrived at Rio de Janeiro, after a three months voyage, having lost only one man, of more than four hundred, in their four ships. “Going on shore,” he continues, “I found a lodging prepared for me by the Fa-

thers of the Company, with two mulattos or mongrel negroes to serve me, with my diet from their kitchen just against my lodging, whether by order from the King, the recommendations of the Governor, (who came along with us,) or the charity of the good Fathers, I know not; but certainly 'twas so extraordinary an accommodation as no money could have purchased the like, there being no inns nor Pensions to lodge or eat at, as with us; all who frequent these parts being either merchants who lodge with their correspondents, or sea-faring men who lodge aboard, . . . never any man like me before making that voyage merely on curiosity.”

Thus liberally was the first English visitor entertained in Brazil. I feel a pleasure in transcribing this passage, and preserving, as far as may be in my power, the memory of this princely liberality to a traveller. It is to be wished that Fleckno had profited more by the opportunities which were thus afforded him; . . . but if he was a bad Poet he was certainly a worse Traveller. Still I have gleaned something from his scanty gatherings. He had sufficient curiosity to take a land journey from the Rio, being carried by some “tame Savages” in a hammock, and sleeping at night suspended between two trees: but he does not tell whither he went, nor speak of any thing which he saw upon the way, except apes and parrots, of which the trees were as full “as if they had borne no other fruit.”

After remaining eight months, there being nothing in the country, he says, besides the satisfying his curiosity which could invite him to stay longer, he re-embarked for Lisbon. “And I can assure you I never fared better than I did on ship-board with the General Don Roderigo d’Alancastro, who lodged me in his own cabin, placed me at his table next himself, and not only made me companion alive with him, but would have done’t in death too if there had been occasion, (as we imagined on sight of another fleet, which afterward proved friends,) when, putting a rapier in my hand, and arming me with a *Rondache* or shield, he bid me, if we chanced to fight, keep always close to him, that we might live or die together.”

He remained something more than a year at Lisbon after his return from Brazil. “The Count d’Averos (newly made Viceroy of the East Indies) offered me,” he says, “the like accommodation with him thither, as I had with Don Roderigo d’Alancastro, (who had married his daughter,) in returning from Brazil; that is, my diet

and lodging with himself; to which the King would have willingly assented, and munificently contributed; which with many humble thanks I refused then; and if I repent me now, 'tis because I weigh it without the same circumstances which then turned the scales, (the extreme lassitude of one voyage and danger of th' other,) not one Portugal ship of three returning safe from that voyage, whilst not one in ten of the Hollanders ever miscarries; the doubling of the Cape of *Bona Esperanza* being only dangerous at some seasons in the year, which season they never avoid, (by their own confession,) so unwise men, or so ill mariners they are, not better to know to *time* their voyage, or *trim* their ship. But enough of voyaging; and now 'tis time for me, like a ship safe returned to harbour, to careen and rest awhile, and tempt fortune no longer, since *Quem sæpe transit, Causa aliquando invenit*: not one in a hundred ever having been so fortunate as I, nor perhaps did I live a hundred years should I be so fortunate again; I never knowing what danger was by land, nor storms by sea, in eight years travelling by one, and two years voyage by t'other; (so rare a felicity as perhaps none could ever boast besides myself:) so are there certain conjunctions which never but at certain periods (like eclipses) encounter, as was this, to be defrayed and entertained wherever I went (in manner) at the public cost, like some public Ambassador; one chief reason of which I imagine to have been my indifference of travelling to any place where I had not been before; (those who bind themselves to any one course in particular, renouncing to Fortune's concurrency to all the rest.) Yet let none ever hope the like advantages that are not signalized by some remarkable qualities, as I was by music, &c. there being something in art (whilst exercised in no mechanic way) above Fortune, that makes Princes more favour those that excel in t'one than t'other, they looking on t'one as their subjects, but on t'other as their companions; there being no superiority in Art as there is in Fortune, but the best, not the greatest, carries it."

These extracts will not be thought incurious from a book of extreme rarity which is not likely ever to be reprinted. To the English reader they will be interesting, Fleckno having (I know not

for what provocation) obtained an unhappy celebrity from Dryden: to Portuguese and Brazilian readers they will be more so, for the honourable testimony they bear to the liberality of their countrymen, and of Joam IV., a name which must ever be dear both to Portugal and Brazil.

