Portuguese Exploration to the West and the Formation of Brazil 1450-1800
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Portuguese Exploration to the West and the Formation of Brazil 1450–1800

Catalogue of an Exhibition
by DAGMAR SCHÄFFER

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THE JOHN CARTER BROWN LIBRARY wishes to thank the Portuguese Navy and its Naval Museum (Museu de Marinha) in Belém, near Lisbon, Portugal, for the special loan of two rare seventeenth-century Portuguese nautical astrolabes, on display at the Library. They were recently recovered from the Spanish galleon Nuestra Señora de Atocha which had sunk off the coast of Florida in 1622. Special thanks go to the Office of the Naval Attaché at the Portuguese Embassy in Washington, D.C., who helped to make this first, and perhaps only, showing in the United States possible.
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Foreword

Brazil is by far the largest and most populous nation in Latin America, covering an area comparable to that of the United States and inhabited by 140 million people. Its origins as a modern nation-state began in the early sixteenth century with the invasion and "conquest" of the land by one of the smallest of European states, Portugal. The Portuguese, like the Dutch and the English in roughly the same period, were a nation without great land-based resources or military power in Europe, who with immense fortitude turned to the sea for riches.

The incredible 500-year cycle of European nautical expansion around the globe began in the mid-fifteenth century with the Portuguese explorations down the west coast of Africa, culminating in the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope and the establishment of trading contacts with India. Without these early Portuguese sailing initiatives as precedents, from which Columbus learned so much, it is unthinkable that the great Discoverer would have attempted his astonishing voyage in 1492. The vast European colonial endeavor eventually included, by the nineteenth century, such unlikely ventures, for example, as German expansion into central Africa and French expansion into Indo-China. While this European imperial cornering of the world was going on, it was also partly unraveling, initially with the movements for political independence in the New World (Brazil being among the beneficiaries of this first wave of decolonization, in 1822), and then progressing with desperate urgency in the period following the second World War.

The John Carter Brown Library exists in large part for the purpose of preserving the documentation of one major segment of this historically unparalleled age of European expansion, the drive to the West, not only by the Portuguese but also by the
Spanish, French, English, and Dutch, with the concomitant happenings in the Americas. It is notable that when the Library’s first printed catalogue was published in 1865, Bibliotheca Americana: A Catalogue of Books Relating to North and South America in the Library of John Carter Brown of Providence, R.I., Part I, 1493–1600, with notes by John Russell Bartlett, it was already full of Portuguese Americana, or what may also be called Brazilianiana: Amerigo Vespucci, De ora antarctica per regem Portugallie pridem inuenta (Strasbourg, 1505) and Vespucci, Von der neug gefunden Region so wol ein Welt genempt mag werden, durch den cristlichen König von Portugail wunderbarlich erfunden (Basel, 1505); Itinerarium Portugallensium e Lusitania in Indiam et inde in Occidentem et demum ad aequinom (Milan, 1508); André Thevet, Les singularitez de la France Antarctique (Antwerp, 1558); Histoire des choses marveilleuses se passant en la terre du Brasil (Geneva, 1561); and Nuovi avvisi dell’Indie di Portogallo, ricevuti dalli reverendi padri della compagnia di Giesu (Venice, 1562). By 1885, after the Library had been collecting dedicatedly for 120 more years, Rubens Borba de Moraes could say in Bibliographia Brasiliana (Los Angeles and Rio de Janeiro), the authoritative guide to the subject, that the John Carter Brown Library was for early “Brazilian studies... perhaps the finest” library in the world.

Yet the subject of early Portuguese Americana is a highly specialized one, and it should be no surprise therefore that the present exhibition catalogue, modest though it may be, is the first such formal introduction to our Brazilianiana collection that the Library has issued. The existence of this work is due entirely to the energy of Ms. Dagmar Schäffer, a young graduate student in Portuguese and Brazilian Studies at Brown University, whose native country is West Germany. As often happens at the JCB, Dagmar came to the Library as a part-time student worker with limited assigned tasks, showed evident talent of the first order, and was happily recruited to do original research.

As the Quincentenary of Columbus’s discovery of America approaches, attention will naturally be focused primarily on the exploits of discovery, conquest, and settlement by the Spanish. The Portuguese deserve their due before they are forgotten in the celebration of the Quincentenary. Yet all of the colonial empires, along with bringing the arts of civilization to the Indians, also wreaked tremendous destruction, both inadvertent and willful, and it remains a standing issue whether these extraordinary ventures into the unknown by Europeans should be “celebrated” at all.

Perhaps the age of European expansion should not be celebrated, but it must nevertheless be remembered for what it accomplished in uniting the globe. To wish vainly that none of it should have happened at all, that the Europeans should simply have stayed away from America, is not a sane “out.” There is no escape from history. Once the contact occurred, a tragedy of many dimensions was unavoidable. The great movements of history are often bitterly tragic. This fact always deserves reflection, particularly if it engenders in mankind the desire to do better in the present, to redeem the past by the good that is now done to make the world more just, more harmonious, and less exploitive.

NORMAN FIERING
Director and Librarian
PORTUGUESE EXPLORATION TO THE WEST
AND THE FORMATION OF BRAZIL 1450–1800
FIVE HUNDRED YEARS AGO, in 1488, the Portuguese navigator Bartolomeo Dias rounded the southernmost tip of Africa, reaching for the first time in the history of European navigation the Indian Ocean by sea. Aware that Dias had finally found the sea route to India, the Portuguese king named the promontory “Cape of Good Hope.” A few years later, 1498–99, another Portuguese seaman, Vasco da Gama, reached India, establishing the long sought maritime connection of Europe with the eastern spice trade, the “Carreira da India.” While Columbus had found islands in the west believing he had reached Asia, the Portuguese had already arrived in the Far East by concentrating on the eastern route. Thereafter, the fleets dispatched to go east and bring home rich merchandise grew bigger every year. In 1500, the largest fleet to have left Lisbon up to that day embarked for India under the leadership of Pedro Alvares Cabral. The bad weather in the equatorial zone forced the ships to travel further west than any other fleet before, and on Easter day a hitherto unknown land was sighted: Cabral and his crew had reached Brazil.

This was the finale to the first phase of Portuguese expansion to the West, which was going to have a major impact on the face of the Atlantic world well into the present day. The largest country of Latin America, in size as well as in population, speaks Portuguese today; four West African countries that finally achieved independence, after a long and bloody colonial war had brought about the “Revolution of the Carnations” in Portugal in 1974 have Portuguese as their official language (Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Angola, and São Tomé e Príncipe); and
sizable communities of Portuguese-speaking people are living in North America today, all of which testifies to the trans-Atlantic bridge of Portuguese civilization, which began five centuries ago.

