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History of Brazil ;

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TO
THE REVEREND HERBERT HILL
THIS HISTORY IS INSCRIBED,
BY
HIS NEPHEW
ROBERT SOUTHEY,
AS A MEMORIAL
OF
GRATEFUL AND RESPECTFUL AFFECTION.



PREFACE,

SOMETHING more than the title promises, is comprized in the present work. It relates the foundation and progress of the adjacent Spanish Provinces, the affairs of which are in latter times inseparably connected with those of Brazil. The subject may therefore be considered as including the whole track of country between the rivers Plata, Paraguay, and Orellana or the Amazons, and extending Eastward towards Peru, as far as the Portugueze have extended their settlements or their discoveries.

The only general History of Brazil is the *America Portugueza* of Sebastian da Rocha Pitta, a meagre and inaccurate work, which has been accounted valuable, merely because there was no other. There are many copious and good accounts of the Dutch war. Earlier information is to be gleaned from books where it occurs rather incidentally,

PREFACE.

than by design. Authorities are still scarcer for the subsequent period, and for the greater part of the last century, printed documents almost entirely fail. A collection of manuscripts not less extensive than curious, and which is not to be equalled in England, enables me to supply this chasm in history. The collection was formed during a residence of more than thirty years in Portugal, by the friend and relation to whom this work is inscribed. Without the assistance which I have received from him, it would have been hopeless to undertake, and impossible to compleat it.

A critical account of all the materials which have been consulted, will be appended to the concluding volume. The map also is delayed, for the purpose of rendering it as full, and as little incorrect as possible, though a far better than any which has yet appeared might have been given at present.

Should any person who may see this volume be in possession of any of the books enumerated below, he would greatly oblige and serve me by consigning it to Messrs. Longman and Co. for my use, and he may rely upon its being speedily and carefully returned.

R. S.

Literæ Annuæ Provinciæ Paraguariæ, &c.

Any volumes of the Jesuits' Annual Letters or Relations, except those from 1551 to 1558, and those for the years 1601, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8.

Montoya, Conquista Espiritual de Paraguay

Lozano, Hist. de Paraguay,

The Latin translation of Charlevoix's Hist. du Paraguay. Venice, 1779.

Fasti Novi Orbis. Venice, 1777. a work published under the name of Cyriacus Morelli, by the Jesuit P. Domingo Muriel.

P. Sim. de Vasconcellos. Vida do P. Joam de Almeida.

O Valeroso Lucideno.

Rel. diaria do sitio do Recife. Lisbon, 1654; or the Italian translation.

Anchieta's Brazilian Grammar.

the volume of the *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*,
1911, vol. 4, p. 100. The volume of the *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*,
1911, vol. 4, p. 100.

should not be taken to mean that this volume is in possession of any of
the books mentioned below, or that it is a copy of any of them, or
that it contains any of the material mentioned in the list below.

These volumes of the *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* except
those from 1911 to 1918 and those for the years 1901, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

Montoya, Conquistas Espiritual de Paraguay.
Lima, Hist. de Paraguay.
The Latin translation of Charlevoix's *Hist. du Paraguay*, Vol. 1.

1797.
L'Asie Novelle, par le Comte de Voltaire, 1747, a work published under the name
of Cyrano de Bergerac, by the Comte de Voltaire, 1747.
P. Sim. de Vasconcellos, *Tratado do P. João de Almeida*.

O Varoso Partheno.
Hist. de la site de Hebre. Lisbon, 1854; or The Italian trans-
lation.
Archives of Brazilian Grammar.

CONTENTS.

| | Page |
|---|------|
| INTRODUCTION. | |
| Nature of this History - - - | 1 |
| CHAPTER I. | |
| Vicente Yañez Pinzon discovers the Coast of Brazil and the River Maranham. Voyage of Cabral. He names the country Santa Cruz. Amerigo Vespucci sent to survey the coast. His second voyage. The first settlement made by him. The country obtains the name of Brazil. | |
| Voyage of Pinzon - - - - - | 4 |
| The line first crost, and Cape St. Augustines first seen - - - - - | ib. |
| Discovery of the River Maranham or Orelana - - - - - | 5 |
| Hyger or Bore on the Meary - - - - - | 7 |
| Voyage of Cabral - - - - - | 9 |
| He is driven to the Coast of Brazil - - - - - | 10 |
| Appearance of the natives - - - - - | 11 |
| Porto Seguro discovered - - - - - | 12 |
| The first mass performed - - - - - | ib. |
| Possession taken for the Crown of Portugal - - - - - | 13 |
| Voyage of Amerigo Vespucci - - - - - | 14 |
| Cannibalism of the natives - - - - - | 15 |
| Second voyage of Vespucci - - - - - | 18 |
| First settlement in the country - - - - - | 20 |
| It obtains the name of Brazil - - - - - | 21 |
| Criminals sent to serve there - - - - - | 23 |

| | Page |
|---|------|
| CHAPTER II. | |
| Voyage of Pinzon and Solis. Discovery of the Rio de la Plata. The French trade to Brazil. History of Caramuru. Brazil divided into Captaincies. St. Vicente. The Goaynazes. St. Amaro and Tamaraca. Paraiba. The Goaytacazes. Espirito Santo. The Papanazes. Porto Seguro. The Tupiniquins. Captaincy of the Ilheos. Bahia. Revolutions in the Reconcave. Expulsion of the colonists there. Pernambuco. The Cabetes. The Tobayares. Siege of Garassu. Expedition of Aires da Cunha to Maranham. | |
| Voyage of Pinzon and Solis - - - - - | 25 |
| Discovery of the Plata - - - - - | 26 |
| Death of Solis - - - - - | 27 |
| Trade of the French to Brazil - - - - - | 28 |
| Bahia discovered - - - - - | 29 |
| Adventures of Caramuru - - - - - | 30 |
| Brazil divided into Captaincies - - - - - | 32 |
| St. Vicente - - - - - | 33 |
| The Goaynazes - - - - - | 34 |
| First sugar canes planted - - - - - | 35 |
| St. Amaro and Tamaraca - - - - - | 36 |
| Paraiba - - - - - | 37 |
| The Goaytacazes - - - - - | ib. |
| Espirito Santo - - - - - | 38 |
| The Papanazes - - - - - | 39 |
| Porto Seguro - - - - - | ib. |

b.

| | <i>Page</i> | | <i>Page</i> |
|--|-------------|--|-------------|
| The Tupiniquins - | 39 | The Spaniards win a settlement of the Carios, which they call Asumpcion - | 66 |
| Captaincy of the Ilheos - | 40 | The Agaces - | 67 |
| Bahia - | 41 | Ayolas hears of gold and silver among a people called Carcarisos, and goes in search of them - | <i>ib.</i> |
| Revolutions in the Reconcave - | 42 | Yrala returns to Asumpcion - | 66 |
| Expulsion of Coutinho - | 43 | Misconduct of Fr. Ruyz at Buena Esperanza - | 70 |
| Pernambuco - | 44 | Reinforcements sent out under Cabrera - | 72 |
| The Cahetes - | <i>ib.</i> | Hulderic Schmidel escapes from shipwreck - | 72 |
| The Tobayares - | 45 | Yrala marches in search of Ayolas - | 73 |
| Hans Stade arrives in Brazil - | 46 | Whose death is ascertained - | 74 |
| Siege of Garassu or Iguaraçu - | <i>ib.</i> | The Payagoaes - | <i>ib.</i> |
| Expedition of Aires da Cunha, and the sons of Barros to Maranhã - | 48 | Buenos Ayres abandoned - | 75 |
| CHAPTER III. | | | |
| Voyage of Sebastian Cabot. He names the river Plata, and remains there five years. D. Pedro de Mendoza obtains a grant of the conquest. Foundation of Buenos Ayres. War with the Quirandies. Famine. Buenos Ayres burnt by the Savages. Buena Esperanza founded. The Timbues. Mendoza sets sail for Spain, and dies upon the passage. Ayolas ascends the Paraguay. The Carios. The Spaniards win their settlement, and call it Asumpcion. The Agaces. Ayolas goes in search of the Carcarisos, a people who were said to have gold and silver. Yrala waits for him as long as possible, and then returns to Asumpcion. Misconduct of Francisco Ruyz. Buena Esperanza besieged and abandoned. Reinforcements sent out under Cabrera. Yrala marches in search of Ayolas. The death of that Commander ascertained. The Payagoaes. The Spaniards abandon Buenos Ayres, and collect all their force at Asumpcion. | | | |
| Voyage of Sebastian Cabot - | 51 | CHAPTER IV. | |
| He goes up the Plata and enters the Paraguay - | 53 | Expedition of Diego de Ordas. Gonzalo Pizarro sets out in quest of El Dorado. Voyage of Orellana. Attempt of Luiz de Mello to settle at Maranhã. | |
| Voyage of Diego Garcia - | 54 | Diego de Ordas obtains a grant of conquest - | 79 |
| The river Plata obtains its present name - | 55 | He attempts to ascend the Amazons, and then the Orinoco - | 77 |
| Cabot driven out by the Guaranies - | 56 | Expedition of Gonzalo Pizarro in search of El Dorado - | 78 |
| Expedition of Mendoza - | 57 | Orellana joins him - | 79 |
| Buenos Ayres founded - | 58 | Cruelty of G. Pizarro - | 80 |
| War with the Quirandies - | 60 | Sufferings of his people - | 81 |
| Famine at Buenos Ayres - | 61 | They build a brigantine - | <i>ib.</i> |
| Buenos Ayres burnt by the Savages - | 62 | In which Orellana is sent forward. He enters the Napo, and resolves to proceed down the stream - | 82 |
| Mendoza returns to Spain and dies on the voyage - | 62 | Reports of a nation of Amazons - | 85 |
| Ayolas ascends the Paraguay - | 64 | The Encabellados - | 87 |
| The Carios - | 65 | The Savages attack the Spaniards - | 88 |
| | | Psalming the wounded - | 89 |
| | | The Amazons - | 94 |
| | | They reach the sea - | 99 |
| | | Orellana undertakes the conquest of his discoveries - | <i>ib.</i> |
| | | And dies while attempting it - | 101 |
| | | Reasons for restoring his name to the river - | 102 |
| | | CHAPTER V. | |
| | | Cabeza de Vaca succeeds Mendoza in the Plata. He marches overland from S. Catalina. Advances from Asumpcion up the Paraguay, and marches into the country towards Peru in search of gold. The Spaniards return for want of food, . . . mutiny against him, and send him prisoner to Spain. | |

| | Page |
|--|------------|
| Cabeza de Vaca succeeds Mendoza as Adelantado - | 104 |
| His ship saved by means of a Grillo - | 105 |
| He marches overland from the coast - | 107 |
| Flour from the stone pine - | 109 |
| Grubs eaten - | <i>ib.</i> |
| Falls of the Yguazu - | 112 |
| Passage of the Parana - | 113 |
| He arrives at Asumpcion - | 114 |
| Danger of the sick, and their escort - | 115 |
| Orders given to re-found Buenos Ayres - | 116 |
| Treatment of prisoners among the Guaranies - | <i>ib.</i> |
| The Agaces - | 117 |
| The Guaycurus - | <i>ib.</i> |
| Cabeza de Vaca marches against them - | 119 |
| Courage of this tribe - | 121 |
| The Palometa . . a fish more formidable than the American crocodile - | 122 |
| Peace made with the Guacurus - | <i>ib.</i> |
| Buenos Ayres a second time abandoned - | 126 |
| Ducks kept to devour the crickets - | 127 |
| Facton formed against C. de Vaca, who undertakes an expedition into the interior - | 128 |
| The Payagoaes offer to restore what they had taken from Ayolas - | <i>ib.</i> |
| Garcia the Portugueze - | 129 |
| Aquatic tribes - | 130 |
| Lake of Xarayes - | 132 |
| Vampire bat - | 134 |
| Plague of ants - | 135 |
| Fashion of extending the ears - | <i>ib.</i> |
| Farther accounts of Garcia - | 136 |
| Messengers sent to the Xarayes - | 137 |
| The Artaneses - | <i>ib.</i> |
| Settlement of the Xarayes - | 138 |
| Great expedition of the Guaranies towards Peru - | 140 |
| Cabeza de Vaca follows their route - | 141 |
| He finds a family which had escaped from the wreck of their nation - | 143 |
| His people compel him to return - | 145 |
| Scarcity at Puerto de los Reyes - | <i>ib.</i> |
| Mendoza sent in search of food - | 146 |
| Ribera returns - | 147 |
| Some of Garcia's followers discovered - | 149 |
| The Spaniards return to Asumpcion - | 151 |
| Mutiny against C. de Vaca - | 152 |
| Who is sent prisoner to Spain - | <i>ib.</i> |

CHAPTER VI.

Expedition of Hernando de Ribera; he hears of the Amazons and marches in quest of them over the flooded country. Disturb-

| | Page |
|---|------|
| ances at Asumpcion. Yrala conquers the Carios, and attempts a second time to march across the country. He reaches the confines of Peru, makes his own terms in secret with the President, and then returns. Diego Centeno appointed Governor; he dies, and Yrala remains with the government. | |
| Ribera marches in quest of the Amazons over a flooded country - | 157 |
| Fables which he heard or reported - | 159 |
| They return - | 160 |
| Yrala subdues the Carios - | 161 |
| He enters the country - | 163 |
| And reaches the Spanish settlement on the side of Peru - | 168 |
| He makes a secret agreement with Gasca and returns - | 169 |
| Disturbance at Asumpcion - | 171 |
| Expedition of Senabria with which Hans Stade goes out - | 173 |

CHAPTER VII.

| | |
|--|------------|
| Hans Stade sails with Senabria for Paraguay, and reaches St. Catalina. Shipwrecked on St. Vicente. He is made Gunner at St. Amaro, and taken prisoner by the Tupinambas. Their ceremonies towards a prisoner; superstition and weapons. He effects his escape. | |
| Hans reaches St. Catalina - | 175 |
| One of the ships wrecked there - | 177 |
| He sails for St Vicente and is wrecked there - | 178 |
| State of that Captaincy - | 179 |
| He accepts the office of gunner - | 180 |
| And is caught by the Tupinambas - | 181 |
| Who carry him home to be eaten - | 185 |
| Description of their villages - | <i>ib.</i> |
| Ceremonies of receiving a prisoner - | 186 |
| The <i>aprasse</i> , or dance of the prisoner - | 187 |
| The Maraca - | <i>ib.</i> |
| He pleads that he is not a Portugueze, and therefore not liable to be eaten - | 188 |
| The plea referred to a French interpreter who decides against him - | <i>ib.</i> |
| Konyan Bebe, the Tupinamban Chief - | 191 |
| His master and his family fall sick, and impute it to his prayers - | 194 |
| Mode of trading during war - | 198 |
| He swims off to a French boat, and the crew refuse to take him in - | 200 |
| Ceremonies before they go to war - | 201 |
| Their Payes or Jugglers - | 202 |
| Their weapons - | 204 |

| | |
|---------------------------------------|------------|
| Hans is transferred to another master | Page - 209 |
| And obtains his liberty | - 210 |

CHAPTER VIII.

| | |
|---|--------------|
| Thome de Sousa appointed Governor General of Brazil. He takes out with him the first Jesuits to America. City of St. Salvador founded. The Jesuits begin the attempt of converting the natives. Obstacles to that attempt. Cannibalism. Language, and state of the Tupi tribes. | |
| Evils of the existing system in Brazil | - 212 |
| Thome de Sousa appointed Governor General | 213 |
| Zeal of the King for the conversion of the Brazilians | - <i>ib.</i> |
| The Jesuit Mission appointed | - 214 |
| First Jesuits go out to S. America | - <i>ib.</i> |
| Foundation of the City of St. Salvador | - 215 |
| Conduct of the Jesuits | - 217 |
| Cannibalism | - <i>ib.</i> |
| Ceremonies observed with a captive | - 218 |
| Consequences which the Savages deduce from their theory of generation | - <i>ib.</i> |
| Passion of revenge among these Savages | - 223 |
| Customs of the Tupi Tribes | - <i>ib.</i> |
| Their language | - <i>ib.</i> |
| Their Payes | - 227 |
| St. Thomas the Apostle said to have visited Brazil | - 229 |
| The mandioc or cassava | - 230 |
| Their fermented liquors | - 233 |
| Acayaba tree | - 235 |
| The natives nice in their choice of water | - 236 |
| Their reputed knowledge of poisons | - 237 |
| Ceremonies at their births | - 238 |
| Their names | - 239 |
| Harmony in which they lived | - 240 |
| Their marriages | - <i>ib.</i> |
| Fashions of the women | - 241 |
| Condition of women among them | - 242 |
| Their pottery | - 243 |
| Canoes | - 244 |
| And fishing | - <i>ib.</i> |
| Their domestic animals | - 245 |
| Their treatment of strangers | - 246 |
| And of the sick | - 247 |
| Mode of burial | - 248 |
| Their longevity | - 249 |
| Their frequent change of place | - 250 |
| Cause why they were not farther advanced | - 251 |
| Conduct of the Jesuits | - 252 |
| And opposition of the Settlers | - 257 |
| The first Bishop of Brazil | - 259 |

CHAPTER IX.

| | |
|--|--------------|
| D. Duarte da Costa Governor. Anchieta comes out. Brazil erected into a Jesuit Province. School established at Piratinga. Death of Joam III. Mem de Sa Governor. Expedition of the French under Villegagnon to Rio de Janeiro. Their island is attacked and the works destroyed. War with the Tamoyos. Nobrega and Anchieta effect a peace with them. The French finally defeated at Rio de Janeiro, and the City of St. Sebastian founded. | |
| Anchieta comes out to Brazil | - 261 |
| Establishment of the Jesuits at Piratinga | 262 |
| Employment of Anchieta there | - 264 |
| He is attacked by the Savages | - 265 |
| Disputes between the Governor and the Bishop | - 266 |
| The Bishop killed by the Cahetes | - 267 |
| Mem de Sa Governor | - 268 |
| Outcry against his attempts in behalf of the natives | - <i>ib.</i> |
| Villegagnon's expedition to Brazil | - 270 |
| He names it France Antarctique | - 272 |
| Conspiracy against him | - 273 |
| His conduct towards the Savages | - 275 |
| Jean de Lery goes to Brazil | - <i>ib.</i> |
| Treachery of Villegagnon | - 277 |
| Expedition against the French at Rio de Janeiro | - 279 |
| The Aymores | - 281 |
| Defeated by Mem de Sa | - 283 |
| The Tamoyos | - 284 |
| They ravage Espirito Santo | - 286 |
| Nobrega and Anchieta go to treat for peace | 287 |
| Anchieta is left with the Savages | - 290 |
| Peace with the Tamoyos | - 293 |
| Pestilence and famine | - 294 |
| Board of Conscience | - <i>ib.</i> |
| Estacio de Sa goes against the French | - 296 |
| Nobrega prevents him from abandoning the attempt | - 297 |
| He expels the French, and is mortally wounded | - 301 |
| City of St. Sebastian founded | - 302 |
| A Protestant put to death | - 303 |
| The French driven from Paraiba | - 305 |

CHAPTER X.

| | |
|--|--|
| Luiz de Vasconcellos appointed Governor. | |
| Martyrdom of the forty Jesuits. Vascon- | |

CONTENTS.

Xiii

| | Page |
|--|------------|
| cellos killed. Death of Nobrega and of Mem de Sa. Luiz de Brito, Governor. The Colonies neglected. Division of Brazil into two Governments, and re-union. Final Defeat of the Tamoyos. Expedition in search of Mines. Portugal usurped by Felipe II. State of Brazil at that time. | |
| Martyrdom of the forty Jesuits - | 308 |
| Miracles invented for the occasion - | 309 |
| Deaths of Nobrega and Mem de Sa - | 310 |
| The colony neglected - | 311 |
| Brazil divided into two governments - | <i>ib.</i> |
| Final defeat of the Tamoyos - | 312 |
| Expeditions of Tourinho and Adorno in search of mines - | <i>ib.</i> |
| Settlement at Rio Real made and abandoned | 314 |
| The two governments reunited - | 315 |
| Brazil offered to the Duke of Braganza - | <i>ib.</i> |
| Attempt of Antonio the Prior upon Brazil - | 316 |
| State of Brazil at this time - | <i>ib.</i> |
| St. Salvador and the Reconcave - | 317 |
| Tea and coffee indigenous there - | 320 |
| Culture of ginger prohibited - | <i>ib.</i> |
| Leafless parasite plants - | 321 |
| Fishery at Bahia - | 322 |
| Mermaids - | 323 |
| Rumours of emerald mines - | <i>ib.</i> |
| People of Bahia - | <i>ib.</i> |
| Pernambuco - | 324 |
| St. Vicente - | 325 |
| Espirito Santo - | 326 |
| Porto Seguro - | <i>ib.</i> |
| Diseases - | 327 |

CHAPTER XI.

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

| | |
|---|------------|
| Settlement formed from Paraguay in Guayra | 331 |
| Assumpcion made a Bishoprick - | 332 |
| The Chiquitos - | 333 |
| Death of Yrala - | 336 |
| S. Cruz de la Sierra founded - | 337 |
| Vergara marches to Peru - | 338 |
| And is there superseded - | <i>ib.</i> |

| | Page |
|-------------------------------------|------------|
| Chaves killed - | 339 |
| The Itatines - | <i>ib.</i> |
| Disputes at Assumpcion - | 342 |
| Zarate sails for Paraguay - | 343 |
| Famine at St. Catilina - | 344 |
| Misconduct and death of Zarate - | 347 |
| Buenos Ayres a third time founded - | 348 |
| First hides sent to Europe - | 349 |

CHAPTER XII.

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

| | |
|--|------------|
| The Pitagoares - | 350 |
| The French expelled by Flores - | 351 |
| Intercourse of the English with Brazil - | 352 |
| Fenton's voyage - | 355 |
| Hostilities with the English - | <i>ib.</i> |
| Withrington's voyage - | 356 |
| Roberio Diaz offers to discover silver mines - | 358 |
| Cavendish's last voyage - | 359 |
| He takes Santos, and burns S. Vicente - | 360 |
| Is repulsed at Espirito Santo - | 363 |
| And dies broken hearted - | 364 |
| Lancaster's voyage - | <i>ib.</i> |
| He takes Recife - | 366 |
| Raleigh diverts adventurers from Brazil - | 371 |
| El Dorado - | <i>ib.</i> |

CHAPTER XIII.

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

| | |
|--|-----|
| Villainy of Pedro Coelho - | 376 |
| Serra de Ibiapaba - | 377 |
| The Tapuyas - | 378 |
| Jesuits at the Sierra de Ibiapaba - | 382 |
| The Pitagoares brought against the Aymores | 383 |

| | <i>Page</i> | | <i>Page</i> |
|--|-------------------|--|-------------|
| Ravages of the Aymores - - - | 385 | Maranhã and Para formed into a State independent of Brazil - - - | 437 |
| They are conciliated by Alvaro Rodriguez in Bahia - - - | <i>ib.</i> | CHAPTER XIV. | |
| And at Ilheos by the Jesuits - - - | 387 | Establishment of a West Indian Company in Holland. St. Salvador taken by the Dutch, and recovered by the Spaniards and Portuguese under D. Fadrique de Toledo. Affairs of Maranhã. The Dutch send out a second expedition, and obtain possession of Olinda and Recife. | |
| Success of the Jesuits - - - | 389 | Establishment of the Dutch West India Company - - - | 438 |
| Settlement at Seara - - - | 391 | A fleet equipped against Brazil - - - | 440 |
| French expedition to Maranhã - - - | 392 | St. Salvador taken by the Dutch - - - | 441 |
| Foundation of S. Luiz - - - | 397 | They strengthen the city - - - | 442 |
| Rasilly returns to France - - - | 399 | The Portuguese rally under the Bishop Vandort slain - - - | 443 |
| Gaspar de Sousa ordered to colonize towards the Orellana - - - | 400 | Expedition of Heyne against Angola - - - | <i>ib.</i> |
| First expedition of Jeronymo de Albuquerque Diogo de Campos sent out - - - | <i>ib.</i> 401 | Measures of the Spanish Government And zeal of the Portuguese - - - | 445 |
| Martin Soares driven to Europe - - - | 402 | Death of the Bishop - - - | 447 |
| Second expedition of Jeronymo - - - | 403 | Arrival of the combined fleets - - - | 448 |
| His junction with Diogo - - - | 404 | The Dutch make an unsuccessful sally - - - | 449 |
| They reach the Island of Peria - - - | 406 | Their troops mutiny and they capitulate - - - | 450 |
| Irresolution of Jeronymo - - - | 408 | Difficulty of sending them to Europe - - - | 451 |
| Diogo advises that they fortify themselves on the Island - - - | 409 | Arrival of a Dutch fleet - - - | 452 |
| Rangel sent out to reconnoitre - - - | <i>ib.</i> | Disasters of the Portuguese on their return to Europe - - - | 453 |
| They remove to Guaxenduba - - - | 411 | Effect of these losses in Holland - - - | 454 |
| Information obtained from a prisoner - - - | 412 | Brazil still neglected by Spain - - - | 455 |
| Treachery of the French - - - | 413 | Oliveira Governor - - - | <i>ib.</i> |
| Jeronymo duped by his prisoners - - - | 414 | Exploit of Heyne at Bahia - - - | 456 |
| Three ships taken by the French - - - | 415 | Affairs of Maranhã - - - | 458 |
| Conspiracy communicated to Diogo - - - | <i>ib.</i> | Attempts of the Dutch in these parts - - - | 459 |
| The French invest the Portuguese - - - | 417 | Cruelty of Maciel - - - | 460 |
| And are defeated - - - | 418 | Oppressive conduct of the Portuguese - - - | <i>ib.</i> |
| Ravardiere opens a correspondence with Jeronymo - - - | 419 | English settlers expelled - - - | 462 |
| Terms concluded greatly to the advantage of the Portuguese - - - | 420 | Mathias de Albuquerque sent out - - - | 463 |
| The Tupinambas suppose they are to be divided as slaves between the two contracting powers - - - | 422 | State of Olinda - - - | <i>ib.</i> |
| Instructions to the Portuguese Commissioners - - - | 423 | Arrival of the Dutch fleet - - - | 465 |
| Treaty broken by the Portuguese - - - | 424 | And capture of Olinda - - - | 468 |
| Fresh forces come out from Lisbon - - - | <i>ib.</i> | Mathias abandons Recife - - - | <i>ib.</i> |
| St. Louis surrendered unconditionally - - - | 426 | Attack of the Forts - - - | 469 |
| Expedition of Caldeira to Para - - - | 427 | And arrival of reinforcements from Holland - - - | 471 |
| Foundation of Belem - - - | <i>ib.</i> | CHAPTER XV. | |
| Teixeira burns a Dutch vessel - - - | 428 | Camp of Bom Jesus formed. Calabar deserts to the Dutch, and turns the fortune of the War. Negroes of the Palmares. The Island of Itamaraca, Rio Grande, Paraiba, Tamaraca, the Camp, and Nazareth reduced. | |
| Insurrection of the Tupinambas - - - | 429 | | |
| Death of Jeronymo - - - | 430 | | |
| Disturbances at Belem - - - | <i>ib.</i> | | |
| Caldeira deposed by the people - - - | 431 | | |
| The mutineers sent to Portugal - - - | 432 | | |
| Cruelty of Bento Maciel - - - | <i>ib.</i> | | |
| Colonists from the Azores arrive at Maranhã - - - | 433 | | |
| Maciel Captain of Para - - - | 435 | | |
| Expedition to the Curupa and the mouth of the Orellana - - - | <i>ib.</i> | | |

| | Page | | Page |
|---|------------|--|------------|
| The Portugueze rally - - - | 472 | Nassau arrives as Governor General of the Dutch ; his wise measures : he pursues the Portugueze to the River St. Francisco, and Bagnuolo, abandoning the Captaincy of Seregipe, retreats to Bahia. | |
| Bush companies formed - - - | 473 | Emigration from Pernambuco - - - | 514 |
| Distress of both parties - - - | 474 | Treachery of Souto towards the Dutch - - - | 515 |
| Some Colonists incline to submit - - - | 475 | Porto Calvo recovered - - - | 516 |
| Expedition against Isle Itamaraca - - - | 476 | Calabar put to death - - - | 517 |
| A fleet sent out under Oquendo - - - | 477 | Mathias retreats to the Lagoas - - - | 518 |
| Naval action and death of the Dutch Admiral | 478 | Alarm of the Spanish Court - - - | <i>ib.</i> |
| Olinda burnt by the Dutch - - - | 479 | Roxas sent out with reinforcements - - - | 520 |
| Paraiba attacked - - - | 480 | Rashness of the new General - - - | 521 |
| Lichthart lays siege to Fort Cabedello - - - | 481 | He is defeated and slain - - - | 522 |
| The Dutch break up the siege - - - | 482 | Bagnuolo succeeds to the command - - - | 524 |
| Unsuccessful attack upon Rio Grande - - - | <i>ib.</i> | Porto Calvo reoccupied by the Portugueze - - - | 525 |
| Importance of the port of Nazareth - - - | 483 | Cruelty of the Dutch - - - | <i>ib.</i> |
| Calabar deserts to the Dutch - - - | 485 | Predatory system of warfare - - - | 526 |
| He surprises and sacks Garassu, and Rio Fermo - - - | 486 | Second emigration from Pernambuco - - - | 527 |
| Indecision of Bagnuolo - - - | 487 | The Count of Nassau sent out - - - | <i>ib.</i> |
| The Dutch send out Commissaries - - - | <i>ib.</i> | His first measures - - - | 529 |
| They assault the Camp and are repulsed - - - | 488 | He marches against Porto Calvo, and Bagnuolo abandons it - - - | 530 |
| Isle of Itamaraca reduced, and Garassu abandoned - - - | 489 | Porto Calvo surrenders - - - | 532 |
| Attempt to besiege the Camp - - - | 490 | Bagnuolo abandons the Lagoas, and is pursued to the San Francisco - - - | 533 |
| Expedition of Calabar to the Lagoas - - - | 491 | River San Francisco - - - | <i>ib.</i> |
| Fate of the succours under Vasconcellos - - - | <i>ib.</i> | Fort Mauritz erected - - - | 535 |
| Rio Grande reduced - - - | 493 | Reforms at Recife - - - | 537 |
| Fidelity of an Indian Chief - - - | 494 | The Dutch seek for mines - - - | <i>ib.</i> |
| The Palmares - - - | 495 | Wise measures of Nassau - - - | 538 |
| Attempt to surprize Recife - - - | 497 | Deliberation concerning the seat of Government - - - | 540 |
| Nazareth attacked - - - | <i>ib.</i> | Captaincy of Seregipe - - - | <i>ib.</i> |
| The Dutch pass the batteries, and win the town - - - | 498 | Souto ravages the conquered provinces - - - | 541 |
| Calabar brings the launches in - - - | 499 | Bagnuolo abandons Seregipe, and retreats to Bahia - - - | 542 |
| And gets the ships out - - - | 500 | | |
| Reinforcements arrive from Holland - - - | <i>ib.</i> | | |
| Paraiba again attacked - - - | 501 | | |
| Siege of Fort Cabedello - - - | 502 | | |
| The Fort surrenders and Paraiba falls - - - | 504 | | |
| Treachery of Sylveira - - - | 505 | | |
| Siege laid to the Camp, and to Nazareth - - - | 507 | | |
| The Camp capitulates - - - | <i>ib.</i> | | |
| Nefarious conduct of the Dutch - - - | 508 | | |
| Attempts to relieve Nazareth - - - | 509 | | |
| Bagnuolo abandons Porto Calvo, and retreats to the Lagoas - - - | 510 | | |
| Heroism of Maria de Sousa - - - | 511 | | |
| Nazareth taken - - - | 512 | | |

CHAPTER XVI.

Emigration from Pernambuco. Porto Calvo recovered, and Calabar put to death. Succours sent out under Roxas, who is defeated and slain. Bagnuolo succeeds to the command, and carries on a harrassing warfare with success. Mauritz Count of

CHAPTER XVII.

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

| | |
|--|-----|
| St. Jorge da Mina taken by the Dutch - - - | 545 |
| Seara taken - - - | 546 |
| Proceedings at Recife - - - | 547 |

| | <i>Page</i> | | <i>Page</i> |
|---|--------------|--|--------------|
| Preparations against Bahia | - 549 | Death of Coelho | - 580 |
| Bagnuolo marches to S. Salvador | - <i>ib.</i> | Raimundo intrudes into the succession | - <i>ib.</i> |
| Exploit of Souto | - 550 | Mission from Quito to the Indians upon the Ahuarico | - 581 |
| The Dutch enter the Bay | - 551 | The Missionaries driven away, embark on the river, and reach Para | - <i>ib.</i> |
| Tumults in the City | - <i>ib.</i> | Teixeira sent to explore the Orellana up to Quito | - 582 |
| Four of the Forts surrendered | - 553 | He is ordered by the Viceroy of Peru to return and survey the river | - 584 |
| Pedro da Sylva resigns the command to Bagnuolo | - <i>ib.</i> | Sources of the Orellana | - 585 |
| Exchange of prisoners | - 554 | Teixeira reembarks, and Acuña with him | - <i>ib.</i> |
| Consternation of the townsmen | - <i>ib.</i> | The Encabellados | - 586 |
| The City well supplied | - 555 | The Omaguas | - 587 |
| The Dutch open their batteries | - <i>ib.</i> | Gum elastic | - 589 |
| Letters intercepted | - 556 | The Tucunas and Mayurunes | - 590 |
| Battle in the trenches, and death of Souto | - 557 | Rivers Iça and Yutas | - 591 |
| Cruelty of the Dutch | - 558 | And Yurua | - 592 |
| They raise the siege | - 559 | The Curiciraris | - <i>ib.</i> |
| Representations of Nassau to the Company | - 560 | River Jupura or Gran Caqueta | - 594 |
| They throw open the trade of Brazil | - 561 | Rivers Tefe and Acaricoara | - 596 |
| Expedition of Jol in quest of the Mexican fleet | - 562 | The Jurimauas | - <i>ib.</i> |
| Cameron negotiates with the Dutch | - 563 | River Perus | - 597 |
| Arms given to the Dutch Captaincies | - <i>ib.</i> | The Caripunas and Zarinas | - 598 |
| Artisjoski comes out, and returns to Holland in disgust | - 564 | River Negro | - <i>ib.</i> |
| State of the Dutch Captaincies | - <i>ib.</i> | Communication between the Orellana and Orinoco known at that time by the natives | - 599 |
| Want of Colonists | - 565 | The Portuguese want to make slaves | - 600 |
| The Jews | - <i>ib.</i> | Rivers Madeira and Saraca | - 601 |
| The Savages | - <i>ib.</i> | Tupinambas of the River | - 602 |
| Dutch Missionaries | - 567 | Fables reported by them | - <i>ib.</i> |
| Force of the Dutch | - <i>ib.</i> | The Amazons | - 604 |
| Nassau builds a Palace | - 568 | Testimonies of their existence | - <i>ib.</i> |
| And the city of Mauritia | - 569 | Probability of it | - 608 |
| The Conde de Torre comes out | - 570 | River dos Trombetas | - 609 |
| Four naval actions | - 571 | River dos Topajos | - <i>ib.</i> |
| Retreat of Vidal and Barbalho | - 573 | Kidnapping expedition of Young Maciel | - 611 |
| The Reconcave laid waste | - 574 | River Curupatuba | - 612 |
| The Marquez de Monte Alvim comes out as Viceroy | - <i>ib.</i> | River Mapau | - 613 |
| Revolution in Portugal | - 575 | They reach Belem | - <i>ib.</i> |
| The Viceroy sent home prisoner | - 577 | Extent and magnitude of the Orellana | - 614 |
| CHAPTER XVIII. | | | |
| Affairs of Maranham. Some Missionaries from Quito flying down the Napo, trust themselves to the river, and reach Belem. | | Food of the tribes on its banks | - 615 |
| Teixeira sent up the Orellana. Acuña returns with him, and surveys its course. | | Plague of insects | - 618 |
| Attempts of the English in Para | - 578 | Number of Tribes | - 619 |
| | | The Throwing stick | - 620 |
| | | Their Idols | - <i>ib.</i> |
| | | Their Conjurors | - 621 |

MAP of
BRAZIL and PARAGUAY
with the
Adjoining Countries.



A. Brownish del.


HISTORY OF BRAZIL.

The history of Brazil is less beautiful than that of the mother country, and less splendid than that of the Portugueze in Asia ; but it is not less important than either. Its materials differ from those of other histories : here are no tangles of crooked policy to unravel, no mysteries of state iniquity to elucidate, no revolutions to record, nor victories to celebrate, the fame of which remains among us long after their effects have past away. Discovered by chance, and long left to chance, it is by individual industry and enterprize, and by the operation of the common laws of nature and society, that this empire has risen and flourished, extensive as it now is, and mighty as it must one day become. In the course of its annals disgust and anger will oftener be felt than those exalted feelings which it is more grateful for the historian to excite. I have to speak of savages so barbarous that little sympathy can be felt for any sufferings which they endured, and of colonists in whose triumphs no joy will be taken, because they added avarice to barbarity ; .. ignoble men, carrying on an obscure warfare, the consequences of which have been greater than were produced by the conquests of Alexander

or Charlemagne, and will be far more lasting. Even the few higher characters which appear have obtained no fame beyond the limits of their own religion, scarcely beyond those of their language. Yet has the subject its advantages: the discovery of extensive regions; the manners and superstitions of uncivilized tribes; the efforts of missionaries, in whom zeal the most fanatical was directed by the coolest policy; the rise and the overthrow of the extraordinary dominion which they established; and the progress of Brazil from its feeble beginnings, to the importance which it now possesses, these are topics of no ordinary interest.

CHAPTER I.

Vicente Yañez Pinzon discovers the Coast of Brazil and the River Maranham.— Voyage of Cabral.—He names the country Santa Cruz.—Amerigo Vespucci sent to survey the coast.—His second voyage.—The first settlement made by him.— The country obtains the name of Brazil.

The first person who discovered the coast of Brazil was Vi- CHAP.
cente Yañez Pinzon, who had sailed with Columbus¹ on his 

I.
1499.

*Voyage of
Pinzon.*

¹ The Pinzons were natives of Palos, excellent seamen, and among the first people of the place. Vicente Yañez supplied an eighth of the expences of this expedition, in which two of his brothers embarked also, one as captain, the other as master of the *Pinta*. *Herrera*, 1. 1. 10.

Oviedo knew Vicente Yañez well, and was in habits of friendship with him till his death, in 1514. This historian says that there were not wanting persons who affirmed that Columbus was disheartened on his first voyage, and would have turned back if it had not been for these brethren. Probably he heard this from his friend; . . . and by what he says this report seems to have occasioned some judicial proceedings. These are his words. “*Pero aveys de saber que por el contrario dizen algunos lo que aqui se ha dicho de la constancia de Colon; que aun afirman que el se tornara de su voluntad del camino, y no le concluyera, si estos hermanos Pinçones no le fizieran yr adelante: y dizen mas que por causa dellos se hizo el descubrimiento, y que Colon ya ciava y queria dar la buelta. Esto sera mejor remitirlo a un largo processo que ay entre el Almirante y el Fiscal, donde a pro y a contra ay muchas cosas alegadas; en lo qual yo no me entremeto, porque como sean cosas de justicia y por ella se ha de discidir, quendense para el fin que tuvieren; pero yo he dicho en lo uno y en lo otro ambas las opiniones; el lector tome la que mas le ditare su buen juyzio.*” L. 2. C. 5.

CHAP. first voyage, as commander and master of the Niña. Seven
 I. years afterwards he and his nephew Arias obtained a commis-
 1499. sion to go in search of new countries, and trade in any which
 Columbus had not previously appropriated. The Pinzons were
 wealthy men, and the former voyage had added to their wealth ;
 they fitted out four caravels at their own cost, and set sail from
 Palos in December, 1499, made the Cape de Verds, then
 steered to the south-west, and were the first Spaniards who
 crost the line and lost sight of the north star. After suffering
 intolerable heat, and storms which drove them on their way,
 they saw land on January 26, 1500, in lat. $8\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ S. to which
 Vicente gave the name of Cape Consolation ; . . but which is
 now called Cape St. Augustines. They landed, cut the names of
 the ships, and the date of the year and day upon the trees and
 rocks, and took possession of the country for the crown of Castille.

A.D. 1500,
 Jan. 26.

No natives were seen that day, but they perceived footsteps
 upon the shore. During the night they saw many fires, and in
 the morning sent forty well-armed men towards them to treat
 with the people. About an equal number of the natives ad-
 vanced to meet them, armed with bows and lances ; it was in
 vain to make friendly gestures, and hold up bells, beads, and
 looking-glasses, the savages seemed determined to drive these
 strangers out of their country, and the Spaniards were intimi-
 dated at their appearance. They affirmed that they were taller
 than the tallest Germans, and not waiting to judge more accu-
 rately of their stature upon a nearer view, retired to their boats.
 The next day no natives were to be seen ; the Spaniards landed
 again, and convinced themselves that they had had good reason
 for their fear, by finding or fancying that they found the footstep
 of a giant, which was twice as long as would have been made
 by the foot of an ordinary man. They supposed these people to
 be a wandering race like the Scythians.

From hence they coasted along toward the North till they came to the mouth of a great river: there was not sufficient depth of water for the ships to enter, so they sent four boats to land. A party of natives were assembled upon a hill near the shore, and one of the Spaniards who was well armed, advanced singly toward them. They came to meet him, suspecting and at the same time intending evil. The Spaniard made all the friendly signs he could devise, and threw to them a hawk's-bell, for which they threw down a piece of gold²; he stooped for it, and they sprang forward to seize him. This however was not so easy as they had expected; though neither large nor robust he defended himself with sword and shield to the admiration of his comrades, who hastened to his assistance, and succeeded in rescuing him, but with great loss. The savages with their deadly archery slew eight, wounded many more, and pursued them to their boats. Not satisfied with this success, they attacked the boats. It was then that, being naked, they felt the edge of European swords. But nothing deterred them; they rushed on like wild beasts, despising wounds and death; followed the boats even when they had put off, dived after them, and fairly won one, having slain its captain, and driven out the crew. Scarcely a man got off without a wound, and had the arrows of the natives been poisoned, scarcely one could have escaped.

Continuing to coast along after this unlucky action, they came to what they called a sea of fresh water, where they filled their casks. This they accounted for by supposing that the vehement course of many rivers, descending from the mountains,

CHAP. I.
1500.
*Discovery of
the Maranh-
ham.*

² *Una bara de dos palmos dorada*, Herrera says: and Gomara also says it was a gilt wand. A better bait could not have been thrown out; but it does not appear that the Brazilians made any use of gold, and still less is it likely that they should be acquainted with the art of gilding.

CHAP. had freshened the sea : they were in the mouth of the great river
 I
 Maranham * as they afterwards discovered. Here they found
 1500. many islands, which appeared to be fortunate and fruitful, and
 the inhabitants received them hospitably and unsuspectingly, for
 which Pinzon made a villainous return, . . . for finding no other
 merchandize, he seized about thirty of these unoffending people,
 and carried them away to sell for slaves ⁴. His ships were once
 in as much danger here as Columbus had endured in the Bocas
 del Dragon. That phenomenon which in our Parret and Severn
 is called the Bore or Hyger, is found off this part of the Brazilian

³ The origin of this name has given occasion to some discussion. P. Manuel Rodriguez (*L. 1. C. 5.*) supposes it was given in memory of the *marañas*, the villainies, committed there by Lope de Aguirre, . . . forgetting that the river was so called before that wretch had ever been heard of. Afterwards (*L. 2. C. 14.*) he sports an etymology with which no doubt he was better pleased. When the Israelites in the desert tasted the bitter waters, he says, they cried out *Mara*, because of the bitterness or saltiness, and the water retained that name. So when the sailors tasted the water of this great river, their companions asked if it were not salt, *Sunt mara*, or *maria*, . . . is it the sea? . . . to which they replied *No, non*, . . . and so *Mara-ñon* it was called.

Bernardo Pereira de Berredo (*L. 1. § 8—11.*) was satisfied with this quaint derivation, till he discovered *Marañon* to be an old Spanish name, and then he supposed the first person who discovered it on the side of Peru was so called. He afterward found authority for this in the *Relaçam Summaria* of Simam Estacio da Silveira, and in Fr. Christovam de Lisboa's manuscript History of Maranham and Para. Zarate (*L. 4. C. 4.*) who says the same, is earlier authority than either. But it is proof decisive against them, that the word is used by Pietro Martire, in the oldest account extant of Pinzon's voyage. Probably therefore it was named after some person in that expedition, . . . the man who first tasted its waters, . . . or who first ascertained that they were in a river.

* The name by which, as they understood, the natives called their own country, was *Mariatambal*; the country on the eastern side of the river they called *Camomorus*, and that on the western *Paricora*. They also understood that there was plenty of gold in the interior. P. Martire.

coast. Twenty leagues off the entrance of the river Meary, the conflict between its strong current and the sea occasions an uproar which may be heard for leagues around. The natives call it *Pororoca*. When it subsides the tide rushes in, and in less than fifteen minutes gives back as great a body of water as had been nearly nine hours on the ebb: the flow continues about three hours with almost inconceivable rapidity. Violent as the flux is, there are parts of the river which are not affected by it; the Portuguese call them *esperas*, or resting places: the boats which navigate the Meary wait there till the force of the Hyger is past, and are seldom endangered by it ⁵. The Araguari is subject to the same phenomenon in a still greater degree. It must have been off the mouth of one of these rivers that Pinzon and his squadron were endangered. Escaping however from thence, he recrossed the line, and continuing his course till he came to the Orinoco, then made for the islands, and sailed homeward, losing two of his three ships by the way ⁶. A river in Guiana is still named after him ⁷.

CHAP.
I.
1500.

Bernardo
Pereira de
Berredo 1. 5
30. 31.