47. *Rapacity of people in office, p. 681.*] Let me here insert a fine specimen of the Portuguese language, and of Vieyra's command of it, as well as of his peculiar vein of satire. It is perfectly untranslatable, like many other parts of this incomparable writer. A great proportion of my readers will understand Portuguese, and I shall be glad if the occasional extracts in these volumes should induce others to become acquainted with a language which is inferior to no modern speech, and which contains some of the most original and admirable works that I have ever perused.

The picture which Vieyra draws was applicable to every part of the Portuguese dominions at that time; and though Brazil is not mentioned, it cannot be doubted but that he had Brazil, the country with which he was best acquainted, more particularly in his eye.

"Encomendou El Rey D. Joam o Terceiro a S. Francisco Xavier o informasse do Estado da India por via de seu companheiro que era Mestre do Principe; e o que o Santo escreveu de lá sem nomear officios nem pessoas, foy quo o Verbo *Rapio* na India se conjugava por todos os modos. A frase parece jocoza em negocio tam serio; mas fallou o servo de Deos, como falla Deos, que em huma palavra diz tudo. Nicolao de Lyra sobre aquellas palavras de Daniel, *Nabucodonosor Rex misit ad congregandos Satrapas, Magistratus et Judices*, declarando a etymologia de Satrapas, que eram os Governadores das Provincias, diz que este nome foy composta de *Sat*, e de * *Rapio*. . . *Dicuntur Satrapæ quasi satis rapientes, quia solent bona inferiorum rapere*: . . chamamse Satrapas, porque costumam roubar assaz. . . E este assaz he o que especificou melhor S. Francisco Xavier, dizendo que conjugam o verbo *Rapio* por todos os modos. O que eu posso acrescentar, pela experiencia que tenho, he que nam só do Cabo da Boa Esperança para lá, mas tambem das partes da quem se usa igualmente a mesma conjugação. Conjugam por todos os modos o verbo *Rapio*;

* This may remind the reader of what was said of Rapinat, the Directory's agent in Switzerland, . . . that it was uncertain whether Rapinat was derived from *Rapine*, or *Rapine* from Rapinat.

porque furtam por todos os modos da arte, nam fallando em outros novos e exquisitos, que nam conheço Donato, nem Despauterio. Tanto que lá chegam, começam a furtar pelo modo Indicativo; porque a primeira informação que pedem aos praticos, he que lhe apontem e mostrem os eaminhos, por onde podem abarcar tudo. Furtam pelo modo Imperativo; porque como tem o mera e mixto imperio, todo elle applicam despoticamente às execuções da rapina. Furtam pelo modo Mandativo: porque aceitam quanto lhes mandam; e para que mandam todos, os que nam mandam nam sam aceitos. Furtam pelo modo Optativo; porque desejam quanto lhe parece bem; e gabando as cousas desejadas aos donos dellas, por cortezia sem vontade as fazem suas. Furtam pelo modo Conjuntivo; porque ajuntam o seu pouco cabedal com o daquelles que manejam muito, e basta só que ajuntem a sua graça, para serem quando menos meyeiros na ganancia. Furtam pelo modo Potencial, porque sem pretexto, nem cerimonia usam de potencia. Furtam pelo modo Permissivo; porque permittem que outros furtem, e estes compram as permissões. Furtam pelo modo Infinitivo; porque nam tem fim o furtar com o fim do governo, e sempre lá deixam raizes em que se vam continuando os furtos. Estes mesmos modos conjugam por todos as pessoas; porque a primeira pessoa do verbo he a sua, as segundas os seus criados, e as terceiras, quantas para isso tem industria e consciencia. Furtam juntamente por todos os tempos; porque do Presente (que he o seu tempo) colhem quanto dá de si o triennio; e para incluirem no presente o Preterito e Futuro, do Preterito desenterram crimes, de que vendem os perdoens, e dividas esquecidas, de que se pagam inteiramente; e do Futuro empenham as rendas, e anticipam os contratos, com que tudo o cabido e nam cabido lhe vem a cahir nas mãos. Finalmente nos mesmos tempos nam lhe escapam os Imperfeitos, Perfeitos, Plusquam Perfeitos, e quaesquer outros, porque furtam, furtaram, furtavam, furtariam, e haveriam de furtar mais, se mais houvesse. Em summa que o resumo de toda esta rapante conjugação vem a ser o supino do mesmo verbo, a furtar para furtar. E quando elles tem conjugado assim toda a voz activa, e as miseraveis Provincias supportado toda a passiva, elles como se tiveram feito grandes serviços, tornam carregados de despojos e ricos, e ellas ficam roubadas e consumidas."