In the 1950s and 1960s, Portuguese students were taught from maps that showed Portugal together with all her "overseas provinces," making Portugal one of the largest European countries. Many scholars wrote on the heroic deeds of brave Portuguese, who had gone out to bring "civilization" to the "savages." Attitudes have changed, and new scholarly research has produced a picture that shows Portuguese participation in the context of a general European enterprise of overseas expansion. This picture may highlight Portugal's special contribution, but it will also show the areas in which Portuguese sailors, settlers, and scholars benefited from the encounter and cooperation, with people from all the nations of Europe, with Africans, and with indigenous Brazilians, and it can reconstruct the times in which conflicts and wars between the Portuguese and other nations changed the course of the development of Portugal's colonies in the Atlantic.

The visitor to the exhibition and the reader of this catalogue will find that the outstanding characteristic of the story of Portuguese exploration and the formation of Brazil was the diversity and multiplicity of contributors to the enterprise. The books, engravings, and maps presented here were written and made by persons from many countries, providing a variety of approaches and creating eventually a multifaceted and multicolored picture of Portuguese-Brazilian history.

I. Navigation and the Challenge of the Oceans

IN THE EARLY FIFTEENTH CENTURY, when Portugal's seafarers under the guidance of Prince Henry embarked to explore the Atlantic world, the art of navigation had become one of the most advanced sciences, occupying astronomers, cosmographers, mathematicians, instrument-makers, and shipbuilders. The Portuguese developed a new kind of ship, the caravel, that was much better suited for off-shore and high-sea sailing than any other kind before. Prince Henry "the Navigator" invited the most famous scientists of Europe to come to Portugal and teach his sailors new facts and skills, and the Portuguese kings from João I (1385-1433) to João III (1521-1557) employed the best scientists as royal cosmographers. The art of navigation was a science to which many individuals from different nations contributed, and it was not least a shared Iberian enterprise.


The farther a ship sailed from the coast, the more important it became to determine its position. In the absence of land, the celestial bodies were the only points of reference, in particular the sun. The use of the astrolabe, cross-staff, or quadrant for determining latitude by the sun was predicated on the existence of tables showing the degree of the sun's declination for the day of the observation. The latitude of a ship was the angle of altitude of the sun, plus or minus the angle of declination of the sun.

The present work by the Spanish-Jewish astronomer Abraham Zacuto gives tables for the years 1473 through 1544, and it was the source of all the earliest nautical declination tables. Zacuto was royal
astronomer at the court of King João II (1481–1495) and King Manuel (1495–1521). His Almanach, circulated in manuscript form after 1473, was first printed in Hebrew (Leiria, 1496), and translated into Latin and Spanish by a student of Zacuto’s, José Vizinho, who himself became Portuguese court astronomer and member of the “Junta dos Matemáticos.” Vizinho, too, was Jewish.


Faleiro was a Portuguese scholar who lived in Spain and wrote in Castilian. His Tratado is notable because it set the framework for subsequent manuals of navigation. For instance, it defines navigational terms, describes what the navigator should do to keep track of his ship and the procedure by which he should do it, and reduces to diagrammatic form the rules for raising or laying one degree of latitude and the effect of magnetic variation upon the ship’s steering compass. Faleiro set the pattern for Pedro de Medina’s masterpiece Arte de navegar of 1545, which became a standard English textbook after it was translated and published in London in 1581 and in a second edition in 1595.


This work has been called “one of the ablest and most original navigational treatises of the century” (John Parry), in which the practice of navigation and cartography entered the realm of exact science. One of Nunes’s many remarkable discoveries and inventions was the “shadow instrument,” which served to calculate magnetic variation within half a degree, and also made it possible to determine the latitude from the observation of the sun’s height at any time of the day, not just at noon as hitherto practiced. The instrument suggested earlier by Faleiro had proved too complicated to use at high sea. The Tratado also contains the first description of the loxodromic curve, a definition of the nature of the thumb line, instructions on how to sail a “great circle” course, and it also prepared the way for the development of the nautical chart in common use today.

Fig. 2
Portuguese seamen using a cross-staff in the measurement of lunar distances, and the astrolabe in determining the altitude of the sun. The heading says: “What use is the watchman to the city, and the orientation to the mighty ship in the ocean, if God does not protect them both.” From Hans Staden, Warhaftige Historia und Beschreibung einer Landtschaft (Marburg, 1557), leaf B iv verso.
Pedro Nunes was of Jewish ancestry. Although he lived in times of merciless persecution of “New Christians” (the Portuguese Inquisition was established in 1536), he was appointed Cosmographer Royal and in 1562 was given a royal pension. He was asked to live far away from the court, however, in Coimbra.


Little more is known about Diogo de Sá than that he was a successful military leader in India. In his *Three Books on Navigation*, de Sá attacked Pedro Nunes fervently, apparently not so much for his ideas on navigation but because he was a Jew. De Sá is also known for having written a treatise against heretics dedicated to the Inquisitor General Cardinal Henrique, who was the Regent of Portugal between 1537 and 1568 and Portuguese King from 1578 to 1580.

5. Manuel Pimentel (1650–1719), *Arte de navegar, em que se ensinam as regras praticas e o modo de cartar*. Lisbon, 1712.

This work, first published in 1699, has been considered the most perfect of the classical textbooks on the art of navigation written in the Portuguese language. It marks the culmination of the series of works which, beginning with manuscript nautical guides now in the libraries of Munich and Evora, were written with successive elaborations and improvements. None of the instructions in the early guides survived in Pimentel’s work without profound alterations, which is an indication of the progress made in nautical science in the course of two centuries and of the increasing influence of foreign works, particularly on the use of trigonometry.

The three instruments of observation shown here—the astrolabe (1), the cross-staff (3), and the quadrant (4 & 6)—had been relied upon by mariners in determining latitude since the Portuguese had first ventured out into the open Atlantic. All were used to measure the angle of the sun’s distance from the zenith, the first step in determining latitude.


Works on the art of navigation can focus on either of two different aspects of the subject or combine them. The first is nautical science, which provides the theoretical tools for making astronomical calculations and charts, and also provides information about sophisticated instruments. The second is the description of the waters, the coastlines, and the special features of the routes the mariner has to take, based on personal observation and experience. Works dealing mainly with the latter are called “roteiro” in Portuguese. Although Manuel de Figueiredo’s work includes a chapter on navigational techniques and instruments, it is primarily a roteiro. It describes the different coasts and ports of the Portuguese empire for the sailor, giving directions how to get from one place to another.


The history of Portuguese exploration of the oceans is not only a story of success, and heroism, but also one of disasters and immeasurable human suffering. Literally thousands of Portuguese ships sank, taking their crews as well as their cargo of riches down with them. Ships were sent on long and dangerous voyages overloaded, ill-managed, and often too late in the season. When they encountered stormy winter weather, their chances of reaching their destination safely were small. The low esteem in which mariners were held in Spain and Portugal (indeed, everywhere) added to the problem by attracting only the most desperate and least educated to the job of a sailor. Golden Age Iberian literature is full of abusive and denigrating references to sailors as a class.