⁵ Bernardo Pereira speaks from his own knowledge. He had crost the great river on an expedition against the Indians. Thomas, the Baptist missionary, describing the Hyger in Bengal says, 'There are places enough in the river where the bank is steep and the water deep; there you are safe.' He adds, with his characteristic vividness of mind, 'I have seen this bore coming along against a brisk wind with a fearful noise, and from its white frothy brow the wind blew a streamer that would be flying many yards long behind it.' *Periodical Accounts*. 1. 221.

⁶ Herrera says that Diego de Lepe sailed after Pinzon in the same month, from the same port, and made the same land at the same place. This is not probable, .. besides, he says that Lepe's men found a tree which sixteen men could not grasp; now P. Martire relates this of Pinzon's voyage, saying there were many such. An expedition, according to this earlier author, sailed upon Pinzon's return, and this is perhaps the one of which Herrera speaks.

⁷ Lat. 1° 30' N. The Wiapoc of the French, .. but Pinzon's name ought to

CHAP.

I.

1500.

Pinzon was convinced that the land which he had visited was not an island, . . he believed that it was India beyond the Ganges, and that he had sailed beyond the great city of Cathay. When these navigators were asked if they had seen the south pole, they answered that they saw no star like the north star, which could be discerned about the point; . . but that they saw another set of stars, and that a thick mist, rising from the horizontal line, greatly impeded their sight. They were of opinion that there was a great rising in the middle of the earth, and that till this was past the south pole could not be seen. He brought home specimens of cinnamon and ginger, not very good, but this was accounted for by supposing that they had been taken before they were fully seasoned with the heat of the sun: cassia-fistula, unripe, but thought to be of no less goodness than what was administered for ague; gum-anime, then held a precious medicine for rheums and heaviness of the head; stones which were thought to be topazes, sandal wood, and a large cargo of Brazil-wood from Paria⁸. An opossum which they had caught with her young died on board, but they brought the body home, and it excited the astonishment of all who beheld it⁹.

Pietro Martire. Dec. 1.
L. 9.
Grynæus.
p. 104.
Gomara.
Hist. de las
Ind. c. 85.
Herrera. D.
1. L. 4. c. 6.

be preserved. This was the original boundary between the Spanish and Portuguese; and Charles V. ordered a pillar to be erected beside it. After the French settled in Guiana this pillar was known only by tradition; but in 1723, an officer of the garrison of Para discovered it. *Berredo. 1. § 13. 14.*

⁸ Gomara adds to this list, *muchos juncos de los preciados*. I know not what species of rush is meant.

⁹ The description of this opossum is quite in the manner of old travellers. Both Pietro Martire, who had seen and handled it when dead, and the writer of the narrative which Grynæus has printed, describe it, as having the fore part of a

The coast which Pinzon had discovered lay within the Portuguese limits of demarcation, and before he reached Europe it had been taken possession of by the nation to whom it was allotted.

CHAP.
I.
1500.

As soon as Vasco da Gama had returned from the discovery of India, King Emanuel fitted out a second and far more powerful expedition, to the command of which he appointed the fidalgo Pedro Alvarez Cabral. Sunday the 8th of March was fixed for the day of their departure. On that morning mass was performed at Rastello, in the Chapel which the Infante Don Henrique had built, and dedicated to our Lady of Bethlehem, endowing it for certain brethren from the Convent of Thomar, who should administer to mariners the sacraments of the church, especially on such occasions as this¹⁰. The King himself attended, and to do honour to the Commander made him sit with him within the curtain. The Bishop of Ceuta preached a sermon of which the main theme was the praise of Cabral for having accepted so great and weighty a charge. Having concluded, he took the banner from the altar, whereon it had been planted during service, and blest it, and gave it to the king, who with his own hands delivered it to Cabral, and placed upon his head a barret-cap which had received the Pope's benediction. The banner was then raised, and they proceeded in solemn procession with crosses and re-

*Voyage of
Cabral.*

*Barros 1
2.*

fox, the hind parts of a monkey, the feet of an ape, or like human hands, and the ears of a bat. It was sent to Seville, and then to Granada, that the King and Queen might see it.

¹⁰ These forms of religion were afterwards insisted on when Loaysa's expedition was preparing for the Moluccas. Part of his instructions were, that every man should confess and communicate before they set sail, and no man suffered to sail who neglected it. *Herrera. 3. 7. 5.*

CHAP.

I.

1500.

licks to the shore. The Tagus was covered with boats, carrying persons to and from the fleet, or assembled to behold it; "these," says Barros, who was probably himself a spectator, "made the river with their liveries and blazonry, as gay as a spring garden in full flower. And what of all," he adds, "was most spirit-stirring, was to hear drums, trumpets, tambours and tambourines, the flute and the shepherds pipe, which hitherto had been heard only afield with the flocks, now for the first time going upon the salt waters of the ocean; and from that time forward they were taken in every fleet, that the men in so long a voyage might want no solace which could lighten the wearisomeness of the sea." Emanuel accompanied the Commander to the water's edge, and when he had given the officers God's blessing and his own, they kissed his hand and embarked, the whole fleet saluting them with a general discharge. Vasco da Gama himself had not taken a more solemn departure; and it is extraordinary that this second expedition to India should accidentally have procured for Portugal a wider and more important empire than the first.

Castanheda.
l. 1, c. 30.
Barros 1.
5, 2

Cabral driven to the coast of Brazil.

The fleet could not leave the Tagus that day because the wind was against them: on the following they sailed. They made for the Cape de Verd Islands, to water there, then stood to the westward to avoid those calms which Diaz and Gama had met with, thinking thus to double the Cape of Good Hope more easily. They experienced however a continuance of bad weather which drove them still farther west, and on the 24th of April fell in with land. America was now no longer to be concealed from Europe, and its discovery would thus have been effected by the agency of the elements, if Columbus had not secured that glory for human intellect.

It was at this time universally believed that no continent

existed to the west of Africa: the Pilot therefore affirmed that this must be a large Island, such as those which Columbus had discovered, and they coasted along a whole day expecting to find it so. When the boat approached the shore the natives came down to the beach, armed with bows and arrows, being ready for defence, but not intending hostility. They were of a dark copper complexion; their lank black hair was cut straight on the forehead to a line with the ears, and from thence falling at right angles to the shoulder, was there cut straight also. Their coronals were of upright feathers of the brightest hues, the feathers being reversed on the hinder part, so as to hang down. Their noses were flattened, their beards, eyebrows, and eyelashes eradicated; their naked bodies painted of many colours: they wore white bones for pendants in their ears; their cheeks were bored also, and in like manner ornamented with bones; the under lip was slit longitudinally, and had a great stone set in the opening, . . . if that was wanting, it was the fashion from time to time to put the tongue through. The Portugueze seeing them so unlike all other men, put back in wonder to report what monsters they had discovered. Upon this Cabral drew nearer with his ship, and sent the boat to shore, with orders to catch some of the natives if possible, but not to fire a gun, nor terrify them. They however when they perceived that the strangers were about to land, fled to an eminence and there gathered together. A negro boy called out to them in his language: they were then tried in Arabic ¹¹, but they understood neither, and to the more intel-

CHAP.
I.
1500.

General appearance of the Brazilian savages.

*Lery c. 7.
Marcgrav.
l. 8. c. 6.*

¹¹ When Columbus went his fourth voyage, he requested that he might have with him three or four men who spoke Arabic, . . . for it was always his opinion that if he could find a strait, and get beyond the new continent, he should find some of the Great Khan's people, or others who spoke that language, . . . *en que no era fuera de camino*, says Herrera. 1. 5. 1.

CHAP. I. ligible medium of signs they made no return. Thus it was not possible to establish any communication with them that day; in the night the wind came off shore, and drove the ships from their anchorage, and they then kept coasting on to the southward, in search of a good road-stead.

Porto Seguro discovered.

At length they discovered a fine haven in latitude 16° 30' S. Cabral anchored, and named it Porto Seguro, signifying safe harbour. The boats were sent again to shore, and presently returned with two natives whom they had caught in a canoe, fishing. No information could be obtained from them; either they were too much terrified to comprehend signs, or had made up their minds for death, and would not answer them. Cabral had them drest in Portugueze finery, ornamented them with bracelets of brass, gave them bells and looking-glasses, and set them ashore. This expedient succeeded. A friendly intercourse was soon established, and pulse, fruits, maize, and flour of the mandioc root, exchanged for baubles, of which the ships of discovery carried good store¹² to traffic with upon the African coast.

The first mass performed.

The next day being Easter Sunday, Cabral landed; an altar was erected upon the beach under a large tree, and mass performed by Frey Henrique de Coimbra, who with seven other Friars Minorite was going on the first mission to India. It was celebrated with every possible solemnity, all the chaplains of the fleet assisting, and every person who could sing. Frey Henrique preached. The natives assembled at the ceremony, knelt

¹² Herbert mentions prisms as carried out in his time for this purpose; .. "triangular glasses," he calls them, "or fools paradise" In De Bry's prints to Hariot's account of Virginia, (plate 7,) an English doll of Elizabeth's age is seen in one hand of a savage boy, and a curious rattle in the other.

when they saw the Portugueze kneel, and imitated the congregation in every thing, as if they thought to gratify them by joining in the same forms of devotion. When the strangers returned to their ships they accompanied them to the boats, singing and dancing and clapping their hands, sounding horns, shooting up arrows into the air, and lifting up their hands to heaven for joy that such visitors were come to them. Some followed them into the water till it was breast high, others went out to the fleet in canoes, and many swam after them, both men and women, moving in the water with the same ease as if it had been their natural element.

The Portugueze ships of discovery had hitherto taken out stone pillars with the arms of Portugal engraved thereon, to set up in the lands which they might find, and by this act secure them for King Emanuel. Cabral was not provided with these pillars, because his destination was to follow the track of Gama; possession had been taken all the way which he was to steer, and no discovery of new countries was expected from him. He erected a stone cross instead¹³, and took possession of the whole province for the crown of Portugal, naming it Santa Cruz, or the Land of the Holy Cross. Gaspar de Lemos was then dispatched to Lisbon with the tidings; and one of the natives was embarked with him, as a sample for Emanuel of his new subjects. Cabral remained some days taking in water and provisions, left two criminals on shore, who as usual had been sent in the expedition that they might be exposed upon any dangerous service, and proceeded on his way to India. One of

CHAP.
I.
1500.

Possession
taken for the
crown of
Portugal.

Costanheda.
1. 30.
Barros 1.
5. 2.
Damian de
Goes. 1. 55.

¹³ This Cross, or its representative, is still shown at Porto Seguro, and the inhabitants of that town pride themselves because it is the spot where Brazil was taken possession of for Portugal and Christianity. *Lindley's Narrative.* 232.

CHAP. these men lived to return, and afterwards ¹⁴ served as interpreter
 I. in these parts.

1501.

*Voyage of
 Amerigo
 Vespucci to
 Brazil.*

The King of Portugal immediately fitted out three ships to explore the country which Cabral had discovered, and gave the command to Amerigo Vespucci, whom he invited from Seville for that purpose. They sailed about the middle of May in the ensuing year, and after a three months voyage, during four and forty days of which they suffered one continued tempest, made land in latitude 5° S. when all their provisions were just failing them, and their strength exhausted. Boats were sent ashore, who came back with tidings that they had seen no inhabitants, but that the country was evidently well peopled. On the following day they landed to lay in wood and water, and procure provisions if possible. A party of naked natives were by this time assembled upon the summit of a hill. They could not by any gestures be persuaded to come near the Portugueze, who therefore having provided themselves with water, though with nothing else, left bells and looking-glasses upon the shore, and returned at evening to the ships. As soon as they were at safe distance the savages came down to collect these treasures, and the boats were not so far off but that the men in them could perceive their tokens of admiration. On the morrow they collected in greater numbers, and kindled fires on all sides, which the Portugueze understood as inviting them to land ; but when they went to shore the natives still kept fearfully at a distance. They made signs however for some of the strangers to accompany them to

¹⁴ *Como veremos em seu lugar*, says Barros ; but the work in which it should have appeared either was not written, or has been lost. It is plain from this expression that this great historian had collected materials concerning Brazil, of which no trace is now to be found.

their habitations. Two sailors volunteered upon this adventure, thinking they should discover whether the land produced gold or spice. They took with them some of the proper currency for such traffic as they expected, appointed that the ships should wait for them five days, then joined the savages, and were led into the interior. Five days past, and the sixth also without their return. On the seventh the Portuguese landed: the natives had now brought their women with them, which they had not done before, and sent them forward apparently as negotiators, an office which was not undertaken by them without manifest unwillingness. The Portuguese seeing their reluctance to advance, thought it best to send only one to meet them; . . . a young man of great strength and activity was chosen, and the rest returned to their boats.

CHAP.
I.
1501.

The women surrounded him, handling and examining him with evident curiosity and wonder. Presently there came down another woman from the hill, having a stake in her hand, with which she got behind him, and dealt him a blow that brought him to the ground. Immediately the others seized him by the feet and dragged him away, and the men rushing to the shore discharged their arrows at the boats. The boats had grounded upon a sand bank; this unexpected attack dismayed the Portuguese; they thought rather of escape than of vengeance, till remembering at length that the best means of securing themselves was by displaying their power, they discharged four guns at the savages, who fled to the hills. There the women had dragged the body; they cut it in pieces, held them up in mockery to the boats, broiled them over a huge fire which had been kindled as it seemed for this purpose, and devoured them with loud rejoicings in sight of the Portuguese, to whom they intimated by signs that they had in like manner devoured their two countrymen. At this abominable sight forty of the crew

*Cannibalism
of the
savages.*

CHAP. would have landed to revenge their comrades, but they were not
 I. permitted to do this ¹³: and if they were not provided with defen-
 1501. sive armour, it was wise to prevent them from exposing them-
 selves to the arrows of the savages.

From this unfortunate place the ships proceeded, coasting on till they had got to latitude 8° S. without seeing any natives with whom it was possible to communicate. At length a large body came down to the shore, disposed for friendly intercourse, which was soon established between them; and here they remained five days, and brought away three of the natives, with their own consent. They continued to coast on, stopping from time to time as they thought good. The people now welcomed them every where, and they were thus enabled at leisure to fulfil the object of their expedition, by examining the nature of the country and its productions. The natives were excellently well made, and would have been a comely race if they had not so painfully deformed themselves; but the men seemed to consider their faces as made for nothing but to hang ornaments in; lips, nostrils, ears, and cheeks, were all perforated and studded. One man in particular had seven holes in his face, each big enough to hold a damascene plumb, and the stones which he carried in them weighed sixteen ounces. The privilege of thus decorating themselves was confined to the nobler sex, and the women were not allowed to bore any thing except their ears. They made the most of this permission; a finger might be put through the hole,

¹³ The *Naviprator*, or *Navipræceptor*, forbade them. Vespucci complains of him; he says, *et ita tam magnam ac tam gravem injuriam passi, cum malevolo animo et grandi opprobrio nostro, efficiente hoc Navipræceptore nostro, impunitis illis abscessimus*. There seems therefore to have been some person in the squadron whose authority controlled Vespucci. *Grynæus, P. 156.*

and they wore bones in it which reached down to the shoulder, and were sometimes as long as an ordinary candle; . . . by this constant weight the ears were greatly elongated, and with these pendants, looked at a little distance like the ears of a spaniel. The Portugueze were well pleased with their probity and their extreme innocence¹⁶: they had however sufficient proof that they were cannibals; human flesh, salted¹⁷ and smoaked, was hanging up in their houses, and when their visitors expressed their astonishment that they should kill men and eat them, they expressed equal astonishment at learning that the Portugueze killed men and did not eat them. Human flesh, they said, was good, . . . so good that it gave them appetite. One man among them boasted that he had partaken of the bodies of three hundred enemies. But it was a stronger passion, than hunger which gave to these accursed banquets their highest relish. The land was beautiful, and abounded with whatever the heart of man could desire: the splendid plumage of the birds delighted the Europeans; the trees diffused an inexpressible fragrance, and distilled so many gums and juices, that they thought if their virtues were but rightly understood, there would be nothing to prevent man from enjoying health to extreme old age. If the terrestrial Paradise were upon this round world, they fancied that surely it could not be far from hence. Finding however no precious metals, which were the main object of their hopes, when they had advanced as far as latitude

CHAP.

I.

1501.

Lery, c. 5--7.

1502.

Feb. 13.

¹⁶ After giving them this praise, Vespucci adds in the same page, that in their lust and in their hunger no relationship, however sacred, was regarded. This is false. Man has never yet been discovered in such a state of depravity.

¹⁷ This is not likely to be true.

CHAP. 32°, they agreed to leave the coast and strike out to sea. The
 I. ships were still fit for a six months voyage, and by Vespucci's
 1502. advice they laid in wood and water for that time, and stood to
 the southward till they had advanced as high as 52°, Vespucci
 all the while carefully noting down the stars of this new hemi-

Apr. 2. sphere. Here they found bad weather, and were driven under
 bare poles by the *Lebeccio*, the S. W. wind, till they came again
 within sight of land. They could find no port, and saw no in-
 habitants; and the country seemed to them to be uninhabitable,
 because of the severe and intolerable cold. It was now thought
 expedient to return: they made the coast of Africa, burnt one of
 their ships at Serra Leoa, and reached Lisbon in safety with the
 other two, after a voyage of sixteen months, during eleven of
 which they had sailed by the south star. Amerigo Vespucci has
 usurped the fame of Columbus;... but how nearly had he anti-
 cipated the work of Magalhaens! The season of the year seems
 to have been the only thing which prevented him from reach-
 ing the South Sea¹⁸ before Vasco Nuñez de Balboa had seen it!

*Alb. Vesp.
 Am. Vesp.
 Navig. 3.
 in Gryneus.*

1503.
 May 10.
*Second
 voyage of
 Vespucci,
 and first set-
 tlement in
 Brazil.*

In the spring of the ensuing year Amerigo sailed again from
 Lisbon, with six ships. The object of this voyage was to dis-
 cover a certain island called Melcha¹⁹, which was supposed to
 lie west of Calicut, and to be as famous a mart in the commerce
 of the Indian world, as Cadiz was in Europe. They made the

¹⁸ He had conceived the intention. *Hæsit mihi cordi rursus peragrarè eam orbis partem, quæ spectat meridiem; et huic operi jam navando in expedito sunt liburnicæ duæ, armamentis ac comœatibus ubertim communitæ. Dum igitur proficiscar in orientem, iter agens per meridiem, Noto vehar vento, quo cum devenero, plura abs me fient in decus et gloriam dei, necnon patriæ emolumentum, et mei nominis æternitatem, et in primis in senectutis meæ, quæ jam propè appetit, honorem et levamen.* *Alb. Vesp.* 114.

¹⁹ Malacca must have been meant.

Cape de Verds, and then, contrary to the judgment of Vespucci and of all the fleet, the Commander persisted in standing for Serra Leoa. Just as they were in sight a heavy gale came on, blowing off shore, and drove them three degrees beyond the line, where they discovered an island²⁰. He describes it as high and admirable, not exceeding two leagues in length, nor one in breadth, and as bearing no marks that it had ever been inhabited. It abounded with wood and water, and with both land and sea fowl. Four leagues off this island the Commander struck upon a rock: the others came to his help, and he ordered Vespucci to leave his own ship, which with nine men on board was assisting him, and go in a smaller to the island in search of a harbour, where he would join him, and where he should resume the command of his vessel. Vespucci took half his crew, and soon found an excellent port, where he remained eight days, in vain expecting the squadron. At length, when his men had given up all hopes, they saw one vessel, and put out to meet her. The news which they received proved to be, that the Commander's ship, which was of three hundred tons, and in which the strength of the expedition consisted, was totally lost, and every thing in her, except the men. With these tidings they went back to the island, took in wood and water, and knocked down as many birds as they pleased; then stood towards the coast of Santa Cruz (as it was then called) according to their instructions. After a run of three hundred leagues, made in

CHAP.
I.
1503.

²⁰ The island of St. Matthews answers in latitude to this description, but is much farther from the coast of Brazil. There is a small island near that of Fernam de Noronha, which also corresponds in latitude, but is as much too near the coast. This insuperable difficulty is overlooked by the author of the *Elogio Historico*, who affirms it to be the Isle of Noronha.

CHAP. I.
 1503.
 seventeen days, they reached the main land ²¹, and found a port which they named All Saints ²², where they waited above two months in vain expectation of being joined by the rest of the squadron. Having lost all hope of this they coasted on for two hundred and sixty leagues, to the Southward, and there took port again in 18° S. 35° W. of the meridian of Lisbon. Here they remained five months, upon good terms with the natives, with whom some of the party penetrated forty leagues into the interior : and here they erected a fort, in which they left four and twenty men who had been saved from the Commander's ship. They gave them twelve guns besides other arms, and provisions for six months ; then loaded with Brazil, sailed homeward, and returned in safety, being welcomed at Lisbon with exceeding joy, as men who had been given up for lost. None of the other ships were ever heard of. Vespucci says they were destroyed by the presumptuous folly of the Commander, for which he prays God to give him his reward ²³.

1504.
 June 28.

Am. Vesp.
Navig 4.
in Gryneus
p. 158.

²¹ It is remarkable that Vespucci still calls it an Island, though he had previously discovered such a prodigious length of coast.

²² This should seem to be Bahia, .. though that discovery is afterwards ascribed to Christovam Jaques.

²³ Simple drowning then he did not think punishment sufficient. There can be little doubt that the Commander of whom he speaks with so much asperity was Gonzalo Coelho. He went in 1503 to Santa Cruz with six ships, of which four were lost on account of their ignorance of the coast. The others returned laden with Brazil-wood, monkeys, and parrots, being all the articles of commerce from that country which were as yet known. This is the whole account which Damiam de Goes gives. (1. 65.) Agreeing as it does in the date, in the number of ships which went out, and the number which were lost, I have no hesitation in identifying it with Amerigo Vespucci's second voyage to Brazil. Antonio Galvam mentions Vespucci's voyage, but not Coelho's, which confirms this opinion. Rocha Pitta speaks of both ; but his authority upon any doubtful point is nothing.

The honour therefore of having formed the first settlement in this country, is due to Amerigo Vespucci. It does not appear that any farther attention was at this time paid to it. No gold had been found, and it produced no articles of commerce which could be thought worthy the notice of a government, whose coffers were overflowing with the produce of the spice trade, and the riches of the African mines. But the cargo of Brazil which Vespucci had brought home, tempted private adventurers, who were content with peaceful gains, to trade thither for that valuable wood; and this trade became so well known, that in consequence the coast and the whole country obtained the name of Brazil²⁴, notwithstanding the holier appellation which Cabral

CHAP.

I.

1504.

The country
obtains the
name of
Brazil.

Simam de Vasconcellos (*Chron. da Comp. de Jesu do Estado do Brazil*, L. 1. *das Not. antecedentes* § 19.) errs greatly in his account; he says, that Coelho returned with four ships, having carefully examined the coast, and set up pillars along it, and that he did not return till after Emanuel's death.

The author of the M.S. *Elogio Istorico* calls the commander *Il Maggi*, and accuses him of endeavouring to destroy Amerigo; the intention is as imaginary as the name.

²⁴ As we say the Gold Coast, the Slave Coast, the Sugar Islands, &c.

This alteration of a name so solemnly imposed, has made Barros more angry than usual, and far less reasonable. He attributes it directly to the agency of the Devil, and adjures all his readers by the Cross of Christ, since he has no other means of avenging himself upon the Devil, to call the country Santa Cruz, on pain of being accused at the day of judgment by that Cross. Moreover, he adds, it is a name of better sound, to prudent ears, than Brazil, . . . that being a name given without consideration by the vulgar, who are not qualified to name the possessions of the Crown. 1. 5. 2.

Simam Vasconcellos also regrets the change. Yet Santa Cruz is so common a name, and Brazil luckily of so sweet a sound itself, and in its derivatives, that both for the sake of geography and euphony it is rather to be rejoiced at.

The name perhaps was more easily affixed, because the geographers had already set it afloat, and seem to have been as much puzzled how to dispose of it, as they

CHAP. had given it. Parrots and monkeys also were brought home

I.

were of the famous title Prester John. Hervas (*T. 1. P. 109*) mentions a map in the Library of St. Mark at Venice, made by Andres Blanco in 1439; in which, at the extremity of the Atlantic, an island is laid down with this name, *Is. de Brazil*; another called *Is. de Antilla*; and a third, about the position of Cape St. Augustine in Florida, with the strange appellation *Is. de la man de Satanaxio*. This Island of Brazil he supposes to be one of the Terceras.

Don Christobal Cladera, in his reply to the Memoir of M. Otto concerning the discovery of America, describes five charts drawn by Juan Ortis, in Valencia, which he shows by fair reasoning could not have been made earlier than the year 1496, nor later than 1509. The fourth of these contains the coasts of Spain, of France from Bayonne to Antwerp, Holland, England, Scotland, and Ireland, with their adjacent Isles; and an Island is laid down in 52° N. divided by a great river, and called Brazil. Cladera infers from this that the chart was made after the discovery of Brazil by Cabral, in 1500, and very soon after it, or it would not have been so erroneously laid down.

If Brazil were meant, is it possible that it could have been laid down so erroneously; and would it at that time have been laid down by that name?

In the *Novus Orbis* of Grynæus, is a *Nova et integra Universi Orbis Descriptio*, drawn as it should seem by a certain Orontius F. Delph, and engraved at the expence of Christian Wechel. The author says it is in the shape of a human heart; but it more nearly resembles a kidney. This was drawn in July 1531. It marks a river Brazil in 20° S. and 328° E. from the Azores: but that name is not given to the province, nor indeed is any province named. In 25° S. *Brasielie Regio* is marked in the Terra Australis, .. an imaginary place in an imaginary country.

The Irish believe that they can see an enchanted Island called *O Breasil**, or *O Brazil*, from the isles of Arran, .. which General Vallancy, in his usual wild way, identifies with the Paradise of Irem. I have elsewhere advanced a guess that some such phenomenon as that of the Fata Morgana's works occasionally

* The Harleian Catalogue gives this title, 8277, *O Brazile*, or the enchanted Island, being a perfect relation of the late discovery of an island on the North of Ireland, 4to. It may save trouble to some future enquirer if I add, that the enchanted Island is only mentioned in a dream, and that the bulk of this thoroughly worthless pamphlet consists of a stingless satire upon the Welsh.

for the ladies²⁵. It was convenient for these traders to have agents living among the natives, and adventurers would not be wanting who would willingly take up their abode with friendly savages, in a plentiful and delightful country, where they were under no restraint. These were not the only colonists. Portugal had taken possession of Brazil, and meant to maintain it. It was the system of the Portugueze government to make its criminals of some use to the state; a wise system, if wisely regulated: in that kingdom it obviously arose from the smallness of its territory, and lack of population to support its extensive plans of ambition. Hitherto they had been *degraded*²⁶ to the African frontier, and more recently to India also. In these situations they certainly served the state; yet this service was not without heavy disadvantages. The usual offences which were thus punished,

occurs there, and has given rise to the superstition. Be that as it may, this fabulous island I suspect to be the Brazil of the Valencian chart; . . because it is laid down near Ireland, and because, as none of the West Indian Islands are marked in any of those charts, nor the continent of America; it is reasonable to suppose that Juan Ortis knew nothing of the discoveries. Assuredly he could not have heard of Cabral's voyage, and been ignorant of Columbus's. His charts are probably earlier than Cladera imagines; and the flags which mark the Spanish conquests may easily be supposed to have been inserted by another hand, when those conquests were made. The *Brasiliæ Regio* of Orontius, shows that geographers were possessed with the belief of an imaginary country so called.

²⁵ I cannot tell where Herrera has found that Joshua had for his arms *three green parrots*, 6. 3. 11. Boccacio, in his tale of the Parrot's feather, which was shown for one of the Angel Gabriels, dropt by him in the Virgin's Chamber at the Annunciation, says, the imposition might well be believed, because the effemacies of Egypt which have since flowed in upon us, to the ruin of our country, had not yet reached Tuscany, and the people had not even heard of a parrot! In his time these birds therefore seem to have been common. *Gio. 6. Nov. 10.*

²⁶ I follow literally the Portugueze term, *degradados*.

CHAP. were those of blood and violence : ferocious propensities, which
 I. were not likely to be corrected by placing the offenders in situations where they might indulge them with impunity, and consider the indulgence as meritorious. This system was immediately extended to Brazil : . . the first Europeans who were left ashore there were two convicts. In Africa or in India the exile was sent to bear arms with his countrymen, who would not regard him as disgraced, because they were obliged to associate with him. To be degraded to Brazil was a heavier punishment ; the chance of war could not enrich him there, and there was no possibility of returning home with honour for any signal service. They were in one point of view better disposed of, inasmuch as in new colonies ordinary men are of greater value than they can be elsewhere, . . but they became worse subjects ²⁷. Their numbers bore a greater proportion to the better settlers ; and they were therefore more likely to be encouraged in iniquity than reformed by example ; to communicate evil than to learn good. Their intercourse with the savages produced nothing but mischief : each made the other worse ; the cannibals acquired new means of destruction, and the Europeans new modes of barbarity. The Europeans were weaned from that human horror at the bloody feasts of the savages, which ruffians as they were they had at first felt, and the natives lost that awe and veneration for a superior race which might have been improved so greatly to their own advantage.

²⁷ Always has this plague persecuted Brazil, and the other conquests of this kingdom, says Balthazar Tellez. *Chron. da Comp.* 3. 9. § 2.

CHAPTER II.

Voyage of Pinzon and Solis.—Discovery of the Rio de la Plata.—The French trade to Brazil.—History of Caramuru.—Brazil divided into Captaincies.—St. Vicente.—The Goaynazes.—St. Amaro and Tamaraca.—Paraiba.—The Goaytacazes.—Espirito Santo.—The Papanazes.—Porto Seguro.—The Tupiniquins.—Captaincy of the Ilheos.—Bahia.—Revolutions in the Reconcave.—Expulsion of the colonists there.—Pernambuco.—The Cahetes.—The Tobayares.—Siege of Garassu.—Expedition of Aires da Cunha to Maranham.

Soon after his last voyage Amerigo Vespucci returned to the King of Castille's service, and that King thought it advisable to take possession of the coast which this great navigator had surveyed when under the flag of Portugal. For this purpose he sent out the two royal pilots Vicente Yañez Pinzon, and Juan Diaz de Solis, between whom it is evident that some dissention was expected, from the precautions which were taken to prevent it. The course which they should steer was to be decided by Solis, who was however to consult concerning it with Pinzon, and with the best pilots and seamen in the expedition. The ships were ordered to speak each other morning and evening, or at least in the evening without fail¹, according to custom.

CHAP.
II.
1508.

*Voyage of
Pinzon and
Solis.*

¹ The reason was this. Inferior Captains were sometimes ambitious of

CHAP. Solis was to carry the light, and before they departed they were
 II.
 1508. to agree upon their signals before a public notary. When they
 came to shore Pinzon was to take the command. They were
 not to tarry in any port, till they had pursued their discovery as
 far as should be found expedient; then on their return to
 trade, and form establishments wherever it seemed best. A
 salvo was added, that they were not to touch upon any island
 or continent which belonged to the King of Portugal².

Herrera.
1. 7. 1.

They made Cape St. Augustines, the same land which Pinzon
 had first discovered; and coasted southward to about 40°,
 taking possession and erecting crosses wherever they landed.
 The dissensions which had been foreseen broke out, and they
 returned without doing any thing farther. In consequence of
 this misconduct an inquiry was instituted to discover who had
 been in fault, and Solis was pronounced to be the offender.
 He was sent to the court prison, and Pinzon was rewarded.

Herrera.
1. 7. 9.

*Discovery of
the Rio de
la Plata.*

The King of Portugal complained of this voyage as an
 infringement upon his limits. These two Powers, between whom
 Alexander VI. had so liberally divided all the undiscovered
 parts of the world, seemed to agree that his line of demarcation
 held good against all except themselves. Hitherto Portugal had
 reaped most advantage from the division; and the main object

making discoveries by themselves, and sometimes disposed to run away from the
 hardships of the expedition, . . and therefore wilfully parted company. Instances
 are frequent in the history of maritime discovery.

* No person was to trade with the Indians till the Veedor and Escrivano had
 finished trading for the King; then individuals might make their market, but
 half their profits were to go to the *Fisco*, . . the Exchequer. The chests which
 the men were permitted to take with them were not to exceed five palms in
 breadth, nor three in depth. *Herrera.* 1. 7. 1.

at which Castille still aimed, was to partake in the prodigious profits of the spice trade. The hope on which Columbus originally proceeded, of reaching India by a western route, had never been laid aside. Vespucci also was of opinion that such a route was to be found, and had the fine weather continued a few days longer when he was on his first voyage for Emanuel, it is more than likely that the straits of Magalhaens would now have borne his name. The South Sea had now been discovered; this renewed the desire of finding a passage to it; and in 1515 the King of Castille dispatched Solis upon another expedition in its search, accelerating his departure as much as possible that the Portugueze might have no time to prevent his voyage. Solis was now acknowledged to be the most skilful of any man living in his art. He discovered what he at first supposed to be a sea of fresh water: it was the river now called Rio de la Plata, though he then gave it his own name: that name it ought to have retained; . . . it is hard that the place where he lost his life should neither have afforded him a grave nor a monument. The natives invited him to shore, and he landed with a boat's crew, intending to catch one of them and carry him to Spain. Their intention was worse than his, and better executed. They had stationed a party in ambush, who rose suddenly upon them, seized the boat, broke it to pieces in an instant, and slew every man with clubs. Then they took the bodies upon their shoulders, carried them to a spot which was out of reach of the Spaniards, but within sight, and there dismembered, roasted, and devoured them. Having thus lost their commander, the ships put back to Cape St. Augustines, loaded with brazil, and returned to Spain.

CHAP.
II.
1515.

Herrera.
2. 1. 7.
Pietro Martire. 3. 10.

Emanuel immediately demanded that the cargoes of these ships should be given up to him, and that the crew should be

CHAP. delivered into his hands to be punished as interlopers³. It was
 II. replied, that the place whereat they had loaded was within the
 1516. demarcation of Castille, and that seven Castillians whom the
 Portugueze had made prisoners on that coast, were also trading
 within their own limits, and therefore wrongfully detained.
 The business terminated in exchanging these prisoners for eleven
 Portugueze who had been arrested at Seville. These repeated
 remonstrances were not however without effect. When Magal-
 haens, three years afterwards, touched at Rio de Janeiro upon
 his way, he would purchase nothing of the natives, except
 provisions, that he might give no cause for complaint. A slave
 was offered for a hatchet; .. the natives then had already been
 taught a slave-trade. Eight or nine fowls were given for the
 King of Clubs, or any of his pictured companions.

Herrera.
2. 2. 8.

Herrera.
2. 4. 10.

The French
trade to
Brazil.

The French began very early to claim a share in the wealth
 of the Discoveries. Their usual method of obtaining it was
 by pirating against the homeward-bound ships from India;

³ Damiam de Goes says, that a Portugueze pilot, by name Jam Diaz Solis, who for some offences had fled his country, persuaded some Castillian merchants that it would be a good speculation to fit out two ships on a trading voyage to Santa Cruz do Brazil. He made the voyage, and returned in 1517. Emanuel complained to Charles V, who gave orders that the persons concerned should be punished as breakers of the peace between the two kingdoms; and this was done with great rigour. *Chronica del Rei Dom Emanuel*. 4. 20.

The Portugueze Chroniclers have so neglected the affairs of Brazil, that I cannot help suspecting this to relate to the voyage of Solis.

Solis, according to Pietro Martire (2. 10.) was born in Nebrissa, 'which bringeth forth many learned men.' He calls him *Astur Ovetensis*, otherwise named Johannes Dias de Solis. As this means an Asturian of Oviedo, he contradicts himself, unless the old translator has made a blunder, which for want of the original, I have not been able to ascertain. These Solises and Pinzons, says Antonio Galvam, (P. 47,) were great discoverers in these parts, till they spent in them at last both life and property.

and these acts of piracy were sometimes followed by the most execrable cruelty. In vain was remonstrance after remonstrance made by the Kings of Portugal; Portugal was too weak and too distant to enforce its remonstrances, and no other redress was to be had than what could be taken. The French expeditions to Brazil were of a more honourable character. That nation, which has never acknowledged any other law than that of the strongest, nor suffered any opinion or any principle to stand in the way of its ambition or its interest, has always treated the Papal authority either with respect or contempt, just as has suited its own immediate views. France had neglected to ask a share of the undiscovered world when Alexander VI. partitioned it, who would as willingly have drawn two lines as one; and because it derived no advantage from that partition, refused to admit its validity. French vessels soon went in quest of the woods, the parrots, and monkies of Brazil. Two of these traders discovered a magnificent bay, one of the finest in the world, and which no navigator had yet entered. Unfortunately for them, a Portugueze squadron under the command of Christovam Jaques entered it about the same time: he named it All Saints bay *... Bahia de Todos os Santos; and coasting along its shores and exploring all its creeks and coves, in one of them he discovered these Frenchmen, and proceeded to capture them as interlopers. They resisted, and he sunk them both, with crew and cargo. After this he established a factory farther North, on the main land, near the bar of the Itamaraca.

CHAP.
II.
1516.

*S. de Vasc.
Chron. da
Comp. 1.
§ 33.
Gaspar de
M. de Dios.
p. 6.*

* More probably after the custom of Portugueze navigators, because he discovered it on that day, than for the reason assigned by Vasconcellos, that he thought it like Paradise. I have in a former note intimated a suspicion that this bay was first entered and named by Vespucci.

CHAP. II. 1510^s.
Adventures
of Diogo Al-
varez, or Ca-
ramuru.

The first settler in Bahia was Diogo Alvarez, a native of Viana, young and of noble family, who with that spirit of enterprize which was then common among his countrymen, embarked to seek his fortune in strange countries. He was wrecked upon the shoals on the North of the bar of Bahia ^e. Part of the crew were lost, others escaped this death to suffer one more dreadful; the natives seized and eat them. Diogo saw that there was no other possible chance of saving his life, than by making himself as useful as possible to these cannibals. He therefore exerted himself in recovering things from the wreck, and by these exertions succeeded in conciliating their favour. Among other things he was fortunate enough to get on shore some barrels of powder and a musket, which he put in order at his first leisure, after his masters were returned to their village; and one day when the opportunity was favourable, brought down a bird before them. The women and children shouted Caramuru! Caramuru! which signified, a man of fire! and they cried out that he would destroy them; ..but he told the men, whose astonishment had less of fear mingled with it, that he would go

^e Herrera (5. 8. 8.) establishes the date. A ship from Simon de Alcazova's expedition, put back to Brazil after the mutiny and the murder of the commander, and entered Bahia in great distress for provisions, when, he says, it was relieved by a Portugueze who had lived twenty-five years among the Indians, having been wrecked there. This was in 1535. Herrera says there were eight others with him, and evidently implies that he had some authority in the land. This must have been after Coutinho's death.

The Portugueze writers are doubtful whether he was bound for India or not at the time of his shipwreck. If this date be right he was not; for of the three outward bound fleets for India in that year, there was none which suffered any loss in this part of the world.

^e The native name for them is Mairagiquiig.

with them to war, and kill their enemies. Caramuru was the name which from thenceforward he was known by. They marched against the Tapuyas ; the fame of this dreadful engine went before them, and the Tapuyas fled. From a slave Caramuru became a sovereign. The chiefs of the savages thought themselves happy if he would accept their daughters to be his wives ; he fixed his abode upon the spot where Villa Velha was afterwards erected, and soon saw as numerous a progeny as an old Patriarch's rising round him. The best families in Bahia trace their origin to him.

CHAP.
II.

1510.

At length a French vessel came into the bay, and Diogo resolved to take that opportunity of once more seeing his native country. He loaded her with brazil, and embarked with his favourite wife Paraguazu, . . the Great River. The others could not bear this abandonment, though it was only to be for a time ; some of them swam after the ship in hopes of being taken on board, and one followed it so far, that before she could reach the shore again her strength failed and she sunk. They were received with signal honour at the court of France. Paraguazu was baptized by the name of Catharina Alvarez, after the Queen, and the King and Queen were her sponsors. Her marriage was then celebrated. Diogo would fain have proceeded to Portugal, but the French would not permit him to go there. These honours which they had shown him were not to be gratuitous, and they meant to make him of use to them in his own dominions. By means however of Pedro Fernandez Sardinha (then a young man who had just compleated his studies in Paris, and afterwards the first Bishop of Brazil) he sent the information to Joam III. which he was not permitted to carry, and exhorted him to colonize the delightful province in which his lot had been so strangely cast. After some time he covenanted with a wealthy merchant to take him back, and leave him the artillery

Caramuru goes to France.

CHAP. II. and ammunition of two ships, with store of such things as were useful for traffic with the natives, in return for which he undertook to load both vessels with brazil. The bargain was fairly performed, and Diogo having returned to his territories, fortified his little capital.

*Sim. de Vasc.
Chr. da
Comp. 1. §
35.*

*Brito Freyre
§ 135—138.*

*Progress of
the Colonists.*

But the Portuguese government, wholly occupied with the affairs of India, thought little of a country in which, whatever profits were to be acquired, must come from agriculture, not from commerce with the inhabitants; for commerce was what they sought as eagerly as the Spaniards hunted for gold. Brazil was left open like a common ⁷, and all the care which the Court bestowed upon it was to prevent the French from trespassing there, by representations of their ambassador at Paris, that were never regarded, and by treating them as enemies whenever they met them. Individuals meantime being thus left to themselves, settled in the harbours and islands along the coast; and little towns and villages were growing up.

*Brazil divid-
ed into Cap-
taincies.*

For about thirty years after its discovery the country appears to have been thus neglected; it had then become of sufficient importance to obtain some consideration at court, and in order to forward its colonization, the same plan was adopted which had succeeded well in Madeira and in the Azores, .. that of dividing it into hereditary Captaincies, and granting them to such persons as were willing to embark adequate means in the adventure, with powers of jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, so extensive as to be in fact unlimited. This method was thought to be the easiest, and least expensive to government.

⁷ Vieyra, in his Letters, mentions a received tradition, that Emanuel ordered all the spice plants to be rooted up, lest the Indian trade should be injured, and that ginger was the only spice which escaped, .. because it was under ground. He does not appear to have recollected the impossibility of carrying such an order into effect, upon a continent.

The difference between desert islands and a peopled continent, had not been considered. The Captains of the Islands might easily settle lands in which there could be no opposition, and easily at any time assist each other with supplies; if their means failed they could even borrow from Portugal, those places being so near that they were regarded almost as things within the country. But when Joam divided the coast of Brazil into great Captaincies, each extending along fifty leagues of coast, large tribes of savages were in possession of the country; Portugal was far distant, and the settlements so far asunder, that one could not possibly afford assistance to another.

CHAP
II.
1510.

Manoel Severim de Faria. Vide de Joam de Barros. p. 15

The first person who took possession of one of these Captaincies was Martin Affonso de Sousa, whose name frequently occurs in the history of Portugueze India, where he was afterwards Governor, and who is famous in Catholic history for having carried out St. Francisco Xavier to the East. He and his brother Pero Lopes de Sousa having each obtained a grant, fitted out a considerable armament, and went to explore the country and form their settlement in person. He began to survey the coast somewhere about Rio de Janeiro, to which he gave that name because he discovered it on the first of January; and he proceeded South as far as the Plata, naming the places which he surveyed on the way, from the days on which the several discoveries were made.

Captaincy of S. Vicente.

1531^o.

Annaes do Rio de Janeiro. MSS. C. 1.

* The discovery is usually dated a year later; but Fr. Gaspar da Madre de Deos has ascertained it from a letter of the King. *Memorias para a Hist. de Cap. de S. Vicente.* 1. § 16.

° These names correspond in order, and in probable distance of time. Rio de Janeiro, on the 1st. Ilha Grande dos Magos, on the 6th. Ilha de S. Sebastiam, on the 20th. S. Vicente on the 22nd.

Flumen Genabara, a similitudine lacus sic appellatum, says Nic. Barré.

CHAP.

II.

1531.

Having well examined the coast he fixed upon one of these Islands for his settlement, which, like Goa, are separated from the main land by an elbow of the sea. Its latitude is $24\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ S. and its native name was Guaibe, so called from a tree which grew there in great abundance. When the Indians of the adjoining country saw that he was beginning to build there, they collected together that they might expel the invaders, and sent to Tebyreça, a chief who possessed the plains of Piratininga and who was the most powerful of his tribe, to come and assist them. It happened that a shipwrecked Portugueze, by name Joam Ramalho, had lived many years under the protection of this Royalet, who had given him one of his daughters. Ramalho immediately concluded that the new comers must be his countrymen, . . . probably a fleet bound for India, and driven here by stress of weather. He persuaded his protector to assist them instead of attacking them, . . . went to Martim Affonso, and concluded a treaty of perpetual alliance between him and the Goaynazes.

*Gaspar da
M. de Deos.
1. § 43. 51.*

*The Goay-
nazes.*

This tribe differed in many material circumstances from their savage neighbours. They were not cannibals, but made their prisoners slaves. They lived in underground caves, where they

Thuanus uses the same words, writing, I believe, with these letters before him. De Lery gives the true reason of the name, and says the savages called it Ganabara. I should not wonder to find the former etymology founded upon this Brazilian corruption, adduced to prove that the French were the first discoverers of this place.

Vasconcellos says the natives called it Nitherô. *Vida do P. Anchieta. L. 2. C. 1. § 2.*

A pillar which Martim Affonso erected on the Island of Cardoso, opposite the Island of Cananea, was discovered in 1767, by Colonel Aff. Botelho de Sampaio e Souza, who was surveying the place for the purpose of erecting a fort there.

Gaspar da M. de Deos. 1. § 52.

kept fires burning day and night; concealment therefore does not appear to have been their motive for preferring these uncomfortable habitations. They slept upon skins and beds of leaves, not in hammocks. They raised no food, trusting wholly to fishing, the chase and wild fruits. The Carios could understand their language: it was entirely different from that of the Tamoyos, and they were at war with both. They were a simple-hearted race, ready to believe any thing, and as they treated the Portuguese kindly wherever they met them, it may fairly be inferred that the first settlers behaved well to them. The spot which had been chosen for the new town was not found convenient, and the colonists round removed to the adjoining isle of St. Vicente, from which the Captaincy derives its name.