Sermam do Bom Ludram, t. 3, p. 334.

This passage perhaps occasioned the *Arte de Furtar* to be imputed to Vieira, though that work

contains abundant internal proof that it is not, and could not possibly be his.

48. *Dissolute manners, p. 681.*] Fleckno, himself a Catholic, adduces in one of his Letters from Rome a curious proof of the truth of the Catholic Religion. Speaking of the Christian Babylon he says, "Every wall is a monument; and the stones of more than a thousand years standing, stand up in testimony of their Religion, of the truth of which, though there were no other argument, yet 'twere enough to convince any rational man, that it must needs be that Church and Religion our blessed Saviour promised perpetuity unto, since in so great corruption of manners it stands still, and falls not to the ground, while so many others who pretend to more virtue and morality of life, are wholly perished and decayed." *Relation of Ten Years Travels, p. 35.*

49. *F. Joam d'Almeida's Covenant, p. 684.*] The Portuguese reader will perceive that I have faithfully given the substance of this extraordinary paper, which is here inserted as Vasconcellos has printed it from the original in Almeida's own writing.

"Tem por titulo o Aranzel, *Lembranças para toda tua vida, que sempre has de ler muitas vezes*; e começa assi. Com a graça Divina, favor e ajuda de Deos Nosso Senhor, e da Virgen minha Senhora Mãi de Deos, Favorecedora, Mestra, Guia, Luz, Animo e Fortaleza dos fracos, e desconfiados peccadores, como eu sou, (E vai fazendo hum largo preambolo de todos os Santos do Ceo, e logo prosegue) que me queiram Todos acudir, favorecer, e ajudar, e rogar por mi a Deos N. S. pois eu nam tenho de mim outra couza, em que possa confiar, nem esperar; e tenho infinitas culpas, e pecados enormes, feios e espantozos, porque poder temer minha condenaçam, e perdiçam eterna; os quais eu sei, conheço, e confesso, e sei mui bem que Deos N. S. os sabe, e eu os sei, e nam os sabe outro senam eu. E nam os apouto aqui, porque pera o fazer era necessario muito papel; porque nunea pude, nem soube fazer cousa boa; e isto que vou pondo aqui em lembrança se o for e merecer nome de bem, nam he meu, senam de Deos meu Senhor.

Primeiramente, todas as Segundas Feiras do Anno, a Santissima Trindade, Nada; (quer dizer que nam comerá nada) pelas Almas do Fogo do Purgatorio, com hum dos tres cilicios, conforme a disposiçam, forças ou fraqueza do pobre Jumento (assi chamava o seu Corpo) com os costumes.

Abanamoscas de meus quatro açoutes, em penitencia, por amor e reverencia, meioria e lembrança daquelles deshumanos, duros e cruelissimos cinco mil e sete centos e setenta e tantos açoutes, que meu Bom, Verdadeiro e Amorosissimo Senhor, Redentor, e Salvador Jesu Christo por meu amor foi servido sofrer.

“Todas as Terças feiras do anno a pam e agoa, com tudo o mais assima, ao Senhor Arcanjo S. Miguel, Anjo de minha guarda, e mais Anjos da Gloria; pedindolhes se compadecem de mim, e me nam desemparem na vida, nem na morte; e roguem a Deos me queira perdoar e salvar, Amen.

“Todas as quintas feiras, Nada, ao Espirito Santo, e Santissimo Sacramento, e a nosso S. Patriarca Inacio, e aos Apostolos, e todos os mais Santos e Santas da Gloria. Ao Espirito Santo, que me alumie, e abraze com seu Divino Amor, e que me ensine e disponha com hum aparelho devido pera poder celebrar e tratar tam altos e subidos Misterios, como se encerram no Santissimo Sacrificio da Missa, com a devida humildade, temor, e amor.

“Todas as Sestas feiras do anno, me lembrarei da abstinencia, tantas vezes encomendada no principio de cada mez em nossas Regras, pera a executar, e por obra, conforme o costume da Companhia, e assi como os demais da Comunidade, e quando eu puder, todas as vezes e dias do anno de toda minha vida a Pam e Agoa, e tambem Nada algumas vezes. E tambem me lembrarei de como tenho deixado o Vinho de todo, pera nunca mais o beber em todos os dias de minha vida salvo em alguma necessidade.