The *Historia tragic-maritima* is a collection of shipwreck narratives based on real events. They had originally been published in separate
pamphlets dating from the end of the sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century. Gomes de Brito edited and republished them, often making profound alterations. One of the narratives describes the “Shipwreck suffered by Jorge de Albuquerque Coelho coming from Brazil to this Kingdom in the year 1565. Written by Bento Teixeira Pinto who found himself also in that shipwreck.” Jorge was the brother of the Pernambucan governor Duarte Coelho de Albuquerque, and he had been sent to help his brother fight Indians who had besieged Olinda. On his way back to Lisbon, the ship was attacked by French pirates. Not only was the Santo António ill-gunned and under-manned, but most of the crew refused to help Jorge de Albuquerque Coelho to defend it (only seven did so). When the French captain boarded the ship, he said to Albuquerque: “How bold must be this heart of yours that you wanted to prove able to defend this ship, so badly equipped for war against ours so well armed, with sixty gunners. It surprises me that you wanted to defend a ship as neglected as this one, with so little equipment and even fewer men.”


This is the story of the ship named Our Lady of Help and Saint Peter of Alcantara which left Rio de Janeiro for Lisbon by way of Bahia. Badly damaged by a storm en route, the ship floated helplessly for 45 days, and the voyage, which should have taken between 60 and 80 days, lasted almost seven months.

The narrator, who had been on the ship, remarked that accounts of maritime disasters should be published so that those responsible could learn from their mistakes. He proposed several improvements: the ships should always leave according to schedule and their crews should be courageous and prepared for emergencies (carrying enough food and having in readiness spare parts, such as rudders). Above all, one must pray consistently to Our Lady Mary for protection, not just at times of danger.
II. Early Exploration of the Atlantic

The fifteenth century saw the Portuguese navigators push forward into regions far beyond the limits that hitherto had been understood as the margins of the habitable world. Their motives were manifold: the conviction that the Portuguese had a divine mission to save the heathens and spread the holy Catholic faith, a heritage from the medieval crusaders; the hope to find the legendary Christian king known as Prester John, in Africa; the desire to gain ascendancy over other European nations through the wealth acquired from the Oriental spice trade and from access to the sources of African gold; and the curiosity of men wanting to know more. Later, after the early successes, the established trading posts had to be secured, the missions to be expanded, allies to be found against native peoples and European powers who did not easily accept Portuguese domination. Sometimes new lands were discovered by accident: a fleet got lost or wrecked in a storm and ended up on unknown shores. On the Easter day of 1501, Pedro Álvares Cabral thus landed in Brazil, having been on his way to India.

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the lands around the Atlantic were slowly beginning to emerge in front of European eyes. The Portuguese had sailed down the West African coast, and Vasco da Gama had found the way to India around the Cape of Good Hope in 1498–99. Christopher Columbus had made several voyages to the Caribbean, and members of his expedition under Pinzón explored areas as far south as the Amazon estuary in 1501. About the same time, Amerigo Vespucci traveled under a Portuguese flag several hundred miles down the Brazilian coast, sending news to Europe about the “New World” he had found.

The story of the charting of the Atlantic begins with the rediscovery and settlement of the small islands to the south and west of Spain and Portugal. As European ships sailed farther into the Atlantic, the islands became more important as maritime outposts and ports of call: the Canaries, Madeira and Porto Santo, later the Cape Verde Islands, on the outward passage; the Madeiras and the Azores on the return. The Portuguese soon realized that the island settlements were essential factors in the exploration of the seas. The Portuguese under João Gonçalves (called “Zarco,” the blue-eyed) colonized Madeira around the year 1425. From about 1427 to the third quarter of the century, the Azores were explored and settled. The Cape Verdean Islands were not discovered until 1455–1456, and even several decades later they had not attracted a considerable number of Portuguese settlers.


Cordeyro, a Jesuit and a native of the Azorean island of Terceira, relied heavily on the _Saudades da terra_ of Gaspar Frutuoso, written between 1580 and 1591, in compiling his chronicle of the discovery and settlement of the Atlantic islands of Madeira, the Azores, and Cape Verde. Among other things, Cordeyro discusses the introduction of sugarcane from Sicily to Madeira through the initiative of Prince Henry the Navigator in the 1430s. For the Portuguese, Madeira became the laboratory where methods of large-scale sugar production in a plantation economy were developed. Within a few years, some mills on Madeira yielded as much as 20,000 arrobas of the finest grade sugar per year. The crisis for Madeira sugar began when the island ran out of fuel after the colonists had burnt down practically all the forests. Using the knowledge gained from their Madeira experience, the Portuguese transplanted the sugar industry to the island of São Tomé, whence it eventually reached Brazil.

Fig. 4
Prince Henry the Navigator (1394–1460), the important organizer and coordinator of early Portuguese overseas expeditions. From Joseph François Lafrau, _Histoire des découvertes et conquêtes des Portugais_ (Paris, 1733–1734), vol. 1, facing p. 38.

Prince Henry (1394–1460) was one of the three sons of the Portuguese King João I. When the Portuguese conquered the city of Ceuta in North Africa in 1415, he excelled as a military leader and was awarded a knighthood. Later he was made head of the highly prestigious Order of Christ. The older historiography had attributed to him alone the initiative of launching the Portuguese overseas expansion, making him a national hero. Recent scholarship sees his role in a more differentiated way, although he is still considered to have played an important part. Prince Henry, “the Navigator” as he is called, was a highly educated man who tried to bring the best scientists to his day to Portugal. In the small town of Sagres, on the southwestern tip of the Iberian peninsula, he created what one might call today a “think-tank,” where teaching and discussion of geography and navigation could take place. He encouraged the application of new techniques in shipbuilding and provided the money to finance the Portuguese voyages out into the Atlantic. During his lifetime the Portuguese explored and settled Madeira and the Azores, and went further and further down the West African coast: Cape Bojador (1433), Cape Blanco (1436), Cape Verde (1441), and Senegal (1445). Sierra Leone was reached in 1462.


João de Barros is one of the most famous Portuguese chroniclers. He lived during the reigns of King Manuel (1495–1521) and King João III (1521–1557), who appointed Barros as governor of El Mina (1522), made him chief factor of the India House (1532), and finally appointed him the captaincy of Maranhão in Brazil in 1539, making Barros one of the first Brazilian “donatários.” His four “Decadas,” published in 1552, 1553, 1563, and 1615, record Portuguese voyages and empire building in the Far East, but he also reports in detail about the early years of Portuguese exploration of the West African coast. In the second chapter of part two, he tells about the agreement made in 1449 between the Portuguese crown, represented by King Afonso V (1443–1481), and the Lisbon merchant Fernão Gomes concerning the Guinea coast trade. Gomes was awarded a trade monopoly for five years, at a price of 200,000 reis per year and under the condition that he explore 100 leagues per year of the African coast in a southward direction starting from Sierra Leone. Leasing lands and trade to individuals in exchange for further exploration of unknown territory was a common practice for the Portuguese crown that was later also applied to Brazil.