Martim Affonso made an unsuccessful expedition southward into the interior, in search of mines, from which he returned with the loss of eighty Europeans. In all other respects his colony was fortunate. Here the first sugar-canes were planted¹⁰, here the first cattle were reared, and here the other Captaincies stocked themselves with both. Whether the honour of having introduced them into Brazil be due to the founder of the colony is not stated; . . . a battle or a massacre would have been recorded. He who thus benefits mankind in a savage age is deified; in an enlightened one he receives his due tribute of praise; but in all the intermediate stages of barbarity and semi-barbarity, such actions are overlooked. The King after some time recalled Martim Affonso, and sent him to India; but when he returned to Portugal he watched over the welfare of his Captaincy, sending out supplies and settlers; and it descended in a flourishing condition to his son.

Wheat and barley were little used here, because the food of the country was liked so well; what little wheat was raised was

CHAP.
II.
1531.

*Noticias do
Brazil MSS.
l. 1. c. 63.*

*Gaspar da
M. de Deos.
1. § 58.*

*Annaes do
Rio de Jan.
MSS. c. 10.*

*Not. do Bra-
zil. MSS. 1.
c. 60.*

*Sim de Vasc.
C. C. 1. §
61.*

*The first su-
gar canes
planted.*

*Noticias.
MSS. 1. 62.*

¹⁰ They were brought from Madeira.

CHAP. II. 1531. for delicacies, and for the wafer. Marmalade was made here and sold to the other Captaincies. Oysters of such a size are found here, that their shells are used for dishes, .. and once when a Bishop of Bahia visited this province, they washed his feet in one, as in a bason. The whole coast abounds with shell-fish, which the natives came down from the interior to catch at certain seasons: they built their huts upon some dry spot amid the mango groves, fed upon fish while the fishery lasted, and dried them to carry home. So long had this practice been continued, that hills had accumulated of the shells, soil collected on them, and trees taken root there and grown to maturity. These hills, which are called *Ostreiras*, have supplied all the lime that has been used in the Captaincy, from its foundation to the present day. In some of them the shells are formed into lime-stone; in others they are unchanged; tools and broken pottery of the Indians are frequently found in them, and bones of the dead; for they who died during the fishing season, were laid on these heaps, and covered over with shells.

*Gaspar da
M. de Deos.
1. § 29. 30.*

*St. Amaro
and Tama-
raca.*

Pero Lopes de Sousa was less fortunate than his brother. He chose to have his fifty leagues of coast in two allotments. The one which obtained the name of St. Amaro adjoined St. Vicente, and bordered so close upon the main settlement, the towns being only three leagues asunder, that if they had not belonged to two brothers, the settlers would have but ill agreed. As long as this was the case the neighbourhood was advantageous to both; but when the property devolved to other possessors, between whom there were not the same ties, it became an endless cause of litigation. Tamaraca, the other division, lay between Pernambuco and Paraiba, many degrees nearer the line. Here he had some hard conflicts with the Pitiguares, who besieged him in his town; but he succeeded at length in driving them from the neighbourhood. Soon afterwards he perished by shipwreck.

*R. Pitta, 2.
§ 100.*

*Noticias.
MSS. 1.
c. 14. 61.
B. Tellez.
C. C. 3. 1. 5.*

A fidalgo, by name Pedro de Goes, had been one of the companions of Pero Lopes, and had suffered shipwreck with him in the Plata, . . . but neither this, nor the disastrous fate of his friend disheartened him. He became fond of Brazil, and asked for a Captaincy when the King was disposing of them in such prodigal grants. It seems that he had no great interest at court, for his grant was restricted to thirty leagues of coast, between the Captaincies of St. Vicente and Espirito Santo; if the space between them did not extend to so much, he was to take it such as it was. Goes embarked the whole of his property upon the adventure, and many thousand crowns were advanced by a certain Martim Ferreira, who proposed to have sugar-works established there upon their joint account. The expedition sailed to the River Paraiba, and there Goes fortified himself, and remained two years at peace with the Goaytacazes. After that time war broke out between them, and continued five years to his great loss: peace was made, and soon broken by the savages, . . . there is no reason to suspect the Portuguese of being the aggressors in this instance, it was too much their interest to keep the treaty. The colonists were weak and utterly dispirited: they became clamorous to quit the unlucky settlement, and Goes was obliged to yield to their clamours and evacuate it. Vessels were obtained from Espirito Santo to bring them away.

CHAP.

II.

1531.

Paraiba.

Noticias.
MSS. 1. 44.The Goayta-
cazes.

The tribe which expelled Goes were probably of the same stock as the Goaynazes¹¹, and like them did not devour their prisoners. They were fairer than the other savages, and their language, it is said, more barbarous, . . . which may be understood

¹¹ I should have supposed them to be the same, if they had not on another occasion been both enumerated. Besides this reason for admitting them to be different, there is the fact that the Goaytacazes did not burrow.

CHAP. to mean that some of its sounds were more difficult. They were a
 II. braver race, and fought not in woods and ambushes, but in open
 1531. field. They would swim off shore with a short stick in the hand,
 sharp at both ends; with this they would attack a shark, thrust
 it into his open mouth and gag him, then drown him, drag him
 ashore, eat the flesh, and head their arrows with his teeth.

Noticias 1.
M.S.S. 45.

Espirito
Santo.

The Captaincy of Espirito Santo was at this time next to St. Amaro; for Rio de Janeiro was not settled till a later period. This was asked and obtained by Vasco Fernandes Coutinho, a fidalgo, who having spent the best years of his life in India and amassed a fortune there, ventured and lost the whole in this scheme of colonization. His limits were to begin where those of Porto Seguro ended on the South. He fitted out a great expedition, in which not less than sixty fidalgos and men of the royal household embarked. Don Simam de Castello-branco, and Don Jorge de Menezes, were sent with him as *degradados*, that is to say, banished men. This latter is called He of the Moluccas, where he had been Governor. Of all shocking tyrannies, that of the Portugueze in the spice islands stands among the foremost in atrocity, and Don Jorge de Menezes in the first rank of their tyrants for diabolical cruelty. Indeed in an age when the cruelties of Vasco da Gama and the great Alboquerque were recorded without one word of reprehension, as doubtless they were without one feeling of humanity, it may well be supposed when a man of family and fortune was banished for such offences to Brazil, what the measure of those offences must have been. They had a prosperous voyage to their place of destination, and began a town, to which they gave the name of Our Lady of Victory, . . . before the battle had been fought. The title was for awhile sufficiently verified, and the Goaynazes, the first enemies with whom they had to deal, were, like all savages, defeated in the first engagements. The building went on with spirit; canes

Noticias
MSS. L. 1.
c. 52.

Noticias.
MSS. l. 1.
c. 52.

were planted, four sugar-works established, and Coutinho seeing every thing thus prosperous, went to Lisbon to collect more colonists, and procure stores and implements for an expedition into the country, in search of mines.

CHA P.
II.
1531.

The coast of this and the next Captaincy had been possessed by the Papanazes, but they were now driven back by the Goaytazes and the Tupiniquins. The language of the Papanazes was scarcely understood by these enemies, notwithstanding their long wars. They were hunters and fishers, and slept upon the ground on leaves. If one of them killed another, he was delivered up to the relations of the dead, and in the presence of all the kindred of both parties, immediately strangled and interred. All parties lamented loudly at the execution; they then feasted and drank together for many days, and no enmity remained. Even if the deed was accidental, the punishment was the same. Should the offender have escaped, his son, his daughter, or the nearest of his blood, was given up in his stead; . . . but the substitute, instead of suffering death, remained a slave to the nearest relation of the slain.

The Papanazes.

*Noticias.
MSS. 1. 46.*

The adjoining Captaincy of Porto Seguro was allotted to Pedro de Campo Tourinho, a native of Viana da Foz de Lima, of noble family, and an excellent navigator. He sold all that he possessed in Portugal to embark it in this expedition, and set sail with his wife and family, and a large body of colonists; . . . good colonists they are called; and if, as is probable, he raised them in his own province, they would deserve to be called so. They landed in the harbour where Cabral had taken possession of Brazil, and there fortified themselves upon a spot which retains the name of Porto Seguro, given it by that discoverer, and which still remains the capital of the Captaincy. The Tupiniquins made some opposition at first. They possessed the country from the river Camamu to the river Circare, an extent

Porto Seguro.

*B. Teller.
C. C. 3. 1.
§ 6.*

The Tupiniquins.

CHAP. of nearly five degrees; and the first settlers in this and the two
 II. adjoining Captaincies had to maintain their ground against
 1531. them. Peace however was soon made, and the Tupiniquins
 observed it faithfully. They were sometimes at war with the
 Tupinaes, . . . but these tribes being of the same stock, did not
 regard each other as regularly and naturally enemies, and their
 quarrels were considered as mere accidental circumstances,
 which were to leave no hatred behind: the two tribes blended
 at last into one. Of all the Brazilians, these are said to have
 been the most domestic and the most faithful, indefatigable,
 and excellently brave. Their manners and language resembled
 those of the Tupinambas; but it was so long since they had
 branched apart, that all memory of the common stock was lost,
 and there was a deadly enmity between them. The Tupinambas
 were the most powerful; prest by them on the one side, by
 the dreadful Aymures on the other, and profiting less by the
 friendship of the Portugueze than they suffered from their
 tyranny, they gradually forsook the country. Good men were
 never wanting who lifted up their voices against this tyranny
 and oppression; but the guilt was so general that it has become
 a national imputation.

Tourinho is not implicated in this guilt; he had influence
 enough over the natives to collect many of them into villages,
 and this is proof that he dealt towards them well and wisely.
 Sugar works were established, with such success that they pro-
 duced a considerable quantity for exportation to the mother
 country. No kine could be kept in this colony, because of an
 herb which is said to have occasioned hæmorrhoids, whereof
 they died; yet horses, asses, and goats, were not affected by it.

Noticias.
MSS. 1. 36.

The Ilheos.

The disease was probably imputed to a wrong cause.
 The Captaincy of the Isles owes its inapplicable name to the
Rio dos Ilheos, a river so called because there are three islands

just at its bar. Jorge de Figueiredo Correa, *Escrivam da Fazenda* to Joam III, was the first Donatory. The office which he held prevented him from going himself to take possession of his grant; he therefore deputed a Castillian knight, by name Franciscó Romeiro. Romeiro anchored in the harbour of Tin-hare, and began his new town on the height, or Morro de St. Paulo, from whence however he found it expedient to remove it to its present situation. It was first called St. Jorge, in compliment to the Lord of the land; but the same improper appellation which had been given to the Captaincy, extended to its capital. The Tupiniquins soon made peace with the settlers, and being of all the Brazilian tribes the most tractable, lived with them on such friendly terms that the colony soon became prosperous. The son of the original proprietor sold the Captaincy to Lucas Giraldes: he expended considerable wealth in improving it, and it flourished so well that there were in a short time eight or nine sugar works established.

CHAP.
II.
1531
to
1540.

Noticias.
MSS.

Sim. de Fasc.
C. C. 3.
§ 53. 54.

The coast from the great Rio de S. Francisco to the Ponta da Padram de Bahia, was given to Francisco Pereira Coutinho, a fidalgo who had distinguished himself in India; and the bay itself with all its creeks was afterwards added to the grant. He fixed his settlement in the bay at the place now called Villa Velha, which was Caramuru's dwelling place; two of his companions, who were men of noble family, married two of Caramuru's daughters, and as the natives were for his sake well affected towards the Portuguese, every thing went on well for a time.

Noticias.
MSS. 1. 28.
S. Fasc.
C. C. 1. § 24.

Bahia de Todos os Santos, or All Saints Bay, wherein the capital of Brazil was afterwards erected, is unquestionably one of the finest harbours in the world. Here, as well as at Rio de Janeiro upon the same coast, the sea seems to have broken in upon the land; or more probably some huge lake has borne down its barrier, and made way to the ocean. The entrance,

CHAP. II. which is nearly three leagues wide, is from the South, having the continent on the right hand, and the long island of Itaparica on the left. You are then in a bay, extending to the Northward and Westward a whole degree, and branching inland in every direction, with deep water every where, and many navigable rivers discharging themselves into it. This little mediterranean is spotted with above an hundred islands.

J. de Laet.
15. 22.
S. Fasc.
C. C. 1.
§ 28.
Lindley.
P. 239.
Chart in
Barlaeus.

Revolutions
in the Re-
concave.

The old natives preserved the memory of three revolutions in this Reconcave, as the Bay with all its creeks and coves is denominated. As far back as the memory of man among savages could reach, the Tapuyas possessed it; but as this part of Brazil is in every respect one of the most highly favoured places under heaven, it was too desirable a land to be peaceably enjoyed, when there was no other law than that of the strongest. The Tupinaes expelled them, and for many years retained possession, still keeping up war on the side of the interior with those whom they had driven there. At length the Tupinambas from the other side of the river San Francisco migrated here, and in like manner thrust out the Tupinaes, who fell back upon the Tapuyas, and drove them again before them. These last conquerors were masters of the country when the Portugueze arrived; but they had quarrelled among themselves. Those who dwelt between the river San Francisco and the Rio Real, or Royal River, were at mortal enmity with those nearer the bay, and the inhabitants of one side the bay, with those on the other; they carried on hostilities both by land and water, and all parties devoured their prisoners. A fresh feud broke out among those who dwelt on the eastern side; the cause was that which in barbarous, and heroic, or semi-barbarous ages, has furnished so much matter for history and song. The daughter of a Chief had been carried off against her father's consent; the ravisher refused to restore her; the father, not being powerful

Noticias.
MSS. 2.
c. 50—51.

enough to compel him, retired with all his clan to the Island of Itaparica; the hordes upon the river Paraguazu coalesced with the seceders, and a deadly war began between the two parties. The Ilha do Medo, or Island of Fear, derives its name from the frequent ambushes and conflicts of which it was then made the scene. The seceders multiplied and spread along the coast of the Ilheos, and the feud in all its rancour was perpetuated.

This was the state of the Tupinambas in Bahia, when Coutinho formed his establishment among them. That fidalgo had served in India, and India was not a school where humanity or political wisdom was to be learnt. A son of one of the native Chiefs was slain by the Portugueze; the circumstances are not recorded, but it is admitted that the deed was done wrongfully. Coutinho paid dearly for his offence. These fierce savages, then the most formidable of all the Brazilian tribes, burnt down his sugar works, destroyed his plantations, killed his bastard son, and after more than a seven years war, compelled him, and the wreck of his colony, to abandon the Reconcave. Caramuru followed the fate of his countrymen, and retired with them to the adjoining Captaincy of the Ilheos. When they were gone, the Tupinambas began to feel the want of those articles which they were now accustomed to receive in traffic, and which, from being luxuries, they had suffered to become wants. A treaty was opened, the difference was adjusted, and Coutinho embarked to return in one caravel, and Caramuru in another. They were wrecked within the bar, on the shoals of the Island Itaparica; all got to shore, and there he and his people were treacherously slain by the islanders. Caramuru and the crew of his vessel were spared; a proof how wisely he had ever demeaned himself towards the natives. He returned to his old abode in the ¹² bay. The wife

CHAP.
II.
1531
to
1540.

Noticias.
MSS. 2. 52.

*Expulsion of
Coutinho.*

Noticias.
MSS. 1. 25.
S. Fasc. C.C.
1. § 34.

¹² Maregrave gives Quirimure as another name for the Captaincy of Bahia in his time. This is probably the same word as Caramuru, given by the natives to his domain in memory of him.

CHAP. and children of Coutinho did not perish with him; they had
 II. probably been left at Ilheos, . . but he had expended the whole
 1532 of his Indian spoils and of his property : they were left destitute,
 to and came to the hospital for support.
 1540.

Pernam-
 buco.

One other Captaincy was established about the same time as these others, . . that of Pernambuco. A factory had previously been settled there, which a ship from Marseilles took, and left seventy men in it, thinking to maintain possession ; but the ship

Carta del R.
 D. Joam 3.
 Provas da
 Hist. Geneal.
 t. 6. p. 318.

was captured on her return, and intelligence being thus early obtained at Lisbon, immediate measures were taken for the recovery of the place. The Donatory, Duarte Coelho Pereira, asked it as the reward of his services in India. The line of coast between the Rio de S. Francisco and the Rio de Juraza was granted him : he came himself, with his wife and children, and many of his kinsmen, to begin the colony, and landed in the Port of Pernambuco ; . . the entrance is through an opening in a long stone reef, and this the native name implies. *O que linda situaçam para se fundar huma Villa!* O how fine a situation for founding a town! . . Duarte Coelho is said to have exclaimed on beholding it; and hence the town was called Olinda.

S-Fasc.C.C.
 1. § 100.
 Castrioto
 Lusitano.
 1. §. 16.

The Cahetes.

This coast was possessed by the Cahetes, a tribe remarkable for using boats, the fabric of which was something between thatch and wicker-work, being of a long and strong kind of straw, knit to the timbers¹³. These they made large enough to carry ten or twelve persons. They are said to have been more brutal than the other tribes, inasmuch as there was little natural affection to be perceived in them. An instance is related of one who was a slave to the Portugueze, and threw his child into the

Noticias.
 MSS. 1. 19.

¹³ *Eram de huma palha comprida, como a das esteiras de taboa que ha em Santarem: a qual ajuntavam em molhos muy apartada com humas varas muito fortes e rijas, e brandas pera apartar.* Noticias. MSS. 1. 19.

river because she cried. The single fact would prove nothing more than individual brutality; but it is mentioned as an example of their general unfeeling nature.

From these people Duarte Coelho had to gain by inches, says Rocha Pitta, what was granted him by leagues. They attacked him and besieged him in his new town. . . The French, who traded to that coast, led them on; their numbers were very great, and had he been less experienced in war, or less able, his colony would probably have been rooted out. He was wounded during the siege, many of his people slain, and the place reduced to extremity; nevertheless they beat off the enemy, and having made an alliance with the Tobayares, had strength and spirit enough to follow up their success. The Tobayares were the first Brazilian tribe who leagued with the Portuguese. One of their leaders, named Tabyra, possessed great talents for war, and was the scourge of the hostile savages: he went among them himself, to spy out their camps, and listen to their projects: these tribes therefore must have been of one stock, and have spoken the same dialect. He laid ambushes, led on assaults in the night, and harrassed them with incessant alarms. At length they assembled their whole force, came upon him and surrounded him. Tabyra sallied forth; an arrow pierced his eye, . . he plucked it out and the eye-ball on it; and turning to his followers, said, he could see to beat his enemies with one; and accordingly he gave them a complete overthrow notwithstanding their numbers. Itagybe, the Arm of Iron, was another of these Tobayares, who distinguished himself on the same side; and Piragybe, the Arm of the Fish, (if the name be rightly translated by this unimaginable meaning) rendered such services to the Portuguese, that he was rewarded with the order of Christ and a pension.

CHAP.

II.

1532

to

1540.

*The Tobay-
ares.**S. Vase & C.}*
1. § 100.
103.

Some years of peace and prosperity ensued. Then again a

CHAP. war broke out, which was occasioned, as usual, by the misconduct
 II. of the settlers. This is the first war between the Portuguese
 1548. and the savages of which any detail has been preserved, and
 the detail is curious. It is related by Hans Stade, the first
 person who wrote any account of Brazil.

Hans Stade.

Hans, whose after adventures will form an interesting part of this history, was the son of a good man at Homberg, in the Hessian territory. He was minded to seek his fortune in India, and with that intent sailed from Holland in a fleet of merchantmen, going to Setubal for salt; but when he reached Portugal, the Indian ships were gone, so he accepted the post of gunner in a vessel bound for Brazil, on a trading voyage, and carrying out convicts to Pernambuco. There was a smaller ship in company: they were well provided with all kinds of warlike stores, and had orders to attack all Frenchmen whom they might find trading in those parts. They made Cape St. Augustines in eighty-eight days, early in 1548, and entered the port of Pernambuco¹⁴. Here the Captain delivered his convicts to Coelho, meaning to proceed and traffic wherever it might be found most convenient. It happened however that just at this time the natives rose against the Portuguese, and were about to besiege the settlement of Garassu, which was not far distant. Coelho could spare them no support, because he expected to be attacked himself; he therefore requested these ships to assist him, and Hans was sent with forty men in a boat to their succour.

Jan. 28.

Siege of Garassu.

Garassu was built in the woods, upon a creek which ran about

¹⁴ Hans calls the town here Marino, and the Commander *Artus* Coelho. He may have mistaken Duarte for this, which was to him a more familiar name: or Duarte may have had a kinsman in command so called. Marim appears to have been the name of a settlement of the natives, upon the spot where Olinda was afterwards built. *B. Freire*: § 326.

two miles inland; its garrison, including this reinforcement, consisted of ninety Europeans, and thirty slaves, some of whom were negroes, others natives. The force which attacked them was computed at eight thousand, probably an exaggerated number. There were no other fortifications than the palisade, which the Portuguese had adopted from the Brazilians. The besiegers piled up two rude bulwarks of trees, within which they retired at night for security against any sudden attack. They dug pits, in which they were safe from shot by day, and from which they frequently started at different times, and rushed on, hoping to win the place by surprize. When they saw the guns aimed at them, they fell upon the ground. Sometimes they approached the palisade, and threw their javelins over, for the chance there was that some wound might be inflicted by their fall: they shot fire arrows, headed with waxed cotton, at the houses, and whenever they drew nigh it was with loud threats that they would devour their enemies. The Portuguese soon began to want food, because it was the custom to dig the mandioc, of which their bread was made, every day, or at farthest on the alternate days; and now they were blockaded and could not go out to perform this necessary work. Two boats were sent for food to the island of Itamaraca, which is at the entrance of the creek, and where there was another settlement; and Hans was of the party. The creek is narrow in one place, and there the savages endeavoured to obstruct the navigation by laying great trees across: this obstacle the Portuguese removed by main force; but while they were thus delayed, the tide was ebbing, and before the boats could reach Itamaraca they were left dry. Instead of attacking them the savages raised a heap of dry wood between the boats and the shore, set fire to it, and threw into the flames a species of pepper which grows there abundantly, and produces a pungent smoke, by which they thought to suffocate, or otherwise annoy them. A breath of

CHAP. wind from the opposite quarter would defeat this artifice : . . it
 II. failed in this instance because the wood did not burn, and when
 1548. the tide floated them, the Portugueze proceeded to Itamaraca,
 and were there supplied with what they sought.

Meantime the savages cut two large trees nearly through, which grew beside the narrowest part of the creek, and fastened to them the long and limber shoots of a plant which they called *sippo*, . . these shoots resemble the hop plant, except that they are thicker. When they in the boats drew nigh and perceived this, they called out to their fellows in the fort, to come and help them, for the place was within hearing, though the wood concealed it from sight ; the savages knew what this meant, and as soon as they began to shout, shouted also, and effectually drowned their words. All therefore that the Portugueze could do, was for one part of them to endeavour to confuse the enemies attention, while the rowers pulled up for their lives. This succeeded ; one of the trees went down in a slant direction on the bank, the other fell behind one of the boats, and brushed it in its fall¹⁵. The siege had already lasted a month ; the savages saw themselves thus disappointed in the hope of reducing Garassu by famine ; their perseverance was exhausted, and they made peace and broke up. The Portugueze had not lost a single man, and the besiegers not many. After this easy war the colony continued to prosper during the remainder of Duarte Coelho's life.

H. Stade,
 in De Bry,
 p. 1. c. 2—4.

Expedition
 of Aires da
 Cunha to
 Maranham.

Joam de Barros, the great historian, obtained the Captaincy of Maranham. His means were not large, and for the sake of increasing the capital, he divided his grant with Fernam Alvares de Andrada, father of the Chronicler, and with Aires da

The Payagoaes still use this stratagem. *Lettres Edif. T. 8. 266.*

Cunha. They undertook a scheme of conquest as well as of colonization, and their armament was upon a far more extensive scale than any former one to Portuguese America. Nine hundred men were raised, of whom one hundred and thirteen were horsemen, ten ships equipped; Aires da Cunha took the command, and two sons of Barros accompanied him. The whole fleet was wrecked upon some shoals, which they supposed to be in the mouth of the great river, but which are above one hundred leagues South of it, off the island to which the survivors escaped, and which is now known by the name of Maranham¹⁶, in consequence of their error. They made peace with the Tapuyas, who then inhabited it, and while they waited there for relief, sent up the adjoining labyrinth of islands, channels, and rivers, to traffic for food, . . . from which it appears that some of their effects must have been saved. Aires da Cunha was one of those who perished. The survivors remained long time in great misery before they could make their situation known to the nearest settlement. Barros sent to relieve them as soon as he heard the disaster, . . . but the relief came too late. They had left the island, and both his sons had been slain in Rio Pequeno by the Pitaguares. The father behaved as was to be expected from so great a man; he paid all the debts for which Aires da Cunha and the others who had perished were bound; and remained in debt himself to the crown for artillery and stores, something about six hundred milreas, . . . which after many years were remitted to him by Sebastian, . . . an act of liberality so tardy, that it can scarcely be called liberal.

CHAP.
II.
1539.

Barros.
1. 6 1.
Noticias.
MSS. 1.
6—10.
Man. Severim. Vida de Barros.
p. xvii.
Ant. Galvam. p. 76.

One man from this expedition remained among the savages.

¹⁶ There is no doubt that this is the origin of the name, . . . though half a century after this event it was called *Ilha das Vacas*, . . . Cow-Island.

CHAP. II.
 1539. He was a blacksmith, of all trades the most useful in such a situation; and from the pieces of wreck which were cast ashore, he extracted iron enough to make himself a great personage, and obtain the daughters of many neighbouring Chiefs for his wives. From him they called the Portugueze *Peros*¹⁷, supposing it to be their common appellation, and this gave rise to a fable, that there existed a warlike tribe between the rivers Mony and Itapicuru, descended from the survivors of this great shipwreck, who wore beards like their fathers, and remembered them by that name.

Berredo
 1. § 48—50.
Sim. Estacio
de Silveira,
Fr. Marcos
de Guada-
laxara, there
quoted.

¹⁷ I have sometimes suspected, that this name has a different origin, and that the Brazilians meant to call their enemies *dogs, perros*.

Berredo
 1. § 48—50.
Sim. Estacio
de Silveira,
Fr. Marcos
de Guada-
laxara, there
quoted.

CHAPTER III.

Voyage of Sebastian Cabot.—He names the river Plata, and remains there five years.—D. Pedro de Mendoza obtains a grant of the conquest.—Foundation of Buenos Ayres.—War with the Quirandies.—Famine.—Buenos Ayres burnt by the Savages.—Buena Esperanza founded.—The Timbues.—Mendoza sets sail for Spain, and dies upon the passage.—Ayolas ascends the Paraguay.—The Carios.—The Spaniards win their settlement, and call it Asumpcion.—The Agaces.—Ayolas goes in search of the Carcarisos, a people who were said to have gold and silver.—Yrala waits for him as long as possible, and then returns to Asumpcion.—Misconduct of Francisco Ruyz.—Buena Esperanza besieged and abandoned.—Reinforcements sent out under Cabrera.—Yrala marches in search of Ayolas.—The death of that Commander ascertained.—The Payagoaes.—The Spaniards abandon Buenos Ayres, and collect all their force at Asumpcion.

Meantime the Spaniards had taken possession of the great river which Juan Diaz de Solis had discovered. The expedition which effected this was fitted out for a different purpose. Of the ships which sailed with Magalhaens, one had returned, laden with spice, from the Moluccas; and at the sight of this precious commodity, the difficulties and dangers of thus procuring it were overlooked. Some merchants of Seville resolved to fit out an adventure for this new track, and persuaded Sebastian Cabot to accept the command, who, having left England, was at this time

CHAP.
III.
1525.

*Voyage of
Sebastian
Cabot.*

CHAP. Chief¹ Pilot to the King of Spain. A twentieth part of the profits
 III. of the voyage was to be given for the redemption of captives; one
 1525. of the most ordinary and most beneficial modes of charity in
 countries which are exposed to the piratical states. He was to go
 in quest of Tarsis and Ophir, Cathaia, and Marco Polo's Cipango.
 Early in April, 1525, he set sail with four ships, under the most
 unfavourable circumstances. The Deputies, or Committee of
 Merchant-Adventurers, were already dissatisfied with him, and
 would have displaced him, if they could have done it without
 delaying the expedition. Many of those on board also were
 disposed to undervalue his abilities and thwart his measures.
 It is said, that, in consequence of his improvidence, provisions
 failed before he reached Brazil; now Cabot's talents as a navi-
 gator had before this been tried and proved; it is impossible
 that stores, which were laid in for a voyage to the Moluccas,
 could, by any improvidence, have been consumed before the ships
 reached Brazil; but it is exceedingly probable that those persons
 who laid them in had taken especial care that they should fail,
 or that they were wilfully destroyed by the men on board, who
 were determined not to proceed to the Straits.

Cabot touched at an island on the coast, called Ilha dos Patos,
 or Duck Island, and there took in supplies; requiting the good
 will which the natives had manifested with the usual villainy of
 an old discoverer, by forcibly carrying away four of them. The
 discontent of his people continued to increase, and in hopes of
 subduing it, he left three of the chief persons in the fleet upon
 a desert island. But this act of cruelty was not sufficient to
 restore subordination; and after he had reached the River
 Plata, or Solis, as it was then called, he was compelled to give

Amerigo Vespucci was probably dead.

up all thoughts of proceeding to the South Sea. He had not sufficient provisions to make the attempt, neither would his men go with him: when he had yielded to them in this point, they seem contentedly to have obeyed him.

CHAP.
III.
1525.

Cabot was not a man to return without having done something. He entered the great river, and advanced thirty leagues up till he came to a little island about half a league from the Brazil side, which he named St. Gabriel. Here he anchored, and proceeding seven leagues farther with his boats, discovered a safe station for the ships, in a river on the same side, which he called St. Salvador. The ships were brought there and unloaded, the mouth not being deep enough to receive them otherwise. He built a fort, left men enough to defend it, and advanced with the rest in boats and in a caravel *rasée*, thinking that although the main object of his expedition had been frustrated, he might still make it of some utility by exploring this river. Thirty leagues farther up he came to the mouth of the Carcaraña; the natives were friendly, and he built another fort there, which he called Santespírito, or Fort Holy Ghost, but which retained his own name. Still he went on till he came to the junction of the rivers Paraguay and Parana; the latter appeared to lead in a direction towards Brazil; he left it, therefore, and proceeded four and thirty leagues up the Paraguay^a, where he first found an agricultural people. But as these people cultivated their lands, so also they knew how to defend them.

Cabot goes
up the
Plata,

and enters
the Para-
guay.

^a "Paraguay," says Techo, "signifies the Crowned River, so called because the natives on each side of it wear coronets made of feathers." It seems rather to be the same word as *Paraguazu*, the Great River. The Guarani and Tupi languages are radically the same; and the same word for a river is found from the Para to the Parana.

CHAP. III. Property had produced patriotism: they had something to fight for; and so well did they fight, that having slain five and twenty of his men, and taken three, they prevented him from advancing.

Herrera.
3. 9. 3.

Voyage of
Diego Garcia.

While Cabot was taking possession of the country, that his expedition might not be wholly useless, other ships were on their way from Spain, destined for this very service, under the command of Diego Garcia³. Rodrigo de Area was pilot, and it had been stipulated that he should make a second voyage there to instruct other pilots in the navigation of those parts which he might discover. One of their instructions was to make every possible search for Juan de Cartagena and the French priest whom Magalhaens had turned ashore. The squadron consisted of a ship of one hundred tons, a pinnace (*patache*) of twenty-five, and one brigantine, with the frame of another. They got among those perilous shoals which are called the *Abrolhos*⁴, a word implying the vigilant look-out that must be kept to avoid them: from this danger they had the good fortune to escape, and came to the Bay of St. Vicente, where a Portugueze, who bore the degree of batchelor, supplied them with meat, fish, and such other stores as were raised in the country; and his son-in-law undertook to go with them to the River Solis as interpreter. They touched at the Ilha dos Patos; the natives complained of the treatment which they had so unexpectedly endured from Cabot, but returned only good for evil to his countrymen. At

Herrera.
3. 10. 1.

³ Charlevoix converts him into a Portugueze sent by the Captain General of Brazil to reconnoitre the country, and take possession of it for the King of Portugal. Brazil had no Captain General till many years afterwards, nor was there one of the Captaincies founded at this time.

⁴ *Abra os olhos*, Open your eyes. *Los baxos que llaman de Abre el ojo*, says Herrera.

length they entered the river, put together the other brigantine, and sailed up in it. It was not long before they saw signs of the Spaniards. Cabot's people, who were left there with two ships, seeing the brigantine, thought that those persons whom he had set ashore upon the island were coming against him; and they took arms and proceeded to attack it. Garcia recognized Anton de Grajeda, the commander, in good time, and they met as friends. Intelligence had just been received from Cabot, who was fighting with the natives far up the stream, and had slain about three hundred of them. Garcia now sent his ship back under pretence that it was not well adapted for exploring the river; the true motive was, that his Portugueze friend at St. Vicente had secretly agreed to hire of him this vessel of a hundred tons to carry eight hundred slaves to Portugal! He then proceeded with sixty men, in two brigantines, up to the second fort, and summoned Gregorio Caro, the commander, to deliver it up, as that discovery appertained to him and not to Cabot. Caro answered, that he held the fort for the King of Castille and Sebastian Cabot; but that it was at Garcia's service; and he besought him if, when he advanced higher up, he should find Cabot dead (of which apprehensions now began to be entertained), that he would ransom any prisoners whom the Indians might have taken, promising to pay whatever should thus be expended. He also requested that, on his return, he would take him and his people away with him. Garcia, however, when he got a hundred leagues farther up, found Cabot, and they returned together to the upper fort.

They brought down with them a little gold, and more silver⁵,

Herrera.
4. 1. 1.

The river
now named
Plata.

⁵ These treasures were not the growth of the country; they proved however a destructive bait to many an unhappy adventurer, *tantam enim annis ille vano suo inanique nomine de se expectationem excitarat*, says Peramas.

Prol. ad Sex Sacerd.

CHAP. which as it was the first that had yet been seen in America,
 III. made them name the River Rio de la Plata, supplanting the
 1527. memory of Solis by this erroneous appellation. Specimens
 of this metal, of the natives, and of whatever else he had pro-
 cured, Cabot now sent to Castille, praying the King to send
 him reinforcements, and grant him powers to settle there. His
 application was favourably received, and the merchants who
 had fitted out the former expedition were called upon to bear
 part in the expences of another; but this they refused to do,
 chusing rather to lose the whole of their first expence than risk a
 second. The Court then resolved to take the adventure upon
 itself. In such things governments are more dilatory than indi-
 viduals; and weeks and months are wasted before supplies
 are sent to new colonists, who are daily expecting them, and
 starving during the delay.

*The Guara-
 nis expel
 the Spani-
 ards.*

Cabot had behaved well to the Guaranis, the tribe nearest his
 settlements. Their villages were pitched round about his fort,
 and for two years he had remained upon peaceable and friendly
 terms with them. Garcia's men were not under the same neces-
 sary discipline, and they injured the natives. The Guaranis
 were a fierce tribe: they called all those who did not speak the
 same language as themselves, slaves, and waged perpetual war
 with them, never sparing a man in battle. The gold and silver
 which Cabot obtained from them were spoils which they had
 brought from Peru, whither they penetrated in the reign of
 Guaynacapa, the father of the last Inca. These people, accord-
 ing to their custom, dissembled their resentment till they could
 manifest it effectually. They secretly collected their strength,
 fell upon the fortress at break of day, and set fire to it. St. Sal-
 vador was destroyed in the same manner, and Cabot, weary of
 expecting succour, and thinking it hopeless to attempt retaining

the country against so resolute an enemy, quitted it after having retained possession five years ^o.

CHAP.
III.
1531.

A Portugueze, by name Gonçalo de Acosta, returned to Europe with Cabot. From him the Court of Portugal made enquiries concerning the River Plata, and then prepared an armament of four hundred men, beside voluntary settlers, for those parts. It was attempted to conceal the object of this expedition, by giving out that it was destined to drive the French from Brazil. The court of Spain suspected the real destination, and remonstrated against it, and accordingly the design was abandoned.

*Herrera, 4.
10. 6.*

It was not long before a far more extensive settlement was projected, by Don Pedro de Mendoza, a knight of Guadix, one of the royal household. Mendoza had enriched himself at the sassage of Rome; ill-gotten wealth has been so often ill expended, as to have occasioned proverbs in all languages; the plunder of Rome did not satisfy him, and dreaming of other

*Expedition
of D. P. de
Mendoza.*

*Argentina
c. 4. st. 2.*

* Techo says he left a garrison in Santespírito, and then proceeds to relate the story of Lucia Miranda, Sebastian Hurtado her husband, and the Chief of the Timbues, Mangora. This Chief, says the story, fell in love with Lucia, and resolved to destroy all the Spaniards for the sake of possessing her. Accordingly he got possession of the fort by treachery and massacred all who were in it, except four women, and as many boys, . . . but he himself fell. His brother Siripus succeeded him, and in his turn became enamoured of Lucia, on whom however no persuasion could prevail. After awhile her husband, who had been absent when the fort was surprized, returned; finding the havoc which had been made, he guessed at the cause, and delivered himself up to the Timbues, that he might be conducted to his wife. Siripus would have put him to death: but at Lucia's entreaties he spared him, vowing however, that if she admitted him as her husband, both should die. They were surprized together, Lucia was burnt alive, and Sebastian, like his patron saint, bound to a tree and pierced with arrows. It can scarcely be necessary to say that all this is mere romance, and has not the slightest foundation in fact.

CHAP.

III.

1531.

Mexicos and Cuzcos, he obtained a grant of all the country, from the river Plata to the Straits, to be his government, with permission to proceed across the continent to the South Sea; and he undertook to carry out in two voyages, and within two years, a thousand men, an hundred horses and mares, and stores for one year at his own expence, the King granting him the title of Adelantado, and a salary of two thousand ducats for life, with two thousand more from the produce of the conquest, in aid of his expences. He was to build three fortresses, and be perpetual Alcayde of the first; his heirs after him were to be first Alguazils of the place where he fixed his residence, and after he had remained three years he might transfer the task of completing the colonization and conquest, either to his heir or any other person whom it might please him to appoint, and with it the privileges annexed; if within two years the King approved the choice. A King's ransom was now understood to belong to the Crown; but as a farther inducement, this prerogative was waived in favour of him and his soldiers, and they were to share it, having deducted the royal fifth first, and then a sixth; if however the King in question were slain in battle, in that case half the spoils should go to the Crown. These terms were made in wishful remembrance of the ransom of Atabalipa. He was to take with him a Physician, Apothecary, and Surgeon, and especially eight Religioners. Life is lightly hazarded by those who have nothing more to stake; but that a man should, like Mendoza, stake such riches as would content the most desperate life-gambler for his winnings, is one of the many indications how generally, and how strongly the contagious spirit of adventure was at this time prevailing.

1534. Mendoza had covenanted to carry five hundred men in his first voyage; such was his reputation, and such the ardour for going to the Silver River, that more adventurers offered than

it was possible for him to take, and he accelerated his departure on account of the enormous expence which such a host occasioned. The force with which he set forth consisted of eleven ships and eight hundred men. So fine an armament had never yet sailed from Europe for America: but they who beheld its departure are said to have remarked, that the service of the dead ought to be performed for the adventurers. They reached Rio de Janeiro after a prosperous voyage, and remained there a fortnight. The Adelantado here, being crippled by a contraction of the sinews, appointed Juan Osorio to command in his stead. Having made this arrangement they proceeded to the place of their destination, anchored at isle St. Gabriel within the Plata, and then on its southern shore, and beside a little river, Don Pedro de Mendoza laid the foundation of a town, which because of its healthy climate he named Nuestra Señora de Buenos Ayres. It was not long before he was made jealous of Osorio by certain envious officers, and weakly lending ear to wicked accusations, he ordered them to fall upon him and kill him; then drag his body into the Plaza, or public market place, and proclaim him for a traitor⁷. This murder was perpetrated, and thus was the expedition deprived of one who is described as an honest and generous good soldier.

Argentina.
c. 4. st. 4.

Foundation
of Buenos
Ayres.

Experience had not yet taught the Spaniards that any large body of settlers in a land of savages, must be starved, unless they are well supplied with food from other parts, till they can raise it for themselves. The Quirandies, who possessed the country round about this new settlement, were a wandering tribe, who, in places where there was no water, quenched their thirst by eating a root which they called *cardes*, or by sucking the blood

⁷ Schmidel calls him his brother; brother-in-law he might have been, . . . but the case is atrocious enough without this aggravation.

CHAP.
III.

1535.

War with the
Quirandies.

of the animals whom they slew. About three thousand of these savages had pitched their moveable dwellings some four leagues from the spot which Mendoza had chosen for his city. They were well pleased with their visitors, and during fourteen days brought fish and meat to the camp; on the fifteenth they failed, and Mendoza sent a few Spaniards to them to look for provisions, who came back empty-handed and wounded. Upon this he ordered his brother Don Diego, with three hundred soldiers and thirty horsemen, to storm their town, and kill or take prisoners the whole horde. The Quirandies had sent away their women and children, collected a body of allies, and were ready for the attack. Their weapons were bows and arrows and *tardes*, which were stone-headed tridents about half the length of a lance. Against the horsemen they used a long thong, having a ball of stone at either end. With this they were wont to catch their game: they threw it with practised aim at the legs of the animal; it coiled round and brought him to the ground*. In all former wars with the Indians the horsemen had been the main strength, and often the salvation of the Spaniards; this excellent mode of attack made them altogether useless: they could not defend themselves; the Commander and six hidalgos were thrown and killed, and the whole body of horse must have been cut off, if the rest had not fled in time and been protected by the infantry. About twenty foot soldiers were slain with *tardes*. But it was not possible that these

* The Peruvians used a weapon of the same kind but with three thongs, according to Herrera, who says they invented it against the horse (5. 8. 4.). He elsewhere (5. 2. 10.) speaks of it by the same name, *Aylos*, but describes it differently, as long spears or rods, with certain cords attached to them, to catch men as in a net, or snare. Ovalle (3. 7.) says that what the Pampas used had the stone bullet at one end only, and at the other a ball of leather, or other light substance, by which the Indian held it, while he whirled the other round his head, taking his aim. The stone bullet is perfectly round and polished.

people, brave as they were, could stand against European weapons, and such soldiers as the Spaniards: they gave way at last, leaving many of their brethren dead, but not a single prisoner. The conqueror found in their town plenty of flour, fish, and what is called fish-butter, otter skins, and fishing nets. They left an hundred men to fish with these nets, and the others returned to the camp.

CHAP.
III.
1535.

Mendoza was a wretched leader for such an expedition. He seems improvidently to have trusted to the natives for provision, and unnecessarily to have quarrelled with them. Very soon after his arrival six ounces of bread had been the daily allowance; it was now reduced to three ounces of flour, and every third day a fish. They marked out the city, and began a mud wall for its defence, the height of a lance, and three feet thick; it was badly constructed, . . . what was built up one day fell down the next; the soldiers had not yet learnt this part of their occupation. A strong house was built within the circuit for the Adelantado. Meantime their strength began to fail for want of food. Rats, snakes, and vermin of every eatable size were soon exterminated from the environs. Three men stole a horse to eat it. Mendoza was cruel enough to hang them for this; they were left upon the gallows, and in the night all the flesh below the waist was cut from their bodies. Of all miseries famine is the most dreadful. One man ate the dead body of his brother; some murdered their messmates, for the sake of receiving their ratios as long as they could conceal their death, by saying they were ill. The mortality was very great. Mendoza seeing that all must perish if they remained here, sent George Luchsan, one of his German or Flemish adventurers, up the river with four brigantines, to seek for food. Wherever they came the natives fled before them, and burnt what they could not carry

*Famine at
Buenos
Ayres.*

*Herrera.
5. 9. 10.
Schmidel.
c. 1—9.*

CHAP. away. Half the men were famished to death, and all must
 III. have died if they had not fallen in with a tribe, who gave them
 1535. just maize enough to support them during their return.

*Buenos
 Ayres burnt
 by the Sa-
 vages.*

The Quirandies had not been dismayed by one defeat; . . they prevailed upon the Bartenes, the Zechuruas, and the Timbues to join them, and with a force which the besieged in their fear estimated at three and twenty thousand, though it did not probably amount to a third of that number, suddenly attacked the new city. The weapons which they used were not less ingeniously adapted to their present purpose than those which had proved so effectual against the horse. They had arrows which took fire at the point as soon as they were discharged, which were never extinguished till they had burnt out, and which kindled whatever they touched. With these devilish implements they set fire to the thatched huts of the settlers, and consumed them all. The stone house of the Adelantado was the only dwelling which escaped destruction. At the same time, and with the same weapons, they attacked the ships and burnt four; the other three got to safe distance in time, and at length drove them off with their artillery. About thirty Spaniards were slain.

1536.

*Buena Es-
 peranza
 founded.*

The Adelantado now left a part of his diminished force in the ships to repair the settlement; giving them stores enough to keep them starving for a year, which they were to eke out how they could: he himself advanced up the river with the rest, in the brigantines and smaller vessels. But he deputed his authority to Juan de Ayolas, being utterly unequal to the fatigue of command; . . in fact he was at this time dying of the most loathsome and dreadful malady that human vices have ever yet brought upon human nature. About eighty-four leagues up they came to an island inhabited by the Timbues, who received

*Argentina.
 c. 4, st. 22.*

them well. Mendoza presented their Chief, Zchera^o Wasu, with a shirt, a red cap, an axe, and a few other trifles, in return for which he received fish and game enough to save the lives of his people. This tribe trusted wholly to fishing and to the chase for food. They used long canoes. The men were naked, and ornamented both nostrils with stones. The women wore a cotton-cloth from the waist to the knee, and cut beauty-slashes in their faces. Here the Spaniards took up their abode, and named the place Buena Esperanza, signifying Good Hope. One Gonzalo Romero, who had been one of Cabot's people, and had been living among the savages, joined them here. He told them there were large and rich settlements up the country, and it was thought advisable that Ayolas should proceed with the brigantines in search of them.