“Todos os Sabados do anno Nada, a Virgem Santissima Minha Senhora Mãe de Deos, com tudo o mais que Ella sabe, quer, e for mais servida que eu faça; e espero e confio nella nunca me faltará como Mãe de Misericordia e Piedade que he minha; e como tal espero nella me ha d'alcançar viver e morrer na Companhia, verdadeiramente arrependido de todos os meus pecados; confessado e comungado com o Viatico do Santissimo Corpo e Sangue de meu Senhor Jesu Christo, e com a Santa Unçam, Fe, e Esperança viva, e verdadeira de minha salvação.

“Os Domingos do anno, e Quartas feiras de Quintas, ou Suetos de toda minha vida, como os outros; almoçando, jantando, e ceiado quando o

ouver, pera todos da Santa Comunidade. Todos os jejuns d'obrigaçam da Igreja, da Santa Quaresma, quatro Temporas, Vigalias de Santos, pera mais me conformar com a vontade do Senhor, e com a Santa Obediencia dos Superiores, Provinciaes, Reitores, Confessores, jejuarei como os outros da Santa Comunidade, indo ao Refeitório duas vezes, jantar e consoar. E quando os jejuns da obrigaçam da Igreja, acertarem de cahir nos dias de meus jejuns particulares, os ei de jejuar tambem como os demais jejuns da Igreja; tirando quando me obrigar alguma outra rezam particular. Nos jejuns de pam e agoa, nunca comerei mais que huma vez ao dia; e quando me achar fraco, e com necessidade, pedirei mais pam, com licença que pera isso terei, e tenho do Padre Ministro: e tudo isto que fica escrito, com tudo o mais que eu fizer, e intentar fazer, nem he, nem sera mais, do que for vontade do Senhor, e a Santa Obediencia ordenar e mandar: e terei diante dos olhos com viva memoria, o muito e infinito que devo a Deos, meu verdadeiro Criador, Redentor e Salvador. O Alma minha cega, feia sobre todas as fealdades do mundo! fugitiva adultera, traidora, ingrata e desconhecida, por todas as partes tam indina de tal e tam bom Senhor, Redentor, Salvador, e Esposo amantissimo, que tanto me quiz, e me quer, e padeceo por mim, e me nam tem botado no Inferno, e castigado como eu mereci tantas vezes, mais que todas as Almas que la estam! E com isto procurarei ser outro daqui em diante em toda a perfeiçam e mortificaçam, em que todos os Santos da Companhia de Jesu, que estam no Ceo, e os que hoje vivam em toda a redondeza do Mundo, procuraram assinalarse; e assi torno a renovar o que muitas vezes propuz firmemente, de me mortificar em todos meus sentidos.

“E todas estas cousas, que ficam escritas, verei e lerei muitas vezes, pera dellas me lembrar, e as cumprir, e por obra, cumprindo em tudo a vontade do Senhor; e d'estar a Obediencia de todos meus Superiores e Confessores em todos os dias de minha vida, em todos os lugares onde estiver, e por onde andar, e Deos me levar, que quererá elle que seja para si, com salvação certa de minha alma. Amen.”

At the end of this were many renewals and confirmations of these resolutions, signed and dated with the day and hour when each was made.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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The following important passage should be inserted p. 243, line 28, after the words " Affonso VI."

A paper was found in the King's secret cabinet, signed by his own hand with three crosses, in which he desired that, if Portugal should be unable to continue the arduous struggle, his widow would retreat with her children to Brazil. So likely was it that the royal family would be reduced to this measure, that by the advice of the Condes de Cantanhede and Soure, Brito Freyre was sent out ostensibly as Governor to Pernambuco, but in reality to provide for receiving them; and in conformity to the King's directions, Vieyra, who was then in Maranham, received orders to hold himself in readiness to join him there and assist him with his counsel. The reason for preferring Pernambuco to Bahia seems to have been because Recife was the stronger place, and capable of holding out against any force which Spain might send against the royal refugees. The danger was indeed imminent. The Spaniards, &c.

*Cartas de
Vieyra. 2.
p. 416.*

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Copy of
Letter V.
p. 110.

WILLIAM JOYCE
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