By the year 1470, the Portuguese had found the equatorial island of São Tomé in the Guinean Gulf, off the African coast. The climate proved to be extremely unwholesome for Europeans and settlement was slow. The official chronicler of King João II (1481–1495), García de Resende, reports on one of the methods to populate this island that also throws some light on a tragic form of Jewish participation in the Portuguese Atlantic empire. The King had allowed Jewish refugees from Spain (from where they had been expelled in 1492) to remain in Portugal only in return for payment of an enormous ransom. In 1493, those who could not pay had their children taken away from them, baptized by force, and deported to São Tomé in order to be raised as Christians and to help populate the island that the King had just leased to Álvaro de Caminha at an annual rent of 100,000 reis. Nothing is known of their further fate, although later chroniclers attribute the thriving sugar production on the island to the talents of these deported children and their offspring.


The conflicts between the two Iberian powers of Spain and Portugal concerning the sovereignty over islands and lands in the Atlantic had started early in the fifteenth century. In the Treaty of Alcáçovas in 1479, a first attempt had been made to divide the spheres of influence. On May 4, 1493, after Columbus’s discoveries had again ignited the controversy, Pope Alexander VI issued his famous bull “Inter Caetera” in which he praised the Iberian powers for their efforts to spread the
Christian faith and proposed a line 100 leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verde as the demarcation line between the Portuguese and Spanish spheres of control. It seems that this arrangement did not satisfy the two crowns. Hence one year later, 7 June 1494, in the Treaty of Tordesillas the two parties agreed, without further consultation of the Holy See, to move the line 370 leagues further west. Both the Bull and the Treaty, however, omitted stating an exact starting line from where the 100 or 370 leagues would be counted, so further conflicts were already preordained. Eventually, the bare facts of conquest would provide the final basis for Spain’s and Portugal’s sovereignty over their respective American territories. The first printed version of the Bull “Inter Caetera,” made in northern Spain in 1511, is shown here.

16. Pedro de Mariz (d. 1615). Dialogos de varias historia... com os Retratos de todos os Reys de Portugal. Coimbra, 1594.

The reign of King Manuel (1495–1521) is considered the Golden Age of Portugal. It was in that time that the “Carreira da India,” the sea-route to India, was established and immediately yielded enormous profits. Although Brazil was discovered, its potential had not yet been recognized.

This rare book on the history of Spain and Portugal was the first to present engraved portraits of all the Portuguese kings since Dom Afonso Henrique. The author Pedro de Mariz, son of the printer Antonio de Mariz, was chief curator at the University Library of Coimbra.


From the Portuguese discovery of Brazil in 1500 until the end of Manuel’s reign in 1521, the newly discovered lands in the West received little attention from Portugal, whose main interests lay in the East. Contemporary writings, including this book, hardly mention more about Brazil than the events surrounding Cabral’s landing and the few facts that his companion Pero Vaz de Caminha reported about the newly-discovered lands in his letter written to the King.
The author of the present chronicle, Damião de Gois, is one of the outstanding Portuguese intellectual figures of the sixteenth century. He was a diplomat in Flanders and Denmark, and he had visited England, France, Germany, Italy, Poland, as well as many other places. A personal friend of Erasmus, Luther, and Melanchthon, he eventually came into conflict with the Inquisition. He fell under its ban and died in obscurity. The present copy of the *Chronica* bears the autograph of Damião de Gois and the stamped signature of the inquisitorial censor Emanuel da Veiga.


Even though Brazil was in the shadow of the Portuguese East India trade for most of the sixteenth century, news from the newly found lands in the West was eagerly received in Europe and prospects for profitable trade evaluated. The present text is the first originally German source on Brazil: the printed reproduction of a letter written by one of the agents of the Fugger trading company on the island of Madeira with news about the arrival of a ship from Brazil. The letter, written in German interspersed with Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian, tells about a voyage made by two Portuguese ships down the Brazilian coast to the Rio de la Plata in 1514. It confirms for the first time the existence of an east-west passage in the vicinity of 40 degrees south latitude which Magellanes would use for his circumnavigation. The narrator suggests to his superiors in Augsburg a profitable trade in furs and hides from southern Brazil, which were easy to barter from the natives for hardware: “They have no iron mines. In exchange for an axe or hatchet or knife they give whatever they have.” The ship arriving in Madeira was loaded with brazil-wood, the red dye-wood that gave the country its name, and with young enslaved Amerindians.

19. *Antonio Galvão (d. 1557). Tratado... dos diversos & desexuvrados caminhos, por onde nos tempos passados a pimenta & especiaria reyva da India de nossas partes. Lisboa, 1565.*

This is one of the first Portuguese narratives that treats the ill-fated voyages of the Portuguese brothers Gaspar and Miguel Corte-Real to the North American coast between 1500 and 1502. After the news of John Cabot's discovery of North America had reached Europe in ca. 1497, King Manuel gave a grant to Gaspar Corte-Real to explore the North American coast and find a northwest passage to India. Of the three ships sent out, only two returned; the one carrying Gaspar was never heard from, and her fate remains a mystery. The following year, Miguel Corte-Real obtained permission to leave with three well-equipped ships to search for his brother. The fleet reached the North American coast, then split up for separate searching. Only two of the ships met later at the appointed time and place. The one with Miguel on it was never seen again. Another expedition went the following year to look for both brothers, without success. No further official expeditions were sent by the Portuguese to North America, but the voyages of the Corte-Real to Labrador and the Arctic seas opened the way to the fisheries of the Newfoundland coast for Portugal.

Galvão's work is one of the rarest books dealing with the discoveries before 1550; only a few copies are known to exist today. Richard Hakluyt prepared an English edition in 1601 under the title *The Discoveries of the World.*


Despite the conflicts over territorial sovereignty in the New World between Spain and Portugal, many expeditions to the Americas employed men from both countries. The story of the Hernando De Soto expedition in what is now the southeastern United States is told here by an anonymous Portuguese gentleman from Elvas in the Alentejo, who was among several Portuguese accompanying De Soto. In May 1539, the men landed in Florida. For nearly four years they searched fruitlessly for gold, hither and thither over the Southeast, passing through what is today Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana. When De Soto died in 1542, his body was buried in the Mississippi, and the rest of the group returned to Mexico. The present book was the first to describe these events. It was translated into English by Richard Hakluyt in 1609 under the title *Virginia Richly Valued.*
III. Encounters with Indigenous Peoples

When the Portuguese explorers reached the Atlantic islands of Madeira, the Azores, and later the Cape Verdes, they found them uninhabited, and were free therefore to create an economy and society according to their plans. When they came to North Africa, they found established Arab Islamic societies, with whom they had been used to dealing since the Middle Ages. When they reached West Africa, they encountered a variety of different societies, but many of these had a hierarchical structure similar to European concepts: there were kings who would sign treaties, nobles or persons of comparably high rank, merchants and traders. When, however, the Portuguese came to Brazil, they found a population that seemed to defy all established contemporary categories. The encounter with the Brazilian natives was an extremely puzzling experience for the Portuguese and for all the Europeans who came to Brazil in their train. It not only had long-lasting effects on European thought, but Brazilian culture itself emerged from the mixture of different cultural influences, European, African, and local Amerindian traditions.