CHAP
III.

1536.

The Timbues.

Schmidel.
10—13.
Herrera.
5. 10. 15.

Meantime Mendoza, who was now become completely a cripple, returned to Buenos Ayres. He waited awhile in hopes of hearing some good tidings from Ayolas, and at length sent Juan de Salazar with a second detachment in quest of him. His health grew daily worse, and his hopes fainter; he had lost his brother in this expedition, and expended above forty thousand ducats of his substance, nor did there appear much probability of any eventual success to reimburse him; so he determined to sail for Spain, leaving Francisco Ruyz to command at Buenos Ayres, and appointing Ayolas Governor, if he should return, and Salazar in case of his death. His instructions were, that as soon as either of them should return he was to examine what provisions were left, and allow no ratios to any persons

Mendoza
returns to
Spain.

* So Schmidel writes the name: . . . his own German mouth might perhaps articulate it. By the word *Wasu*, great, it appears that this tribe was of the same stock as the Tupinambas.

CHAP.
III.
1537.

who could support themselves, nor to any women who were not employed either in washing or in some other such necessary service: that he should sink the ships or dispose of them in any other manner, and if he thought fit, proceed across the continent to Peru, where if he met with Pizarro and Almagro he was to procure their friendship in the Adelantado's name; and if Almagro was disposed to give him one hundred and fifty thousand ducats for a resignation of his government, as he had given to Pedro de Alvarado, he was to accept it, or even one hundred thousand, unless it should appear more profitable not to close with such an offer. How strong must his hope of plunder have been, after four years of continued disappointment and misery!.. Moreover, he charged his successor, if it should please God to give him any jewel or precious stone, not to omit sending it him, as some help in his trouble. And he instructed him to form a settlement on the way to Peru, either upon the Paraguay or elsewhere, from whence tidings of his proceedings might be transmitted. . Having left these directions, Mendoza embarked, still dreaming of gold and jewels, and died upon the voyage.

Schmidel.
14.
Herrera. 6.
3. 17—18.

Ayolas as-
cends the
Paraguay.

Ayolas meantime advanced up the river with four hundred men in search of the Paraguay, and the rich countries of which he had heard, where maize and apples were said to grow in abundance, and roots of which the natives made wine; where there was plenty of fish and flesh, and sheep as big as mules. On their way they found upon the banks of the river, a serpent worthy to have stopt a second army; it was forty five feet long, in girth the size of a man, black, and spotted with red and tawny; they slew it with a ball. The natives said they had never seen a larger, and that such serpents were very destructive, coiling round them in the water and dragging them down, and devouring them. They cut it in pieces, and ate it boiled or roast-

ed¹⁰, but it does not appear that the Spaniards were at this time hungry enough to partake of the banquet. Before Ayolas reached the Paraguay he lost one of his ships; it was impossible to take the men out of it on board the other, so they were compelled to proceed by land, where they suffered so much from want of food and from crossing marshes, lakes, and lagoons, that if a friendly tribe had not given them provisions and canoes, they must all have perished. Thus sometimes at peace, sometimes fighting their way, and suffering all the extremes of fatigue and hunger, they advanced nearly three hundred leagues up this river, till they came to a tribe called the Carios¹¹, who though as ferocious as their neighbours, were in some respects less savage. They cultivated maize; they planted the sweet potatoe¹², and a root¹³ which had the taste of the chesnut, from which they made an intoxicating liquor, as they did also from honey, boiling it. And here the Spaniards found the swine, ostriches, and sheep as big as mules, of which they had heard. The people were little, but stout: they were naked, and wore a long lip-stone. They devoured all their prisoners except one woman, and if she ever refused to prostitute herself they ate her also. These Carios had a town called Lampere, on the eastern bank of the river, four leagues above the place where the main branch of the Pilcomayo falls into the Paraguay. It was surrounded with two palisadoes about as high as a man could reach with his sword. The

CHAP.
III.
1536.

The Carios.

¹⁰ This is a dainty among the Indians, and also among the Mamalucos.

Noticias. MSS. 2. 46.

¹¹ Herrera (5. 10. 15.) says, these are the people who in other parts of the Indies, are called Caribs. But it is probable that the Islanders applied this name indiscriminately to all the cannibal tribes.

¹² Schmidel calls them *Padades*, and says they taste like apples.

¹³ *Mandiochpobion* Schmidel calls the root, and the liquor *Mandeboere*.

CHAP. stakes were as thick as a man's waist, and set about twelve paces
 III. asunder; . . it is difficult to guess of what use they could have
 1536. been, being so far apart, . . possibly the fortification had not
 been completed. They had dug pit-falls, planted sharp stakes
 in them, and covered them over, as a stratagem against these
 invaders, whom they were resolved to resist.

The Spaniards win the town, and call it Asumpcion.

When Ayolas advanced against the town, he found them drawn up ready for battle. They sent to him, bidding him return to his ships, and to his own country as soon as possible, for which, they said, they would supply him with provisions, and every thing necessary. But the Spaniards were not come as visitors; they had now hungrily subsisted four years upon fish and meat, and having at length reached a cultivated country, they were determined to take and keep possession of it. This they explained to the Carios, and assured them that they came as friends; the natives would listen to no such friendship; but when the guns were discharged, terrified at seeing their people fall without a blow, and wounded so dreadfully, they knew not how, they fled precipitately, and many of them in their flight fell into the pits which they had dug for the enemy. Still they defended their town, and killed sixteen of the Spaniards; but on the third day they sued for peace, because their women and children were with them. They promised to obey the conquerors in all things; presented Ayolas with six stags and seven girls, and gave two women to each of the soldiers. Having made peace upon these terms, the Catholic Spaniards named the town Asumpcion in honour of the Virgin Mary, and in memory of the day upon which they took possession of it ¹⁴.

Schmidel.
c. 15—21.

¹⁴ It is remarkable, that Herrera says nothing of the capture of this town, nor of the settling there, though when he next treats of this country, he speaks of it as of a well known place.

The first service in which the Carios were employed, was in building a fort of wood, earth, and stones, to secure their own subjection. They then offered to assist the Spaniards against the Agaces ¹⁵, . . . a way of asking assistance from them against an old enemy. The Agaces were a tribe of hunters and fishers, who painted their skin with an indelible blue die, extracted from a root. Their settlements were about thirty leagues lower down the stream; they fought better by water than by land, and had annoyed the Spaniards on their way, and slain fifteen of them. Ayolas therefore willingly indulging his own resentment, and that of his new subjects at the same time, descended the river and fell upon them suddenly before day-break. The Carios, according to their custom, spared not a soul alive. They took about five hundred canoes, and burnt every settlement they came to. A few of the tribe happened to be absent, and thus escaped the slaughter: about a month afterwards, when they returned, they put themselves under the protection of the Spaniards, which Ayolas conceded, the laws of the Conquests not permitting him to declare them slaves, till they had rebelled, as it was called, three times. The Cueremagbas, who were the nearest tribe to these, wore a parrot's feather through the nose.

CHAP.
III.
1536.

The Agaces.

Schmidel.
22. 19.

Ayolas remained six months at Asumpcion. The Carios informed him that beyond their track of territory, which extended eighty leagues higher up the Paraguay, the lands of the Payagoaes began, a people who had the Algarroba, the Carob or Locust Tree ¹⁶, whereof they made a flour which they ate with

*Ayolas goes
in search of
the Garcari-
sor.*

¹⁵ *Aigais* according to Schmidel's orthography.

¹⁶ The Germans, says Schmidel, call this *Joannebrot*; . . . this word probably alludes to the erroneous opinion, that the locusts which were the food of the Baptist, were the fruit of this tree.

CHAP. fish, and also a liquor as sweet as must. Beyond them he
 III. heard of a richer nation, called the Carcarisos : against these he
 1536. determined to go, and leaving a hundred men at Asumpcion,
 he proceeded up the river with the rest. The Payagoaes made
 no resistance; they knew what had befallen their neighbours,
 and followed a wiser policy. Ayolas enquired of them concern-
 ing the Carcarisos; they replied, that they had heard of them;
 that they dwelt far up the country in a province which abound-
 ed with gold and silver; that they were as wise a people as the
 strangers who were enquiring for them, and that provisions of
 every kind were plentiful among them; this, they said, they had
 heard, . . . but they had never seen any of that nation. He asked
 for guides to the country of these people, which they readily
 gave. Here he dismantled three of his vessels, and left fifty
 Spaniards in the other two, under Domingo Martinez de Yrala,
 with orders to wait four months for him at this post (which he
 named Candelaria), by which time, if he were not returned,
 they were to fall down the river to Asumpcion. Then taking
 with him three hundred natives, whom he had brought to carry
 their food and baggage, he began his march towards the West,
 with about two hundred men.

Schmidel.
23, 24.

Yrala
obliged to
return to
Asumpcion.

The four months elapsed, and Yrala waited two months
 longer in vain. The vessels required caulking, and for want of
 oakum he used the men's shirts as a substitute. But there is no
 finding a substitute for food: the Payagoaes lived upon the
 chance supply of their rivers and forests, and when this was to
 be shared with fifty Spaniards, it may well be supposed that it
 soon began to fail. Yrala endured this dearth as long as he
 could, and then returned to Asumpcion to repair his vessels and
 lay in stores. As soon as this was done he came back to
 Candelaria. Ayolas had not appeared, nor could any tidings
 be heard of him; the Payagoaes would not provide food, and

the Spaniards could not provide themselves with it by force, as if they had been among an agricultural people. Once more, therefore, he was compelled to return to Asumpcion. There he found news of an unexpected calamity. The locusts had stripped the maizals, and no food was to be had except what they could win in war from those tribes whose fields had escaped this destructive visitation.

Meantime Juan de Salazar had set out in search of Ayolas, as Mendoza had instructed him. He came first to the Island of Buena Esperanza, where the Timbues continued on friendly terms with the Spanish settlers, and had taught them their method of fishing, so that they were enabled to provide for themselves better than formerly. Salazar went on some way, but the difficulty of subsisting was such, that he turned back without reaching Asumpcion, and returned to Buenos Ayres. Upon this Francisco Ruyz, whom Mendoza had left there in command, determined to go upon the same search himself with a stronger force: and he began his expedition with two hundred men, on board six vessels, upon the miserable ratio of six ounces of maize per day. After grievous sufferings, they reached Asumpcion at a time when Yrala and the Carios were living by plunder; and so little plunder was to be had, that men were lying dead along the ways, having perished for want. This was no station for two hundred starving adventurers. They prepared to return, but Yrala requested Francisco Ruyz, as his own vessels were now so rotten as to be unserviceable, to leave him one wherein he might again go to Candelaria, in hopes of meeting his commander. Francisco said he would do so, if Yrala would acknowledge himself to be under obedience to him. It was manifest from this that he designed to usurp the government Yrala had in his possession the deed by which Ayolas had appointed him to the command during his absence; but his

CHAP.
III.
1536.

Herrera.
6. 3. 17.

1537.
Fr. Ruyz
comes to
Asumpcion.

CHAP. force was inferior to that of these new comers, and he wisely
 III. forbore to produce it. Had he been less prudent, it is said that
 1537. Francisco Ruyz would assuredly have slain him, . . for the
 Spanish discoverers held the lives of each other as cheap as they
 did those of the Indians. He avoided the danger by saying,
 that if the other could show any powers from Ayolas which vested
 the authority in him, undoubtedly he would yield obedience.
 This seems to have been thought satisfactory: the vessel was
 given him, and Francisco returned to Buena Esperanza.

Herrera.
 6. 3. 18.

*Misconduct
 of Fr. Ruyz.*

There this man destroyed the friendship which had so long
 subsisted between the settlers and the natives. He, with the aid
 of a priest and a secretary, from what motive does not appear,
 treacherously and wickedly tortured and put to death some of
 the Timbues; . . then leaving a garrison of one hundred and
 twenty men in a little fort, called Corpus Christi, these wretches
 departed, and escaped the vengeance which fell upon their coun-
 trymen. A Chief of the Timbues, who had lived upon terms of
 great intimacy with the Spaniards, warned him not to leave one
 of them behind, for it was determined to cut them off, or drive
 them out of the land. This warning only produced a promise
 from him to return speedily; but it proved the means of beguil-
 ing the garrison. For, a few days afterwards, the brother of
 this Chief came and requested of them that they would send a
 few men to escort him and his family, saying it was his wish to come
 and settle among them. Six men were all he asked for; the Captain,
 more prudently as it might have been supposed, sent fifty har-
 quebusseers, well-armed, and instructed to be upon their guard.
 They were welcomed with much apparent good-will; but no
 sooner had they sate down to eat, than the Timbues fell upon
 them; large parties rushed out from the huts where they had
 been concealed, and so well was the slaughter planned and ex-
 ecuted, that only one of the fifty escaped. Immediately the

conquerors beset the fort, and assaulted it night and day for fourteen days. On the fourteenth they set fire to the dwellings. The Captain sallied, and was entrapped into an ambuscade, where he was surrounded and killed by a party armed with long lances, in which the swords were set which they had taken from the slain. Luckily for the Spaniards, the besiegers had not sufficient store of provisions to continue the blockade, and were therefore obliged to retire and provide themselves anew. Meantime Francisco Ruyz, forboding the consequences of his conduct, sent two brigantines to their assistance, in which they embarked for Buenos Ayres, and abandoned the station.

CHAP.
III.
1537.

Buena Esperanza besieged and abandoned.

Herrera.
6. 3. 18.
Schmidel.
27. 28.

When the ship, on board which Mendoza died, arrived at Seville, two vessels were lying there ready to set off with reinforcements for him, pursuant to the terms of his contract, and the arrangements which he had made for fulfilling it. These vessels the King ordered to sail under Alonso de Cabrera, granting them permission to proceed on a trading voyage through the Straits, if they should find the settlements in the Plata forsaken. He sent also a galleon laden with arms and ammunition. The first orders from the Court were, that if the Adelantado had not appointed a successor, the soldiers should chuse one; but when it was understood that he had named Ayolas, that nomination was confirmed. Six Franciscans went out in this expedition; they carried with them the King's pardon for those Spaniards who, having eaten human flesh from extreme hunger during the famine, had fled among the savages to escape punishment for it; it was thought a less evil to pardon them, than that they should thus be cut off from all christian communion.

Reinforcements sent out under Cabrera.

Herrera.
6. 3. 18.

One of these ships reached Buenos Ayres about a fortnight after the evacuation of Buena Esperanza: its companion, with two hundred men on board, had put into the island of St. Catalina, on the

1538.

CHAP. coast of Brazil, where a small vessel was dispatched to look for her,
 III. and to load with rice, mandioc flour, maize, and whatever other
 1538. provisions the island afforded. This vessel, on its return, was
 wrecked in the river, and six only of the crew escaped by clinging
 to the mast. Hulderick Schmidel was one of the six, a German
 adventurer, who went out with Mendoza, and who wrote
 the history of these transactions.

Schmidel.
29. 30.

Yrala
marches in
search of
Ayolas.

The Franciscans set out to preach among the natives, and
 Cabrera, with Francisco Ruyz, and the main body of the Spaniards,
 proceeded to Asumpcion. No tidings had yet been heard of Ayolas;
 there could now be little doubt of his death; the question of the
 succession was to be settled, and Yrala now produced his powers,
 being encouraged by Cabrera, who hoped to share in them, and
 therefore lent his influence against Francisco Ruyz. But when
 Cabrera found that Yrala was not disposed to admit an equal,
 he instigated the officers of the crown to require that farther
 search should be made for Ayolas. Yrala needed no compulsion
 for this service; with nine ships and four hundred men, a
 stronger force than they had ever before had so far inland, he
 once more advanced to Candelaria. Here nothing was to be
 learnt: the Spaniards proceeded farther up the river, till they
 met six Indians in a canoe, who gave them to understand, by
 signs, that their countrymen were in the interior, dwelling in
 a strong house which they had built, and employed in digging
 gold and silver. Upon this good news, about two hundred set
 out to join them, taking these Indians for their guides. After
 the first day's march the ways became bad, for the inundations
 were beginning; they had to wade through water, always up
 to the waist, and sometimes breast high; and frequently no
 spot of dry land was to be found where they might lie down
 at night. At length both their provisions and

Herrera.
6. 7. 5.

strength began to fail, and they gave up this desperate attempt, having wasted a month in it before they rejoined the brigantines.

CHAP.
III.
1539.

Two days after their return an Indian came to them, and gave the first information of the fate of Ayolas and all his men. He belonged, he said, to the tribe of the Chanes, by whom the Spaniards had been friendly received, and where they had learnt that the Chemeneos and Carcaraes¹⁷, who resided still farther inland, used the precious metals. Towards their country they proceeded; they reached it, and saw its riches; but meeting with resistance, turned back, thinking to come again with a greater force. The Chief of the Chanes then gave them much gold and silver, and Indians to carry it, of whom he who related this was one. They arrived at Candelaria, where Yrala had been appointed to wait for them, . . . but it was long after the time appointed, and they were greatly exhausted by a long march through a waste country. Here the Payagoaes welcomed them, and as the brigantines were not there, invited them to be their guests till Yrala should return. The Spaniards trusted these people, were decoyed by them into a marsh, and there slain to a man, with all their Indians, this being the only one who escaped.

*The death of
Ayolas as-
certained.*

*Herrera.
6. 7. 5.
Schmidel.
25.*

Yrala could not take vengeance now because of the inundations, nor were the Payagoaes¹⁸ at any time easily to be chastised.

*The Paya-
goaes.*

¹⁷ Probably the same name as Carcarisos.

¹⁸ Schmidel always calls them the Paiembos. It is difficult to account for his exceeding inaccuracy in dates and names. All other authors write Payagoaes, a word which certainly has a more Paraguayan appearance. They are spoken of in a manuscript account of the Lake of Xarayes, as infesting those parts in 1786, with canoes of remarkable swiftness.

CHAP. This nation, which continued for two centuries to be the curse of
 III. Paraguay, is divided into two tribes, the Sarigues and Tacam-
 1539. bus: the former infest the river above Asumpcion, for more than
 two hundred leagues up, as far as the Lake of Xarayes; the
 latter carry their depredations to a still greater distance below
 it, and into the Parana. No fresh-water pirates have ever been
 so daring and destructive as these almost amphibious savages.
 Sometimes they would approach a vessel in the darkness, and
 so turn it that it should run aground, for they knew every shoal
 and sand-bank in the stream. Sometimes they would swim to
 the vessel unperceived, .. head only above water, .. and in an
 instant board her on all sides. Their canoes usually carried
 three persons, were exceedingly light, and of beautiful work-
 manship; when they were pursued and overtaken, they upset
 them, and used them in the water as pavaises against the wea-
 pons of their pursuers; .. as soon as the danger was over, righted
 them with a touch, and went again upon their way. They were
 not less insidious by land than by water. Hunters they decoy-
 ed into ambush by imitating the cry of whatever game they
 were questing, whether bird or beast; stronger parties they be-
 trayed by offering to be their guides, giving them food and
 fruits, and so enticing them on till they had them in their power,
 and could fall upon them unawares. Even during the last
 century the Paraguay could not be navigated without infinite
 danger from these savages. They dwelt chiefly in the islands,
 or in the bays and creeks, and there lurking under cover of the
 trees, lay in wait for prey. Their women are handsome, but
 of low stature, and with feet so remarkably small, that they have
 been likened to the Chinese women. This is supposed to be
 occasioned by their peculiar mode of life, passing so much
 time in their narrow canoes, and never travelling in any other

Folia.
 l. o. Art. 9. manner.

It was impossible, during the inundation, to chastise these Payagoaes for the murder of Ayolas and his companions, and Yrala could do nothing but return. Some time afterwards two of the tribe were made prisoners by the Carios: he tortured them till, whether guilty or innocent, they confessed the fact, and then, with the true barbarity of a discoverer, he roasted them alive!.. But these discoverers were as enterprizing as they were cruel; the gold and silver which Ayolas had collected, though they had only heard of these treasures, encouraged their cupidity, and being determind to tread in his steps, and prosecute their discoveries in the heart of the continent, they thought it advisable to abandon Buenos Ayres, and collect their whole force at Asumpcion. This accordingly was done, Yrala commanding, by virtue of the powers which Ayolas had vested in him, and the stronger title of the people's choice; for he had always, says Hulderick Schmidel, shewn himself just and benevolent, especially to the soldiers. . . There is reason to believe that all his justice and benevolence was confined to

CHAP.
III.
1539.

Buenos
Ayres abandoned.

Schmidel
c. 26.
Herrera.
6. 7. 5.

CHAPTER IV.

*Expedition of Diego de Ordas.—Gonzalo Pizarro sets out in quest of El Dorado.—
Voyage of Orellana.—Attempt of Luiz de Mello to settle at Maranham.*

CHAP. IV. 1530. *Expedition of Diego de Ordas.* The Maranham, which had proved so fatal to Joam de Barros, was destined to be, for many years, the scene of adventure and mishap. One adventurer had already failed there before his disastrous expedition. This was Diego de Ordas, he who has left a memorable name in Mexican history for having ascended the burning mountain Popocatepec. But neither the glory which he had thus gained, nor his share of the spoils of Mexico contented him, for it is at once the nature and the punishment of ambition to be never at rest. He applied for a commission to conquer and settle the country from Cape de la Vela eastward, two hundred leagues; and it was granted, on condition that he should endeavour to explore the coast as far onward as the Maranham, ...but not trespass upon the limits of the King of Portugal. The title of Governor was given him, with a salary of 725,000 maravedis, from which he was to pay an Alcalde Mayor, a Physician, Surgeon, and Apothecary, thirty Foot-soldiers, and ten Esquires. He was, moreover,

appointed Adelantado and Captain General for life, and the wand of Alguazil Mayor given him for life also; and he had permission to erect four fortresses in such places as he should think convenient: these were to be erected at his own expence, but the command of them was vested in him and his heirs, with the ordinary appointments; he was also to have one thousand ducats yearly during life, in aid of his expences, and a twentieth of the royal rights in his conquests, provided it did not exceed one thousand ducats more. He was privileged to retain his possessions in New Spain, though he did not reside upon them. Five and twenty mares, and as many horses, were to be given him from the King's stock at Jamaica; he had permission to take fifty slaves, and a grant of 300,000 maravedis towards the cost of artillery and ammunition; and he had leave to establish a hospital, and alms given him towards it. Terms so advantageous would hardly have been conceded had it not been for the high reputation which Ordas had already gained.

CHAP.
IV.
1530.

Herrera.
4. 10. 9.

Four hundred men were raised for this enterprize. He set sail from Seville early in 1531, and at Teneriffe he engaged three brethren of the name of Silva to follow him with two hundred more: the Spanish Canarians are an active and adventurous race, and have ever supplied the colonies with their most useful subjects. Ordas went on to the Maranham. There he caught a canoe with four natives. They had two stones with them, which the Spaniards supposed to be emeralds; one of them was as large as a man's hand; and the account they gave was, that some days distance up the river there was a whole rock of such stone. They had also two cakes of flour, resembling soap, and seeming as if they had been kneaded with balsam; which they said, they gathered from the boughs of incense trees, of which there was a wood about forty leagues up the stream. Ordas attempted to make his way up; but he found the navigation far

1531.

CHAP. too difficult; and after having been in imminent danger among
 IV. the shoals and currents, and losing one of his ships, he resolved
 1531. to try his fortune elsewhere. First he went to Paria, and there
 interfered with the conquests which had already been taken
 possession of by another. Then having received a severe reprimand
 from Madrid, with orders to chuse his two hundred leagues either
 beginning from Cape de la Vela towards the Maranham, or from the
 river towards the Cape, he entered the Orinoco, then called the
 Viapari, from a Cazique whose territories lay upon its banks. This
 attempt proved as unfortunate as the former; he however persevered
 in wintering in the river, till at length having lost great part of
 his men by shipwreck and other mishaps, he abandoned the enterprize,
 set sail for Spain, and died either on the voyage, or soon after his
 arrival.

Herrera. 4.
 10. 9—10.
 5. 1. 11.
 P. Simon.
 2. c. 17—26.

This expedition took place a few years before that of Aires da Cunha and the sons of Barros; . . . a few years after it the Maranham was navigated from the mountains of Quito to the Sea.

1541.
 Expedition
 of Gonzalo
 Pizarro in
 search of El
 Dorado.

When Pizarro had secured, as he imagined, the authority of his family in Peru, by the execution of his old friend and comrade and benefactor, he gave the government of Quito to his brother Gonzalo, a man even more bloody and more infamous in history than himself. Eastward of that city there was said to be a rich country, which abounded with cinnamon; and Gonzalo, as soon as he reached his government, prepared to take possession of this land of spice, and then proceed and conquer El Dorado, thinking to anticipate Belalcazar, who was gone to Spain to solicit a grant of these parts. There was no lack of adventurers for such an enterprize. He set out with about two hundred foot-soldiers, one hundred horse, four thousand Indians, to be used as beasts of burthen for the army, and about four thousand swine and Indian sheep.

He entered first the province of the Quixos, the last people whom the Incas had subdued. They opposed the Spaniards, but finding their inferiority fled in the night, and removed their women and children, so that not one was to be seen. While the army halted here, a violent earthquake happened, which threw down the Indian dwellings, and cleft the earth in many places. This was but a prelude to what they were to suffer from the elements. Violent storms of thunder and lightning followed, with such rain, that a river beyond which they were wont to procure provisions, was no longer fordable, and they began to be in want. At length quitting this station, they crost a branch of the Cordilleras, where many of their Indians were frozen: they threw away their provisions here, and abandoned their live stock, that they might hasten on and save themselves. The country into which they descended was unpeopled. They cut their way through the woods, till they reached the valley of Zumaque, which lies along the foot of a volcano, thirty leagues from Quito. Here they found habitations and food, and here they were joined by Francisco de Orellana, a knight of Truxillo, with thirty horse. He had set out after them from Quito, and suffered even more upon the road, for they had devoured the country before him. Gonzalo appointed him his Lieutenant-General; and leaving the main body of his people in Zumaque, advanced with seventy foot-soldiers towards the East, to reconnoitre the land of spice.

He found the spice trees¹; their produce resembled the cinnamon of the East in taste, but was of inferior quality; in shape it is described as like an acorn cup, but deeper, thicker, and of

Pedro de Cieza. c. 40.

¹ A missionary is at this time endeavouring to introduce the culture of the cinnamon among the Indians of Manoa. *Mercurio Peruano. N. 153.*

CHAP. darker colour, approaching to black ; they were in abundance,
IV. and those which were cultivated produced better spice than
1541. such as grew wild. The natives carried on a considerable trade
in it with all the adjoining country, exchanging it for provisions,
and the few articles of clothing which they used. They were a poor,
unoffending people, contented with little. Their poverty at once
disappointed and provoked Gonzalo ; he enquired of them if these
trees grew in any other country except their own. They replied
that they did not, and this they knew, because other tribes came
to them for the produce. But when he asked what countries lay
beyond them, and they could give no intelligence of El Dorado,
the golden kingdom which he coveted, .. with the true spirit of
a Pizarro, .. a name never to be uttered without abhorrence,
.. he tortured them to extort a confession of what they did not
know, and could have no motive to conceal ; burnt some alive,
and threw others alive to his dogs, .. blood-hounds, which were
trained in this manner to feed upon human flesh ! During the
night a river on whose banks he had taken up his lodging rose
so suddenly that he and his men hardly escaped from the inundation.
He then returned to Zumaque. For two months that the Spaniards
had remained there, it rained day and night, so that they were
never dry, and their garments rotted upon them. The natives,
who were aware of this inconvenience, went naked, which they
could well do in a climate excessively hot.

Gonzalo soon found the evil effects of his accursed cruelty.
The tidings had spread from tribe to tribe, and when he enquired
for the rich countries of which he was in search, the poor natives,
not daring to contradict his hope, deluded him and sent him on.
They came at length to the banks of a deep and wide river,
along which they proceeded. In one place it made a fall of
some hundred feet, and about forty leagues farther on, it was

contracted to the breadth of twenty feet, between two precipices. The rocks were of tremendous height, . . . they guessed it at two hundred fathoms; but for fifty leagues which they had now tracked the river, there had been no place where they could possibly cross, and they resolved to throw a bridge from rock to rock. The natives who attempted to impede them on the opposite side, were soon put to flight. It was with infinite difficulty that the first beam was laid across; when that was done the rest was comparatively easy. One soldier turned giddy on the height, and fell.

CHAP.
IV.
1541.

But severe as their sufferings had been in the mountainous country, and in the woodland, there was now yet more to suffer. They had marshes to wade through, lagoons and lakes and flooded savannahs to pass, and again to endure excessive rains. By this time their provisions were nearly expended, and they had begun upon their war-dogs. It was determined to build a brigantine which should carry the sick, and ferry them across the river whenever the way appeared more practicable on the opposite shore, or the country more abundant. They built huts before they could make charcoal, on account of the rain; they eked out what iron they had taken with them, with the bits and stirrups of the horses, which had been slaughtered as dainties for the sick; they gathered gum which served for pitch, and for oakum they used their own rotten garments. This was a work of great labour and difficulty for soldiers to perform, and when the vessel was compleated and launched they thought their troubles were at an end.

Still those troubles were very great. They had still to cut their way through thickets on the hill-side, and canes in the flat ground, and to traverse inundated fields where oftentimes man and horse were fain to swim, they in the brigantine anchoring from time to time, that the stream might not carry them on

CHAP. faster than their comrades could proceed on shore. Gonzalo,
 IV. with his wonted tyranny, carried with him as prisoners all the
 1541. Caziques on whom he could lay hands, whether their tribes had
 fled from him, or received him with friendly welcoming, making
 only this difference, that he put those in irons whom he suspected
 of wishing to escape. These prisoners, partly from fear, partly
 with a design to rid their own territories of such guests, affirmed
 that rich and plentiful lands lay before him, a report in which
 all the natives agreed for the same reasons. They said that he
 would come into this better country by following the stream till
 it was joined by a larger river. One day these Caziques, who
 had long watched for the opportunity, leapt into the water fet-
 tered as they were, swam across, and eluded all pursuit. They
 were then, according to the account of the natives, about eighty
 leagues from the junction of the two rivers, and the famine
 among them was by this time excessive. Above a thousand of
 their Peruvians had already perished. As the best means of
 obtaining relief which could be devised, Gonzalo ordered Orel-
 lana to proceed in the brigantine with fifty men to the fertile
 country at the point of junction, load there with provisions, and
 return as speedily as possible to meet and relieve the army.

Herrera. 6.
 8. 6—7.
Zarate.
 l. 4. c. 1—4.
Gomara.
 c. 143.
Garcilasso.
 2. 3. c. 2—3.
Acuña in
El Marañon
y Amazonas.
 l. 2. c. 10.
Pizarro y
Orellana.
Vida de G.
Pizarro. c. 2.

The stream being joined by many others from the South side, carried them rapidly down. On the second day they struck upon a stump, which stove one of the planks of the vessel: they haled her ashore and repaired the damage. It was on the Coca that they were embarked, and in three days they reached the place where it joins the Napo; the eighty computed leagues of the Indians they judged to be more than a hundred. The country through which they had past was uninhabited, neither were there any signs of culture or of population here. What was to be done? To return against that strong stream was almost impossible, with that vessel, and weak as they were for

want of sufficient food; and if they waited for the army, what could they expect, already sinking with famine, but to perish? this would be to destroy themselves without benefitting their fellows. Orellana urged this to his men; the plea was strong and reasonable; and he had conceived the adventurous hope of following this great river through the continent, and making his way to Spain, there to ask the conquest of the countries through which he should pass. Fray Gaspar de Carvajal, a Dominican, and Hernan Sanchez de Vargas, a young knight of Badajoz, opposed his project, representing to him the distress which the army would endure when they should arrive at the appointed place of meeting, and find that their last reliance had failed them. Orellana set this latter ashore between the rivers, alone, and in a desert country, to wait for the army, and probably to perish² with hunger long before they could reach him. He then renounced the commission which Gonzalo Pizarro had given him, and received the command anew from the election of his men, that so he might make discoveries for himself, and not, holding a deputed authority, in the name of another. Fray Gaspar's opposition had been less strenuous than that of Hernan Sanchez, . . . perhaps it was not so sincere: . . . this is to be suspected because he lent his testimony to all the falsehoods which Orellana afterwards reported. The Friar now said mass according to the form appointed for mariners at sea, and they committed themselves to the stream.

It was upon the last day of December 1541, that this voyage was begun, one of the most adventurous that has ever been enterprized. The little stock of provisions with which they had

² He was found alive when the army reached the junction, . . . having subsisted upon herbs.

CHAP.
IV.
1542.

parted from the army was already exhausted, and they boiled their leathern girdles and the soles of their shoes with such herbs as seemed most eatable. On the eighth of January, when they had almost given up all hope of life, they heard before day-light an Indian drum, . . . a joyful sound, for be the natives what they would, this they knew, that it must be their own fault now if they should die of hunger. At day-break, being eagerly upon the look-out, they perceived four canoes, which put back on seeing the brigantine ; and presently they saw a village where a great body of the natives were assembled, and ready to defend it. The Spaniards were too hungry to negociate. Orellana bade them land in good order and stand by each other ; they attacked the Indians like men who were famishing and fought for food, put them presently to the rout, and found an immediate supply. While they were enjoying the fruits of their victory, the Indians took to their canoes and came near them, more to gratify curiosity than resentment. Orellana spake to them in some Indian language, which they partly understood ; some of them took courage, and approached him ; he gave them a few European trifles, and asked for their Chief, who came without hesitation, was well pleased with the presents which were given him, and offered them any thing that it was in his power to supply. Provisions were requested, and presently peacocks, partridges, fish, and other things were brought in great abundance. The next day thirteen Chiefs came to see the strangers ; they were gaily adorned with feathers and gold, and had plates of gold upon the breast. Orellana received them courteously, required them to acknowledge obedience to the Crown of Castille, took advantage as usual of their ignorance to affirm that they consented, and amused them with the ceremony of taking possession of their country in the Emperor's name.

The account which Orellana and Fray Gaspar gave of their

voyage is in some respects palpably false, as will presently be seen. Their object was to aggravate the riches of the provinces which they had discovered. It is not probable that these tribes had any gold, . . . none of the tribes on the Maranham were so far advanced as to use it. Wherever the American Indians used gold, stationary habitations were found, habits of settled life, a regular government, a confederated priesthood, and a ceremonial religion. Wandering tribes will pick up a grain of gold, like a coloured stone, and wear it for its beauty; but they must cease to be erratic before they fabricate it into trinkets or utensils. One of these Chiefs, according to the Friar, informed them that there was a rich and powerful nation inland, and that farther down the river they would come to another rich country, which was inhabited by Amazons. Seven Spaniards died here in consequence of the hunger which they had endured. Their Captain, who was not deficient in any quality which his desperate enterprize required, thought that as they were on such good terms with the natives, this was a fit place to build a better brigantine than the frail one in which they were embarked, and which would be unserviceable when they reached the sea. Two men who had never before tried the smith's trade undertook the iron work; a third undertook to make the charcoal, and they contrived a bellows out of some buskins which had luckily escaped the stew-pan. All fell to work, Orellana being the first at any exertion that was required. In twenty days they made two thousand nails³, and having done this they proceeded,

³ This was waste of iron as well as of time: tree-nails would have answered the purpose better. It does not appear how the iron was procured, and this is remarkable, since Gonzalo Pizarro had such difficulty in finding enough for the first vessel.

CHAP. not thinking it prudent to wear out the hospitality of their
 IV. friends. The delay was injudicious, for nails might have been
 1542. made at the same time as the brigantine, and in these twenty
 days their new stock of provisions was consumed. Twenty
 leagues onward a smaller river fell from the North into the great
 stream: it came down with a fresh, and raised such a commo-
 tion of waters at the junction that the Spaniards thought them-
 selves lost. From hence they advanced, according to their com-
 putation, two hundred leagues, encountering many difficulties
 and dangers on the way, through an uninhabited country. At
 last they came again in sight of habitations. Orellana sent
 twenty men ashore, ordering them not to alarm the natives;
 they found a friendly people, who admired the strangers, and
 gave them tortoises and parrots for food: on both sides of the
 river they were supplied with equal willingness. The country
 was now well peopled as they proceeded. Four canoes came
 off to meet them next day; gave them tortoises, good par-
 tridges, and fish, and were so well pleased with what they re-
 ceived in return, that they invited the Commander to land and see
 their Chief, Aparia. Orellana landed and made a speech to this
 Chief upon the Christian Religion, and the Kings of Castille, to
 which he and his subjects are said to have listened with much
 attention. Aparia told them if they went to see the Amazons,
 whom he called Coniapuyara, or the mighty Chieftains*, they
 would do well to bear in mind how few they were themselves,
 and that this was a numerous nation. Orellana then requested
 that all the Chiefs of the province might be convened; twenty

Herrera.
 6. 9. 2.

* This name seems to be ill translated, and to afford some support to the story of the Amazons, .. for *Cunha* (in our orthography *Coonia*) is the Tupi word for woman. The mighty, women, therefore, is its more probable meaning.

assembled, to whom he repeated his former topics, and concluded by saying, that as they were all children of the Sun, it behoved them all to be friends. They were delighted with this acknowledgement of brotherhood, and not less so at seeing the Spaniards erect a cross and perform the ceremony of taking possession of the land. And here Orellana finding the people hospitable, and food in plenty, built his new brigantine. There was a carver among the crew, who proved singularly serviceable in this coarser but more useful occupation. They caulked it with cotton; the natives supplied pitch, and in five and thirty days the vessel was launched.

While they were thus employed, four Indians arrived, who were clothed and ornamented, and were of great stature; their hair hung down to the waist. They must therefore have belonged to a tribe whom the Spaniards afterwards named *Encabellados*, from the great length of their hair, both men and women letting it grow as long as it would, . . . in some instances below their knees. They came to Orellana, and with much reverence placed food before him, saying they were sent by a powerful Chief to enquire who these strangers were, and whither they were going. He gave them the usual edifying account of the Christian religion, the authority of the Pope, and the power of the King of Castille, and dismissed them with presents. Lent was over before the Spaniards departed. Fray Gaspar and another Priest who was in the expedition, shrieved all the party, preached to them, and exhorted them to go bravely through all their difficulties to the end. On the 24th of April they once more embarked; for eighty leagues the banks were peopled by friendly tribes; then the course of the river lay between desert mountains, and they were fain to feed upon herbs and parched maize, not even finding a place where they could fish. On May 6th they came to a place which seemed to have

CHAP.
IV.
1542.

*Acuña in
El Marañon
y Amazonas.
t. 2. c. 10.*

CHAP. been inhabited formerly, and here they halted for the purpose of
 IV. fishing. The carver saw an *yguana*, which is a large animal of
 1542. the lizard kind, upon a tree near the river; he took aim at it
 with a cross-bow, and the nock of the bow fell into the water; a
 large fish was presently caught, and the nock was found in its
 inside.

In six days more they came to the populous province of Machiparo, which bordered upon the land of a Chief called Aomagua. Orellana has here mistaken the name of the tribe for that of the Chief, for the Omaguas were then settled in these parts⁵; and he has probably fallen into a contrary error respecting the former appellation, because Machiparo is afterwards stated to be the name of the Cazique. One morning a fleet of canoes was seen coming to attack them: the Indians carried shields made of the skins of the alligator, or the manati, or the anta,

⁵ Condamine wrongly supposes that they had fled here from the Kingdom of New Granada, before the Spaniards, . . . the conquest of that kingdom had not yet taken place: and on the contrary it is still a tradition among the Omaguas of Quito, that their stock was upon the Marañon, but that many of their tribes fled at sight of Orellana's vessels, some to the low lands of the river, others by the Rio Negro towards the Orinoco, and the new kingdom of Granada.

(Hervas, quoting a letter from Velasco. T. 1. P. 266.)

Condamine is also wrong respecting their language, which he says bears no resemblance either to the Peruvian or Brazilian. It is radically the same as that of the Guaranis and Tupis. (Hervas, T. 1. P. 30. 121.) Acuña confirms the authority of Hervas by calling them in his marginal note, "*nacion descendiente de los Quixos.*" *El Marañon y Amazonas.* L. 2. C. 10.

The etymology of their name is variously given: Acuña says *Omaguas*, *impropio nombre, que les pusieron, quitandoles el Natibo, por su habitacion, qui es a la parte de afuera, que esso quiere dezir Aguas.* (*El Marañon y Amazonas.* L. 2. C. 10.) Condamine says it means flat-heads in the language of Peru.

⁶ The province of Machifaro is mentioned in the subsequent voyage of Orsua.

they came on with beat of tambour and with war-shouts, threatening to devour the strangers. The Spaniards brought their two vessels close together, that they might better defend themselves; but when they came to use their powder it was damp; they had nothing but their cross-bows to trust to, and plying these as well they could, they continued to fall down the stream, fighting as they went. Presently they came to an Indian town; a large body of inhabitants were upon the shore; half the Spaniards landed to attack it, leaving their companions to maintain the fight upon the water. They drove the Indians before them to the town, but seeing that it was a large place, and that the natives were so numerous, the commander of the party returned to Orellana and made his report. A reinforcement of thirteen men was sent; they won the town and loaded themselves with provisions, but above two thousand Indians, as they guessed them to be, attacked them as they were bearing off their spoil, and it was not till after a hard battle of two hours, that they could regain the brigantines. Eighteen of the party were wounded, of whom Pedro de Ampudia died. They had neither surgeon nor any remedy for the rest: nothing could be done for them except psalming, that is, repeating some verses of the psalms over the wound: this mode of treatment was not unusual, and it was so much more reasonable than the methods which were ordinarily in use, that it is no wonder if it generally proved more successful °.

CHAP.
IV.
1542.

° A soldier in Hernando de Soto's expedition had effected great cures by the help of oil, wool, and psalming; but all the oil had been lost in their retreat, and he had given over practice, as being of no avail without it. However at last he was wounded himself; and as he had sworn not to submit to the surgeon's cruelty, he took lard instead of oil, unravelled an old cloak to supply the place of wool, and psalmed himself. In four days he was well; .. he then declared that

CHAP. As soon as they had embarked their booty, they pushed off.
 IV. By this time the whole country was upon them. The shore
 1542. was covered with thousands, who, though they could not
 reach the Spaniards themselves, encouraged those in the canoes
 by joining in their war-cry. All night the canoes followed
 them; in the morning the pursuit was relaxed, and the adven-
 turers, weary with the exertions of the day and night, landed
 upon an island to rest, and dress their food; they could not do
 this upon either shore, for both were peopled, and both hostile;
 and they were not permitted to be at peace here. The canoes
 came on again, and Orellana perceiving that they were landing
 to attack him, hastened to his vessels. Even there it required
 all his efforts to save himself. It seemed as if the whole
 force of the province had been collected against him, with
 all their canoes. On they came, beating their rude drums,
 sounding cornets and trumpets, and with tremendous war-
 whoops. Four or five Conjurors were among them, whose
 bodies were coated over with some unction, and who spit
 ashes from their mouths at the Spaniards, and scattered water
 towards them, in a manner which they likened to the ceremony
 of sprinkling holy-water with the hyssop. Their aim was to
 board the brigantines; but the Spaniards had now dried some
 powder, and one of their harquebusseers, whose name was Cales,
 getting a steady mark at the Chief of the Indians, shot him in
 the breast: his people gathered round him, and while they were
 thus occupied, the brigantines got a-head. The pursuit was

the whole virtue lay in the words of scripture, and begged pardon for having let
 so many perish, through a fond persuasion that oil and dirty wool were necessary
 to the cure. Herrera (7. 7. 5.) has the same faith as this psalter, and concludes
 this story by saying, *era este hombre casto, buen Christiano, temeroso de Dios, gran
 ayudador de todos, y curioso en otras tales virtudes.*

not however discontinued for two days and nights, till they had got beyond the territories of this powerful Chief Machiparo. When Orellana saw that the enemies no longer followed him, he determined to land and rest. They put to shore, drove the inhabitants from a little village, and remained there three days.

CHAP.
IV.
1542.

Herrera,
6. 9. 2.

The distance from the territories of Aparia to this place, they estimated at three hundred and forty leagues, of which two hundred were uninhabited. Many roads branched off from this village, which indicated a state of government more formidable than they were prepared to cope with; they did not, therefore, deem it safe to tarry longer; so putting on board good store of fruit, and of biscuit made from maize and from mandioc, the spoils of the place, they reimarked on the Sunday after Ascension. About two leagues on, the river was joined by another of considerable magnitude, which they named Rio de la Trinidad, because it had three islands at its mouth. The country was well peopled, and abounded with fruits; but so many canoes came out, that they were fain to keep the middle of the stream. The next day, seeing a little settlement delightfully situated, they ventured to land, and easily forced the place; they found there plenty of provisions; and in a sort of pleasure-house, some jars and jugs of excellent pottery, with other vessels, glazed, and well painted. They also found gold and silver, and the Indians told them there was plenty of all these things in the country. Here were two idols, made of platted palms, after a strange fashion; they were of gigantic size, and round the thicker part of the arms and legs were broad circles of a funnel shape, like the guard of a spear. There were two high roads leading from this place; Orellana went about half a league along each of them, . . . and seeing that they widened as he went on, thought it not safe to remain a

CHAP. night on shore in such a country. He and his people were
IV. not to think of enriching themselves now, but of saving their
1542. lives, and discovering what they might return to conquer. For
above a hundred leagues further they sailed on through this
populous track, keeping alway the middle of the stream, to be
at safe distance from the land. Then they entered the domi-
nions of another Chief, called Paguana, where they were re-
ceived as friends; the land was fertile, and the people had the
Peruvian sheep.