Among the first Europeans to meet indigenous Brazilians were Amerigo Vespucci and his crew. In 1501, Vespucci sailed from Portugal to Cape São Roque and then coasted south, discovering the Bay of All Saints and the Guanabara Bay (today the cities of Salvador da Bahia and Rio de Janeiro), Somewhere along the way the Europeans went
ashore and were met by indigenous tribes. Vespucci’s descriptions of
these Amerindians—the first published after the description in Colum-
bus’s letter—became the most influential in shaping the European idea
of the South American native. His report, often adorned with vivid
illustrations, was one of the most frequently printed tracts of the early
sixteenth century. Vespucci described the Brazilian natives as being of
reddish-brown complexion, short, stocky but agile, and skilled in
hunting and fishing. They were healthy and said to reach an age of
more than 150 years. The custom of piercing ears, lips, and noses with
stones or little bones made them, in his opinion, look unspeakably
ugly; they were all naked; they seemed to have no law and no order,
no king, no religion in his views polygamy and incest seemed common,
upsetting to the European observer who did not understand the social
structure of the indigenous society; and finally, they were cannibals.
The ritual function of anthropophagy was totally ignored by the narra-
tor, who just saw a horrible kind of food-supply. The image of the
gory man-eater was established by Vespucci’s report, and would
survive for centuries to come, influencing the way the Portuguese and
other Europeans dealt with the native Brazilians. This is the only known
copy of the Dutch edition, noteworthy in particular for its many wood-
cut illustrations.

22. Hans Staden. Warhaftige Historia und Beschreibung einer Lands-
schaft der wilden, nackt gemännlichen Menschenfresser Leuten in der
Neuen Welt America gelegen. Marburg, 1557.
Hans Staden, a German mercenary in Portuguese service, gave a rich
and very circumstantial account of the manners and customs of the
Tupinambá. He had been captured by them near São Vicente in 1554
and kept prisoner for nine months, constantly threatened with death.
Nevertheless, he managed to describe what he saw in a surprising
matter-of-fact style; unlike many other observers, he avoided general-
izations and often inquired about the origins of customs and traditions.
But his slim book also has long chapters on the cannibalistic rituals,
illustrated with many woodcuts, and the sensationalist title reveals
something about the impression it must have made on readers: “True

Fig. 8
Brazilian Tupinambá performing a ritual
weeping ceremony over a dead member of the
tribe. From Jean de Léry, Histoire d’un voyage
fait en la terre du Brésil (La Rochelle, 1578),
facing p. 334.
history and description of a land of savage, naked, vicious, man-eating people, located in the New World America."


Jean de Léry, a French Calvinist minister, lived in the Rio de Janeiro area in 1556–1557 where Villepaignon had launched the ill-fated attempt to establish a French colony that became known as "La France Antarctique." Since the French became allies of the Tupinambá in their fight against the Portuguese, Léry was received and treated very well among the Indians. In his account, he expressed time and again the sincere love he had come to feel for those whom others had called "savage man-eaters." For him, the Indians were sincere and faithful friends. Although he abhorred cannibalism, Léry made a true effort to show that the ritual was less cruel and inhuman than some of the atrocities he had witnessed in the religious wars in France. Léry’s book was highly influential on the developing concept of the Noble Savage in France, and it is often mentioned in the same breath with the famous essay "Des cannibales" by Michel de Montaigne. The engraving shows the ritual weeping of Tupinambá women over a dead member of the tribe.


The Franciscan friar Thevet had also come to Brazil with Villepaignon. Although he describes the manners and customs of the Tupinambá in detail, it is not clear whether he really spent much time among them or instead mainly collected second-hand information. Léry accused him of misrepresentation and adulterations, and was outraged that Thevet, being "Cosmographe du Roi," could get away with them so easily. The small woodcuts depict various scenes from the daily life of the Brazilian Indian. Here, for instance, is shown the procedure of making an indigenous kind of beer from manioc, which is chewed first to enhance the fermentation.
By the beginning of the seventeenth century, Europe had received several descriptions of the native Brazilians, but the sensationalistic aspects were still prevalent, and there was little understanding of the indigenous civilization. In fact, scholars and travelers alike had begun to associate the Amerindians of Brazil with the devil, to perceive their way of life as not merely exotic, but evil. The present engraving combines several elements that underline the evilness of the Indian: the toads and rats evoke witches and magicians; both the man and the ugly woman with the hanging breasts (the bag symbolizing lechery and glutony) have claws instead of toenails, showing their inhuman nature. They appear as beasts rather than human beings. This volume of the series of travel accounts edited by the de Bry family in Frankfurt, Germany (vol. xiii), deals mainly with Brazil, and the editor claims that one of the longer accounts presented was written by an anonymous Portuguese clergyman.

In the eighteenth century, most of the interior of Brazil was unknown and conveniently labeled “land of savages” (“Brasilia Barbarorum”). This map, copied for the most part from a map by the famous Dutch mapmaker Blaeu, names different Brazilian tribes in the regions where they were living in the late seventeenth century. Many of them had been assimilated in missions (“aldeias”) and worked or fought wars for the Portuguese. Those who refused to be proselytized retreated to the interior, the “serras,” and later into the jungles of Mato Grosso and the Amazon basin, where just a few thousand survived until the twentieth century, as can be read in Claude Lévi-Strauss’s Tristes Tropiques. The cartouche in the lower right corner presents symbols of the other side of Brazil, the “civilized” Portuguese Brazil of plantations and slave-labor: two of the four blacks shown are surrounded by sugarloaves, the other two are seen smoking tobacco pipes, with rolls of tobacco leaves lying all around.


27. Francisco Xavier Ribeiro de Sampaio (1741–1813). *Diário da viagem que em visita e correição das populações da Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro fez o Oidor e Intendente Geral da mesma, Fr. Xavier Ribeiro de Sampaio, no anno de 1774 e 1775.* Manuscript, Brazil? 1776?

Sampaio, a high official in the Portuguese administration of the São José de Río Negro district in the Amazon area (roughly today's Manaus), went on an official visit to his district, making observations on flora and fauna, on topography, on the conditions for the population in the settlements. According to him, these information and exploration tours were organized every five or six years. In his day, there were still native Brazilian tribes who had not had contact with whites (he mentions the "Amâ"), but he also lists numerous tribes that had once lived in areas that he crossed, but were no longer there. They had either become extinct, or merged with other tribes, or had retreated deeper into the jungle. His eye-witness account is interspersed with little discourses on the history of the area. Thus, he tells the story of Amaro, a Tupi leader, who in 1616 managed to incite a revolt against the Portuguese among the Tapinambá of Pará and Maranhão by telling them that the Portuguese had planned to enslave them all (as he accords to the author). The uprising took on major proportions, and only after much bloodshed was it suppressed by state troops under Governor Mathias de Albuquerque. Ribeiro de Sampaio also dedicates a chapter to refuting the existence of Amazon-women among the native tribes of the region, a problem that had been occupying European minds since they first set foot on the South American continent.