On the day of the Holy Ghost they past in sight of a large
settlement, which had many streets, all opening upon the river;
from these the inhabitants got into their canoes to attack the
brigantines, but soon retreated when they felt the effect of fire-
arms and cross-bows. The next day brought them to the last
place in Paguana's territories, and they entered into another
country belonging to a warlike people, whose name they did not
learn. On the eve of Trinity they stormed a settlement where
the inhabitants used large pavaises for their defence. A little
below this a river from the South joined the main stream: its
waters, they said, were as black as ink, and for more than twenty
leagues after the junction, formed a dark line, keeping them-
selves unmingled. They past by many small settlements, and
stormed one in search of food; it was surrounded with a wooden
wall, the gate of which they were obliged to win;.. this can
mean nothing more than the common palisade circle. The
river was now so broad, that when they were near one bank
they could not see the other. In another place they found
several dresses of feathers;.. an Indian whom they took said
that these dresses were worn at festivals, and that they were
now in the land of the Amazons. Wherever they past the peo-
ple on the shore called out to them, as if defying them to battle.
On the 7th of June they landed at a village without opposition,

none but women being there; they took good store of fish at this place; and Orellana, yielding to the importunity of the soldiers, consented to pass the night ashore, because it was the eve of Corpus Christi. At evening the men of the village returned from the fields, and finding such guests, attempted to drive them out. The Spaniards soon put them to flight; but Orellana wisely insisted upon embarking, and getting off immediately.

CHAP.
IV.
1542.

A gentler people dwelt beyond these; then they came to a large settlement, where they saw seven pillories as they call them, with human heads set upon spikes; there were paved roads from hence, with rows of fruit trees on either side. The next day they came to another such place, and were necessitated to land there, for want of food: the natives seeing their design, lay in ambush for them and attacked them furiously; but their Chief was slain by a cross-bow-shot, and the Spaniards carried off a supply of maize, tortoises, ducks, and parrots. With this seasonable supply they made off to an island, to take food and refresh themselves. A woman of comely appearance, whom they carried off from this place, told them there were many men like themselves in the interior, and that one of the native Chiefs had got two white women, whom he had brought from the country lower down the river. These women were probably survivors from the wreck of Aires da Cunha's expedition. During the next four days, which was while their provision lasted, they never attempted to land; in that time they past by a settlement from whence, the woman told them, was the way to the country where the white men were. At the next place where they foraged maize was found, and oats, from which the inhabitants brewed a sort of beer:.. they found what they called an ale-house for this liquor, good cotton cloth, and an oratory in which arms were hung up, and two coloured head-dresses, resembling

CHAP. episcopal mitres in shape. They slept upon the opposite shore,
 IV. on a hill, and were disturbed by the Indians in canoes.

1542.

On the 22d of June they saw many large settlements on the left bank, but the current was so strong that they could not cross to them. Villages, inhabited by fishers, were now always in sight. On turning an angle of the river they saw the country far before them, and many large places, the people of which had been apprized of their coming, and were collected apparently with hostile intentions. Orellana proffered to them trinkets, at which they scoffed; he persisted in making towards them, to get food either by persuasion or by force. A shower of arrows was kept up from the shore, which wounded five of the Spaniards, and Fray Gaspar among them. They nevertheless landed, and a brave battle ensued, wherein the Indians appeared not to be dismayed by the slaughter which was made among them. Fray Gaspar affirmed that ten or twelve Amazons⁷ fought at the head of these people, who were subject to their nation, and maintained the fight thus desperately, because any one who fled in battle would be beaten to death by these female tyrants. He described the women as very tall and large-limbed, white of complexion, the hair long, platted, and banded round the head; their only article of dress was a cincture, and they were armed with bows and arrows. The Spaniards slew seven or eight of them, and then the Indians fled. A trumpeter whom they made prisoner gave them much information concerning the interior; such bodies however were pouring in from all sides, that Orellana hastened to embark, without obtaining any booty. By

Herrera.
 c. 9. 4.

⁷ It is amusing to observe how this story was magnified where it was known only by tradition. In the *Noticias do Brazil* it is said that Orellana fought with a great army of women. 1. C. 4.

this time, according to their computation, they had voyaged fourteen hundred leagues.

CHAP.
IV.
1542.

At safe distance from this perilous place they came to another large settlement, and the men seeing no natives urged their leader to land. He told them that if the people did not appear they were certainly lurking in ambush, and so it proved. The moment the brigantines were near enough, up they started, and discharged a flight of arrows. The brigantines had been pained since they left Machiparo's country, or they must have suffered severely now: as it was, Fray Gaspar lost one of his eyes, .. it would have been to his credit if he had lost both before he saw his white Amazons. The towns or villages on the South bank were nowhere more than half a league apart, and they were told that the country inland was equally populous. As Orellana had entered the province on St. John's day, he called it after his name the Province of S. Juan. Its extent he estimated at a hundred and fifty leagues of inhabited coast; he observed it with especial care, as a country which he hoped one day to make his own: it was high land, with many savannahs, and forests of corks and oaks of sundry species. In the middle of the river were many islands, at which he meant to land, supposing them to be uninhabited; but suddenly about two hundred canoes sallied out from them, each carrying from thirty to forty men, some of whom raised a loud discord with tambours, trumpets, three-stringed rebecks, and instruments which are described as mouth-organs, while they attacked the brigantines. The Spaniards, though they repelled these enemies, were so harrassed that they could not take in provisions at any of these islands. The land in them seemed to be high, fertile, and delightful, and they judged the largest to be fifty leagues in breadth. When the canoes had given over pursuit, Orellana landed in an oak-forest, and there by means of a

CHAP. vocabulary which he had made, interrogated a prisoner. He
 IV. learnt from him that this country was subject to women, who
 1542. lived after the manner of the Amazons of the antients, and who
 possessed gold and silver in abundance. There were in their
 dominions five temples of the Sun, all covered with plates of
 gold; their houses were of stone, and their cities walled. It is
 justly remarked by Herrera, that Orellana could not possibly in
 the course of his voyage have made a vocabulary,* by which
 such an account as this could have been understood. The truth
 is that, like Raleigh, having found a country which he thought
 worth conquering and colonizing, he invented just such falshoods
 about it as were most likely to tempt adventurers to join him in
 his projected enterprize. A few women had been seen fighting
 with bows and arrows; this had often been seen in America; ..
 his temples of the Sun were borrowed from Peru, and concerning
 them it should be observed, that he affirmed they were there, be-
 cause he hoped and expected to find them there; .. cupidity and
 credulity made him a liar.

Here they thought again to enter upon an uninhabited coun-
 try, but presently they saw upon the left bank large and goodly
 settlements, seated upon high ground. Orellana would not go
 near them, for he wished to avoid danger whenever it was to be
 avoided. The natives got into their canoes, and pushed off even
 into the middle of the river, to look at the brigantines, not
 offering to attack them. Their prisoner said that this province
 extended above a hundred leagues, and belonged to a Chief
 called Caripuna, who had much silver. At length they came to

* Condamine prepared a vocabulary before he began his voyage down the
 river. He set down all the questions which it could be necessary for him to ask,
 but he forgot to put any answers. P. 111.

a village at which they thought themselves strong enough to call for food. The inhabitants stood upon their defence, and slew Antonio de Carranza; .. it was soon discovered that they used poisoned arrows. The Spaniards anchored under a forest, and made barricadoes to protect themselves against these dreadful weapons: .. here they thought they could perceive the tide^o. After another day's voyage they came to some inhabited islands, and to their infinite joy saw that they had not been deceived, for the marks of the tide here were certain. Two squadrons of canoes issued from a small branch of the river and fiercely assailed them: the barricadoes were now of excellent service, and they repelled the assailants. Gaspar de Soria received a slight arrow-wound, and died within four and twenty hours, such was the force of the poison. This land upon the right shore belonged to a Chief called Chipayo. The canoes attacked them a second time; but a Biscayan, by name Perucho, brought down their Chief by a well aimed shot, and this as usual put an end to the action. The Spaniards then stood across the river to the North shore, the South side being too populous. This other was uninhabited, but it was plain that the interior was peopled. They rested here three days, and Orellana sent some of his men a league in, to explore the country; their report was that they had seen many people who seemed to be hunting, and that the land was good and fertile.

Herrera.
6. 9. 5.

From this place the country was low, and they could never

^o Fray Gaspar said that a bird who had followed them a thousand leagues, crying *huis, huis*, which signified houses, whenever they were near habitations, here cried out *huy, huy*, (which the good Friar has not explained) and then left them. *Cuenta otras cosas maravillosas*, says Herrera, who seems to have had the narrative of this veracious Dominican before him.

CHAP. venture to land except upon the islands, among which they
IV. sailed, as they supposed, about two hundred leagues, the tide
1542. coming up with great force. These islands were inhabited.
One day as they were about to land at one, the small brigantine struck upon a tree, which stove in one of her planks, and she filled. They however landed to seek for provisions: the inhabitants attacked them in such force that they were compelled to retire, and when they came to their vessels they found that the tide had left the only serviceable one dry. Orellana immediately ordered half his men to fight, and the other half to thrust her into the water; that done they righted the old brigantine, and fastened in a new plank; all which was compleated in three hours, by which time the Indians were weary of fighting, and left them in peace. They then embarked what stores they had won, and pushed off into the middle stream, for security during the night. The next day they found a desert place, where Orellana halted to repair both vessels. This took them eighteen days, for it was necessary to make nails: during that time they suffered much from hunger; . . a dead anta which they dragged out of the river proved a seasonable supply. As they drew near the Sea they halted again for fourteen days, to prepare for their sea-voyage; made cordage of herbs, and sewed the cloaks on which they slept into sails: while they were thus employed they lived upon shell-fish. On the 8th of August they proceeded once more, anchoring with stones when the tide turned, though it sometimes came in with such strength as to drag these unstable anchors. Here the natives were happily of a milder mood than those whom they had lately dealt with; from them they procured roots and maize, and having laid in what store they could, they made ready to enter upon the Sea in these frail vessels, with their miserable tackling and insufficient food, without pilot, compass, or any knowledge of the coast.

It was on the 26th of August that they sailed out of the river, passing between two islands, which were about four leagues asunder; . . the whole length of the voyage from the place where they had embarked to the Sea, they computed at eighteen hundred leagues. Thus far their weather had been always favourable, and it did not fail them now. They kept along the coast to the northward, just at safe distance. The two brigantines parted company in the night: they in the larger one got into the gulph of Paria, from whence all their labour at the oar for seven days could not extricate them. During this time they lived upon a sort of plum called *hogos*, being the only food they could find. At length they were whirled through those tremendous currents which Columbus called the Bocas del Dragon, and reached the island of Cubagua on September the 11th, not knowing where they were. The old brigantine had arrived at the same place two days before them. Here they were received with the welcome which their wonderful adventure deserved, and from hence Orellana proceeded to Spain to give the King an account of his discoveries in person.

CHAP.
IV.
1542.

Herrera.
6. p. 6.

The excuse which he made for having deserted his Commander was admitted. He solicited a grant of the conquest of the countries which he had explored, offering to take out an hundred horse, two hundred foot-soldiers, eight religioners, and materials for building brigantines at his own cost: this also was granted. The name of Nueva Andalusia was given to the province which he was to govern; the Islands were not to be within his jurisdiction; he was to convert the islanders if he could, to traffic with them if he would, but not to conquer or form any settlement among them: and he was instructed not to trespass upon the Portuguese limits. Every thing promised fairly; he raised funds and adventurers for the expedition, and even found a wife who was willing to accompany him. In May 1544, he set sail from San Lucar with four ships, and four hundred men⁴⁰.

Orellana
undertakes
the conquest
of the river.

CHAP.
 IV.
 1544.

But the tide of Orellana's fortune had turned. He stopt three months at Teneriffe, and two at the Cape de Verdes, where ninety-eight of his people died, and fifty were left behind as invalided. They proceeded with three ships, and met with contrary winds, which detained them till their water was gone; and had it not been for heavy rains all must have perished. One ship put back in this distress with seventy men and eleven horses on board, and was never heard of after. The remaining two reached the river. They procured food at some islands near the mouth, and would have landed there to refresh themselves and the horses, but Orellana would not permit this, saying the country was well peopled. Having ascended about a hundred leagues, they stopt to build a brigantine: provisions were scarce here, and fifty-seven more of the party died. These men were not, like his former comrades, seasoned to the climate, and habituated to the difficulties of the New World. One ship was broken up here for the materials; the other, when they had advanced about thirty leagues higher, broke her cable; she was then no longer serviceable, and they cut her up, and made a bark of the timbers. This was the labour of thirty persons for ten weeks.

Herrera.
 7. 9. 8.

While they were thus employed Orellana endeavoured to discover the main branch of the river, which it had been easy to

¹⁰ A heavy charge has been raised against Orellana; that Gonzalo Pizarro had embarked a great treasure in gold and emeralds in the brigantine, and that he appropriated them to his own use. This is every way improbable. Gonzalo had found no gold and no jewels on the expedition, and for what possible motive could he take any with him? Pizarro y Orellana makes no mention of this charge, which he certainly would have done had it been well founded. This wretched writer delivers it as his opinion, that nothing but the desertion of the brigantine prevented his great-uncle Gonzalo from conquering as rich an empire as had yet been discovered in America.

Varones Ilustres del Nuevo Mundo. Vida de G. Pizarro. C. 2.

keep when carried down by the stream, but which he now sought in vain for thirty days, among a labyrinth of channels. When he returned from this fruitless search he was ill, and told his people that he would go back to Point S. Juan, for there he thought the main stream would be found, and there he ordered them to seek him, when they had compleated their work. After he had left them his people, who had demeaned themselves well towards the natives, and been well supplied with food, launched their vessel. A Cazique with six canoes accompanied them as far as the islands of Caritan and Marribiuque, and there consigned them to the Cazique of the latter place, who went with them thirty leagues farther as their guide. Here they thought they had found three principal channels; but the shipwrights had done their business ill; the bark was leaky; their men failed at the oar, and their currency of trinkets was almost exhausted. These numerous causes induced them to return. About forty leagues above the mouth of the river, they found a province which the natives called Comao, and which they supposed to be part of the main land; it consisted of extensive savannahs, and a stream ran through it. The inhabitants received them with great kindness, and gave them fish, ducks, poultry, maize, mandioc flour, potatoes, and a root called *names*: and here a hundred of the party chose to remain among them. They probably expected Orellana's death, or they would not have acted thus independently of him, instead of obeying his orders. A Spanish peacock was found at this place.

The remainder of the Spaniards left the river, and coasted along towards the North, till they came to the Island of Margarita; there they found the brigantine, and learnt the fate of Orellana from his widow. Having in vain attempted to find the main stream, and feeling his sickness increase upon him, he determined to abandon the expedition, and return to Europe. While

CHAP.
IV.
1544.

*Death of
Orellana.*

CHAP. he was seeking provisions for the voyage, the Indians slew
 IV. seventeen of his men ; what with vexation and his disorder, he
 1544. died in the river ; and then his widow and the other survivors
 made for Margarita. This was the fate of Orellana, who as a
 discoverer surpassed all his countrymen ; as a conqueror he was
 unfortunate, and the happier it now is for him. He burnt no
 Indians alive, nor threw them to the war-dogs ; and perhaps at
 his hour of death thanked God that success had never put it in
 his power to commit these atrocities, from which I do not be-
 lieve that any one of the conquerors can be acquitted. The great
 river which he explored was formerly called after his name, and
 is marked by it in old maps. By that name I shall distinguish it,
 because its appellation from the Amazons is founded upon fic-
 tion, and is inconvenient ; and its other name would occasion
 some confusion, belonging equally to the state of Maranham,
 and the island wherein the capital of that state is situated, both
 of which must often be mentioned in the course of this history.
 These are sufficient reasons for preferring the name of Orellana,
 even if there were not a satisfaction in rendering justice to his
 memory, by thus restoring to him his well-deserved honour.

*Attempt of
 Luiz de
 Mello da
 Sylva.*

Just after the failure of this expedition, Luiz de Mello da
 Sylva, sailing from Pernambuco, was driven northward along the
 coast, and entered the great river. He caught one of the natives ;
 all that he saw of the country, and all that he could learn from
 this prisoner, pleased him well ; and when he reached the Isle of
 Santa Margarita, he found there the survivors of Orellana's party,
 whom their own sufferings had not so far discouraged, but that
 they advised him to repeat the attempt which had proved to
 them so unfortunate. On his arrival in Portugal he applied for
 permission to form a settlement there ; Joam de Barros waived
 his right to the Captaincy ; the King lent assistance to Luiz de
 Mello, for his own means would have been inadequate, and he

set sail with three ships and two caravels¹¹. The armament was lost upon the shoals, just as that of Aires da Cunha had been lost before it. One of the caravels escaped, and by this the Commander was picked up and saved. He returned to Lisbon, went out to India, enriched himself there, and after twenty-five years hard service, embarked for the mother country, with the resolution of once more adventuring himself and his fortune in an attempt to settle the Captaincy of Maranham. But the ship San Francisco, in which he sailed, was never heard of after her departure from India.

CHAP
IV.
1544.

1573.
Noticias.
MSS. 1. c. 4.
Berredo,
§ 82—3.

¹¹ Rocha Pitta (2. § 40—42) places this expedition before that of Aires da Cunha. He also says that the sons of Barros returned to Portugal. He gives no dates, and is, as usual, as little studious of accuracy in facts as in time.

CHAPTER V.

Cabeza de Vaca succeeds Mendoza in the Plata.—He marches overland from S. Catalina.—Advances from Asumpcion up the Paraguay, and marches into the country towards Peru in search of gold.—The Spaniards return for want of food, . . mutiny against him, and send him prisoner to Spain.

CHAP. V. After the ill success of Don Pedro de Mendoza it might have
1540. been thought that no adventurer would be found sanguine
enough to risk his property upon the same enterprize; the
vacant post of Adelantado was however solicited by Alvar
Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, . . of all men the one who might least
have been expected to expose himself to the dangers of such an
expedition, for he had been ten years a slave among the barba-
rous tribes of Florida. The office was granted him on the sup-
position that Ayolas was lost; if however that officer should
appear again, the government was to vest in him, according to
Mendoza's appointment, and Cabeza de Vaca was then to be
second in command. He engaged to expend eight thousand
ducats in his preparations, and he set sail, November 2, 1540,
with two ships and one caravel, carrying four hundred soldiers,

*Cabeza de
Vaca suc-
ceeds Men-
doza.*

all bearing double arms¹. The largest of the ships proved leaky, by which accident much of their stores was spoiled, and they were obliged to work at the pumps day and night till they reached the Cape de Verds: there the vessel was unloaded, and the master, who was the best diver in Spain, stopt the leak. It was remarked, as something almost miraculous, that not one of the fleet died, though they remained five and twenty days at these islands.

CHAP.
V.
1541.

Comentarios
de Cabeza de
Vaca. c. 1.
Herrera.
7. 2. 8.

The ships
saved by
means of a
Grillo.

When they had crossed the line, the state of the water was enquired into; and it was found that of an hundred casks there remained but three to supply four hundred men, and thirty horses: upon this the Adelantado gave orders to make the nearest land. Three days they stood towards it. A soldier, who set out in ill health, had brought a *grillo*, or ground-cricket, with him from Cadiz, thinking to be amused by the insect's voice; but it had been silent the whole way, to his no little disappointment. Now on the fourth morning the *grillo* began to ring its shrill rattle; scenting, as was immediately supposed, the land. Such was the miserable watch which had been kept, that upon looking out at this warning, they perceived high rocks within bow-shot; against which, had it not been for the insect, they must inevitably have been lost. They had just time to drop anchor. From hence they coasted along, the *grillo* singing every night as if it had been on shore, till they reached the island of S. Catalina,

Mar. 29.
Comentarios
c. 2.

¹ Todos los que se ofrecieron a ir en la jornada llevaron las armas dobladas.

Coment. c. 1.

It was a part of his instructions, *que ningun Governador echasse cavallo a yegua*. Herrera. 7, 2, 8. Perhaps this had been complained of, because a soldier who, like Gradasso, rode a mare, would be for a time deprived of her services, and compelled to go on foot.

CHAP. and there they disembarked. Of forty-six horses, twenty died
 V. upon the voyage.

1541.

*He resolves
 to march
 overland
 from the
 coast.*

Cabeza de Vaca took possession of this island, and of the coast of Brazil from Cananea, which lay about fifty leagues North of it, in 25° South latitude, for the crown of Castille. Having learnt from the natives that there were two Franciscans a few leagues off², he sent for them. They were Fray Bernaldo de Armenta, and Fray Alonso Lebron, men who proved to be little qualified for the service which they had undertaken: the party who were with them had provoked the Indians by setting fire to some of their houses, and the Adelantado made peace between them. He dispatched the caravel to Buenos Ayres to bring him news of the state of the settlements: the season of the year was unfavourable, and the vessel not being able to get into the river, returned. It happened however that nine Spaniards arrived at the island in a boat; by their own account they had fled from Buenos Ayres because of ill treatment³, and from them he learnt the death of Ayokos. This information determined him to march by land to Asumpcion. He sent the Factor, Pedro Dorantes, forward to inspect the way, and waited about fourteen weeks till he returned; then set out on his march, contrary to the advice of some of his officers, who urged him to go in the ships to Buenos Ayres. But he thought the land journey would be more expeditious, and wished to explore the country; and as they were marching to a Spanish settlement, this was the wisest resolution. The Friars he would have sent back to their

² Probably two of those who went out with Alonso de Cabrera.

³ The account which they gave of themselves seems to have been false, . . . for Buenos Ayres had been abandoned: they made also complaints of Yrala's conduct, which have a suspicious appearance, coming from Cabeza de Vaca.

mission, but they chose to accompany him, and administer their spiritual services at Asumpcion. He left one hundred and forty men, under Pedro Estopiñan Cabeza de Vaca, to go in the ships, and took with him two hundred and fifty cross-bowmen and harquebussers, and his six and twenty horse. Immediately on setting out, he crost the river Ytabucu, and took possession of the province.

CHAP.
V.
1541.

Comentarios
3—6.

No man could be better qualified to command in such a march than this Adelantado, because of the miserable experience which he had acquired in Florida of such travelling, and of the nature of the Indians. He had taken the best possible measure in sending Dorantes first to explore the way, and from his report he knew how long it would be before they could reach an inhabited country. Nineteen days they travelled through woods and over mountains, oftentimes cutting their way before them; then, just as their stores were expended, they came to the first settlement. This part of the interior was possessed by the Guaranies, one of the most numerous and most improved tribes. They cultivated mandioc and maize, of which they had two harvests in the year; they reared fowls and ducks, and kept parrots in their houses; but, like their kindred tribes, they were cannibals, and this accursed practice was, like the slave trade, first the consequence of war, and then the cause of it. Cabeza de Vaca demeaned himself towards them with politick kindness: the gifts which he distributed to their Chiefs, and the liberal price which he paid for food, obtained better treatment and more abundant supplies, than the respectable force of his army could have done, had force alone been trusted to. On the first of December they came to the Yguazu, or the Great Water, and in two days more to the Tibagi, which flows over a bed of rock, lying in such squares as if it had been artificially paved. It was not deep, but the stream so rapid, and

Oct. 18.
Cabeza de Vaca begins his march.

The Guaranies.

CHAP. ^{V.}
 1541. this pavement so slippery, that the horses could not have crost unless they had been fastened one to another. This day they met Miguel, a converted Indian of Brazil, coming from Asumpcion, where he had dwelt for some time, and now on the way to his own country. He offered to turn back and be their guide, and the Adelantado then dismissed the natives of S. Catalina, who had accompanied him thus far.

Comentarios
 6-7.

The means whereby Cabeza de Vaca was able to keep on good terms with the Guaranies were these. He never suffered his people to enter their houses, nor permitted any persons to purchase for themselves; some, who understood the language, were appointed commissaries for this purpose, and the whole was at his expence. The horses struck terror into the natives. They besought the Adelantado that he would tell these tremendous animals not to be angry, for they would give them food in plenty; and they brought out honey and fowls for them, and whatever else they thought might serve as a peace-offering. The horses were however as much the object of curiosity as of fear, and women and children were brought from far to behold them. On the 7th they reached the Taquari, a considerable river, as probably every stream is to which the natives have given a name, . . . the smaller ones were innumerable. On the 14th they left the inhabited country, and had once more to contend with woods, and marshes, and mountains. In the course of one day they were obliged to make eighteen bridges for the horse. A thorny cane was a great obstacle to them in this part of their march; twenty men were obliged always to go before, cutting it away. The boughs were often so thick over head, as completely to shut out the sky from sight. After five days of this labour, they came again to a Guarani settlement, where they were well supplied with poultry, honey, potatoes, maize, and flour made from the stone-pine, . . . a food which none of the Spanish adventurers had met with till

now. This tree grows in that country to a prodigious height; four men could not grasp the trunk, in its ordinary growth: the cones are proportionably fine, and the pine-nuts as large as acorns⁴. The monkeys fed upon these nuts; they climbed the tree, swung themselves by the tail, and then with hands, or feet, threw down the fruit; but the wild boars understood this, and used to assemble underneath and eat the nuts, while the monkeys chattered at them from aloft. In this place, which was called Tugui, the Adelantado halted a few days in honour of Christmas; at other times, though often urged to let the men rest, he had refused; and they now perceived, from the ill effects of a few days remission, how necessary exercise was to preserve them in health.

CHAP.
V.
1541.

Flour made
from the
stone-pine.

Comentarios
7. 9.
Herrera,
7. 2. 9.

A winding river, whose banks were beautifully clothed with cypress and cedar, gave them much trouble in crossing and re-crossing it for four days. The potatoes in this country were of three sorts, white, yellow, and red, all large and excellent: there was also plenty of honey. With the new year they entered again upon a desert, and for the first time were in want of food. They found however a good resource in what European prejudice would at another time have rejected. A large white

1542.
A grub used
for food.

⁴ The translator of Techo, in Churchill's Collection, absurdly calls them pine-apples. These trees, according to that author, shed their boughs, so that only the signs of them appear, and the knots which they leave are so hard, that when polished, they resemble bone rather than wood. The Guaranies of the Reductions turn beads of them for rosaries, and make images of the larger; by laying them at some distance before a fire, the resin which they contain diffuses itself over the surface, and at once dyes them red and varnishes them. The native name of the tree is *Curiyeh*, .. the last syllable of this word is aspirated; this being premised, there is no occasion of a new character to express the sound.

Dobrizhoffer. T. 1. P. 401.

CHAP. ^{V.}
1542. grub, about the size of a man's little finger, is bred between the joints of a certain species of cane; these grubs are fat enough to be fried in their own grease^s; the Indians eat them, and the Spaniards being now forced to make the proof, admitted that they were savoury. Other canes grew there, which contained good water. In six days they came again to habitations. It was necessary here to reprimand the two Franciscans; they had brought with them, in defiance of the Adelantado's orders, a useless train of converts, old and young;

^s Antonio de Ulloa, in his *Noticias Americanas* (*Entretenimiento*. 6. §. 11.) says this grub has the singular property of producing milk in women, *aunque no esten en positura de tenerla*. The Argentina (Canto 3.) adds a stranger fable, . . . that they first became butterflies, and then mice. There are two sorts of these, says D. Martin—

*De los unos y de otros he comido;
 En muy poco deferen sus sabores,
 Estando el uno y otro derretido;
 Manteca fresca a mi me parecia,
 Mas sabe Dios la hambre que tenia!*

In Ponto et Phrygiâ vermes albos et obesos, qui nigello capite sunt, et nascuntur in lignorum carie, pro magnis redivibus pater-familias exigit, et quo modo apud nos attagen et ficedula, mullus et scarus in deliciis computantur, ita apud illos ξυλοφαιρος comedisse luxuria est.

St. Hieron. ad Jovin. L. 2. quoted in Hole's Remarks on the Arab. Nights Ent. p. 94.

The Spaniards of Santiago in Tucuman, when they go seeking honey in the woods, cleave certain palm-trees upon their way, and on their return find large grubs in the wounded trees, which they fry as a delicious food.

Dobrizhoffer. T. 1. P. 410.

The caterpillar, or maggot of the *palm-tree snout beetle*, (*curculio palmarum*) is served up at all the luxurious tables of West Indian epicures, particularly of the French, as the greatest dainty of the western world.

Winterbottom's Account of the Sierra Leone Africans, Vol. 1. 314. note.

and with these they thought proper to advance before the army, and eat up the provisions. The Spaniards would have driven them and their retinue away, if Cabeza de Vaca would have permitted. He contented himself with strictly forbidding them to pursue this conduct; they regarded this as little as they had done his former prohibition; here, however, they ventured to leave him and take a road by themselves. He had the humanity to send after them, and compel them to come back; otherwise they would soon have met with the fate which they seem to have deserved.

CHAP.
V.
1542.

Comentarios
9.

On the 14th they came again to the banks of the Yguazu, a river which is described to be as broad as the Guadalquivir. The inhabitants here were the richest in all these parts; and this word is applied to them in its wisest and truest meaning; they lived in the most fruitful country, and every man partook of the abundance. From hence Cabeza de Vaca sent two Indians forward with letters to Asumpcion, informing the Spaniards of his approach, and here he left four of his men who were unable to proceed, with Francisco Orejon, who was lamed by the bite of a dog. The tidings of his coming ran before him, and his people every where experienced the good effects of their good order. The natives came out to meet them, and made the ways ready when they drew nigh; and the old women received them with great joy, . . . a thing of no little consequence, for old women were unaccountably held in high veneration here, which old men were not. On the last day of January they came to the same river Yguazu, a branch of which, bearing the same name, they had crost so long before. This river, known also by the name of Rio Grande de Curituba, falls into the Parana. A party of Portugueze, whom Martim Affonso de Sousa had sent to explore the country, had been cut off by the natives while crossing it. The Adelantado was informed that the tribe which bordered

CHAP. upon the river Pequeri, was preparing to cut him off in like
 V. manner; and in consequence of this information he determined
 1542. to go with a part of the army down this river, while the rest
 marched along its shore, till they reached the Parana. Canoes
 were purchased of the natives, and he embarked in them with
 eighty men. They had hardly began their voyage before they
 were whirled away by the current. It seems as if the natives
 had wished for their destruction, for they were near the tremen-
 dous falls of the Yguazu.

Comentarios
 10. 11.

Falls of the
Yguazu.

This river, which flows tranquilly through forests of gigantic trees, preserving in its course an uniform breadth of about a mile, takes a Southern direction some three miles before it reaches the fall, its contracted width being four hundred and eighty-two fathoms, its depth from twelve to twenty feet, and its banks little elevated. As it approaches the descent several small islands, and many reefs and detached rocks on the left hand side, confine its channel and direct it a little to the Westward. Not far below them the waters of the middle channel begin their descent. The shallower branch makes its way along the Eastern bank among reefs and rocks, where it falls sometimes in cataracts, sometimes in sheets, till being confined on that side by the shore, it makes its last descent from a small projection, two hundred and eighty fathoms from the point where it began. The waters fall first upon a shelf of rock jutting about twenty feet out, then precipitate themselves into the great bason, which is eight and twenty fathoms below the upper level. The Western branch seems to rest after its broken course in a large bay, formed by the projecting point of an island, then pours itself by a double cataract into the great bason. The breadth of this Western branch is thirty-three fathoms, and from the point where the descent begins on this side to its last fall is a distance of six hundred and fifty-six. On the fall the water

rises during the floods five feet, and below it five and twenty. The breadth of the channel opposite the island is forty fathoms, and sixty-five a league below the fall, to which distance the waters still continue in a state of agitation. Enormous trunks of trees are seen floating down, or whirled to the edge of the the bason, or entangled among the reefs and broken rocks, or caught by the numerous islands which lie in the midst of the stream, and some in the very fall itself, dividing and subdividing its waters into an infinity of channels. From the bason the collected river flows with a force which nothing can resist, through rocks, eighty or a hundred feet in height, of hard stone, in some places brown, in others of a deep red colour inclining to purple. No fish, it is said, can endure to approach this dreadful place. A thick vapour rises ten fathoms high in a clear day, twenty at morning, when the sky is overcast. This cloud is visible from the Parana, and the sound of the fall is distinctly heard there, . . . a distance of twelve miles in a right line ⁶.

Aware of danger from the increased rapidity of the stream, and hearing the sound of the Falls, the Spaniards got to shore in time, carried the canoes half a league over land with great difficulty, then re-embarked, and both parties reached the point of junction in safety. The Parana, which they were now to cross, was a long bow-shot in width, and the stream ran with great strength. A large body of Guaranies were assembled on the banks, their bodies painted of many colours, and smeared with oker: their coronals were of parrots feathers; . . . it was a pleasure, says the journalist,

*Passage of
the Parana.*

⁶ This description is from a manuscript account of the Falls, in the Spanish language. The author remained eight days on the spot for the purpose of making observations; he was well qualified to be correct in his measurements, and the account is to be relied on. The exact situation of the Falls is in latitude 25° 42' 20" S. : longitude 3° 47' 50" East of Buenos Ayres.

CHAP. V. 1542. to behold the show they made. Cabeza de Vaca sent his interpreters to conciliate them, and making presents to their Chiefs he won their good will, and they helped him in his passage. Rafts were made for the horses by fastening two canoes together. There were many whirlpools in the river. One canoe was upset, and one Spaniard carried down by the stream and lost. Here the Adelantado expected to have found brigantines from Asumpcion awaiting him, to secure this passage where he might have been so greatly annoyed by the Guaranies, and to take on board such of his people as were now disabled by the fatigue of so painful a march. None however appeared; there were about thirty sick men who could not proceed, and it was not safe to tarry with them among a tribe suspected to be hostile, and known to be treacherous. It was resolved to send them upon these same rafts down the Parana to the care of Francisco, a converted Indian who lived upon its banks. A Chief, by name Yguaron, undertook to conduct them there; the place was four days distance, and fifty men were sent to protect them.

Comentarios.
11—13.

Arrival at
Asumpcion.

The land march which still remained to be performed was computed to be a journey of nine days. Cabeza de Vaca performed the ceremony of taking possession of the Parana, a ceremony which he seems to have omitted no opportunity of performing, . . . and then proceeded. The ways were worse because of the number of rivers and marshes which lay between; but the people were still of the same language, and continued to be friendly. The country between the Parana and the Paraguay is divided by a chain of mountains. Towards the South they slope gradually, and all the streams which they discharge into the former river are clear; on the North they are precipitous; the waters roll down into a marshy muddy land, and render the Paraguay turbid. A messenger from Asumpcion met him. He

Techo in
Churchill,
p. 36.

reported that the Spaniards there were in such distress, that although they had received his letters, they could scarcely give credit to tidings so joyful till they had seen him with their own eyes. From this man the Adelantado learnt of the evacuation of Buenos Ayres; he learnt also that the Spaniards repented having evacuated it, because vessels which might arrive would have no place to shelter in, and therefore they had lost all hope of receiving succours. This intelligence made him quicken his march, that he might send to relieve the ships, which he knew must needs be in great distress in consequence of the desertion of that settlement. As he drew nearer the Guaranies came out to meet him, and clear the way for his coming; they supplied him plentifully, and brought their wives and children with them, the surest pledge of amicable intentions. Many among them addressed him in good Spanish. At length, on the eleventh of March, he reached Asumpcion, where he produced his powers, and was received as Governor. The wands of justice were resigned into his hands; he appointed new officers, and there seemed to be general joy at his arrival.

CHAP.
V.
1542.

Comment.
12—13.

Meantime the sick and their escort had been in great danger. As soon as the Adelantado was departed, and the Indians had nothing more to fear from his power, nor to hope from his liberality, they attempted to cut off this detachment. One party pursued them in canoes; another assailed them from the banks, striving to drag the rafts to shore with long hooks; could they have effected this, the Spaniards must soon have been overpowered by numbers. Day and night this harrassing warfare was continued for fourteen days: all that the Spaniards could do was to keep the mid stream, shield themselves as well as they could, and let the current carry them down. The whirlpools frequently endangered them, and had it not been for their utmost exertion, must have driven them to shore, where their des-

Danger of
the sick and
their escort.

CHAP. V. 1542. truction would have been inevitable. At length the Indian Francisco having heard of their approach, came to their assistance, and took them to an island which he possessed, where their wounds were healed, and they recovered from their fatigue and hunger. Cabeza de Vaca sent brigantines to bring them from hence, and they reached Asumpcion thirty days after him.

Coment. 14.

Orders given
to re-settle
Buenos
Ayres.

Immediately on his arrival he had dispatched two brigantines to Buenos Ayres, to relieve the ships, and ordered two others to be built as speedily as possible, that they might follow them and re-establish that important place, without which any settlements in the interior must always be insecure. For not only did vessels after the voyage from Europe need a port where they could find supplies, and land their sick, but it was necessary also to build brigantines before they could proceed up the river; and how was this to be done where there were no provisions, and the natives hostile? He provided this detachment with a skin of wine for the ceremony of the mass: and gave them strict orders neither to provoke nor injure the Indians on their way.

Coment. 15.

The Guaranies.

The Guaranies who dwelt in the immediate vicinity of Asumpcion differed from the Brazilian tribes in their mode of killing a captive. The women fattened him. He was then tricked with all their adornments of plumery and strings of bone, and led out to dance for an hour. Then a warrior felled him by a blow on the loins and another on the shins, given with the *macana*, or wooden sword, which was held in both hands. When he had thus been felled, three boys, about six years old, were put to hammer at his head with little hatchets⁷, their parents and kinsmen standing by, and telling them to be valiant, and

⁷ Of copper, it is said in these Commentaries; but this must be erroneous, for there is no metal of any kind found in this part of the country.

learn how to kill their enemies. It is said that the skulls of these people were so thick, that though one blow with the *macana* would fell an ox, it required five or six to bring one of them down. He who struck the first blow at one of these butcheries, took from that time the name of the victim. Cabeza de Vaca assembled these Guaranies, and told them that as vassals of the King of Spain they must leave off such abominations, and come to the knowledge of God and the Christian faith.

CHAP. V.
1542.
Coment. 16.

The Paraguay was infested by a hunting and fishing tribe, called Agaces, who were the pirates, or free-booters of the country, and exceeded the Payagoaes in cruelty. It was their practice when they had taken any prisoners with their flying squadrons of canoes, to carry them from time to time back to their places of abode, and when their kinsmen, wives, or children came out to treat for their ransom, torture them till provisions were given to purchase a remission of cruelty. They usually killed them at last, and fixed their heads upon stakes, on the shores of the river. This accursed race were terrified at the Adelantado's arrival, and came to request peace. He granted it on condition of their giving up all the prisoners who were then in their power, and promising never more to offend either the Spaniards or their allies, nor even to enter that part of the river which ran through their territories, except by daylight.

The Agaces.
Coment. 17.

The allies of the Spaniards complained also of the injuries which they suffered from the Guaycurus, a tribe of whom they stood in great fear. The Guaycurus were hunters, and had therefore no fixed habitations. The mats of which they made their tents were easily removed from one place to another, when they had exhausted the game round about; few beasts escaping them, . . . for if their arrows failed they could run down the swiftest. In November they gathered the pods of the Algarroba, or carob

The Guaycurus.

CHAP. tree, which they preserved in flour; and of this they made a
 V. strong drink. Each Cazique had his limits of wandering; they
 sometimes overpassed them in hunting or fishing, and this license
 1542. was permitted to all of the same nation, but not to borderers of a
 different stock. They paid singular honours to a Chief; when
 he was about to spit, they who were near held out their hands to
 receive his saliva.

*Coment. 19.
 folis. C. 6.
 A. 11.
 Techo in
 Churchill.
 p. 32.*

Before a Guaycuru can be admitted to the rank of warrior, he must give proof of his courage by showing that he can endure pain as if he were insensible to it. This they do by cutting and piercing themselves in the tenderest parts. Boys are trained up to glory in these exhibitions of fortitude, and to engage in mock wars with real fury. Their attacks were usually made by night, and the darkest nights were chosen. The rank which an individual had attained was distinguished by the fashion in which the hair was cut. The men are naked, but in some degree disguise nakedness by painting their bodies. Such among them as would be coxcombs in Europe wear a net upon the head. The women are decently clothed from the waist with skins, or cloth: above it they tattoo themselves. When a Chief is buried, some slay themselves to bear him company, others are killed. They erect huts in their cemeteries for the dead, and repair them when needful; and here they lay food, clothing, and whatever they think the spirit can require. The Enacagas, one of the tribes into which this nation is divided, are held in abhorrence by the others, because they make no scruple of opening the graves for the sake of what has been buried with the dead. It is their belief that the souls of the wicked pass into the bodies of wild beasts.

They destroy all deformed children, all illegitimate ones, and all twins, probably from a notion that they must needs be feeble. A custom yet more barbarous, and far more singular,

is, that a mother rears^s only one child ; either procuring abortion, or killing the rest as soon as born. The one which they save is indulged in every want and wish, however capricious. A sort of monogamy is established among them ; with respect to the men, it is merely having many wives in succession, instead of many at once ; because they change as often as they chuse ; yet this custom is better than polygamy ; the women are not enslaved by it, and it is probably owing to this cause that they are treated with respect. In this remarkable and important point the Guaycurus differed from most other savages ; and if the women of their enemies fell into their power, they never detained them prisoners, nor injured them in any way.

CHAP.
V.
1542.

*Coment. 19.
Techo in
Churchill.
p. 82.
Jolis. C. 6.
A. 11.*

Cabeza de Vaca investigated the truth of the complaints against this nation with ridiculous formality. He examined witnesses to prove the actual fact of hostility committed by the Guaycurus, and required the Friars to pronounce sentence of war against them, as capital enemies. Two Spaniards who understood their language were then sent, with a priest in company and a sufficient guard, to summon them to make peace with the Guaranies, and yield obedience to the King of Castille, which summons they were to repeat three times. The messengers were received with scorn, and driven back by force, and the Adelantado with two hundred men and twelve horse began his march against them. So large a body of Guaranies assembled for this expedition, that they were eight hours crossing the river in two hundred canoes. When the passage was effected and they were about to enter the enemies country, they asked permission of the Adelantado to make him the customary present on such occasions. Every Chief gave him a painted bow,

*Cabeza
de Vaca
marches
against the
Guaycurus.*

^s Probably only one of each sex is meant : the tribe would otherwise have soon been extinct, as every generation must have halved it.

CHAP. V.
 1542. and a painted arrow winged with parrots feathers, and every man gave an arrow: the whole afternoon was employed in this ceremony. These allies were smeared with oker and painted with divers colours. They wore white beads upon the neck, coronals of the richest plumery, and a plate of burnished copper upon the forehead, which they said, was meant to dazzle the eyes of their enemies, and confuse them. Hitherto they had brought in store of venison and of ostriches to the army; but now that they were in the country of the Guaycurus, they no longer hunted, for they hoped to fall upon them by surprize.

Coment.
 20—22.
Herrera.
 7. 6. 14.

The Spaniards had little confidence in their allies, and thought it as necessary to keep watch against them as against the enemy. The second night a jaguar, the tyger of South America, got into the camp among the Guaranies; an uproar arose, and the Spaniards immediately suspecting treachery, beat to arms, set up the cry of Santiago, and attacked them. They instantly fled: as soon as the cause of the disturbance was discovered, Cabeza de Vaca went to them, and with great difficulty succeeded in convincing them of the mistake, and reconciling them. He himself had narrowly escaped in the confusion; two musquet balls had grazed his face; and this he imputed to design, not to accident; for he thought that Yrala regretted the authority of which he had been dispossessed by his arrival, and that he would scruple at no means of regaining it.

Coment. 24.

Just as order was restored, one of the scouts arrived with intelligence that the Guaycurus, who had been on the move, were pitching their tents about three leagues off. It was now about midnight; the Adelantado set out immediately, that he might fall upon them at day-break, and he ordered a white cross to be made with plaister upon the backs and breasts of the allies, that they might not be hurt by mistake. They reached the place while it was yet dark, and waited till it should be

light enough for the attack : there were about twenty of their matted tents, if tents they may be called, each about five hundred paces in length. The number of fighting men in the horde was estimated at four thousand^o. Cabeza de Vaca gave orders to leave a way by which the enemy might escape, his object being to intimidate, not to destroy them. The mouths of the horses, bridled and bitted as they were, were filled with grass, to prevent them from neighing. Amid these precautions the Guaranies were trembling with fear; even the presence of such allies could not give them any confidence against so formidable a tribe, now that the hour of trial was come. While Cabeza de Vaca was exhorting them to take courage and attack their enemies, the Guaycurus began their morning song and beat of tambour; it was a song of exultation; .. they called upon all nations to come against them if they dared, .. for though we are few, said they, we are braver than all other people, and are lords of the earth, and of all the venison of the woods, and of the rivers, and of all the fish therein. Every day this was their song just before the dawn; and when the break of morning appeared, it was their custom to come out, and fall upon the ground, .. probably in adoration of the rising sun. According to this custom they came out now, holding torches in their hands; they saw the lighted matches of the harquebuseers, and soon discovered the army which was come against them; but instead of running back in alarm, they bravely demanded what men were bold enough to come to their tents. A Guarani Chief made answer, I am Hector (it was the name by which he had been

CHAP.
V.
1542.

^o There must surely be some great exaggeration in this account; what with old and young women, each dormitory must have contained at least five hundred persons upon this computation. Such tents must be as long as a Bazar, and would be more troublesome to erect than many smaller ones.

CHAP. christened) and I am come with my people to take exchange for
 V. those whom ye have slain. This was their phrase to signify re-
 1542. venge. You come in a bad hour, replied the Guaycurus, for you
 will fare after them; and throwing their torches at the Spaniards
 they went in for their arms, and in an instant rushed out and at-
 tacked them, as if they had the utmost contempt for their assailants.

The Guaranies drew back, and would have fled if they dared. By this time the horses poitrals, which were hung with bells, had been put on, and Cabeza de Vaca charged at their head. At this unexpected mode of attack, and the sight of animals which they had never seen before, they instantly took to flight, and set fire to their tents. The smoke secured their retreat, and taking advantage of this they slew two Spaniards and twelve Indians, and bore away their heads as trophies. This mode of killing and beheading at the same time was effected with singular and barbarous dexterity; they clenched the foe by the hair, sawed round his neck, and twirling the head at the same time, it came off with inconceivable facility. The instrument with which they performed this was the jaw of the *Palometa*. No other animal so small is furnished with such formidable teeth as this fish; for though its ordinary weight does not exceed two or three pounds, and it is half as wide as it is long; it attacks men when swimming, and is far more dreaded in this part of South America than the crocodile. Each jaw contains fourteen teeth, so sharp that the Abipones shear their sheep with the pair¹⁰. One of these brave Indians, like Eleazar with the elephant,

¹⁰ Dobrizhoffer. *T. 1. P. 370.* *Binos milites Hispanos*, says this author, *qui nantes in flumine nantes equos sequebantur, perfectissime eviratos a palometis novi.* They will bite a man's foot half through. This is doubtless the *pery* of Surinam, against which Stedman was cautioned by the negro old Caramaca.

Narrative of an Exped. to Surinam. T. 1. P. 151, 157.

was determined to see what the horses were, and whether they were vulnerable; he caught one by the neck and ran three arrows clean through it, nor could the Spaniards make him quit his hold, till they had slain him. But in general it was the custom of these people when they found themselves so utterly overpowered as to have no hope of victory, to yield themselves and not attempt any unavailing resistance. Perhaps they thought it more honourable to be slain at a feast, than to die in battle. The Spaniards made about four hundred prisoners, men, women, and children, and then began their march homeward. It required all their vigilance to protect the Guaranies, for when one of those allies had laid hold of a feather, an arrow, a piece of one of the tent-mats, or any thing belonging to the enemy, off he set with it to his own country as a trophy of victory. This folly threw many into the hands of the Guaycurus, who lost no opportunity of harrassing them on their return.

CHAP.
V.
1542.

Comentarios
25—26.

When the Adelantado reached Asumpcion, he found six Yapurues detained there as prisoners. Their tribe were of gigantic stature, hunters and fishers, and enemies both of the Guaranies and Guaycurus, . . of which latter they stood greatly in fear; and having heard that the Spaniards were going against them, sent these deputies to offer their alliance and assistance; but Gonzalo de Mendoza, who had been left in command, suspected they were come as spies, and had therefore detained them. Cabeza de Vaca conversed with them through an interpreter, found that their intention was friendly, and dismissed them with a favourable reply. In a few days the Chiefs of the tribe came to Asumpcion, and left some of their sons and daughters as hostages, whom the Adelantado ordered to be instructed in the Christian religion. He would fain have sent some of the Religioners to convert these people, but they said it was impossible to do any good among them, and declined the

*The Yapi-
rues.*

Comentarios
27.

CHAP.

V.

1542.*Peace with
the Guay-
curus.*

mission. The truth was, that he had a worthless set of Friars, who had neither zeal nor honesty, and who were far more willing to share in the spoils of the Indians, than to make any effort for their benefit.

He then set at liberty one of the Guaycurus, told him that none of the prisoners were to be made slaves, and bade him go bring his countrymen that they might establish peace. The whole horde came to the invitation in perfect confidence, and sent twenty men across the river as their representatives, while the rest remained with the women and children on the other shore. The deputies seated themselves upon one foot, as was their manner, and said that hitherto they and their forefathers had been wont to conquer all enemies; but that as the Spaniards had now conquered them, a thing which they never expected, they were willing to serve their conquerors. Cabeza de Vaca received them affably, and explained to them the right of the King of Castille to all that country; they better understood his presents, and the liberation of their countrymen, not only from the Spaniards, but also those whom their old enemies the Guaranies had taken. From this time the Guaycurus were long the most useful allies of the Spaniards, proving themselves as faithful in peace, as they were courageous in war. Every eight days they brought provisions to sell, consisting of game which they had preserved by the Boucan, here called the Barbacoa, fish, and some kinds of butter, which must either mean lard or inspissated oil. They brought also dressed skins, and cloth made of a species of thistle, and stained of many colours. For these they received, from the Guaranies, maize, mandioc, and mandubis, a sort of earth-nut, the product of their agriculture. These markets, or rather fairs, delighted them as much as war had done. They strove which could pass the river first with their laden canoes, of which there were usually about

two hundred; frequently they ran against each other and upset; such accidents were matter of mirth to the parties, as well as to the beholders. They were as vociferous in trade as in battle, but all past on in the best humour. How soon would the Romans have made such a people as civilized as themselves ¹¹!

CHAP.
V.
1542.

Comentarios
29—31.

During the Adelantado's absence upon this expedition the Agaces had broken the peace. No sooner was he departed than the women whom they had left as hostages at Asumpcion fled, and told them the town was left defenceless. They attempted to set fire to it, but were discovered by the centinels in time; they then wasted the fields, and carried off many prisoners. Process was made against them as soon as Cabeza de Vaca returned, war denounced with fire and sword; and about a dozen of them who were prisoners, were sentenced to be hung. But these savages who were to suffer for the offences of their tribe, concealed some knives, and when the officers went to bring them out to execution, stood upon their defence, and wounded several of them. Assistance came in time to save them; two of the Agaces were slain in prison, and the rest executed according to their sentence.

Comentarios
28, 33.

¹¹ Jolis divides the Guaycurus, or Mbayas as they are frequently called, into seven tribes, 1. the Guetiadegodis, or inhabitants of the mountain, which divides their territory from the Chiquitos; 2. 3. two branches both called Cadiguegodis, a name taken from the little river Cadiguegui, near which they lived; 4. the Lichagotegodegus, inhabitants of the Red Land; who dwell about the river Tareiri; 5. the Apachodegogus, inhabitants of the plain of the Ostriches; 6. the Eyibegodegus, or Northerns, who are also called the Enacagas, or the Hidden Ones. This latter name Jolis supposes to be derived from their belief that they formerly lived under the earth, till a dog made way out for them. They live upon the river Mboimboi. 7. the Gotocogegodegus, they who dwell among the canes. Their territory lies between the rivers Mboimboi and Iguarii. *L. 6. Art. 11.*

Either these names have been written carelessly, or barbarous as they are, they seem to imply a singular rule of mutation in compound words. The Guaycurus are now an equestrian nation.

CHAP.

V.
 1542.

*Buenos
 Ayres a
 second time
 abandoned.*

1543.
 Feb. 3.

*Comentarios
 37—38.*

Meantime the ships which carried the remainder of the armament from St. Catalina to the River Plata reached Buenos Ayres, where instead of finding a settlement of their countrymen, and the relief which they expected, they saw a high pole with these words cut upon it, 'here is a letter!' The letter was buried underneath in an earthen pot; it stated that the Spaniards had abandoned the place and removed to Asumpcion. This occasioned them great distress and great danger. The natives harrassed them, they were in want of food, and a party of five and twenty took the boat and fled to Brazil, to escape famine; . . . it is no wonder that famine was dreaded at Buenos Ayres! Had the succour which the Adelantado sent, reached them a day later, they must all have perished; for, on the very night of its arrival, the Indians attacked them in great force, and set fire to their camp, nor was it without much difficulty, reinforced as they were, that they were able to repulse them. They began to rebuild the town, but to no purpose; it was the wrong season, and the walls were washed down as fast as they built them up. At length they gave up the attempt, and proceeded to Asumpcion. That settlement caught fire early in the ensuing year; two hundred houses were consumed; fifty escaped, being divided from the other by a brook. The Spaniards lost most of their apparel and stores in this conflagration. They immediately however began to rebuild the town, and by the Adelantado's orders made their dwellings of clay instead of wood, that this calamity might not befall them a second time.

It was not doubted that Ayolas had found gold in the interior, before he was cut off by the Payagoaes. Cabeza de Vaca prepared to follow his steps and pursue the discovery. He ordered a caravel to be built which he might send with dispatches to Spain, and ten brigantines for the river; and he sent Yrala up the stream to learn in what direction the country might most

easily be penetrated. At the same time two detachments went by land upon the same service; both these returned with unsatisfactory intelligence; one party had been deserted by their Indians, the other wandered in a wilderness till they thought it hopeless to wander longer; and subsisted as they returned upon a species of thistle, with no other liquid than the juice which they expressed from herbs. Yrala meantime ascended the river from October 20, to the 6th of January, when he came to a people called Cacocias Chaneses, who cultivated the ground and had domesticated ducks for an odd purpose. Their houses were infested with a species of cricket which bred in the thatch and ate all their skins and other articles of clothing, unless they were secured from them in closed earthen vessels; and the ducks were kept to devour these vermin. Here Yrala saw gold; he went a little way into the country, and having seen no better place from whence to begin their march, returned with this tidings to Asumpcion.

CHAP.
V.
1543.

*Ducks kept
to devour
the crickets.*

*Comentarios
34—39.*

Before the Adelantado could commence his expedition, a faction was formed against him, which was abetted by the two Franciscans whom he had brought from Brazil. These vagabonds undertook to return to St. Catalina by their former route, and carry complaints against him to Spain. They chose also to take with them five and thirty young women, daughters of the Chiefs of the land, by whom they had been given as hostages. The girls were unwilling to go, and complained to their fathers; the fathers complained to Cabeza de Vaca, when the party had just set out; he sent after them, and they were overtaken and brought back. The Friars escaped punishment as being churchmen, the sheeps-cloathing in such cases saving the wolf; but some of the King's officers, who were implicated, were thrown into prison, and left there. It would have been better for the Adelantado if he had acted with more decision, and sent them all prisoners to Spain.

*Faction
against the
Adelantado.*

Coment. 43.

CHAP. V. He now set forth. Two hundred men and twelve horses went by land; as many more with six horses by water. The flotilla consisted of ten brigantines and a hundred and twenty canoes, which carried twelve hundred Indians. At a place called Ypananic they found a Guarani who had been some years a slave among the Payagoaes, and therefore understood their language. This man willingly consented to go with them as interpreter, and they proceeded to Puerto de la Candelaria, where Ayolas had been slain. Hitherto it was an expedition of pleasure; they who were on shore had plenty of game; the river abounded with fish, and with Capiiguaras, or river-pigs, which live in the water by day, and go on shore during the night; they are gregarious, and the noise they make resembles the braying of an ass. Six canoes were necessary to hunt these animals. When they saw one rise for breath, one half the party stationed themselves above the spot, and the other below it, at good distance; when he rose again they fired, and this they continued to do as often as their prey appeared, till the dead body floated.

Dobrizhoffer
1. 331.
Cem. 44—
48.

The Payagoaes offer to restore what they had taken from Ayolas.

A few Payagoaes came to the banks. The interpreter was sent to them, and they enquired if these were the same people who had formerly entered their country. On being assured that they were new comers, one of them was persuaded to go on board the Adelantado's brigantine. He told him their Chief had deputed him to say he desired to be the friend of the Spaniards, and that all which had been taken from Ayolas was safely reserved for them: it consisted of sixty man-loads, which the Chanes had carried, in plates, bracelets, crowns, hatchets, and little vessels of gold and silver; all this the Chief offered to restore, requesting that what had been done might be forgiven, as having happened in war, and that he might be received into their alliance. The Chief of this horde of fishers exercised a

degree of power seldom known among the savages of America. If one of his people offended him, he took a bow, and arrowed him till he was dead ; then he sent for the wife of the slain and gave her a bead-string, or a couple of feathers, to satisfy her for the loss of her husband. When he chose to spit, the same loathsome mark of reverence was shown as among the Guaycurus. A favourable answer was given to the envoy, and he promised to return with his Chief on the morrow. That morrow and another morrow past without their appearance. The interpreter said they were a crafty tribe, and had only proposed peace for the sake of gaining time to remove with their women and children : he thought they would not stop till they came to the Lake of the Mataraes, a tribe whom they had destroyed, and whose country they had won. Upon this probability the Adelantado proceeded : he found traces of the Payagoaes all along the banks, and when on the eighth day he entered the Lake, there he discovered their sunken canoes, but no people were to be seen. As he advanced up the river he past a grove of cassia-fistula. Higher up was the tribe of the Guaxarapos : Cabeza de Vaca, apprehensive lest he might offend or alarm them by appearing with his whole force, went forward with half of it, leaving Gonzalo de Mendoza to follow him slowly with the rest.

CHAP.
V.
1543.

*They fly into
the interior.*

*Com. 49—
50.*

This tribe received him in peace. They were settled near to the place where a river which was then called Yapaneme¹²

*Garcia the
Portuguese
adventurer.*

¹² The mouth of this river he places in lat. 19° 3'. I should have supposed that this Yapaneme is the Paraguay itself, and the other, to which he gives that name, the Cuyaba ; but this supposition cannot be reconciled with his after course. The original passage is subjoined, *en aquel parage do el Governador estava con los Indios, estava otro Rio que venia por la Tierra adentro, que seria tan ancho, como la mitad del Rio Paraguay, mas corria con tanta fuerza que era espanto, y este Rio*

CHAP. falls into the Paraguay, carrying into it a stream half as
 V. broad as its own, and running with surprizing force. Here it
 1543. was, old people told him, that Garcia a Portugeze had entered the country, fighting his way, at the head of an Indian army: he had only five Christians with him; there was a mulatto named Pacheco in his company, who turned back to the land of a certain Chief called Guazani, and was killed by him. Garcia they said returned to Brazil, but not by that rout; many of his people had remained behind him, and it was likely that the Spaniards might meet with some of them, and obtain intelligence from them concerning the land which they sought. Farther up the Adelantado found another tribe of the same stock, whose canoes were so small as to carry only two paddles; but they plied them so excellently well that it seemed as if they fled upon the water; the swiftest twelve-oared brigantine, though carrying sail at the same time, and built of cedar, the lightest of all wood, could not overtake them. When the Paraguay flows in its ordinary channel, these aquatic tribes build their huts upon its banks, and live upon fish, singing and dancing through the fair season, day and night, like people whose food is provided for them, and who have no need to take thought for the morrow. In January the inundations begin, and the whole lowlands for a hundred leagues into the country, are flooded like a sea. They have large canoes ready, each of which has an earthen fire-place; and every family commits itself in one of these arks to the waters of the flood. The hut is embarked also; about three months they live in this manner, finding store of food by going to the high grounds as the inundation rises,

Life of the
 aquatic
 tribes.

desaguaba en el Paraguay, que venia de acia el Brasil. There is no other means of explaining the difficulty than by supposing that the author's recollection had so far failed, as to make him mistake his right hand for his left.

and slaughtering the animals who have retreated there. When the waters have returned to their channel, they go back to their wonted places of abode, set up their houses again, and dance and sing through another season of fine weather. So many fish are always left behind by the flood, that while the earth is drying, the atmosphere is pestilential to the natives as well as to strangers; but they recover in April. These people have no Chief. They make the cordage of their hammocks of a thistle, which they bruise, macerate in water for fifteen days, and then dress it with a sort of cockle shell, when it is as white as snow.

CHAP.
V.
1543.

Com. 50—
52.

Above their settlements the river is contracted between rocks, and runs with more rapidity than in any other part; the brigantines however made way against the stream¹³. Higher up the river divided, or rather three branches met; the one was from a great lake, called by the natives the Black River; its course was from the north: the other two soon united; but the Adelantado shortly afterwards came to a labyrinth of streams and lakes, where he lost the Paraguay.

Oct. 25.

This river rises among the mountains of what the Portuguese call the *Districto defezo dos Diamantes*, the prohibited diamond country, in latitude 14° S. longitude 322° E. from the meridian of Paris. Its waters, during their course among the serras, have a harsh and saltish taste, though beautifully clear; and they cover their banks with a strong incrustation, so that the tree-roots on their margin look like rock-work. Having received

Source of the
Paraguay.

¹³ The *dorados* were in such abundance here that one man caught forty. Broth made of this fish and taken as diet, was said to cure any scorbutic or leprous complaint. The writer adds that it is a *very pretty fish to eat, .. muy hermoso pescado para comer.*

CHAP. V. 1543. Lake of Xarayes. the Cipotuva¹⁴, which is the most northerly source of the Plata, the Cabacal, and the Jauru, the Paraguay leaves the mountains in 16° 43' South¹⁵. And here it enters upon that vast track of inundated country which is marked in maps by the name of Lake Xarayes, from the principal tribe which Cabeza de Vaca found settled there; but which the Portugueze Paulistas, who have frequently traversed all this part of the interior, call the *Pantanaes*, or Flooded Savannahs. These plains are in flower, as they term it (*florentes*) in June, by which is meant that the waters are then so deep that it is no longer necessary to seek out the vein of the river, but they may navigate boldly in any direction. The wooded islands are inhabited by a species of bearded monkey, remarkably like man in its countenance. They are killed for the sake of their skins, which are covered with a black and glossy fur; the leaner the monkey is the greater is his value, for then the fur is closer, and the skin more easily and effectually cured. The females and young are of a lighter colour. They are social animals; the Portugueze call a troop of them a Choir, from the circumstance which Linnæus has noticed, of their singing in concert at sun-rise and sun-set. Being otherwise defenceless, they are provided with organs of voice which enable them to terrify even man, when he is not accustomed to the terrific sound. That part of the throat which

¹⁴ The *Zuputuba* of the Spanish map.

¹⁵ At its junction with the latter river is a marble pyramid, bearing these inscriptions. On the East, *Sub Joanne Lusitanorum Rege Fidelissimo*. On the South, *Justitiæ et Pax Osculatae sunt*. On the West, *Sub Ferdinando VI. Hispaniarum Rege Catholico*. And on the North, *Ex Pactis Finium Regendorum Conventis Madriti Idibus Januarii MDCCL*. The Treaty has been abolished, but the monument still remains. *Noticias do Lago Xarayes. MSS.*

in many countries is called Adam's Apple, from a vulgar fable, CHAP. is in these creatures formed of bone instead of cartilage, and V. shaped like a kettle drum, the hollow side inward. Their cry 1543. of fear therefore is so powerful, that it may be heard for miles around; . . . it is a deep bray in octaves, . . . and during the alarm which this unexpected and monstrous sound occasions, they generally make their escape.

When the floods are out the fish leave the river to feed upon certain fruits: as soon as they hear or feel the fruit strike the water, they leap to catch it as it rises to the surface, and in their eagerness spring into the air. From this habit the Ounce has learnt a curious stratagem; he gets upon a projecting bough, and from time to time strikes the water with his tail, thus imitating the sound which the fruit makes as it drops, . . . and as the fish spring towards it, catches them with his paw. This animal traverses with ease the aquatic plants which in many places obstruct the navigation of the *Pantanaes*. The vein of the river is to be sought among the floating islands of shrubs and trees which seem to block it up; but the stream has brought them: they keep its course, and falling down gradually leave it open.

*Noticias de
Lago Xa-
rayes. MSS.*

It was the Southern verge of this land of waters that Cabeza de Vaca had reached. They who lived among them were often bewildered in these intricate channels. That which he took was on the left hand, and led him Westward. He cut down trees at its mouth, and erected three high crosses, that the half of his flotilla which were behind him might see his course. The natives called this stream Yguatu, or the Good Water. Instead of falling into the Paraguay, it seems to be another branch from the same innumerable sources, for till now the Spaniards had ascended the current, and on entering this, the stream was in their favour. Thus they proceeded through rivers and broads,

CHAP. till they came to a shoal, immediately beyond which lay the
 V.
 1543. place which Yrala had reconnoitred, and which he had named
 Puerto de los Reyes, because he had arrived there on the Festival
 of the Three Kings. The shoal was about two musquet
 shot in length; they got out of the brigantines and pushed them
 over.

Com. 52. 53.

The Sacocies, Xaquesses, and Chaneses.

Three tribes dwelt about this place, the Sacocies, the Xaquesses, and the Chaneses, who were fugitives that had settled here. Yrala had left them in good humour, and they were now highly pleased at the arrival of these other strangers, who brought with them such acceptable articles of traffic. Cabeza de Vaca made them the usual harangue about Original Sin, the Pope, and the King of Castille; erected a cross under some palm-trees by the water-side, and took possession of the land in presence of the Public Notary of the province. He and his people took up their lodging on the side of the lake, because these Indians were unwilling that any one should enter their habitations.

Coment. 53.

Vampire Bat.

These tribes cultivated maize, mandioc, and a species of earth-nut called mandubies. They housed their poultry at night; the ducks to catch the crickets¹⁶; the fowls to protect them from the vampire bat, who would else fasten upon their combs. This vampire, the body of which is larger than that of a pigeon, is as great a curse as the fabled harpy, to the countries which it infests. Neither man nor beast is safe from them. The parts

¹⁶ Charlevoix, with his usual carelessness, supposes that these people wished to destroy the crickets because they disliked their noise, and says his author does not explain how the fowls could defend the inhabitants. He refers to the *Comentarios* of Cabeza de Vaca, and in some form or other had the book before him, . . . yet thus does he mistate, or misunderstand it!

of man which they attack are the thumb, the nose, and, in preference to all others, the great toe: the patient is not awakened by their bite, and they continue to hold on like leeches till they have had their fill. Cabeza de Vaca was bit by the toe, .. a coldness in his leg awakened him in the morning, he found the bed bloody, and was looking for the wound, when his people laughed, and explained what enemy had wounded him. The Spaniards had brought with them six breeding sows, meaning to stock the country; these vampires bit off the teats of all, so that it was necessary to kill them and all their young. It was with great difficulty that the horses could be secured from them; they delighted to fix upon their ears, and it may well be imagined how such a pendant would terrify an animal, which of all animals seems to be the most violently agitated by fear.

CHAP,
V.
1543.

Coment. 54.

The ants, which are so great a curse to Brazil, were here more troublesome, though less mischievous. They were of two sorts, red and black, both very large, and the bite of either occasioned such intolerable pain for twenty-four hours, that the sufferer commonly writhed upon the ground, groaning the whole time: no remedy was known, .. but the force of the venom spent itself thus, without leaving any ill effect. The sting of a species of fish found here was of worse consequences; it struck with such force as to pierce through a man's foot; there was an antidote for the poison, but the wound was long in healing.

Plagua of
Ants.

Coment. 54.

The hideous fashion of stretching their ears prevailed among these tribes¹⁷; this they accomplished by wearing gourds as

¹⁷ Some of the French soldiers who were taken in L'Eissegue's squadron off St. Domingo in 1806, had disfigured themselves as much as these savages, and upon the same principle. They cultivated their whiskers till they stuck out more

CHAP. V. 1543. pendants, increasing the size of the gourd from time to time, till the hole in which it hung was so large that a man might put his fist through, and the flap hung down upon the shoulder. As these lop-ears would have offered too convenient a handle to their enemies, they either tucked them up when they went to battle, or fastened them back behind the head. They were social, not gregarious tribes, each family having its own habitation. The settlement contained about eight hundred. The women spun cotton. They had wooden idols: till now no tribe had been discovered either in Brazil, or Paraguay, who were strictly idolaters. Cabeza de Vaca burnt their idols; they denounced the vengeance of the spirit upon them, but seeing no vengeance executed, they did not appear to resent what had been done. The Spaniards supposed that the Devil had taken flight as soon as he saw an altar erected, and mass performed.

First Idolaters.

Coment. 54.

Further intelligence obtained of Garcia.

About four leagues off were two settlements of the Chaneses, whom Garcia, the Portugueze, had brought from their own country; here they had taken wives, and thus allied themselves with the natives of the land. Many of them came to the Spaniards, rejoicing to see the countrymen of Garcia, whom they remembered with delight. From one of these men, who was about fifty years of age, some account was collected of this remarkable expedition. The sum of his information was, that the rest of his fellows had been cut off by the Guaranies when they attempted to return; that for this reason he and the others who had escaped could not go back by the route which they had

than a foot on either side the head; and this, one of the Officers said, he did *d'être terrible*. This was being what old Ronsard calls

Cruel de port, de moustache, et de cœur.

Franciade.

taken, and they knew no other way: the Sacocies received them kindly in their distress, and they had remained and married among them. He mentioned the different tribes in the land from whence they came; all were cultivators, and had large sheep, as well as domestic fowls. Women were an article of exchange among them. The Chief of these Chaneses offered to guide the Spaniards there, saying there was nothing which he so earnestly desired as to remove with his wife and children into his own country.

CHAP.
V.
1543.

Coment. 56.

When the Adelantado understood that there were Guaranies in the land, he sent a party of their countrymen, with a few Spaniards, to find them out, and procure guides among them; but after hunting the country for ten leagues round, they found only their deserted habitations. This the Chaneses said was very likely, for they and their allies had lately made war upon them, killed many, and driven the rest to flight: they were perhaps gone to join some of the same race who bordered upon the Xarayes; the Xarayes had gold and silver, which they received from a people dwelling farther up; and all that country was inhabited. How far was it to their country, was the immediate question. By land the journey of four or five days; but it was a miserable way, where they would have to cross marshes, and yet want water. By water, canoes might go it in eight or ten. Hector de Acuña, and Anton Correa, who understood the Guarani language, were dispatched by land to them, with two Guaranies and ten Sacocies; they took with them articles of barter, and a red cap for each of the Chiefs.

Cabesa de Vaca sends to the Xarayes.

Coment.
57—58.

These messengers came the first day to a hideous tribe called Artaneses; the women tattoed themselves and slashed their faces, and the men cultivated their under-lips as successfully as their neighbours had laboured in improving the growth of their ears. They wore in their lip the shell of a fruit as big as a large

The Artaneses.

CHAP. V. 1543. *Journey to the Xarayes.* dish. These ugly people however gave them food and sent a guide with them. The next day's was a dreadful journey, through wide sloughs, in which they sunk at every step knee-deep; and the sun, which had not dried the mud, had yet heated it to such a degree that it was painful. They suffered also from thirst; for though the Indians carried water in calabashes, it was expended before half the day was over. They slept that night on a spot of dry ground amid the sloughs. There was the same sort of country to toil through the third day, but they came sometimes to lakes whereat they could drink, and found one tree, under the shade of which they rested and slept at noon; there also they consumed the last of their provisions. One day's journey more was yet to be performed, and a league of this was through a slough, where they sunk to the middle, and from which they never expected to get out; but having conquered this, the road became good. Just after mid-day they met about twenty Xarayes, whom the Chief, having heard of their coming, sent to meet them with maize-bread, a drink made from the same grain, boiled ducks, and fish. An hour before night-fall they reached the village: four or five hundred persons came out to welcome them, all gaily adorned with parrot feathers, and wearing a fan-shaped apron of white beads: the women were clothed in cotton. They were conducted to the Chief, who sate up ready to receive them in a cotton hammock, in the midst of the area of the town, with the elders round about him. A lane was made for the messengers to approach, and two benches were brought, on which he made signs to them to seat themselves. He then sent for a Guarani who was naturalized among them, and said through him, that he rejoiced at seeing them, having long desired to see the Christians; for since the time when Garcia had been in that country, he had held them as friends and kinsmen. He wished also to see their Chief, who he

heard was liberal to the Indians and gave them many good things; and he said, that if he had sent for any thing from that country, it should be given him. The Spaniards replied, that they were come to learn how far it was to the land of those people who had gold and silver, and what nations dwelt upon the way; they came also to see him, and assure him that the Adelantado greatly desired to have him for his friend. The old Chief made answer, that he should rejoice in his friendship. The way to those settlements, for which they enquired, he could not tell, because in the rainy season the whole country was flooded, and when the floods retired it was impassable. But the Guarani who was now interpreting had been there, and he would send him to the Adelantado, to tell him all he knew. The Spaniards then asked him to give them a guide to the Guaranies; but he replied that these Guaranies were at war with him, and that seeing he was the friend of the Christians, they ought not to go to his enemies and make friendship with them. Nevertheless if they were resolved to go, his people should conduct them there on the morrow. By this time it was night. The old Chief took them to his house, food was given them, each was then shewn his hammock, and women offered them according to the brutal custom of savage hospitality: but from these mistresses the Spaniards excused themselves, pleading the fatigue of their march.

CHAP.
V.
1543.

Comment. 56.

An hour before day-break they were awakened by the sound of horns and drums; the Chief ordered his door to be opened, and they beheld about six hundred men, ready for war. This, said he, is the guise in which my people visit the Guaranies; they will conduct you safely there, and bring you safely back; otherwise you would be slain, because you are my friends. When the Spaniards perceived that they could not go in any other manner, and that if they persisted in their intention

CHAP. V. it would probably offend the Xarayes, they said they would go back, tell the Adelantado what they had learnt, and return with his instructions. With this resolution the old Chief was well satisfied; his visitors remained with him that day, and gave him the articles of barter which they had brought, and also the red cap, which was his particular present, and they were as much amused with his admiration, as he was with the gift. In return he gave them coronals of rich plumery for the Adelantado, and thus they separated, being mutually well pleased with each other. The name, or title, of the Chief was Camire; his town contained about a thousand houses¹⁵; and four neighbouring settlements were subject to his authority. The Xarayes lived in separate families; the men cultivated the under lip like the Artaneses; it is more remarkable that they wore mostachos; the women spun cotton, and manufactured webs of it as fine as silk, in which they wrought the figures of animals, . . . a waste of ingenuity, for the use of these webs was to wrap round them at night, when the season required it. Both sexes stained themselves from the neck to the knees with a blue die, which they laid on in such exquisite pattern-work, that a German, who saw them, doubted whether the best artist in Germany could have surpassed the nicety and intricacy of the design. They had two harvests in the year. The cricket infested them also, and they also kept ducks in their houses to destroy this mischievous insect.

Schmidel.
36.
Com. 59. 60.

Great expedition of the Guarani-ans towards Peru.

The Guarani interpreter accompanied the Spaniards on their return. He told Cabeza de Vaca that he was born at Itati, a

¹⁵ Ribera says one thousand houses, . . . the Commentaries one thousand inhabitants. The smallest computation is usually the safest in such cases; but six hundred fighting men could not have been collected from one thousand inhabitants.

settlement upon the Paraguay. When he was a lad his countrymen undertook a great expedition, in which he went with his father: they plundered the first settlements, and carried off plates and ornaments of gold and silver; for awhile they went on victoriously, but at length the whole country gathered together against them, and gave them a severe defeat; the enemy then got behind them, took possession of the passes, and cut off their retreat, so that not above two hundred of the whole multitude escaped. Of these the greater number dared not attempt to return, for fear of the Guaxarapos and other tribes, through whose territories they must have passed; they therefore took up their abode among the mountains: he, with the rest, endeavoured to reach his own country; but they were discovered on their way by these hostile tribes, and every one, except himself, slain. In his flight he fell in with the Xarayes, where he had been kindly treated, and adopted into their nation. Cabeza de Vaca asked him if he could find the way to those people whom his countrymen had attacked. He replied that they had cut their way through thickets, and felled trees for land marks; but all this must have been overgrown long since. Still he thought he knew the course. It lay by a high round mountain which was then in sight from the Puerto de los Reyes, and the first settlements were, to the best of his remembrance, about five days distance. He was asked if there was gold there, and answered yes; his countrymen had carried off plates, gorgets, earrings, bracelets, crowns, hatchets, and small vessels both of gold and silver. After this tempting intelligence he consented to go with the Spaniards and guide them as well as he could, saying that to this end his Chief had sent him there.

Comment:
69.

Cabeza de Vaca bade this man look well to the truth of what he said; there was however no reason to suspect deceit, and he determined to undertake the journey, taking with him three

Cabeza de Vaca follows their route.

CHAP. hundred men, and provision for twenty days. One hundred, ^{V.} with twice that number of Guaranies, he left to guard the brigantines, under Juan Romero. The natives about the Puerto de los Reyes had begun to be discontented with their guests. Gonzalo de Mendoza, who had now joined the Adelantado with the remainder of his force, had been attacked on the way by the Guaxarapos; one of his own people provoked the quarrel, and five Spaniards were slain in it. The Guaxarapos regarded their death as a victory, and called upon their friends, the Sacocias, to take courage and destroy these strangers, who were not valiant, and whose heads were soft. Nothing seems to have encouraged these tribes so much as the discovery that the Spaniards heads were not so hard as their own: they did not recollect that an iron cap was harder.

Coment. 60.
58.

Nov. 26.
*March to-
wards Peru.*

The first day's journey lay through pleasant woods, where there was a track, though but little trodden; they slept beside some springs. On the morrow it was necessary to clear their way before them, and the farther they advanced the thicker they found the woods: they were also greatly impeded by a close grass, which grew to an exceeding height. Their second night's lodging was beside a lake, wherein the fish were so abundant that they caught them by hand. The guide was ordered to climb trees and ascend eminences as they went on, that he might survey the road well; and he maintained that they were in the right way. Honey was found in the trees, and there was plenty of game, but the noise of their march scared it, so that they profited little by this resource. Of all the fruits which they ate, only one proved unwholesome; it was the berry of a tree resembling the myrtle. The palms produced a fruit of which (unlike the date) the kernel, and not the pulp, was eaten, the shell, as of the pistachio, being divided; it is likened to the sweet almond; the Indians made from it a flour of excel-

Coment. 63. lent quality.

On the fifth day of their march they came to a little river of hot water, issuing from a mountain. The water was clear and good, and there were fish in it notwithstanding its heat. Here the guide confessed that he was at fault; the old road marks were gone; it was many years since he had been there, and he knew not which way to go. The following morning, however, as they still advanced, cutting their path, two Guaranies ventured to approach them. These people were some of those who had escaped from the great overthrow which the guide had related, and retired into the wildest part of the woods and mountains to hide themselves. Their hut was near, and the whole of this wreck soon made their appearance, consisting of only fourteen persons, the eldest of whom appeared to be about five and thirty. They were children, they said, at the time of the great destruction of their nation, and they knew that some of their race dwelt near the Xarayes, and made war upon them. Two days journey on there was another family consisting of ten persons, the head of whom, this man told them, was his brother-in-law, and he knew the way to the country for which the Spaniards enquired, for he had often been there. Cabeza de Vaca made these people happy by distributing among them a few presents. His business was now to find out this second family, where he was sure of a guide. He sent forward an interpreter, with two Spaniards and two Indians, to make enquiry there concerning the road and the distance, and proceeded slowly after them the next day. On the third he met one of the Indians returning with a letter, stating that from the Guarani's hut, where it had been written, it was the journey of sixteen days, through thickets and close high grass, to a lofty rock called Tapuaguazu, from the top of which much cultivated country could be seen. The road to this habitation was so bad, that they had been obliged to crawl great part of it, and the

CHAP.
V.

1543.

CHAP. V.
 1543. master of the Guarani family said it was worse beyond. He was however coming with the interpreter, to tell the Adelantado all he knew. Upon this Cabeza de Vaca retired to the huts which had been set up for the last night's lodging, and there waited for them, till they arrived, on the following afternoon.

Com. 62—
 63.

The Guarani said he was well acquainted with the way to Tapuaguazu, having often gone there for arrows¹⁹, of which there were plenty there. The smoke of the inhabited country was visible from thence, but he had now for some time ceased to go, because on his last journey he had seen smokes on this side the rock, whereby he knew that they were returning to inhabit this country, which since the great invasion had been left desolate. It would be the journey of sixteen days, the road very bad, and a way to be opened through the woods. He was asked if he would go as guide, and replied, willingly, though he greatly feared the people of that land. Upon this Cabeza de Vaca assembled as usual his Clergy and Captains, and asked their opinion, what was to be done. They answered, the troops had relied too confidently on the guide's assertion that they should reach the inhabited country in five days, and had in consequence husbanded their provisions so ill that most of them had expended all, though each man had taken with him two *arrobas*²⁰ of flour. The stores only contained enough for six days. It was well known how little the reports of the Indians could be trusted; instead of sixteen days journey, the distance might prove far greater, and the whole party might perhaps

¹⁹ Whether this means that they had been left upon the ground after the destruction of his tribe, or only that reeds grew there, is not explained.

²⁰ About half a hundred weight.

perish for hunger, as had often happened in these discoveries. They therefore judged it best to return to Puerto de los Reyes, where they had left the brigantines, and there provide themselves for the expedition, now that they were better enabled to calculate what provision it required. Cabeza de Vaca represented to them that it was impossible to procure provisions there, the maize was not yet ripe, nor had the natives wherewith to supply them; moreover they should remember what had been told them, that the inundations would soon begin. They persisted in their opinion; it was not easy to determine which evil was the least, to return or to advance, and he found it prudent to yield as the general wish was against him. Francisco de Ribera however, and six others, offered to go with the Guarani and eleven Indians to Tapuaguazu; these Indians were charged on pain of severe punishment not to leave them, till they had returned together and joined the Adelantado, . . . and they went their way upon this adventure.

Coment.
64—65.

Cabeza de Vaca returned in eight days to Puerto de los Reyes, where he found that the natives, influenced by the Guaxarapos, were beginning to manifest their ill will; they had ceased to supply the Spaniards with food, and threatened to attack them. He assembled their Chiefs, gave them red caps, and pacified them with gentle words and fair promises; and they on their part declared that they would be the friends of the Christians, and drive out the Guaxarapos and all their enemies. The want of food was not so easily remedied; there was none now except what was on board the brigantines, and that would not suffice him and his Indians for above twelve days, however sparingly distributed. The interpreters were sent round to all the adjoining settlements to purchase more; but none was now to be purchased, for food was at this time so scarce as to be above all price. He enquired of the principal natives where it

*Scarcity at
Puerto de los
Reyes.*

CHAP. V.
 1543.

was to be found. They told him that the Arianicosies had plenty, a tribe who inhabited the shores of some great lake about nine leagues off. He called his council again, and laid their situation before them; his men he said were ready to disperse themselves about the country and take provisions wherever they could find them. What was to be done? They replied, that there was no other remedy than to send the greater part of the people to those places where there was food, which they were to buy if the natives would sell it, and to take by force if they would not; for in case of famine it was lawful to take it from the altar. Gonzalo de Mendoza therefore was sent to the Arianicosies with one hundred and twenty Spaniards and six hundred Indian archers. The natives whom Cabeza de Vaca consulted had also informed him that as the waters were beginning to rise, the brigantines could now go up the river Ygatu to the land of the Xarayes, who had food. There were also many large and winding rivers which fell into the Ygatu, and on the banks of these were tribes who were plentifully stored. Accordingly Hernando de Ribera was dispatched with fifty-two men in a brigantine to the Xarayes, there to make enquiry concerning the country farther on, and then to proceed and explore the waters. Orders were given that neither he nor his men should land, but only the interpreter and two companions, that all occasion of quarrel might if possible be avoided.

Coment.
65—68.

Mendoza sent to the Arianicosies in search of food.

When Mendoza arrived at the land of the Arianicosies, he sent an interpreter with beads, knives, fishing-hooks, and iron wedges, which were in great request, as samples of the treasures that he had brought to barter with them: but they replied, they would give the Spaniards nothing, and ordered them to leave their country or they would kill them all; the Guaxarapos, who had already killed Christians would assist them; and they bade the interpreter tell the Spaniards they knew they had soft heads.

Mendoza tried a second embassy, which hardly escaped from them. He then landed with all his force, and being received with the same hostility, shot two of them: the rest fled, and he carried off store of maize, mandioc, mandubies, and other roots and herbs from their houses. He dismissed a prisoner, to bid them return to their habitations and he would pay for all that had been taken; but they were not to be conciliated. They attacked his camp, set fire to their houses, and summoned all their allies to assist them. Mendoza sent to the Adelantado for instructions how to act, and was directed still to use every means to pacify them.

CHAP.
V.
1543.

Coment. 58.

Eight of the Guaranies who had been sent with Francisco de Ribera on his adventure to Tapuaguazu were now returned, and Cabeza de Vaca had given up him and the rest of his companions for lost. But on the 20th of January they arrived; they were all wounded, and this was the account which they gave. One and twenty days they and their guide travelled Westward, through a country so nearly impassable that sometimes they could only get on a league a day through the thickets, and on two days not half as much. Antas and venison and wild boars were in great abundance, whom their Indians shot with arrows; and smaller game was so numerous that they knocked it down with sticks: there was also plenty of honey, and of fruit, so that if the army had proceeded they would have been in no want of food. On the twenty-first day they came to a river which ran Westward, and according to their guide passed by Tapuaguazu: soon afterwards they saw the track of hunters, and came into some maizals, from which the maize had just been gathered. Here before they could conceal themselves an Indian met them; he had golden ear-rings, and wore a silver ornament in his under lip. They did not understand his language; but he took Ribera by the hand, and made signs to him and his companions

1544.

*Return of F.
de Ribera.*

CHAP. V.
1544. to come with him. He led them to a large house, built of wood and straw; the women were emptying it; but when the Spaniards came in, they broke a hole through the straw side, out of which they threw the things, rather than pass by the strangers. Among the things which they were removing were many ornaments and utensils of silver, taken out of large jars. Their host made his guests be seated, and gave them maize-beer to drink, served in gourds from large earthen vessels which were buried to the neck in the floor. Two slaves, Orejones by nation, waited upon them, and made them understand that there were some Christians about three days journey off, among a people called Payzunoos. They showed them also the high rock Tapuaguazu, in sight. By this time the Indians began to assemble round the door, gaily painted and plumed, and bearing bows and arrows as if prepared for war. Their host upon this took bow and arrow himself, and messages passed backward and forward, by which the Spaniards suspected that the country was rising to cut them off; and presently he warned them to hasten back by the way which they had come, before a greater multitude should be collected. About three hundred had already gathered together, and attempted to stop them; they made their way through, but when they were about a stone's throw distant, the Indians set up a cry, discharged their arrows at them, and followed them till they got into the woods, where they defended themselves, and their assailants turned back, thinking, the Spaniards supposed, that they had companions there to assist them. Every one of the party was wounded; the road however was now opened, and though they had been one and twenty days going from the place where they had left the Adelantado, they returned the whole way to Puerto de los Reyes in twelve, which they estimated to be about seventy leagues. A lake which they had forded when they went, and found only

knee-deep, was so swoln on their return that it had spread above a league beyond its banks, and with great difficulty and danger they crost it upon rafts. This was all that they had discovered, except that the people from whose country they had been thus rudely expelled were called Tarapecocies, and that they had abundance of tame ducks and fowls.

CHAP.
V.
1544.

Coment. 70.

This information led to farther knowledge. There were some Tarapecocies here, part of the wreck of Garcia's heterogeneous army. It is greatly to be regretted that the history of this Portugueze adventurer ⁴ has not been preserved; a man he must

The Spaniards hear of gold and silver.

⁴ The little information which Cabeza de Vaca obtained of Garcia is all that is really known concerning him. The Jesuits Nicholas del Techo and Juan Patricio Fernandez repeat it, with the extraordinary blunder that his expedition took place in the reign of Joam II. . . before Brazil was discovered: and this cannot be an error of the press for Joam III. because they state it to have been before the overthrow of the Incas, as indeed probably it was. Both say he was treacherously murdered by his own people.

They call him Alexo Garcia, and Techo says that he was sent by Martim Affonso de Squsa, who afterwards sent Jorge Sedenho with sixty Portugueze in search of him. When they came near the Paraguay the same Indians who had murdered Garcia, slew the commander and put them to flight: and on their return the Indians on the Parana embarked them in worm-eaten canoes covered with clay instead of pitch, pulled off the clay in the mid-stream, swam to shore themselves, and left the Portugueze to sink. This account is manifestly fabulous. In another place he adds that his Indians returned to the rich country where he had led them, for fear the Portugueze should send and take vengeance upon them; and that there they founded the nation of the Chiriguanos, who were so long the scourge of the Spaniards. According to Jolis, these writers follow the authority of the MS. Argentina of Ruy Diaz de Guzman; and he rightly remarks that the story is disproved by the mention which Garcilasso makes of this tribe in the time of the Inca Yupangui. *L. 6. Art. 2.*

The *Mercurio Peruano* (May 8. 1791. *T. 2. P. 21.*) says that Garcia and his army of Chiriguanos penetrated as far as the valley of Tarija; and that his savage followers killed him because they did not chuse to leave so delightful a

CHAP. have been of most extraordinary talents, with only five Euro-
 v.
 1544. peans to have raised an army, and penetrated more than half way through the continent of South America : and the respect in which his memory was held, shows that as in prudence and courage he must have equalled the greatest men among the discoverers, so it is probable that he exceeded them in humanity. These people were immediately enquired for ; one of the arrows which Ribera had brought back with him was shown them ; their countenances brightened at the sight, and they said it came from their country. Cabeza de Vaca asked them why their nation should have attempted to kill his messengers, who went only to see them, and converse with them. They replied that their nation were not enemies to the Christians, but on the contrary regarded them as friends since Garcia had been there and bartered with them. The reason why they had now attacked the Spaniards must have been because they saw Guaranies in their company, whom they hated, inasmuch as that race had formerly invaded them, and wasted their borders. But if his messengers had taken an interpreter, they would have treated them well, for it was never the manner of their nation to receive as enemies those who came as friends : and they would have given them food, and gold and silver, which they got from the nations beyond them. It was asked from whom they got this

country and return. The Essayist calls him a Portugeze of Paraguay, and says that his name, like that of Erostratus, deserves to remain for ever in oblivion. It would be difficult to prove that Garcia was worse than the Spanish conquerors, and it is manifest from what he atchieved, that in ability as well as in enterprize he must have been equal to the greatest of them. The *Mercurio* refers to no authority, and is probably wrong in dating the expedition after the conquest of Peru, as it assuredly is in saying that Garcia and his army spared neither Spaniard, Indian, nor Mestizo ; .. for there could have been no Mestizo there to slay, even if there were any Spaniards.

gold and silver, and for what? They replied, in exchange for bows and arrows, and slaves, from the Payzunoos, who were three days journey from them, and who themselves procured these metals from the Chaneses, Chimenoos, Carcaraes, and Candirees, tribes who had abundance. They were shown a bright brass candlestick, and questioned whether the yellow metal of which they spake was like that: no, they replied, it was yellower and softer, and had no such unpleasant smell; a gold ring was then produced, and that they said was the same. In like manner, when a tin vessel was shown them they said their white metal was whiter and harder and without smell, and when they saw a silver cup, declared that in their country they had bracelets and crowns and hatchets of the like.

CHAP.
V.
1544.

Coment. 79.