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**Fig. 11**

IV. Spreading the Faith: Missionaries in the Western Portuguese Empire

The search for the fabulous Christian priest-king Prester John had been one of the motives for Portuguese voyages since the earliest days. The Portuguese discoverers and explorers inherited the medieval spirit of the crusaders, finding redemption from their sins by redeeming heathens from their ignorance of God's word and from the darkness to which they were condemned without the missionary. Pope Alexander VI praised the Iberian powers in 1493 for their efforts to spread the Christian faith and save innumerable souls from damnation.

Coasting down West Africa, the Portuguese navigators were always accompanied by priests and friars. The African king of the Congo, with whom the Portuguese managed to establish friendly diplomatic relations in 1491, was baptized and received as a member in the family of Christian monarchs under the name Dom Afonso I, King of Congo. Soon afterwards Christendom was nominally established as the national religion. By the middle of the sixteenth century, a generation of black African priests had grown up and a bishopric was founded at Bonza Congo (São Salvador).

The first Portuguese ships had brought Franciscan and Benedictine friars to Brazil, but it was only after the arrival of the first Jesuits under Father Manuel de Nóbrega in 1549 that systematic evangelization of the indigenous Brazilians began.

The frontispiece of this work by a Portuguese Carmelite on the history of the wars between (Catholic) Portugal and the (Protestant) United Netherlands expresses well the idea of Portugal's divine mission to bring light to the heathen darkness through evangelization. The woman who receives the light from Mary through reflection from the Portuguese coat of arms is probably an indigenous Brazilian (the feather skirt is a common symbol in this period to mark a figure as Amerindian). The small captions are quotes from Virgil, one saying: "His slough cast off, he was made new," the other: "Chains were holding fast the hands," probably referring to the breaking of symbolic chains and renewal through baptism.


Since 1491, when the first Congo king had adopted the Catholic religion, the Portuguese maintained many missions in West Africa. The engraving shows King Dom Garcia II (1641–1661) receiving Capuchin missionaries in 1648.


The first six fathers of the Society of Jesus under Manuel de Nóbrega arrived in Brazil in 1549, only a few years after the founding of the order. There were never more than a few hundred Jesuits in Brazil at any time, but the influence of the order on the formation of Brazilian society can hardly be overestimated. They worked under the "Padroado Real," the Royal Patronage, in close cooperation with the Portuguese crown and partially financed by it. In a colony where there was little stimulus for education from the state, the Jesuits succeeded in creating an important educational network through their colleges. In the sixteenth century, five were founded: Salvador da Bahia, São Paulo, Rio
de Janeiro, Olinda, and Vitória. They were linked to the Indian mission villages ("aldeias"), mostly in the interior, where the fathers lived together with their neophytes, preaching in the native languages and teaching the Indians farming and cattle ranching.

The chronicle by Vasconcellos describes the first years of the Society of Jesus in Brazil, from 1549 to 1570. The chapter shows how the foundation of the Colegio de São Paulo by the Fathers José de Anchieta and Manuel de Nóbrega in January 1554, which was to become the city of São Paulo. The book is also an example of beautiful early Portuguese printing.


José de Anchieta (1533–1597) is one of the most famous Brazilian Jesuits. He received the cognomen "Apostle of the New World" and was beatified in 1736. Having arrived in Brazil in 1553, he managed to arrange a peace between the Portuguese and the fierce Tamoios, helped to found the College of São Paulo in 1554, led troops of converted Indians against the French in Rio de Janeiro in 1566, wrote a grammar of the Tupi, the "lingua geral" of Brazil (1595), performed many miracles, as testified by both Portuguese and Amerindians, and wrote a 5000-verse Latin poem to the Virgin Mary ("Em louvor da Virgem") to fulfill a promise given when he was held hostage by Indians. (The legend holds that he wrote it first on a sandy beach with a stick, for lack of paper and ink.) The poem is printed at the end of Vasconcellos's Chronica da Companhia. The work exhibited here is the biography of Anchieta by the same author.


The Jesuit Father Antônio Vieira (1608–1697) is the most outstanding figure of seventeenth-century Luso-Brazilian history; as missionary, orator, prophet, diplomat, and statesman, he played an active and often leading role in the course of events that brought about Portugal's definitive separation from Spain (1640) and the expulsion of the Dutch from Brazil (1654). His opinions were important to the Portuguese crown and influenced decisions made by King João IV (1640–1656). His sermons, letters, and state papers are not only an indispensable source for modern historians to understand the "climate of opinion" in seventeenth-century Portugal, Brazil, and Maranhão, but masterpieces of Portuguese prose in their own right.


Vieira was a fervent defender of the freedom of the Brazilian Amerindian. He opposed their enslavement by planters when African slave labor was in short supply, particularly in the Amazon area (the State of Maranhão), a position that brought him into conflict with the settlers and the ruling classes. He also opposed the Inquisition, and made many appeals for toleration of the "New Christians." This and other orthodoxy teachings drew the attention of the Holy Office to his person, and he was kept in prison from October 1665 to December 1667, released under a sentence prohibiting him from teaching, writing, or preaching. After having lived in Rome from 1676 to 1681, he eventually returned with a papal bull exempting him from the jurisdiction of the inquisitor. The manuscript shown (written not by Vieira himself) includes three short pieces by Vieira dealing with Portuguese politics and missions in Brazil; three pieces attacking him; and five pieces relating to his trial by the Portuguese Inquisition.


Perier, another Jesuit, was a missionary in Brazil for some thirty years, eventually serving as Father Superior of Paraiba and Cabo Frio, and procurator of the missions. In the preface, he states that plates of the kind shown in the book were highly effective for evangelization among the Brazilian Indians: seeing the horrifying pictures, many of them got so frightened that they wanted to confess and be baptized immediately for fear of dying the same night and ending up in the hell.
depicted there. The author threatened all sinners with the tortures of hell, illustrating his discourse with examples of particular sins in Brazil, like mistreatment of slaves, or incurring slaves to criminal acts. After four successful editions, the Desenganos dos pecadores was put on the list of books suppressed by the Inquisitorial censors, the edict stating that it included erroneous doctrines, misleading interpretations of the articles of Faith, false examples, and spurious terms.

35. Relazione della Battaglia del dicesimo Ottobre 1759 seguita nel Paraguay tra i Gesuiti, e i Spagnoli, e Portoghesi, Manuscript, Italy? 1760 or later.

This report, said to be based on four original Jesuit letters, tells of the initial success of the resistance by the Guaraní Indians against Spanish and Portuguese troops. Located in Jesuit missions, the Guaraní were fighting against the enforcement of the 1750 Treaty of Madrid by which Spain ceded the lands east of Uruguay to Portugal. The revolt of some 30,000 mission Indians refusing to resettle is often called “The War of the Seven Reductions,” and lasted from about 1754 to 1759, when the missions were dissolved by force and the Jesuits expelled from Portuguese territory.


On 9 September 1758 an attempt was made on the life of King José I. Immediately, the rumor spread (or was spread) that the Society of Jesus had been the mastermind behind this attempted assassination, fueling the myth of a Jesuit conspiracy against the state. It was the right moment to direct public opinion toward the expulsion of the Order from Portuguese territory, and in these three pastoral letters written in November 1759, the bishop of Rio de Janeiro expressed the outrage of all good Catholics about the attempted murder of the king. He forbade

Fig. 14
José de Anchieta (1535–1597), one of the most famous Brazilian Jesuits and co-founder of the city of São Paulo. From Simão de Vasconcellos, Vita do venerável Padre Joseph de Anchieta (Lisbon, 1671), facing p. 1.
parish priests to allow Jesuits to preach or hear confessions in their churches, forbade all communication with Jesuit priests, and required that anyone who had possession of goods belonging to Jesuits, or knew of others who had such goods, to report them to the authorities on pain of excommunication.


The news about the War of the Seven Reductions, the defeat of the Jesuits and their Indian flock, and the expulsion of the Society of Jesus from Portugal and Brazil by order of King José I and his prime minister Sebastião de Carvalho e Melo, Marquês de Pombal, in 1759, spread all over Europe in a great many publications. In times of increasing absolutism and state control over European societies, the Jesuits had come to be perceived as competitors for political power, and conflicts that had flared up in many countries. This engraving shows the structure of the Society of Jesus worldwide in the form of a tree. The Portuguese branch is already cut off; the French and Spanish are cut into.


Until far into the eighteenth century, Tupi was the lingua franca in the Indian missions of Brazil and the Maranhão. The first Tupi grammars were written by Jesuit fathers, like José de Anchiesta, in order to give a learning tool to the brethren in Europe who were preparing to come to Brazil as missionaries. This grammar by the Portuguese Jesuit Figueira, rector of the Colégio in Olinda and missionary in the Maranhão, was first published in 1621 and saw four editions by 1795. The present edition was edited by Father João Filipe Bettendorf. Figueira and thirteen other Jesuit missionaries were killed by Indians in the Amazon area after being shipwrecked in 1643.


Jesuit Fathers used bilingual catechisms for the religious instruction of their neophytes, as soon as they could create them. In many cases, these booklets are the only surviving written examples of an indigenous Indian language. The present work gives important texts and prayers, such as the Ten Commandments, the Pater Noster, the Ave Maria, or the Credo, in Kuriri and Portuguese in parallel columns. The translation illustrates some of the linguistic problems encountered by the missionaries: “Deus” (“God”) is translated by “Tupa,” who was in the religion of Brazilian tribes a terrifying god of thunder; by using this name, the Jesuits evoked connotations that were originally not part of the Christian doctrine.


Missionary activity in Brazil was undertaken by four religious orders under Portuguese royal patronage—Jesuits, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Benedictines—and two orders dependent on the Propaganda Fide in Rome—Capuchins and Oratorians. The present work is a history of the Franciscan Order in America. In Brazil, the Franciscans arrived in 1585, sailing out along the coastal belt from Olinda, with convents in Salvador, Espírito Santo, and Rio de Janeiro. They owned landed estates and supervised mission settlements in the interior. Being less inclined than the Jesuits to get involved in controversial worldly concerns, the Franciscans rarely entered the debate over whether Amerindians could be enslaved, and concentrated on giving spiritual guidance to the Portuguese settlers. By the middle of the eighteenth century, Franciscan friars in Brazil numbered over a thousand, but their number and importance subsequently declined, as did those of all religious orders in Brazil.
V. The Battlefield Brazil

The history of Portuguese expansion to the West is not least a story of murderous battles and long wars. In the Atlantic, Portuguese fleets were sacked by pirates from all parts of Europe. In West Africa, Portuguese fortresses and ports for the trade of gold, ivory, and slaves came under attack by the Dutch in the seventeenth and by the Brandenburgers and the British in the eighteenth century. In Brazil, there were battles between the indigenous tribes and the Portuguese colonizers; battles between the Portuguese and the French, who established trading posts in the Amazon area as well as on the eastern coastline, and from 1555 to 1558 even managed to establish a colony in the bay of Rio de Janeiro; battles between the Portuguese and the Dutch West India Company, which attacked Bahia in 1624, and ruled over Brazil's Northeast between 1630 and 1654; battles between the Portuguese and the Spanish over the southern borders of Brazil in the Rio de la Plata region, and between their joint armies and the Jesuit Guarani missions who refused to resettle in 1751. Streams of blood were shed, and many lives taken.

Most of the contemporary literature on the Portuguese in the western hemisphere deals with these armed conflicts, from various perspectives depending on the origin and background of the authors. It is from these sources that one gets the impression that war was a constantly present reality for anyone involved in Portugal's ventures overseas.
41. I. B. A plaine and true relation, of the going forth of a Holland fleet the eleventh of November 1625, to the coast of Brasilia, Rotter-
dam, 1626.

During the sixteenth century, Portugal had managed to stabilize its power in Brazil. But with increasing wealth through its flourishing sugar production, and with only small defense forces, Brazil became an attractive target for the emerging naval power of the United Netherlands. The Dutch West India Company had been incorporated in 1621. As its first major operation, the conquest of Brazil was chosen. The expedition reached Bahia, then the seat of the governor-general, the bishop, and the colonial high court, in May 1624, and the city fell within two days.

The unknown writer of this account describing the conquest of Bahia was an Englishman in Dutch service. According to his own assertions, he did not speak Portuguese, never left the garrison, and lost his notebook. Nevertheless, he describes the inhabitants of the city as lazy, haughty, Jews, and "whore-mongers."

42. Manoel Severim de Faria (1585–1655). Relação universal do que sucedeu em Portugal, & mais provincias do Occidente & Oriente, de março de 625. até todo setembro de 626. Lisbon, 1826.

When the news of the Dutch conquest of Bahia reached the Iberian peninsula, Madrid and Lisbon—then united under one crown—for once reacted in cooperation and unison, mobilizing on a large scale in order to send a fleet for the relief of Bahia as soon as possible. The combined Portuguese-Spanish armada under the command of Don Fradrique de Toledo reached the conquered city on Easter 1625. The Dutch had kept in Bahia only about half of their forces, having sent the rest back to Holland and others to West Africa. On 30 April 1625 the demoralized Dutch garrison of Bahia capitulated to the Portuguese-Spanish besiegers.

Faria's Relação universal relates the events surrounding the conquest in detail, based on reports sent back to Lisbon by Fradrique de Toledo. It is considered to be the first periodical publication in Portugal.


After the Dutch fleet under the famous Admiral Pieter Heyn had captured the Spanish silver fleet in Cuba in September 1628, the Dutch West India Company found itself with sufficient financial strength to plan a new offensive on Brazil. On February 15, 1630, the Dutch launched their attack on Pernambuco, landing simultaneously north of Olinda (under Hendrick Loncq) and at Recife (under Diederick van Waerdenburgh). In spite of serious efforts by Governor Mathias de Albuquerque to strengthen the local defenses on the eve of the landing, by March 4 all resistance was over and the Dutch celebrated the capture of Olinda, Recife, and the neighboring island of Antônio Vaz. To the disappointment of the conquerors, the booty was insignificant: "Not more than some hundred cases of sugar, a little wine, some flour, and a few small things of little importance were found. One can assume that the inhabitants took all their goods with them when they fled." This German broadside is one of the many publications on this event circulating in Europe in 1630. The engraving shows the city of Olinda.