This intelligence made the Adelantado resolve upon attempting the march again, and he sent for Gonzalo de Mendoza to return with all his people that they might prepare for it. But the sickly season was begun, and agues soon prevailed so generally that there were not sound men enough to keep guard. The natives seized the opportunity. They began by laying hands on five Spaniards, who with some fifty Guaranies were fishing about a stone's throw from the camp; they cut them in pieces, and distributed the flesh among the Guaxarapos and their other allies. They then boldly attacked the Spaniards in their camp, and slew nearly three score before they could be repulsed. Weak however as the Europeans were they soon took vengeance for this, and kept them again in awe. Hernando de Ribera now returned from his expedition, but he found the Adelantado too ill to hear his report. Three months they continued in this miserable state; less in want of food indeed than formerly, for Mendoza had brought supplies; but the sickness rather increased than abated, and the mosquitos were now become a more intolerable plague than the ague. At length,

*They return
to Assump-
cion.*

CHAP. V.
 1544.
 worn out with sufferings, it was agreed to return to Asumpción. The stream carried them down in twelve days, and well it was that the stream was in their favour, for they had no strength to row, nor could they have defended themselves. Had it not been for the guns which they carried in the brigantine, they would hardly have escaped from the terrible Guaxarapos.

Coment.
 71—73.

*Mutiny
 against Ca-
 beza de Vaca.*

Cabeza de Vaca had offended some of his people because he would not permit them to bring away a hundred Indian girls who had been given them by their parents, as the means of conciliating their favour. On all occasions he had endeavoured to suppress the infamous practice of taking the men for slaves and the women for concubines, and this made him very unpopular. He asserts that Yrala and the chief persons of his party designed to make themselves independent of Spain, and that this was the main reason why they abandoned Buenos Ayres. The accusation is not very probable; but it is certain that their distance from any efficient authority encouraged them to pay little respect to the King's edicts. A fortnight after their return, a party of the chief officers seized the Adelantado, who was confined by sickness to his chamber, put him in irons, and proclaimed Yrala governor. Cabeza de Vaca had still friends, who contrived to communicate with him by means of a female slave, though whenever she visited him she was searched, stark naked. The slip of paper which she carried was rolled up, covered with black bees wax, and fastened with two black threads between the ball of the foot and the toes. They offered to release him by force, but he forbade this, for he had been threatened with instant death if any attempt was made to rescue him, and the threat would, beyond all doubt, have been executed.

Coment.
 74—77.

*He is sent
 prisoner to
 Spain.*

This sedition was the cause of great disorders. Many of the natives who relied upon his protection, and were beginning to adopt the religion and language of the settlers, fled. Above

fifty Spaniards who were attached to the Adelantado set off by land to Brazil, to escape the intolerable insults and injuries which they endured from the triumphant faction. The Friars took the same road, meaning to get from thence to Spain, and present complaints against him; and they carried with them their female pupils, without any opposition from the new governors. At last, after having kept him in confinement eleven months, his enemies sent him prisoner to Spain. Alonso Cabrera the Veedor, and Garci Vanegas the Treasurer, went to be his accusers. According to the usual delay of justice in that country, Cabeza de Vaca was detained about the Court eight years, before his cause was adjudged, during which time one of his accusers died miserably, and the other became raving mad. He was then acquitted of all the charges which had been brought against him, but was neither reinstated in his government, nor in any way indemnified for the losses he had sustained. Unfortunately for him, the Bishop of Cuenca, at that time President of the Council of the Indies, died soon after his arrival, otherwise summary justice would have been inflicted upon his enemies; for that minister had said that such offences as these must now be punished capitally, and no longer by fines²².

CHAP.
V.
1544.

Coment.
78—84.
Herrera.
7. 9. 13.

²² The history of Cabeza de Vaca's transactions in Paraguay is related by two authentic writers; Pedro Fernandez, who was with him in that country, and wrote the Commentaries by the Adelantado's order, from the materials which he supplied, and from his own knowledge; and Schmidel, an eye-witness also, who writes more summarily, and with an ill will towards the Governor against whom he had mutinied: there is no difference in matter of fact between the two accounts, and it cannot be supposed that any thing of importance should remain unnoticed by both. Techo however relates a story in many respects different. He says that one of Cabeza de Vaca's first measures was to send to the tribe who dwelt upon the banks of the Ipana, desiring them to restore Garcia's son, whom they

CHAP. ^{V.} still detained in captivity : that they put all his messengers to death except one, who was sent back with a defiance : that he dispatched his nephew Alonso Riquelme against them, and they were defeated with the loss of four thousand slain and three thousand taken : after this victory the deliverance of so interesting a prisoner might have been expected ; but he had never been spoken of before, neither is he ever mentioned afterwards. That the Adelantado on his way up the river punished the murderers of Ayolas, and having advanced two hundred and fifty leagues came to an island thirty miles long and nine broad, enjoying an equal temperature throughout all seasons, watered by so many springs of sweet water, and abounding with such exquisite fruits, game so plentiful, and honey in such profusion, that the Spaniards called it Paradise, and forgetting all their dreams of gold and of conquest, would fain have settled there. It was inhabited by the Orejones, a people so friendly and so gentle, that their minds seemed to have been moulded by the influence of the benignant region which they possessed. Cabeza de Vaca had some difficulty in forcing his men from this delicious island ; he reproached them for their base desire of rest, asking them whether they had come from Spain only to settle in a delightful country, or to enrich themselves. Having at length made them advance, they marched onward in a northerly direction, till they came to a town containing eight thousand houses, which was deserted at their approach. In the middle of the great market-place there was a round tower made of large timber ; the top was pyramidal, and covered with palm-tree bark : within this temple was a serpent, twenty-five feet in length, and about as big as an ox, with two rows of teeth sticking out of its jaws, like sickles. This monster was fed with the bodies of men slain in war, and the Devil used it as his mouth-piece to deliver oracles. The Spaniards killed it, but then a dispute arose concerning the division of the spoils, and in consequence they returned to Asumpcion. This account Charlevoix chuses to follow in preference to that which was written under Cabeza de Vaca's own eye, and to Herrera ; Schmidel's book he does not appear to have seen ; .. and his reason for this preference is, that Techo, writing in Paraguay, might have derived his information from some person who had been in the expedition, and that it is difficult to believe he would have asserted any thing for which he had not good authority, in a work which he dedicated to the Royal Council of the Indies. Charlevoix ought to have remembered, that no person who had been in the expedition could be better authority than Cabeza de Vaca himself, and that Techo did not write till more than a hundred years after it took place. But all these circumstances are manifestly false. No savages ever left four thousand men upon the field of battle. (The Peruvians and the people of New Spain were not

savages.) No savage town ever contained eight thousand houses. As for the Island of the Orejones, which has found a place in De Lisle's maps, there is no such island in existence; .. the Paulistas have repeatedly traversed all that part of the country. In the last year of the Jesuits continuance in Paraguay, P. Joze Sanchez made his way to the Chiquito missions by this route, which had before been vainly attempted; .. he past over the ground which this Paradise ought to have occupied, and found it in the same dreadful state as the rest of that country, swarming with all the curses of a rank and uncultivated soil.

Dobrizhoffer. Peramas, Vita Petri Joannis Andreu. § 54. 55.

CHAPTER VI.

Expedition of Hernando de Ribera; he hears of the Amazons and marches in quest of them over the flooded country.—Disturbances at Asumpcion.—Yrala conquers the Carios, and attempts a second time to march across the country.—He reaches the confines of Peru, makes his own terms in secret with the President, and then returns.—Diego Centeno appointed Governor; he dies, and Yrala remains with the government.

CHAP.
VI.
1543.

*Expedition
of Her. de
Ribera.*

It has been said that when Hernando de Ribera returned from his expedition, the Adelantado was too ill to listen to his report, and no measures were taken in consequence of it. Ribera however sent home to Spain an account of his adventures, and Hulderrick Schmidel, who was one of his company, published another in Germany. The tale which they relate is another instance of the hopes, the credulity, and the desperate perseverance of the discoverers.

Ribera departed on December 20, from Puerto de los Reyes, in a brigantine with eighty men, on his way to the Xarayes. He found a tribe called Achkeres, who took their name from the Cayman, an animal of which they stood in strange fear: they believed that it killed with its breath, that the sight of one was deadly, and that it could be destroyed in no other manner

than by holding a mirror¹ before it, that it might kill itself with the reflection of its basilisk eye. They gave Ribera guides, and sent with him eight canoes, which by fishing and hunting supplied him abundantly with food. He had been nine days in reaching them, and was as many more proceeding six and thirty leagues farther to the Xarayas. Old Camire came out with a great body of his people to meet them about a league from his settlement, on a wide plain. A way was made for him some eight paces broad, from whence every straw and pebble was cleared away, and nothing but flowers and fresh herbage left. Musicians attended him, playing upon a sort of flute, like the German *schalm*. As soon as he had bidden the Spaniards welcome, he entertained them with hunting, and about fifty stags and ostriches were presently brought down. The Spaniards were quartered two and two in the town, and remained there four days; Camire then asked them what they were in search of: they were in a land of plenty, and seem to have forgotten the wants of the Adelantado and their countrymen, and their answer was, gold and silver. Upon this he gave Ribera a few silver² trifles, and a little plate of gold, saying this was all he had, and that he had won it from the Amazons.

CHAP.
VI.
1544.

*H. de Ribe-
ra.
Schmidel.
35—37.*

Perhaps there did exist a tribe in South America, whose name bore some resemblance in sound to the word Amazonas, at which the Discoverers eagerly caught in their ignorance and credulity. But most of the accounts which they obtained concerning them can only be explained by supposing that the natives always return-

*Report of the
Amazons.*

¹ Had they then stone mirrors like the Mexicans, (*Clavigero. L. 7. § 56.*) or was their pottery so glazed as to answer this purpose?

² The little silver which the Spaniards found in these parts, had been trafficked from one tribe to another, from the country about Potosi.

Pedro de Cieça. C. 115.

CHAP.

VI.

1544.

ed such answers as they perceived were most agreeable, and that they themselves furnished in the shape of questions the information which they fancied they received in reply, the Indians assenting to what they understood but imperfectly, or not at all; a custom this of which the Missionaries often complain. Thus it must probably have been that they heard from Camire how the Amazons cut off the right breast, how their male neighbours visited them thrice or four times in the year, how they sent the boys to their fathers, and retained the girls; that they lived in a large island which was in a huge lake, and that they got gold and silver in great abundance from the main land. How could they get at them, was the next question, by land or water? Only by land, was the reply, but it was a two months journey, and to reach them now would be impossible, because the country was inundated. This they did not regard, but asked him for Indians to carry their baggage; he gave the Captain twenty, and each of the men five; and these desperate adventurers set off on their march over a flooded country!

*March
through the
flooded
country.*

Eight days they travelled through water up to their knees, and sometimes up to their middle: had they not learnt the use of the hammock such a journey must have been utterly impracticable. Before they could make a fire to dress their food they were obliged to raise a rude scaffolding, and this was unavoidably so insecure, that frequently the fire burnt through, and food and all fell into the water. They then came to the Siberis, a tribe having the same language and customs as the Xarayes, who told them they would have four days more to travel through the water, and then five by land, after which they would reach the Urtueses; but they advised them to turn back, for they were not numerous enough for such an expedition. Here they obtained guides, and proceeded another week over the flooded country, the water being so hot as to be unpalatable, and the rain incessant. On the ninth day they came to the Urtueses:.

how far was it to the land of the Amazons? .. a month's journey, and still through floods. But here they found an insuperable obstacle. The locusts during two successive years had devoured every thing before them, and plague had followed the famine which they occasioned. No food was to be had; but the Spaniards thought this plague was their preservation, for that else they should hardly have escaped from the most numerous tribe that they had yet discovered.

CHAP.
VI.
1544.

Schmidel.
27.

Here some Indians of the adjoining tribes came to see the strangers. They wore coronals after the fashion of Peru, and plates of a metal which in Ribera's report is called *chafalonia*. Of these people the Spaniards renewed their enquiries after the Amazons. Ribera solemnly swears that he faithfully reports the information they gave, and that it was not obtained from them by queries, but spontaneously given. He swears that they told him of a nation of women, governed by a woman, and so war-like as to be dreaded by all their neighbours: they possessed plenty both of white and yellow metal; their seats and all the utensils in their houses were made of them. They lived on the Western side of a large lake, which they called the Mansion of the Sun, because the sun sunk into it. On this side their country was a nation of little people, on whom they made war; beyond it a race of negroes with long beards, who wore clothes, lived in houses of clay and stone, and had also the white and yellow metals in abundance. To the West-South-West there were also large settlements of a rich and civilized people, who used a fleece-bearing animal for burthen and in agriculture, and among them there were Christians. .. How did they know this? .. They had heard from the tribes beyond them that a white and bearded people, riding upon large beasts, had been in the deserts which lay in that direction, from whence for want of water they had been forced to return. All the Indians of that country, they

Amazons.

H. de Ribe-
ra.

CHAP. said, communicated with each other, and they knew that far
 VI. away, beyond the mountains, there was a great salt water, on
 1544. which there were great ships. This account, when divested of
 fable, is sufficiently remarkable. The fact that in the centre of
 South America any knowledge was found of its shores, evinces
 an internal intercourse which it is not easy to explain.

*They return
 to the Xa-
 rayes.*

The Cazique of the Urtueses gave Ribera four large bracelets
 of silver, and four golden frontlets, which were worn as marks of
 distinction ; for which he received in return a present of knives,
 beads, and such toys as were manufactured at Nuremberg.
 Having thus taken a friendly departure, the Spaniards marched
 back, because they could have got no food had they proceeded.
 On their way they were reduced to live on palmitoes and roots ;
 and in consequence of this diet, and of having travelled so long
 half under water, the greater number of them sickened as soon
 as they reached the Xarayes. Here they were well nursed, and
 the men carried on so good a trade for silver and the fine cotton
 webs which the Xaraye women manufactured, that Schmidel
 estimates their profit at not less than two hundred ducats each.
 When they returned to Puerto de los Reyes, the Adelantado, ill
 as he was, was exceedingly incensed that Ribera should, in
 contempt of orders, have proceeded upon an expedition of dis-
 covery, leaving the army in such distress, and in expectation of
 relief from him. He ordered him to be put in irons, and took
 from the soldiers all that they had gained by the adventure. A
 sort of mutiny was the consequence, and Cabeza de Vaca
 thought it best to yield. It is to Ribera's honour that he did
 not resent this deserved anger, and bore no part in the insur-
 rection against the Adelantado. Of eighty men who accompa-
 nied him upon this dreadful march, only thirty recovered from its
 effects. Schmidel contracted a dropsy, but fortunately for history
 as well as for himself, it did not prove fatal.

*Schmidel.
 37-38.*

The sedition against Cabeza de Vaca threw every thing into confusion. Thus far Yrala and the King's officers had gone hand in hand ; they quarrelled concerning their usurped authority, for when these officers elected him Governor, it was with the intention of being Governors over him. This struggle between the civil and military powers took place in almost all the Conquests, before the scheme of colonial legislation was fully formed. The Spaniards at Asumpcion were divided into parties, and both parties acted as mischievously as possible. The partizans of either side were allowed to treat the Indians as they pleased, and the Indians were indulged in their accursed cannibalism, the leaders permitting any thing to strengthen their own faction. Frequently they were on the point of deciding the quarrel by arms : from this it is probable that the civil officers were withheld by their fear of Yrala's popularity among the soldiers, and Yrala by a wise unwillingness to weaken the general strength. The Carios and Agaces seeing these dissensions, united to fall upon the Spaniards and rid the country of them. This danger intimidated the civil faction, and Yrala was now suffered to exercise that power, which could not be in abler hands. He made an alliance with the Jeperos and Bathacis, tribes who could muster about five thousand men ; and with one thousand of them and about three hundred Spaniards, so distributed as that every Spaniard should be assisted by three natives, he marched against the Carios, a large army of whom had assembled under their Cazique Machkarias. They advanced within half a league of the enemy, and then halted for the night, being weary with a march through incessant rain. At six in the morning they proceeded to the attack ; after a battle of three hours the Carios fled to their strong hold called Fremi-

CHAP.

VI.

1544.

*Misconduct
of the Spaniards.**Yrala subdues the
Carios.*

* This is Schmidel's word, . . . but the *F* is not used by any of these tribes.

CHAP.
VI.
1544.

diere, leaving many hundreds on the field, whose heads the Jeperos carried off that they might skin them and hang up the whole mask as trophies. The post to which they retired was fortified with three palisadoes, and with pit-falls, and it was so well defended that Yrala besieged it three days in vain. He then made four hundred pavaises of anta-skin⁴, under cover of which he sent as many Indians with pick-axes to level the palisade, and between every two went a harquebuseer. This mode of attack succeeded; after a few hours the assailants entered the place, massacring women and children before them, and making a great slaughter. The greater number however escaped, and fled to another strong hold called Carieba, whither the conquerors, having received a reinforcement of two hundred Spaniards and five hundred allies, pursued them. This hold was fortified in the same manner as the last; and the Carios had also contrived machines which, according to Schmidel's description, were like rat-traps, and each of which had it taken effect would have caught twenty or thirty men. Four days the Spaniards besieged them, without success. A Cario then, who had formerly been Chief of the town, came privately out and offered to betray it, if they would promise not to set fire to it. He then discovered to them two paths in the wood which led into the place, and they by this means surprised it. The women and children had previously been hidden in the woods, the former massacre having taught them this precaution. They who

⁴ I am reminded by a friend, that this word may to many persons require explanation. The Anta is that amphibious animal which is sometimes called the Tapiir, sometimes the Hippopotamos of South America, sometimes the Great Beast. Dobrizhoffer strangely confounds it with the Elk. The prints of this animal differ from each other, and I have seen a drawing, probably more authentic than any, which differs materially from all.

escaped from this second slaughter fled to a Cazique called Dabero, and wasted the country before them to prevent pursuit. But upon this the Spaniards returned to Asumpcion, and from thence went down the river against them with fresh forces: the Chief who had betrayed Carieba joined them with a thousand of his people, and Dabero, after one defeat, submitted again to a yoke which it was impossible to shake off.

CHAP.
VI.
1548.

Schmidel.
41—43.

After this war was terminated the Spaniards remained at peace and at rest for two years, during which time no succours arrived from Spain. Yrala then, that they might not longer continue idling, as this quiet life was termed, proposed to them to renew the attempt in which his two predecessors had failed, and to ascertain whether gold and silver were to be found or not. Such a proposal was joyfully accepted. He left Don Francisco de Mendoza to command during his absence, and departed with three hundred and fifty Spaniards, and two thousand of the lately conquered Carios. They went up the river in seven brigantines and two hundred canoes; such of the expedition as could not go by water for want of sufficient embarkations, proceeding with two hundred and fifty horses by land. The place of meeting was in sight of the high round mountain called St. Fernando: the same, it may be presumed, by which the Guarani had guided Cabeza de Vaca. Fifty Spaniards were left in two brigantines, with a charge to be more wary than Ayolas had been; the other vessels were sent back, and Yrala began his march.

Yrala enters
the country.

Schmidel.
44.

Eight days they went on without finding any inhabitants. On the ninth, when they were about six and thirty leagues beyond the mountain St. Fernando, they came to the Meperos, a tall and robust race of hunters and fishers. Four days afterwards they found the Mapais, a tribe far more advanced towards servitude and civilization. The people were compelled to serve

The Mapais.

CHAP.

VI.

1548.

their Chiefs, like the peasants in Germany, they were cultivators; they made a sort of mead, and had tamed the llama. The women were handsome, and were exempt from that hard labour which savages usually force upon the weaker sex; their only employments were to spin and weave cotton, and to prepare food. These Mapais came out to welcome the Spaniards, and presented Yrala with four silver coronets, four frontlets of the same metal, and three girls. The Spaniards set their guard and went to rest. In the middle of the night Yrala missed the girls; immediately he suspected treachery, and ordered the men to be under arms. They were presently attacked, but being thus prepared, repelled the assailants with great slaughter, and pursued them two days and nights, never resting more than four or five hours. On the third day, still following the pursuit, the Spaniards fell in with a large horde of the same nation, who, not suspecting hostility, were surprized, and suffered for the offence of their countrymen. All who were not slaughtered fell into the hands of the Spaniards, and the prisoners were so numerous that nineteen were included in Schmidel's share of the spoil^s. After this victory, if such it may be called, they rested eight days, having plenty of provisions.

Schmidel.
44—45.

The Zehmie.

The Tohannas.

The Peionas.

They came next to the Zehmie, a sort of Helots to the last tribe. This was a fine country for an army of such adventurers to traverse; the maize ripens there in all seasons, and wherever they went they found maizals fit for gathering. Six leagues farther were the Tohannas, a tribe also in vassalage to the Mapais, whose dominion seems to have extended in this direction as far as the inhabited country. They now passed over an

^s There were women among them, says this German adventurer, and not very old ones.

unpeopled track of fourteen leagues, and then reached the Peionas. The Cazique came out to welcome them, and earnestly entreated Yrala not to enter his village, but pitch his tents upon the spot. Yrala gave no regard to this entreaty, but marched in, and quartered himself there for three days. The land was very fertile, though there was a scarcity of water, and of gold and silver, which Schmidel thus links with it as articles of equal necessity. The Spaniards thought it politic not to enquire for these precious metals, lest the tribes before them, hearing of what they were in search, should hide their treasures and fly. They took a guide from hence, who led them by a route where there was water, to a tribe, four leagues distant, called the Maiegoni: with them they remained a day, and then obtaining an interpreter and another guide, went on eight leagues farther to the Marronos, a populous nation. Here they rested two days. Their next halt was with the Parobios, four leagues on: there was a scarcity of food here; Yrala and his marauders however remained a day there, to devour what there was. The next people, who were twelve leagues distant, and were called the Simanos, stood upon their defence. Their settlement was upon an eminence, well fortified with a hedge of thorns. When they found themselves unable to resist fire-arms, they set fire to their dwellings and fled; but the country was cultivated, and the Spaniards found food in the fields.

After marching four days at the rate of four leagues a day, they came suddenly upon a settlement of the Barconos. The inhabitants would have fled, but were persuaded not to be alarmed at strangers who had no hostile intentions; having been thus conciliated they brought poultry, water-fowl, sheep, (the llama or vicuna is meant,) ostriches, and stags, in great abundance, and were well pleased at having the Spaniards four days or their guests. They departed laden with provisions, and in

CHAP.
VI.
1548.

The Maiegoni.

The Marronos.

The Parobios.

The Simanos.

Schmidel.
45.

The Barconos.

The Leyhanos.

CHAP. VI. three days, at their usual journey of four leagues, came to the
 1548. Leyhanos, with whom they made only a night's stay, because
 the locusts had stripped their fields. In four days more, tra-
 velling at the same rate, they came to the Carchuonos, who had
 suffered from the same plague, though not so severely; and here
 they learnt that in the next thirty leagues they would find no
 water. Had this information been concealed, it is probable
 that they must all have perished. They therefore took water
 from hence, and began a march which continued six days; some
 Spaniards died of thirst notwithstanding the supply which they
 carried, and many more would have been lost had they not
 found a plant growing there, which retained the rain and dew
 in its leaves, as in a reservoir; each holding about a quarter
 of a pint. At last they reached the settlement of the Suboris;
 it was night, and the people began to fly, till they were assured
 by an interpreter of the peaceable intention of the strangers.
 Little relief did the Spaniards find here. The Suboris and their
 neighbours were often at war for water. There had been a
 three months drought, so that the stock of rain-water which
 they used to reserve, was exhausted. The greater part of the
 people had no other drink than the juice of the *mandepore* root,
 which was white as milk. When water was to be had, they
 made a fermented liquor from this root, . . . now they were fain to
 support life with the simple juice. There were no running
 streams, and only one well in the place. Schmidel was stationed
 as centinel over this, to distribute it by measure: gold and
 silver were now no longer thought of; . . . all the cry was for
 water.

Schmidel.
46.

Here the hearts of the adventurers failed them: they deliberated whether to proceed or turn back, and determined the doubt by casting lots. The lot was for advancing. They remained two days at the cost of the Suboris well, and then began a

march of six days more, taking guides, who said there were two running streams in the way. The guides fled during the first night; they were however fortunate enough to find the road, and came to the Peisenos, according to the information which they had procured. This tribe received them as enemies, and would listen to no persuasions. They were soon put to flight; but their sufferings did not end with their defeat. Some prisoners who were taken in the action told the Spaniards, that Ayolas had left three of his men sick in this place, where they had been put to death only four days ago, at the instigation of the Suboris. Yrala remained there fourteen days, inquiring where these people had fled, in order to take vengeance upon them; and having at length discovered part of them in the woods, attacked them, killed many, and made slaves of the rest.

CHAP.
VI.
1548.

*The Peise-
nos.*

*Schmidt.
46.*

The Maigenos were the next tribe, a people four days journey distant. Their town was on a hill, and surrounded with a thorn hedge about as high as a man could reach with his sword. They refused to admit the Spaniards, and killed twelve of them, besides some of the Carios, before the place could be forced: then they set fire to their houses and fled. The loss which they sustained here provoked the Carios, who served the Spaniards more resolutely than they had resisted them; they thirsted for vengeance, and five hundred of them secretly set off to take it, thinking to prove that they needed no assistance from the strangers, their fire-arms, and their horses. When they had got about three leagues from the camp they fell in with a large body of the Maigenos; a desperate battle ensued, and it was not till three hundred of the Carios had fallen, that they sent for succour, for they were beset on all sides, and could neither advance nor retreat. The Maigenos fled as soon as the horsemen appeared in sight, and the surviving allies returned to the army perfectly well pleased with their exploit.

*The Maige-
nos.*

*Schmidt.
47.*

CHAP. VI. 1548. They remained here twelve days, having found plenty of provisions. Then they marched thirteen days without intermission, during which time those of the party who understood the stars computed that they had advanced two and fifty leagues. A tribe of the Carcokies were settled here. In nine days more they came to a track of country covered with salt, so that it appeared like snow: they halted two days, in doubt how to proceed, then struck to the right, and in four more came to another horde of the same nation. Fifty Spaniards and as many Carios were sent forward to the town to procure lodging and food; when they entered it they were alarmed at finding a more populous place than they had ever seen before in that country, and sent with all speed to Yrala, desiring him to advance and support them. The sight of this force made the inhabitants submissive. Both sexes here wore lip-stones; the women were habited in sleeveless garments of cotton; they spun, and were employed in household affairs; agriculture was the work of the men. *The Spaniards took guides from this place, who deserted them on the third day. They proceeded without them, and came to a river which is called Machcasies^o, and is described as being half a league wide. Rafts of stakes and basket-work were made for this dangerous passage; each carried two persons; . . . four men were lost in crossing. There was a settlement four leagues beyond the river, from whence some Indians came out to meet them, and welcomed them in Spanish. They belonged to a Spaniard named Pedro Anures. And here, having reached the Spanish settlements on the South side of the

Carcokies.

*They reach
the Spanish
Conquests.*

*Schmidel.
47—48.*

^o Probably the Pilcomayo. Schmidel has written his proper names with exceeding inaccuracy; there is however in many cases no alternative but to follow him. All that is to be wondered at is that such an adventurer should have written at all.

continent, the adventurers halted, after a march of three hundred and seventy-two leagues, according to their own calculation. Intelligence of their arrival was immediately dispatched to the seat of government.

CHAP.
VI.
1548.

The Licentiate Pedro de la Gasca was at this time President of Peru. He had just defeated Gonzalo Pizarro, and put him and the bloody leaders of his party to death. The arrival at such a time of a body of men so long accustomed to be lawless he justly considered dangerous, and sent orders to Yrala not to advance, but wait where he was for instructions. He apprehended that if a new insurrection had broken out, these adventurers would have joined with the partizans of Pizarro, . . . as Schmidel says, they certainly would have done. Yrala deputed Nufflo de Chaves to confer with the President; and that wise Governor, well knowing what the lure was which had brought this usurper so far, sent him gold enough to induce him to return contentedly. The soldiers knew nothing of these dealings; . . . if we had, says Schmidel, we would have bound him hand and foot, and sent him to Peru. All that was publicly known was, that they were ordered to return by the same route, for the sake of marking it distinctly.

Secret agreement between Yrala and the President of Peru.

C. 48.

The province which they had reached was more fertile than any other that they had seen even in this fertile country. Scarcely a tree could be cleft, but fine honey flowed from the aperture⁷, a species of small and stingless bee was so numerous. Yrala's men would have desired no better fortune than to help themselves in this land; the natives had silver vessels; they eyed these with avidity,

Yrala returns.

⁷ This honey was the chief diet of the famous Francisco de Caravajal, who when he was put to death at about eighty years of age, had all the vigour and activity of youth. He drank it like wine. *Pedro de Cieça. C. 99.*

CHAP. VI. 1548. but did not dare touch them, because these people were subject to the Spaniards. Their Commander had now effected his purpose, and gratified both ambition and avarice. He had opened a communication with Peru, had ascertained that there were no golden kingdoms to be plundered in the intermediate regions, and had secretly secured what he was in quest of. There was another cause which induced him to return with as little delay as possible. Diego Centeno was designated by the President to be Governor on the Plata, and of all the countries from thence to the frontiers of Cuzco and Charcas. When therefore Yrala was ordered to return by the same route, he was perhaps willing to obey in this instance, that he might prepare to support his usurpation. Accordingly he contrived to keep his men short of provisions, and ignorant of Centeno's appointment; Schmidel declares they would not have left the province if they had known it, but they were duped and starved into obedience.

Schmidel.
49.

When they came again to the Carcokies, they found the village abandoned. Yrala sent to invite the natives back: their reply was, that if the Spaniards did not speedily leave the place, they would drive them out. Many of his men advised him not to resent this, for if it was intended to establish a communication between the Plata and Peru, any hostilities here would be impolitic, inasmuch as supplies would no longer be procurable upon the road. He thought otherwise; either being determined to strike terror into the tribe, or perhaps designing to bring about the mischief which they apprehended, and thus impede the march of his successor. He made a great slaughter of these Indians, captured about a thousand of them, and remained two months in their town. This was the only event occurring upon their return. The whole expedition occupied a year and half, and the Spaniards brought back with them about twelve thou-

Schmidel.
49.

sand slaves⁹, men, women and children .. evidence enough of the devastation they must have made upon their march.

On reaching the brigantines they learnt that Diego de Abrego had usurped the government, and publicly beheaded Francisco de Mendoza. This hidalgo had left Spain with his kinsman Don Pedro, because in a fit of jealousy he had murdered his wife and his domestic chaplain. The divine vengeance was upon him, and upon the anniversary of the murder he himself suffered a violent and undeserved death. He made a public confession of his crime upon the scaffold, and expressed a hope and trust that God, who had thus inflicted due punishment upon him in this world, would remit it in the next. When the Spaniards approached Asumpcion Abrego refused them admittance, and Yrala immediately besieged him. Whatever may have been the misdeeds of this intrepid adventurer, he was popular in his government; and Abrego finding that the people were beginning to desert him, fled with fifty followers, and continued a sort of banditti warfare, till his troop was hunted down. He himself was found in the woods, alone and blind, and the Alguazil who discovered him put an end to his miseries with the stroke of a fisherman's harpoon.

Yrala's history has been written by his enemies. They accuse him of many enormities, .. of which few or none of the conquerors have been innocent; but it is manifest even from their account that he was a man of great enterprize and great prudence. After having effected the journey to Peru, and thus opened a communication between the two sides of South America, he sent Nuflo de Chaves to put a stop to the wars upon the confines of Brazil, in which the Indians who were subject to

CHAP.
VI.

1549.

Disturbances at Asumpcion.

Charlevoix.
t. 1. p. 112.

Schmidel.
50.
Herrera.
6. 2. 17.

* Schmidel had fifty to his share.

CHAP. VI. the different crowns had now begun to engage as borderers. This was done, and the limits between the Spanish and Portuguese colonies for the first time defined. He divided the land into *repartimientos*, as in the other Conquests, . . . a mode by which the country and its native population were portioned out among their European masters, as Europe itself had formerly been under its Gothick and Slavonick conquerors; with this difference, that in America the slavery was more intolerable, and that the gulph between master and slave has hitherto been found impassable. By the Castillian laws these *repartimientos* were restricted to Spaniards: Yrala, feeling how feeble his European force was, ventured to break this restriction, and gave them indiscriminately to adventurers of all nations. This act of wisdom is imputed to him as a crime, and a device for confirming himself in his usurpation. He has crimes enough to answer for, nor does it appear that his ambition extended farther than the wish of remaining Governor; . . . a post in which, as no mines had yet been discovered in the province, he thought it little likely that he should be superseded. So far from attempting to make himself independent, he requested the Court to send visitors who might enquire into his conduct; . . . aware perhaps that the request would be the best means of preventing the measure. The settlers meantime went on in those habits of lasciviousness and cruelty which characterize the Creoles of every stock whatsoever. He made little or no attempt to check them, perhaps because he knew that any attempt would be ineffectual, . . . perhaps because he thought that all was as it should be, . . . that the Creator had destined the people of colour to serve those of a whiter complexion, and be at the mercy of their lust and their avarice.

Herrera.
s. 2. 17.

Every thing favoured Yrala. Centeno, who was appointed

by the President Gasca to supersede him, died just as he was preparing to set out and take possession of his government. His death was a calamity to Paraguay, for he was loyal, honourable, and humane, a man of tried worth and talents, one of the best of the conquerors. About the same time Juan de Senabria accepted the same command in Spain, prepared an expedition, and died when it was ready. His son Diego acceded to the terms which his father had made, and set sail. He lost his ships, and only a few of his people reached Asumpcion by a march over land from the mouth of the Plata. To those however who investigate the history of Brazil this was an important voyage, for Hans Stade, one of the persons who were deluded by lying reports of the riches of the country to embark in the expedition, settled in Brazil after being shipwrecked. His adventures lead us back to the Portugueze colonies, and supply the earliest and best account of the native savages.

CHAP.
VI.
1549.

Herrera.
8 4. 12.
8. 5. 2.

CHAP.
VII.
1549.

CHAPTER VII.

Hans Stade sails with Senabria for Paraguay, and reaches St. Catalina.—Shipwrecked on St. Vicente.—He is made Gunner at St. Amaro, and taken prisoner by the Tupinambas.—Their ceremonies towards a prisoner; superstition and weapons.—He effects his escape.

CHAP. Hans Stade was at Seville when Senabria was fitting out his
VII. expedition for Paraguay. They who were interested in procur-
1549. ing adventurers spread about lying reports of the riches which
abounded in that happy country, and Hans, like many others,
swallowed the gilded bait. The vessel in which he sailed soon
parted company from the squadron, and then, through the igno-
rance of the pilot, they lost themselves. At length, after a wretched
voyage of six months, they made land in 28° S. not knowing
where they were; they kept in shore, searching for a port, and
a storm arose from which they expected nothing but destruction,
Nov. 24. for it blew directly upon the land. In such circumstances they
did the wisest thing that could be done; filled their barrels with
powder, fastened them down as closely as possible, and tied
musquets to them, that they who should escape to shore might
have a chance of finding arms there. There was a reef of rocks

a-head, lying about four fathom under water; all their efforts to keep off were unavailing; the wind and tide carried them right on, when, just as they thought themselves driving upon the reef, one of the crew espied a harbour, and they got safely in. A boat which saw them entering, immediately made off and got out of sight behind an island; but they, without pursuing it, dropt anchor, and gave thanks to God for their merciful deliverance. In the evening a party of natives boarded, who could not make themselves understood, but returned well pleased with a few knives and fishing hooks. Another boat came off soon afterwards with two Portugueze. These men told them their Pilot must be wonderfully skilful to enter that port in such weather, . . well acquainted as they were with the place, they durst not have attempted it. They were inhabitants of St. Vicente, which was eighteen leagues distant, and this harbour was called Suprawai; the reason why they had fled in the morning on seeing the ship, was because they supposed her to be French. The Spaniards then enquired how far they were from the Island of St. Catalina, or Catharine, which they meant to make for, that being their appointed place of rendezvous. It lay thirty leagues South, and they were warned to beware of the Carios there. The natives here were Tupiniquins, from whom they had nothing to apprehend.

CHAP.
VII.
1549.

*H. Stude
in De Bry.
p. 2. c. 6. 7.*

For St. Catalina therefore they made sail; they overshot it, being ignorant of the coast, were driven back by a gale from the South, and when the wind abated, could not find the port which they had left. They found however another delightful harbour, where they anchored, and the Captain went in the boat to explore it. The river widened as the boat advanced; they looked round in hope of seeing smoke, but in vain; at length they perceived some huts in a solitary valley between the hills; they went up to them and found them deserted and in ruins. By this

*They reach
St. Catalina.*

CHAP. time night was coming on; there was an island in the river, and
 VII. having ascertained as well as they could that it was uninhabited,
 1549. they landed, kindled a fire, cut down a mountain cabbage-tree¹,
 supt upon its top, and past the night there. In the morning
 they renewed their search: one of the party fancied he saw a
 cross upon a rock; others thought this impossible; they drew
 nearer to see, and there they found a large wooden cross firmly
 built into the crag, with half the head of a barrel suspended from
 it, bearing an inscription which appeared to be illegible. How-
 ever they took it with them, and as they went on one of the crew
 continued to pore over it, till letter by letter he made out these
 words, *Si ven por ventura aqui la armada de su Majestad, tiren
 un tiro y averan recado. . .* "If his Majesty's ships should come
 here, let them fire a gun and they shall know more." Back they
 went to the cross and fired off a falconet, then got into their boat
 again. Presently five canoes full of savages were seen making
 towards them, and they pointed their guns in apprehension of
 an attack. As the canoes drew nearer, they distinguished a
 man among the Indians who was cloathed and had a beard,
 by which they knew him to be a Christian, and called out to
 him to stop. He then advanced in his canoe. Their first
 question was, where were they? Schirmirein, he replied, was
 the native name of the port, but they who discovered it called it St.
 Catalina. They then gave thanks to God for having found the
 place which they sought, confidently believing that it was in
 consequence of their prayers, because it happened to be St. Ca-
 tharine's day. This man had been sent from Asumpcion three

Stade. p. 2.
 4. 8. 9.

¹ The cabbage-tree, and all of its kind, would probably have been extirpated if it had not been so laborious to cut it down. It was the hard work of half a day for a man with an axe to get the tree down and cut off its head.

Pedro de Cieça. ff. 19.

years ago to live here with the Carios, and persuade them to cultivate mandioc, that when Spanish ships bound for the Plata touched here they might find provisions; another instance this of Yrala's wisdom.

CHAP.
VII.
1552.

Hans was now sent in one of the canoes to bring the vessel up. When the sailors saw him among the savages they called out to know where his comrades were, and why he came without them. To these questions he gave no reply, the Captain having told him to put on a sorrowful countenance that he might see how the ship's company would act. They cried out that beyond a doubt the rest had been slain, and this was a device to decoy them, and they ran to arms. Hans then laughed at the success of his stratagem, got on board, and sent the canoe back. He carried the ship in, and here they waited for the other two vessels. The name of this settlement of the Carios was Acutia; the Spaniard who lived with them, and who may be considered as the first settler in St. Catalina, was Juan Hernandez of Bilbao. Here they procured fish and mandioc flour in abundance, for which they bartered fishing-hooks.

*Stade. p. 2.
c. 10.*

The ship with Senabria on board, arrived three weeks after them; the other was never heard of. They took in stores for six months, but just when they were about to proceed on their voyage the store-ship was wrecked in the port. The Carios supplied them well with food till they were sufficiently rich in hooks, knives, and other such real treasures, then they migrated, and left the Spaniards to support themselves upon shell-fish, lizards, dormice, and whatever they could catch. After having struggled two years with these difficulties, they came to a resolution, which might as well have been taken at first, that the greater part of them should march overland to Asumpcion, and the rest follow them in the remaining vessel. The land party set out, and all who did not die on the way of hunger, reached the place

*One of the
ships wreck-
ed.*

CHAP. of destination; . . when the other party came to embark it was
 VII. found that the ship was not capable of carrying them. What
 1552. was to be done? St. Vicente was about seventy leagues off;
 thither they determined to send and procure a larger ship, in
 which they might all proceed to the Plata. None of the party
 knew the navigation; one Roman however thought he could
 pilot them.

*Stade, p. 2,
c. 11. 12.*

*They send to
St. Vicente,
and the ship
is lost.*

Hans was one of the crew. On the second day they came to the Ilha dos Alcatrazes, where contrary winds compelled them to anchor. They found fresh water here, deserted houses, and broken pottery; knocked down as many as they pleased of the poor birds from whom the island took its name, and feasted upon them and their eggs after their long famine. But when the feast was over, a gale from the South arose, and they put off in imminent danger. At day-break they were out of sight of the island; other land soon appeared; Roman thought it was St. Vicente, and they made towards it; but it was so thick with mist and clouds that it was impossible to ascertain whether this was the place which they were seeking. Meantime the gale continued, . . the sea ran tremendously high, . . when we were on the top of a wave, says Hans, it seemed as if there were a precipice under us, and the ship laboured so much, that they threw overboard whatever they could to lighten her, still holding on in hopes of hitting the port. The clouds cleared and Roman affirmed it was in sight, but that they were going straight upon the rocks which lay before it. There was no port; but concerning the inevitable destruction of the ship he was not mistaken. The wind drove her right upon shore, and nothing was left then but to commit themselves to the mercy of God. At the first shock she went to pieces. Some of the crew leapt into the water, others clung to pieces of the wreck, and all got safe to land.

*Stade, p. 2,
c. 12.*

Here they were, wet, shivering, without food, without fire, without the means of procuring either, not knowing where they were, and in dread of the Savages. A lucky Frenchman, who was of the party, took a run to warm himself, and saw something through the woods which looked like Christian houses; such a sight made him run the faster. It proved to be a Portuguese settlement called Itanhaem². As soon as the inhabitants heard his story they went to the sufferers, brought them in, and gave them clothes and food. They were on the main land, two miles only from St. Vicente; there they went as soon as they had recovered strength, and there they were received as men ought to be in such circumstances, and supported at the public expence while they looked about them to find some means of supporting themselves. The remainder of the party, who were waiting at St. Catalina, were sent for.

There were at this time two fortified settlements upon the Isle of St. Vicente, and several sugar works. The Tupiniquins³, who inhabited the neighbouring coast, were in alliance with the Portuguese, but this friendly tribe were at war with the Carios on the South, and with the Tupinambas on the North; and these last were active and dreadful enemies, not only to them but to the Portuguese also. There is an island called Bertioga, about five miles from St. Vicente, half way between the main land and St. Amaro. This was the place where the Tupinambas used to rendezvous before they made their attack; five brethren, the sons of Diogo de Braga and of a Brazilian woman, determined therefore to secure it, and they and their native friends made a set-

CHAP.
VII.
1552.

*They escape
to shore near
S. Vicente*

*Stade.
p. 2. c. 13.*

*State of St.
Vicente.*

² If Fray Gaspar da Madre de Deos had perused these Travels he would have seen that there was a settlement at this place in 1555, .. which he denies.

³ It seems that the Goaynazes had left the country.

CHAP.
VII.
1552.

*Settlement
formed at
Bertioga.*

*Stude.
p. 2. c. 14.
p. 3. c. 15.*

*A fort built
at Bertioga,*

*and also at
St. Amaro,*

*Hans ap-
pointed
gunner.*

*Stude. p. 3.
c. 15. 16.*

tlement there, about two years before Hans was shipwrecked, which they fortified after the manner of the natives. These brethren had learnt both languages in their infancy, and were perfectly well acquainted with every thing relating to the natives, which, as they considered themselves to be Portugueze, made them excellent subjects for the colony. A few colonists, when they saw a settlement formed here, removed to it, for the situation had many advantages. It could however have none sufficient to counterbalance the evil of its vicinity to the Tupinambas, whose borders were little more than a league distant.

One morning before day-break (as usual in their expeditions) seventy canoes of these savages attacked the place. The five brethren and the other Christians, who were about eight in number, defended themselves successfully in a mud house. The Tupiniquins were not so fortunate; they fought bravely as long as their strength lasted, but were overpowered. The conquerors set fire to the houses, devoured their prisoners upon the spot, and returned in triumph. Bertioga had been found of too much use to be quietly resigned; the Portugueze rebuilt it, and fortified it better. They now became too confident in the protection which it afforded them, . . . and it was found necessary to secure St. Amaro also, which lay opposite, by the water-side. A fort was begun, but it had been left unfinished, because nobody would venture to undertake the post of gunner, who was the commander in these little forts. The settlers seeing that Hans was a German, and knew something of gunnery, prest him to take the situation, offering a good salary, and promising the royal favour; for the King, they said, never failed to requite those who were useful in these colonies. Hans agreed to take charge of it for four months, by which time Thome de Sousa, the first Governor-General of Brazil, was expected to arrive. For this post had been deemed so essential to the security of these establishments,

that application had been made to the Court concerning it, and it was understood that when the Governor arrived a stone fortress was to be erected there.

CHAP.
VII.
1552.

It was a service of no little danger to defend half-finished works of mud and timber, with only two comrades. The Savages made some attempts to surprize them by night. They however kept good watch; the Governor came, inspected the place, approved the situation, and gave the expected orders for erecting a stone fort. Hans would now have given up his situation, the term for which he had engaged having expired; the Governor requested him to retain it, the neighbouring settlers urged him also, and he engaged anew for two years, receiving a written assurance from the Governor, which the Gunners in the King's service were entitled to demand, that at the end of that time he should be permitted to return in the first ship to Portugal, and receive the price of his services. It was necessary to be especially vigilant twice in the year. In August the fish, which the natives called *Bratti*, and the Portuguese *Lysses*, ascended the rivers; the Savages then laid in store of them, which they dried over a fire, and preserved either whole or in powder. Just before this time, when their stock began to grow short, they were accustomed to attack their neighbours for the sake of plundering their provisions. The danger was still greater in November, when the fruit of the *auati** ripens, from which they make one of their intoxicating liquors. This was the carnival of the Brazilian Savages, and always when it was near they made an expedition to procure prisoners for the feast.

Stade.
p. 3. c. 17.

Hans had a German friend settled at St. Vicente as overseer of

He is caught
by the Tu-
pinambas.

* Probably the Acayaba of Piso and Marcgraff, which bears the *acajou*, or cashew nut.

CHAP. VII. 1552. some sugar-works, which belonged to Giuseppe Adorno^s, a Genoese. His name was Heliodorus, and he was son of Eoban, a German Poet of great celebrity in his day; he was from the same country as Hans, and had received him into his house after the shipwreck, with that brotherly kindness which every man feels for a countryman when they meet in so remote a land. This Heliodorus came with another friend to visit Hans in his Castle. There was no other market where he could send for food to regale them except the woods, but this was well stocked. The wild boars were the finest in the whole country, and they were so numerous that the inhabitants killed them for their skins, of which they made a leather that was preferred to cow-hides for boots and chair bottoms. He had a Cario slave who used to hunt for him, and whom he never feared to accompany to the chase; him he sent into the woods to kill game, and went out to meet him the next day, and see what success he had had. The war whoop was set up, and in an instant he was surrounded by the Tupinambas. He gave himself up for lost, and exclaimed, Into thy hands O Lord do I commit my spirit. The prayer was hardly ended before he was knocked down; blows and arrows fell upon him from all sides; but he received only one wound, in the thigh.

Stade.
p. 4. c. 18.

Their first business was to strip him; hat, cloak, jerkin, shirt, were presently torn away, every one seizing what he could get. To this part of the prize possession was sufficient title; but

^s Ornio, he writes the name. Three brothers of the Adornos were among the first settlers here. One removed to Bahia, and married a daughter of Caramuru. Giuseppe lived to be more than a hundred, . . the story which S. Vasconcellos tells, (*C. da Comp. L. 1. §. 76.*) is known to relate to him. The descendants of these brothers are very numerous. *Gaspar da M. de Deos. P. 52.*

Hans's body, or carcass, as they considered it, was a thing of more consequence. A dispute arose who had first laid hands on him, and they who bore no part in it amused themselves by beating the prisoner with their bows. It was settled that he belonged to two brethren; then they lifted him up and carried him off as fast as possible towards their canoes, which were drawn ashore, and concealed in the thicket. A large party who had been left in guard advanced to meet their triumphant fellows, showing Hans their teeth, and biting their arms to let him see what he was to expect. The Chief of the party went before him, wielding the *Iwara Pemme*, the club with which they slaughter their prisoners, and crying out to him, Now *Pero* (as they called the Portuguese) thou art a most vile slave! now thou art in our hands! now thou shalt pay for our countrymen whom thou hast slain! They then tied his hands; but another dispute arose, what should be done with him. The captors were not all from the same dwelling place; no other prisoner had been taken, and they who were to return home without one, exclaimed against giving him to the two brethren, and were for killing him at once. Poor Hans had lived long enough in Brazil to understand all that was said, and all that was to be done; he fervently said his prayers, and kept his eye upon the slaughter-club. The Chief of the party settled the dispute by saying, We will carry him home alive, that our wives may rejoice over him, and he shall be made a *Kaawy-pepiké*; that is, he was to be killed at the great drinking feast. Then they tied four cords round his neck, fastened them to the ends and sides of a canoe, and pushed off.

Stade.
p. 4. c. 18.

There was a little island near, in which the sea fowl called *Goarazes* bred. The down of the young bird is of the grey

Vida de
Anchieta.
4. 18. § 5.

* As we say, a Michaelmas Goose, or Christmas Ox.

CHAP.
 VII.
 1552.

colour of ashes ; their feathers for the first year are brown, then they become of a bright and glowing red. These red feathers were the favourite ornament of all the savage tribes. They enquired of their prisoner whether the Tupiniquins had been that season to take the brooding birds, and though he assured them that they had, they made towards the island. Before they reached it they saw canoes coming in pursuit of them. The slave of Hans, who had seen his master taken, fled and gave the alarm, and the Tupiniquins, and a few Portuguese with them, were hastening to his assistance. They called out to the Tupinambas to stop and fight, if they were men. Provoked at this defiance they turned, loosened their prisoner's hands, and giving him powder and ball, which they had got from the French, made him load his own gun and fire at his friends ; the ropes round his neck prevented him from leaping overboard. They soon however perceived their own rashness, and fearing that other forces would speedily come against them, made off. As they past within falcon-shot of Bertioaga two shot were discharged at them, which just fell short ; boats were put out from thence, but the Tupinambas pulled for their lives and outstripped them.

Stade.
 p. 4. c. 19.

About seven miles beyond Bertioaga they landed upon an island where they meant to sleep. Hans's face was so swoln with the blows which he had received that he could not see, and he could not stand because of the wound in his thigh ; so he lay on the ground, and they stood round, telling him how they would eat him. Being in this condition, says he, I began to think, which I had never done sufficiently before, what a miserable life this is, and how full of changes and troubles! . . . and he began to sing the 130th Psalm, *de profundis*. Lo ! said they, now he is bewailing his unhappy fate. The place which they had chosen not being a convenient station, they removed to the main land to some deserted huts of their own, drew their canoes

ashore, and kindled a fire, to which they brought their prisoner. They laid him in a hammock, fastened the cords which were still kept round his neck, to a tree, and from time to time through the night informed him, in their mirth, that he was now their beast. The next day a storm arose, and they called upon him to pray that it might not destroy them. Hans obeyed, beseeching God to shew the savages that his prayers were heard, and presently he heard them say the clouds were passing off, .. for he was lying along in the canoe, and could not lift his head, so severely had he been bruised. This change of weather he willingly attributed to his prayers, and returned thanks for it. A second night was passed like the first, and they congratulated each other that on the morrow they should reach home : .. but I, says he, did not congratulate myself.

On the third evening they came to their town, which was called Uwattibi. It consisted of seven houses, .. a town seldom had more, but each house contained twenty or thirty families, who as they were generally related to each other, may not improperly be called a clan. They are about fourteen feet wide, and one hundred and fifty long, more or less, according to the number of the clan. Each family has its own birth and its own fire, but there are no partitions whatsoever between them. The usual height of the roof is about twelve feet ; it is convex, and well thatched with palms. These houses are built to inclose an area, in which they slaughter their prisoners : to each house there are three low doors, all towards the area. The town is surrounded first with a close palisado, in which loopholes are left for their arrows ; this palisado is so constructed as to form alternately two sides of a triangle and three of a square ; and without this is a circular one of high, strong stakes, not so closely set as the inner, neither far enough apart to leave room for passing through. At the entrance they set up a few heads

CHAP.

VII.

1552.

CHAP. of those whom they had devoured, stuck upon spikes upon these
 VII. pales.

1552.

*Ceremonies
 used with
 the prisoner.*

When the canoes arrived the women were digging mandioc. The captors made Hans cry out to them in Brazilian, Here I am, come to be your meat! Out came the whole population, old men, children and all. Hans was delivered over to the women, who were if possible more cruel than the men on these occasions. They beat him with their fists, they pulled his beard, naming at every pluck and at every blow, some one of their friends who had been slain, and saying it was given for his sake. The children also were suffered to torment him at their pleasure; and all expressed their joy to him at the thoughts of the feast they were to have. The men meantime regaled themselves with potations of *kaawy*. They brought out the rattles which they regard as oracles, and thanked them for having truly said that they should return with prey. This lasted for about half an hour, during which time Hans was at the mercy of the women and children. The two brethren Yeppipo Wasu and Alkindar Miri, to whom he had been adjudged, then came and stated to him that their uncle Ipperu Wasu last year had given Alkindar a prisoner to kill, in order that he might have the glory of making a feast; but it was with this condition, that Alkindar should repay him with the first prisoner whom he took. He was the first, and therefore the glory of making a feast of him was to be Ipperu Wasu's. Having explained this matter to him, they added that the girls would now come and lead him out to *Aprasse*. What *Aprasse* was he did not know, but this he knew, that it could be nothing good.

The young women came, and led him by the cords which were still round his neck, into the area: the men went their way, and all the women of the settlement gathered round him. He had been stript naked at the time of his capture; they handled him

till they had satisfied their curiosity; then some took him up in their arms while others pulled the ropes, till he was nearly strangled. Then, says he, I thought what our Lord had suffered from the perfidious Jews, and that gave me strength and resignation. They carried him to the house of their Chief, Uratinge Wasu, the Great White Bird; a little hillock of earth had just been raised at the entrance, upon which they seated him, holding him lest he should fall. This he expected was the place of death, . . . he looked round to see if the slaughter-club was ready, and asked if he was to die now. Not yet, they told him. A woman then approached with a piece of broken glass set in a stick, with which instrument she scraped off his eye-brows, and began to perform the same operation upon his beard, but Hans resisted this, and declared that he would die with his beard. They did not persist now, but some days afterwards sheared it off with a pair of French scissars.

CHAP.
VII.
1552.

Stade.
p. 4. c. 22.

Then they led him before the door of the tabernacle wherein the Maraca, or rattles of divination, were kept; they fastened a string of little rattles round each leg, and placed upon his head a square coronal of straight feathers. Two women stood on each side of him, the rest made a circle round, and bade him dance to their singing. He could scarcely stand for the pain of his wound, nevertheless dance he must, and keep time in his steps, that the anklets might rattle-in in tune. This dance was the *Aprasse*, . . . it seems to have been a religious ceremony in honour of the Maraca. After it was performed he was delivered into the hands of Ipperu Wasu, in payment for the prisoner with which that Chief had accommodated his nephew. From him Hans learned that he had yet some time to live.

Stade. p. 4.
c. 23. 24.

All the Maraca were now brought out. This familiar oracle of the Brazilian Savages is made of a fruit so called, which resembles a gourd, and is capable of containing about three pints

The Ma-
raca.

CHAP. VII.
 1552.

in its cavity. This is fixed upon a handle; human hair is sometimes fastened on the top, and a slit is cut in it to represent a mouth, through which their jugglers, whom they call *Payes*, make it utter its responses. A few pebbles are inserted to make it rattle, and it is crowned with the red feathers of the Goaraz. Every man had his Maraca. They were now all produced; Hans was set in the midst of them, and the captors addressed them, saying, their prediction had been verified; it had promised them a Portugueze prisoner, and lo! they had brought one home. Upon this Hans spake up, and denied that the prediction could be verified in him. The Maraca, he said, lied if it called him a Portugueze; he was a German, and the Germans were friends and allies of the French. The Tupinambas calmly replied, it was he who was the liar, for if he was the friend and ally of the French, how came he to live among the Portugueze? We know, said they, that the French are as much the enemies of the Portugueze as we are; they come to us every year, and bring us knives, scissars, axes, combs, and looking-glasses, for which we give them wood, cotton, pepper, and feathers. The Portugueze are a very different people. When they came first to the country they went to our enemies, and made alliance with them, and built towns among them, wherein they still reside; afterwards they came in ships to us, to trade with us as the French do now, and when our people, suspecting no danger, went on board as guests, they seized them, carried them away, and gave them to our enemies to be devoured. Many of our brethren have since been killed by their bullets, and we suffer great injuries from them. The two brethren then told him that their father's arm had been carried away by a ball, of which wound he died, and that death was now to be avenged upon him. Hans protested again; there could be no reason, he said, to revenge it upon him; he was not a Portugueze, but

*Sim. de Vasc.
 Chr. da
 Comp.
 Not Ant.
 2. § 16.*

*He pleads
 that he is not
 a Portu-
 guenze.*

having been shipwrecked in a Castilian vessel, was by that means cast among them. The Tupinambas were not without some sense of justice. There was a lad among them who had once been taken by the Tupiniquins; they had surprized a settlement and captured all its inhabitants; all who were grown up were eaten; the children were made slaves, and this boy had belonged to a Gallego at Bertioga. He knew Hans, and they called upon him to give evidence concerning him. The lad said a ship had been wrecked there belonging to the Castilians, who were friends to the Portugueze, and this prisoner was in the ship; but this was all he knew. Hans, when they began to enquire into the truth of his demurrer, saw some hope of escaping. He knew there were some French interpreters in the country, left there to collect pepper for the traders; he repeated, that he was the friend and brother of the French, and protested against being eaten before he could be seen by some of that nation and acknowledged by them. This was thought reasonable, and he was carefully watched till an opportunity should occur of submitting him to this proof.

CHAP.
VII.
1552.

*Stade. p. 4.
c. 24. 25.*

It was not long before one of these interpreters came to Uwattibi; the Savages hastened to their prisoner; . . . a Frenchman is come, they cried, and now we shall see whether thou art French or not. Great was his joy at hearing this. I thought, says he, the man was a Christian, and that it was not possible he could speak against me. He was led to him, the Cannibals stood round, and the Interpreter, who was a young Norman, addressed him in French. Hans's reply made it plain that he was no Frenchman; this the Tupinambas could not discover, but the wretch immediately said to them in their own language, Kill the rascal and eat him: he is a Portugueze, as much our enemy as yours. Hans besought him for the love of God to have compassion and save him from being devoured, but the Frenchman replied, that eaten he should be. Then, said he, I called to

The interpreter pronounces him a Portugueze.

CHAP. mind the words of the prophet Jeremiah, Cursed is he who
 VII. putteth his trust in man. He had a linen cloth over his shoulders
 1552. which the Savages had given him, being his only covering; in his
 agony he cast it off at the feet of the Frenchman, and exclaimed,
 If I am to die why should I preserve this flesh of mine to be food
 for them! They led him back, and he threw himself into his
 hammock. I call God to witness, says he, what my pain was
 and with a sorrowful voice I began to sing a hymn⁷. Truly, said
 the Savages, he is a Portuguese, for he is howling with the fear
 of death. That he was to die was determined, and every thing
 was made ready for the ceremony.

Stade.
p. 4. c. 26.

While, says Hans, I lived in this misery, I experienced the
 truth of the saying, that misfortunes never come alone. The
 new misfortune which occasioned this reflection, was a grievous
 tooth-ach, so grievous as to emaciate him, by his own account;
 but fear and suffering would have done that without the
 tooth-ach. His master observed with concern that he did not
 eat, and when he learnt the cause, produced a wooden instru-
 ment with which he would have knocked⁸ the tooth out; Hans
 cried out the pain was gone; a struggle ensued, and he suc-
 ceeded in resisting the operation. His master however kindly
 admonished him to eat, telling him that if he continued to lose
 flesh instead of fattening properly, he must be killed before the
 appointed time.

Stade.
p. 4. c. 27.

⁷ Sanctum precemur Spiritum
 Verâ beare nos fide,
 Ut nos in hac reservet,
 In fine nempe vitæ
 Hinc quando commigramus
 Doloribus soluti.
 Kyrie eleison!

⁸ It is said in the *Noticias MSS.* (2. 51.) that the teeth of these people were not liable to decay. But the readiness with which tooth-drawing was recommended in this instance, certainly implies a knowledge of tooth-ache.

After some days had elapsed, Hans was sent for by Konyan Bebe, the Chief of the whole Tribe, who was then at a town called Arirab. When he drew nigh there was a great noise of horns and rejoicings, and fifteen heads of the Margaias whom they had lately eaten, and which were fixed upon stakes at the entrance, were significantly pointed out to him. One of his guards went before him into the house of the Chief, crying out, We have brought your Portugueze slave that you may behold him. He and his companions were drinking, and were heated with their drink; they looked sternly at Hans, and said, O enemy, thou art here! He made answer, I am here, but not an enemy; and they gave him of their liquor.

CHAP.
VII.
1552.

*Konyan
Bebe the
Tupinambá
Chief.*

*Stade.
p. 4. c. 28.*

Hans had heard of this Chief, who was famous in his day and a cruel cannibal. He addressed himself to the one whom he judged to be him by his large necklace of shells, and asked if he was not the great Konyan Bebe? Being answered that he was, he began to praise him as well as he could, telling him how greatly his name was celebrated, and how worthy his exploits were of all praise. A woman could not have been more delighted with flattery. The Savage rose, swelling with pleasure, and strutted before him to display himself. When he returned to his place he asked what the Tupiniquins and Portugueze were designing against him, and why Hans had fired at him from the fortress, for he knew that he had been the gunner. Hans replied, that the Portugueze had stationed him there and ordered him to do his office; but the Chief replied, that he was a Portugueze himself, and witnessed his son the Frenchman, as he called him, saying the truth was manifest, for he did not understand French. Hans admitted this, and alledged that he had forgotten it from long disuse. I have eaten five Portugueze, said Konyan Bebe, and they all said they were Frenchmen. Presently he asked what sort of man the Portugueze thought him, and if they stood in

CHAP. VII. 1552. fear of him. Hans answered they had good reason to know what sort of man he was by what they had suffered, but Bertioga was now made a strong place. Ah, they said, they would lie in wait in the woods, and catch others as they had caught him. Hans then told him that the Tupiniquins were soon coming to attack him with five and twenty canoes. He did not scruple at this sort of treachery, in hopes of winning favour by it, and saving his life. By this time all the *kaawy* in that house was exhausted, the drinkers therefore removed to another, and he was told to follow; the son of Konyan Bebe tied his legs together, and he was made to jump, while they laughed and shouted, See our meat is jumping. He turned to Ipperu Wasu, and asked him if this was the place where he was to die. No, his master replied; but these things were always done with foreign slaves. Having seen him dance, they now ordered him to sing; he sung a hymn; they bade him interpret it; and he said it was in praise of God: they then reviled his God: their blasphemies shocked him, and he admired in his heart the wonderful indulgence and long suffering of God towards them. The next day, as the whole town had had a full sight of him, he was dismissed. Konyan Bebe enjoined his captors to watch him well, and they pursued him with fresh mockery as he departed, saying, they should soon come to visit his master and settle every thing for the feast. But his master took great pains to comfort him, and assured him the time was not yet near.

Stade.
p. 4. c. 28.

The Tupiniquins made their expedition, and Uwattibi happened to be the place which they attacked. Hans besought his captors to let him loose, and give him bow and arrows, and they should see how he would fight for them, though they believed him to be their enemy. This he did in hopes that he should be able to break through the palisade and escape to his friends. They let him fight, but watched him too narrowly for him to effect

this: the invaders failing to win the place by surprise, and being vigorously resisted, took to their canoes and retired. Poor Hans had been frustrated in his hope, and met with no thanks for his services. They led him back to his place of confinement as soon as the assault was over; and in the evening brought him out into the area, formed a circle round him, and fixed the time for killing him, insulting him as usual with their cannibal expressions of joy. The moon was up, and fixing his eyes upon her, he silently besought God to vouchsafe him a happy termination of these sufferings. Yeppipo Wasu, who was one of the Chiefs of the horde, and as such had convoked the meeting, seeing how earnestly he kept gazing upwards, asked him what he was looking at. Hans had ceased from praying, and was observing the Man in the Moon, and fancying that he looked angry; his mind was broken down by continual terror, and he says it seemed to him at that moment as if he were hated by God, and by all things which God had created. The question only half roused him from this phantasy, and he answered, it was plain that the moon was angry. The Savage asked who she was angry with, and then Hans, as if he had recollected himself, replied that she was looking at his dwelling. This enraged him, and Hans found it prudent to say that perhaps her eyes were turned so wrathfully upon the Carios, in which opinion the Chief assented, and wished she might destroy them all.

News came the next morning that the Tupiniquins had burnt the settlement of Mambukabe, which had been deserted at their approach. Yeppipo Wasu prepared to go with the greater part of his clan and assist the inhabitants in rebuilding it: he charged Ipperu Wasu to look well to the prisoner, and said he would bring back potters clay and mandioc flour for the feast. During his absence a vessel from Bertioga arrived, anchored off the coast, and fired a gun. The Tupiniquins had seen Hans in the battle,

CHAP.
VII.
1552.

Stade. p. 4.
c. 29. 30.

CHAP. and given intelligence where he was, and this ship was sent to
 VII. obtain his release if it were possible. See, said the captors, thy
 1552. friends the Portugueze are come to look for thee, and offer a
 ransom. He replied, perhaps his brother was come, who lived
 with the Portugueze as he had done; and this he said to remove
 their persuasion that he was a Portugueze himself. A party
 went off to the ship, and answered their enquiries in such a
 manner that the master returned, concluding he had already
 been devoured. Hans saw her sail away, while the cannibals
 rejoiced over him, exclaiming, We have him! we have him!
 he is what we would have him to be! they have sent ships to
 look after him!

Stade.
 p. 4. c. 32.

And now the party from Mambukabe were daily expected to return. Hans heard a howl in Yeppipo Wasu's house; it is the custom of the Brazilian Savages, when their friends return after a few days absence, to welcome them with tears and cries; he therefore thought they were arrived, that the feast was now to be made ready, and that his death would no longer be delayed. Presently he was told that one of the Chief's brothers was returned alone, and all the rest were lying sick; at which he rejoiced in secret, hoping that God would miraculously deliver him. This man soon made his appearance, sate down beside him, and began to lament for his brother and family, all of whom, he said, were stricken with sickness, and he was come to request him to pray for them, for Yeppipo believed that his God had done this in anger. Hans made answer, his God was indeed angry, because they meant to eat him, who was not their enemy, and not a Portugueze: he promised however to do his best in prayer if the Chief would return to his own house. The brother replied, he was too ill to return, but that he knew Hans could cure him if he would but pray. Hans answered, if he had strength enough to come home he would cure him there. Ac-

cordingly home they all came. Yeppipo called for Hans and said to him, You told me that the moon looked angrily upon my house, and now behold we are all stricken with sickness. Your God has done this in his wrath. Hans had forgotten the conversation about the moon; being thus reminded of it, he himself believed it to have been prophetic, and replied, that God was angry because they meant to eat one who was not their enemy. The Chief protested that he should not be eaten if he would but heal them. In these protestations Hans had but little confidence: the return of that cannibal's appetite was to be dreaded, but his death not less so, for the rest of the settlement would suppose he had occasioned it, and probably kill him lest he should bring upon them further evil. He therefore, as they desired, tried what the imposition of hands would do for the sick, not without some faith himself in the application. A child died first; then Yeppipo's mother, an old woman who had been making drinking-pots at Mambukabe to be used at the feast; two of his brothers died; another of his children, and in all eight of his family. Instead of shaking his faith in Hans this only made him more urgent with him to save him and his wife. Hans told him there might be some hope if he were truly determined on no account to suffer him to be eaten, but otherwise there was none. The sick Savage protested he had not the slightest intention of eating him, and called the clan together and forbade them ever to threaten him with death, or even to think of killing him. This contagion had made Hans a dreadful personage: one of the Chiefs saw him menacing him in a dream, and came to him in the morning, faithfully promising, if he would be pleased to spare him, that he would never be the occasion of his death, and, even if he were killed, that he would not eat a bit of him. Another, who had never thoroughly recovered a surfeit from the last Portugueze whom he had eaten,

CHAP. dreamt of him also, and in like manner came and implored him
 VII. not to be his destroyer. The very old women who had torment-
 1552. ed him like fiends, now called him son, and begged his favour.
 They said that all the harm which they had done or intended
 to do to him, was in mistake, because they supposed him to be a
 Portugueze, and they hated that people. But they had eaten
 many of them, and their God was never angry with them for
 so doing. The beard which Hans had been so unwilling to part
 with now also appeared as good evidence in his favour: it was
 red like a Frenchman's, and they observed that the beards of the
 Portugueze were black. This was a happy sickness for him.
 Yeppipo and his wife recovered; there was no longer any talk
 of the feast, but he was still strictly guarded.

*Stade p. 4,
 c. 33—35.*

After some time the French Interpreter came again to Uwatibi; he had been collecting pepper and feathers, and was now on his way to the port where the ships were to meet him. Hans told him his plain story, and besought him to tell the Savages what he truly was, and to take him with him to the ships; and he adjured him, if he had in him any spark of Christian humanity, or any hope of salvation, not to be guilty of his death. The man replied, that he had really taken him for one of the Portugueze, and those people were so cruel that they hung every Frenchman whom they took in the country. He now, however, said to the Tupinambas that he had been mistaken, that their prisoner was a German and a friend of the French, and proposed to take him in his company. Their gratitude did not extend so far. No, they replied, he was their slave notwithstanding, for they had caught him among the Portugueze. Let his father or his brethren come for him in a ship, with hatchets, knives, scissars, combs, and looking-glasses, to ransom him like their child or brother, and then he should go. The Frenchman told them this should be done, and promised Hans to be his friend when the

ships arrived. When the Interpreter was gone Alkindar asked if that man was his countryman, and being answered that he was, Why then, said he, did he not give you a knife, or something of that kind, which you might have presented to me? The wholesome effects of the contagion seemed to be wearing away. His mistress said that the Anhanga, or Evil Spirit, came to her in the night and asked where the slaughter-club was? where had they hidden it? There were some who murmured about him, and said, that whether Portugueze or French, the meat was the same.

The inhabitants of Tickquarippe^o, which was at some little distance, were about to kill a Margaia slave; a party from Uwattibi went to the feast, and took Hans with them. He went to the prisoner the evening before the slaughter, and observed to him, that his time was nearly come. The man smiled, and said Yes, every thing was ready except the Mussarana, . . . the cotton rope which was to be fastened round his waist; but the Mussaranas here, he said, were nothing like what they were in his country. And he spake of what was to be done to-morrow, as if it were a festival of which he was to be a partaker. Hans left him, and sate down to read a Portugueze book; the Savages got it from a prize taken by the French, and had given it him: but unable to drive away the thoughts of this Margaia, and not perhaps quite satisfied with himself for what he had said to him; he returned, and said, Do not think, friend, that I am come hither to devour you, for I also am a prisoner, and my masters have brought me here; and he endeavoured to give him the best comfort by saying, that though his body would be eaten his soul would enter into a better world, and there be happy. The Savage enquired if this was true, and remarked that he had never seen

CHAP.
VII.
1552.

Stade. p. 4.
c. 36.

^o Iguarippe?

CHAP. God ; That, said Hans, you will do in another life. A storm
 VII. arose in the night. The Savages cried out it was that wicked
 1552. Conjurer's doing to save the prisoner, because the Margaias and
 the Portugueze were friends : We saw him yesterday, said they,
 turning over the skins of thunder, . . by which they meant the
 leaves of the book. Luckily for him it cleared in the morning,
 and the feast was performed without interruption.

*Stade. p. 4.
 c. 37.*

As Hans and his master were returning by water, the
 wind was violently against them, and the rain incessant,
 and they called upon him to give them fair weather. There
 was a boy in the canoe who had carried off a bone from the
 feast and was now picking it ; he bade him throw it away ; but
 at this they all cried out that it was a dainty. The weather
 continued wet and stormy, so that having been three days on
 their way, though it was only a day's distance, they were obliged
 at last to haul their canoes ashore, and go the remainder of the
 way by land. Every one took what food he had before they
 began their march, and the boy finished his bone, and having
 well polished it, cast it from him. The clouds dispersed as they
 proceeded, and Hans then asked them if he had not spoken truly
 when he affirmed that God was angry with that boy for eating
 human flesh ? But, they replied, there would have been no evil
 consequences if he had not seen him eating it. They looked
 upon him as the immediate cause, and looked no further.

*Stade. p. 4.
 c. 38.*

*Mode of
 trading
 during war.*

When he had remained five months in this miserable captivity
 another vessel came from St. Vicente, for the Portugueze and
 Tupinambas used to carry on trade and hostilities with each
 other at the same time. They wanted mandioc flour for the
 numerous slaves who were employed in their sugar-works ; when
 a ship was sent to procure this, a gun was fired on her arrival ;
 two Savages then put off towards her in a canoe, held up what
 they had to sell, and settled the price in knives, reaping-hooks,

or whatever else was on board for barter. Other canoes kept at a distance till the exchange was fairly compleated; as soon as that was done and the two brokers had returned, then they began to fight, . . . a barbarous, but convenient arrangement. When the two traders went off the Portugueze enquired if Hans was yet alive, and said that his brother was on board and had brought some goods for him. When Hans heard this he besought them to let him speak to his brother, saying that he would desire him to beg his father to send a ship for him, and goods for his ransom; the Portugueze, he affirmed, would not understand their conversation; . . . this he said because the Tupinambas had planned an expedition on the side of Bertioga for the ensuing August, and he feared they would suspect his intention of giving intelligence of it. They in their simplicity believed him, and carried him within stone's throw of the vessel. Hans cried out immediately that only one must speak to him, for he had said none but his brother could understand him. One of his friends took upon him this part, and told him they were sent to ransom him if they could, and if that proposal was rejected, to seize some of the Tupinambas, and so recover him by exchange. He begged them for God's sake not to attempt either means, but to say he was a Frenchman, and give him fishing-hooks and knives. This they readily did, and a canoe was sent to take them in. He then told them of the projected expedition, and they on their part informed him that their allies designed to attack Uwattibi again; and bade him be of good heart; he expressed himself thankful that his sins were to receive their punishment in this world rather than in the next, and implored their prayers for his deliverance. The parley was then broken off. Hans gave his masters the knives and fishing-hooks, and promised them more when the ship came for him, for he had told his brother how kindly they had treated him. They were of opinion that they

CHAP.

VII.

1552.

CHAP. had treated him with great kindness, but now they said, it was
 VII. plain he was a Frenchman of some worth, and was therefore
 1552. to be treated still better: so they permitted him to accompany
 them to the woods, and bear his part in their ordinary employ-
 ments.

*Stade. p. 4.
 c. 39.*

There was a Cario slave in the town, who having been a slave among the Portugueze, had fled to these Tupinambas, and lived three years with them, a longer time than Hans had been in Brazil; nevertheless from some strange hatred which he had conceived against him, he frequently urged his masters to kill him, declaring that he had oftentimes seen him fire at the Tupinambas, and that he was the person who had killed one of their Chiefs. This man fell sick, and Hans was desired to bleed him by his master, who promised him if he cured the patient, a share of all the game which he should kill, for his fee. Their instrument for bleeding is a sharp tooth, with which, not being used to it, Hans could not open a vein. They then said he was a lost man, and that there was nothing to be done but to kill him, lest he should die and so become uneatable. Shocked at this, Hans represented that the man might yet recover, .. but it availed not: they took him out of his hammock, two men supported him upright, for he was too ill to stand or to know what they were doing, and his master knocked out his brains. Hans then endeavoured to dissuade them from eating him, observing that the body was yellow with disease, and might produce pestilence: they threw away the head and intestines on this account, and devoured the rest. He did not fail to remark to them that this slave had never been ill since he came among them, till he had endeavoured to procure his death.

*Stade. p. 4.
 c. 40.*

*He swims off
 to a French
 boat, and the
 French re-
 fuse to take
 him in.*

The time of their expedition, for which they had been three months making preparations, was now at hand; he hoped they would leave him at home with the women, and then he had de-

terminated to fly. Before the time of their departure was come, a boat arrived from a French ship which was lying at Rio de Janeiro; it came to trade for pepper, monkeys, and parrots. One man who spake the language of the Tupinambas landed, and Hans intreated him to take him on board; but his masters would not permit him to go, for they were resolved to have a good ransom for him. He begged them then to go with him to the ship; this also they refused, observing that these people were no friends of his, for though they saw him naked they had not even given him a cloth to cover him. . . Oh, but his friends were in the ship, he said. . . The ship, they replied, would not sail till their expedition was over, and it would be time enough then to take him there. But when Hans saw the boat push off, his earnest wish to be at liberty overpowered him; he sprang forward, and ran towards it along the shore. The Savages pursued, some of them came up to him, he beat them off, outstript the rest, ran into the sea, and swam off to the boat. The Frenchmen refused to take him in, lest they should offend the Savages, and Hans, once more resigning himself to his evil destiny, was compelled to swim back. When the Tupinambas saw him returning they rejoiced, but he affected to be angry that they should have supposed he meant to run away, and said he only went to bid them tell his countrymen to prepare a present for them when they should go with him to the ship.

CHAP.
VII.
1552.

Stade. p. 4.
c. 41.

Ceremonies
before they
go to war.

Their hostile expeditions are preceded by many ceremonies. The old men of every settlement frequently addressed the young, and exhorted them to go to war. An old orator, either walking abroad, or sitting up in his hammock, would exclaim, What! is this the example which our fathers have left us, . . . that we should waste our days away at home! they who went out and fought and conquered, and slew and devoured! Shall we let the enemies who could not formerly stand in our sight, come

CHAP. now to our own doors, and bring the war home to us? . . . and
 VII. then clapping his shoulders and his hams, . . . no, no, Tupinambas!
 1552. let us go out, let us kill, let us eat! Such speeches were some-
 times continued for some hours, and were listened to with the
 deepest attention. Consultations were held in every town of the
 tribe concerning the place which they should attack, and the
 time was fixed for assembling and setting off.

De Lery.
c. 13.

Religious
ceremonies
of the Tupi-
nambas.

Div. Avis.
f. 39.

Once in the year the Payes visited every settlement. They sent notice of their coming, that the ways might be made clear before them. The women of the place which was to receive this visitation went two and two through every house, confessing aloud all the offences which they had committed against their husbands, and demanding forgiveness for them; and when the Payes arrived they were received with song and dance. They pretended that a Spirit which came to them from the remotest parts of the world, gave them power to make the Maraca answer questions and predict events. The house was cleared, the women and children excluded, and the men were then told to produce their Maracas, adorned with red feathers, that they might receive the faculty of speech. The Payes sat at the head of the room, and fixed their own in the ground before them; near these the others were fixed, and every man made a present to the jugglers, that his might not be forgotten. This essential part of the business being performed, they fumigated them with *petun* through a long cane; the Paye then took up one, put it to his mouth, and bade it speak; a shrill feeble voice then seemed to proceed from it, which the Savages believe to be the Voice of the Spirit, and the jugglers bade them go to war and conquer their enemies, for the Spirits who inhabit the Maracas delight to be satisfied with the flesh of prisoners. Every one then took up his oracle, called it his dear son, and carefully replaced it. The Savages from the Orinoco to the Plata have no other visible object of worship.

On some occasions there is a greater ceremony, at which Jean De Lery happened once to be present. He and two other Frenchmen went early in the morning to a town of the Tupinambas, thinking to breakfast there. They found all the inhabitants, in number about six hundred, collected in the area: the men went into one house, the women into another, the boys into a third; the Payes ordered the women not to come out, but carefully to listen to the singing, and they put the Frenchmen with them. Presently a sound was heard from the house into which the men had retired; they were singing *He-he-he-he*, which the women in like manner repeated: the singing was not in a loud key at first, but they continued it a full quarter of an hour, till it became one long and dreadful yell, jumping the whole while, their breasts shaking, and foaming at the mouth: some of them fell down senseless, and De Lery believed they were actually possessed. The boys were making the same hideous howling by themselves; and the three Frenchmen were, as they well might be, in grievous consternation, not knowing what the Devil might think proper to do next. After a short pause of silence, the men began to sing in the sweetest and most delightful tones; De Lery was so charmed that he resolved to go and look at them; and though the women endeavoured to prevent him, and a Norman interpreter said that during seven years which he had past among them he had never dared be present, he, relying upon his intimacy with some of the elders, went out and made a hole in the roof, through which he and his companions beheld the ceremony.

The men were disposed in three distinct circles, one close to another. Every one lent forward, the right arm resting on the small of the back, the left hanging down straight; they shook the right leg, and in this attitude they danced and sung; their singing was wonderfully sweet, and at intervals they stamped

CHAP. VII. with the right foot, and spat upon the ground. In the middle of each circle were three or four Payes, each holding a Maraca in one hand, and a pipe, or rather hollow cane, with *petun* in the other; they rattled the oracles, and blew the smoke upon the men, saying, Receive the spirit of courage, that ye may conquer your enemies. This continued two hours. The song commemorated their ancestors; they mourned for them, but expressed a hope, that when they also were gone beyond the mountains, they should then rejoice and dance with them; it then denounced vengeance upon their enemies, whom the Maraca had declared they should soon conquer and devour. The remainder of the song, if the Norman interpreter is to be credited, related a rude tradition of the deluge.

De Lory.
c. 15.

The authority of their Priests and Oracles was however to be confirmed by other modes of divination. They consulted certain of their women who had been gifted with the power of predicting future events. The mode of conferring this power was thus. The Paye fumigated the aspirant with *petun*, then bade her cry out as loud as she could, and jump, and after a while whirl round, still shouting, till she dropt down senselessly. When she recovered he affirmed that she had been dead and he had brought her back to life, and from that time she was a cunning woman. When these women also had promised victory, the last appeal was to their dreams. If many of the tribe dreamt of eating their enemies, it was a sure sign of success; but if more dreamt that they themselves were eaten the expedition was given up.

Their weapons.

About the middle of August Konyan Bebe set out with thirty canoes, each carrying about eight and twenty men; Hans was taken with them; they were going towards Bertioga, and meant to lie in wait and catch others, as they had caught him. Every one carried a rope girt round him, with which to bind the prisoners whom they should take. They were armed with a wooden

weapon, called the *Macana*; it was from five to six feet long; its head shaped like the bowl of a spoon, except that it was flat; this blade was about a foot wide in the widest part, about the thickness of the thumb in the middle, and brought to an edge all round: such an implement, made of the iron-wood of Brazil, was not less tremendous than a battle-axe; and they wielded it so skilfully, that De Lery remarks, a Tupinamba thus armed would give two swordsmen enough to do. Their bows were of the same wood, which was either red or black, longer and thicker than what were used in Europe, nor could any European bend them. They used a plant called *Tocon* for the string, which, though slender, was so strong that a horse could not by fair pulling break it. Their arrows were above a full cloth yard in length, and curiously constructed in three parts, the middle part being of reed, the two others of heavy hard wood; the feathers were fastened on with cotton; the head was either of bone, or it was a blade of dry reed cut into the shape of an old lancet, or the sting of a certain species of fish. They were incomparable archers; .. with leave of the English, says De Lery, who are so excellent in this art, I must say that a Tupinamba would shoot twelve arrows before an Englishman could let fly six. Fire-arms terrified them till they comprehended their nature; but when they learnt that the gun must be loaded before it could be fired, they thought little of such a weapon, saying they could dispatch six arrows while a gun was loaded once. Nor did they consider them as more destructive than their own shafts, against which no shield or breast-plate was of sufficient strength. In fact fire-arms were not so deadly in their hands as they were when levelled against them: the French sold them gunpowder; but it was such gunpowder that when three savages filled a barrel to the brim, one held it, another aimed it, and a third applied the match, there

CHAP. VII. 1552. was no danger that the gun would burst¹⁰. Their shields were pieces of the Anta's hide, about the size and shape of a drum-head. Their canoes were made of bark; they worked them standing, holding the paddle in the middle, and pressing its broad blade back through the water. They made no haste, but took their pleasure as they went, and stopt to fish at the mouths of the rivers, some blowing horns, others a rude trumpet formed of a species of long gourd, others playing upon fifes which were made of the bones of their enemies.

When Konyan Bebe halted the first night, the Maracas were produced; they rattled them, and danced till it was late, and then the Chief bade them go and dream. Hans was ordered to dream too; but when he said there was no truth in dreams, he was desired to prevail upon God to let them take plenty of prisoners. At sunrise they breakfasted upon fish, and when that was done every one related his dream, . . . it may be supposed of what materials they were composed; blood and slaughter, and cannibal banquets. Poor Hans was trembling with hope that they might meet the stronger expedition which the Tupiniquins were preparing, or that he might effect his escape when they reached the scene of action. Unhappily, instead of this, they fell in with five canoes from Bertioğa, and after a hard chase came up with them. Hans knew all the ill-fated crew; there were six Christian Mamalucos, as the mixed breed are called, among them. The Tupinambas, as they gained upon them, held up their fifes of human bone, and rattled their necklaces of human teeth, shouting and exulting with the certain hope of victory. Great as was the disparity of numbers, the

*Stade. p. 4.
c. 42.*

¹⁰ Some of the miracles which S. de Vasconcellos records are explainable by the nature of the powder.

Mamalucos kept off the enemy for two hours, till two of them being desperately wounded, and the others having expended their shot and their arrows, they were finally made prisoners. CHAP.
VII.
1552.

The conquerors, as soon as they had secured their prey, rowed back with might and main to the place where they had swung their hammocks the last night. Those prisoners who had been mortally wounded were then killed, and cut in pieces. Four forked stakes were driven into the ground, sticks were laid across, and on this they rather dried than broiled the flesh. This wooden frame was called the *Boucan*; food thus smoked and dried was said to be buccaneered, and hence the origin of the name applied to that extraordinary race of freebooters who were so long the scourge of the Spaniards in South America. Two Christians were slaughtered that night, Jorge Ferreira, son of the Captain of Bertioga, and one Jeronymo, a kinsman to two of the other prisoners. When the cannibals were asleep Hans went to the survivors; there were among them Diogo and Domingos de Braga, two of the brethren who first settled at Bertioga, and he had been intimate with them. Their first question was, whether they were to be eaten. He had poor comfort to give; all he could say was, it was as God pleased, in whom and in his Son they must put their trust: it had pleased God to preserve him among the Savages, as they perceived. They enquired for their kinsman Jeronymo; ... his body was then upon the *Boucan*, and part of Ferreira had already been devoured. Upon this they began to weep. Hans told them they ought not to despair, seeing that he had been miraculously preserved for eight months; and he not very reasonably attempted to convince them, that, at the worst, it could not be so bad to them as it would have been to him, for he was a stranger coming from a part of the world where there were no such cruel and barbarous customs, but they were born in Brazil, and used to it.

CHAP. VII. 1552. He might have fled that night, but he remembered that his flight would provoke the Tupinambas to put their prisoners instantly to death; it was his duty therefore to await some other means of deliverance, because their escape was not impossible. It is greatly to his honour that he felt and acted thus. The next day he went into Konyan Bebe's tent, and asked him what he designed to do with the Christians: . . . to eat them, was the answer; . . . they were fools to come with our enemies when they might have remained at home; . . . and he forbade Hans to have any intercourse with them. Hans advised him to ransom them; this he refused. There was a basket full of human flesh beside him, from which he took a broiled thigh, and put it to Hans's mouth, asking him if he would eat; but Hans answered, that even beasts did not devour their own kind. The Savage fixed his teeth in it, exclaiming, I am a tyger, and I like it.

*Stœc. p. 4.
c. 43. 44.*

Konyan Bebe gave order in the evening that all the prisoners should be produced. The captors formed a circle on a level piece of ground between the woods and the river, and placed them in the midst: the Maracas were rattled, and they sung. When this was over, the Tupiniquins said, We came from our land like brave men, to attack ye our enemies, and kill ye and devour ye: the victory has been yours, and you have us in your hands. We care not; . . . brave men die valiantly in the land of their enemies. Our country is wide, and it is inhabited by warriors who will not let our deaths go unrevenged. The others made answer, You have taken and devoured many of our people, and now we will revenge them upon you. On the third day they reached their own border, divided the prisoners, and separated. Eight savages, and three of the surviving Christians, fell to the share of Uwattibi. The remaining flesh of the two who had been buccaneered was carried home to be reserved for a solemn feast; part of Jeronymo was hung over a fire in

the house where Hans was an inmate, for three weeks. They would not take him to the ship till their feast was over, and before that time she sailed. He had now no other hope than the consolation which they gave him, that ships came every year. There came however a time when he was grateful to Providence for this merciful disappointment. This vessel had captured a Portuguese one in Rio de Janeiro, and given one of the prisoners to the Savages to be devoured: the boat's crew belonged to her who had refused to take in Hans when he swam off to them, and the Norman interpreter who had advised the Tupinambas to eat him, embarked to return in her. It may be some satisfaction to the reader, as it was to Hans, to learn that the vengeance of God was upon them, and they perished in the sea.

CHAP.
VII.
1552.

Stade. p. 4.
c. 51.
p. 5. c. 54.

Hans was now transferred to another master, a Chief of the settlement called Tacwarasutibi. Before he left Uwattibi, he gave the Portuguese prisoners the best directions he could which way to travel, if they could find means to fly¹¹. He was dismissed with an excellent character for predicting future events, healing diseases, and procuring fine weather; and received with the respect which such qualifications deserved. He told his new master that his brother was to come for him; and luckily in the course of a fortnight a gun was heard from the near harbour of Rio de Janeiro. He besought them then to take him to the ship, but they were in no hurry. The Captain however heard he was there, and sent two of his men to see in what manner he could be delivered from this wretched bondage. Hans told them

¹¹ He heard afterwards that the two brethren had fled; but whether they effected their escape he never knew. Probably they did, because a Domingos de Braga is mentioned by Vasconcellos as living a few years afterwards at St. Vicente.

CHAP.
VII.
1552.

Stade. p. 5.
c. 52.

Hans et-
oapee.

that one of them must be his brother, and say that he had brought out goods for him, get permission for him to go on board and receive them, and feign that he must stay in the country till next year to collect a cargo for them, because he was now the friend of the Tupinambas.

The scheme was well laid and well executed. Hans and his master went on board, and remained there five days: the savage then asked for the goods, and wanted to return. Hans ordered them to be produced, declaring that he was ready to accompany him, but begged a little longer time to feast with his friends; and thus by plying him with meat and drink they kept the Chief on board till the ship had compleated her cargo. Then as they were on the point of sailing, the Captain thanked this Tupinamba for having treated his countryman so kindly, and said that he had invited them there to give him presents in acknowledgment, and likewise to deliver other goods into Hans's care, that he might remain in the country as their factor and interpreter. But he had ten brothers on board, who could not bear to part with him, now that they had recovered him. Ten of the crew played their parts well; they insisted that Hans should return to his own country, that their father might see his face before he died. Nothing could have been better contrived to effect his deliverance, and leave his master satisfied. The Captain said he wished Hans would remain in the country, but these brethren of his were many in number, and he was but one. Hans himself said he would willingly stay, but his brothers would not let him. The honest Tupinamba and his wife wept over him, received a rich present of combs, knives, and looking-glasses, and departed perfectly well contented.

Stade. p. 5.
c. 52.

In this manner did Hans Stade recover his liberty, after so many dangers and diappointments. He was yet unlucky

enough to receive a grievous wound in an action with the very Portuguese vessel which had formerly been sent to treat for his ransom. He recovered, reached his own country, and wrote the history of his adventures. It is a book of great value, and all subsequent accounts of the Tupi tribes rather repeat than add to the information which it contains.

CHAP.
VII.
1552.

CHAP.
VIII.
1553.

CHAP.
IX.