44. Paulo do Rosario (d. 1655). Relação breve, e verdadeira da memor-
ável victoria que o ouve o capitão-mór da capitania da Paraíba Antonio de Albuquerque, dos rebeldes de Olinda. Lisbon, 1632.

In 1632, the governor of Paraíba, Antônio de Albuquerque, successfully defended his captenay against an attempted Dutch takeover. This account vividly reveals how murderous battles were in those days: "On the side of the winner there were as many casualties as on the side of the defeated." The author gives a list of the names of all the dead and wounded, including a separate list of Brazilian Indians who fought and died on the Portuguese side.

45. Willem Bosman (b. 1672). Nauwkeurige Beschryving van de Guine-

The fort Elmina, also called St. George d'el Mina, was the most important Portuguese trading post on the West African coast. It had
been built in the 1480s to protect the Guinea trade, with building blocks shipped from Portugal stone by stone. Its importance for the Atlantic slave trade being well known, it also soon became a target for the Dutch, who were challenging Iberian hegemony in the Atlantic. The Dutch West India Company took the fort in 1637, and it was officially ceded to them in the treaty of 1640 between the Portuguese monarch and the General States of the United Netherlands. It remained in Dutch hands until 1872.

The author of this book was an official of the Dutch West India Company and Chief Factor at the castle of Elmina. The book is comprised of letters written by him to his superiors, to merchants, and to relatives. It contains engravings of several fortresses on the West African coast. In 1705, an English translation was published in London under the title *A new and accurate description of the coast of Guinea*.


After the young Portuguese King Sebastião was killed in North Africa in 1578 in a war against the “infidels,” for which he had been ill-prepared, the Portuguese succession fell to the Spanish crown. For sixty years, from 1580 to 1640, Portugal was ruled by the Spanish Hapsburg kings Philip II, III, and IV. In 1640, a cabal of Portuguese nobles revolted against Spanish rule and crowned the Duke of Braganza as King of Portugal under the name João IV. The new monarch saw immediately the necessity of making peace with the Dutch in order to gain time and forces for the wars with Spain. Count Mauritius of Nassau-Siegen, governor of Dutch Brazil from 1638–1644, was informed of the new state of affairs by the Portuguese viceroy in Bahia, Jorge Mascarenhas, marquess of Montalvão, in a letter which is shown here in print.

Fig. 16
German broadside with an engraving of the towns of Recife and Olinda (in the captaincy of Pernambuco), at the moment of the Dutch conquest in 1630. *Befreiung der Stadt Olinda* (Netherlands: Germany, 1630).
Fig. 17
The Portuguese fort El Mina on the Guinea coast, taken by the Dutch in 1637. From Willem van Borssele, Nauwenkraet Beschryving van de Guiniese Groot-Tand-en Slave-Kust (Utrecht, 1704), facing p. 44.

In this Portuguese copy of the truce signed between Portugal and the United Netherlands in 1642, the Dutch agreed to a non-aggression policy towards the Portuguese possessions in East Asia, Africa, and America, and to peaceful trade.

48. Francisco de Andrade Leitão (d. 1665). Discurso politico sobre o se auer de largar a coroa de Portugal, Angola, S. Thome, & Maranhão. Lisbon, 1642.

The Portuguese ambassador in the Netherlands, Andrade Leitão, had to protest officially against the activities of Admiral Cornelis Cornelisszoon Jol, and the conquests of the Dutch throughout the world. In West Africa and the Brazilian Northeast, in particular, the Dutch West India Company continued to attack Portuguese territory despite the ten-year peace. Portugal justly accused the United Netherlands of breaking the truce.


After twenty-four years of continuous war, the Dutch were expelled from northeast Brazil in 1654. The governor who led the victorious Portuguese forces, João Fernandes Vieira, was celebrated in Portugal and Brazil as a national hero. The nickname “Castrioto” alludes to Jorge Castrioto, King of Epirus or Albania, whose heroic deeds were well known to the Portuguese at the time through a widely read book by Manoel Balencia Scutachino. The author of the present chronicle, Frei Raphael de Jesus, had never visited Brazil and based his book on contemporary manuscripts and published works.


On August 17, 1710, the French landed in Guanabara bay with 1,500 men, under the command of the mulatto Jean-François Du Clerc from Guadaloupe, in order to conquer Rio de Janeiro, then the rich center of commerce for the gold and diamond regions of the Brazilian interior. The venture was ill-fated. Most of the Frenchmen that had come ashore and eventually managed to enter the city were killed or severely wounded. Du Clerc was taken prisoner and a few months later murdered under mysterious circumstances in the house where he was kept. Menezes wrote: “It seems that the French had totally forgotten the ill fate their armies suffered in Rio de Janeiro when they tried in 1556... to establish themselves in this region, from where they were expelled by 1567, after continuous defeats through the braveness of the Brazilian governor Mendes de Sá; their alliance with the barbarous inhabitants... did not help them.”


The notice of Du Clerc’s murder caused great indignation in France. A second expedition left for Rio de Janeiro, attracted by its wealth and now also bent on revenge, under the famous Breton corsair René Duguay-Trouin, who was celebrated in his time as a singularly handsome man, a skilled duelist, and an ardent lover, “le parfait gentil-homme.” After speedy and secret preparations, their landing near Rio de Janeiro on August 11, 1711, took the Portuguese by surprise. Some carelessness, combined with the passivity of two indecisive governors, let the city fall into the hands of Duguay-Trouin and his men on Sep-
tember 21, 1711. A few weeks later the capitulation was signed: the French received millions in gold, diamonds, and other precious goods in return for not destroying the city, which they nevertheless had sacked thoroughly. When Antonio de Albuquerque arrived with his relief troops from Minas Gerais, the French had already left.


This plan of the Guanabara bay and the city of Rio de Janeiro was designed to accompany the Mémoires of Duguay-Trouin. It shows the formation of the attacking French ships.

53. Noticia e Instruccions do titulo, e boa fe de que se obrou a Nova Colônia do Sacramento. Lisbon, 1681.

In 1680, the Portuguese established a colony at Sacramento, on the northern branch of the Rio de la Plata opposite Buenos Aires, largely in the hope of diverting the stream of silver from the Potosí mines through this backdoor of High Peru. The anonymous essay shown here defends Portuguese rights to the area called Colônia do Sacramento. It quotes an impressive selection of authors who had written on Brazil before, trying to find arguments supporting the Portuguese claims. The author goes as far back as the bull by Pope Alexander VI of 1493, but also quotes writers like Herrera, de Lest, Botero, Gandavo, Maffei, Vascencellos, San Román, and Barleus. He also cites other rivers, like the Rhine, as examples of “natural” borders between countries.


During the early eighteenth century, the Colônia do Sacramento was a bone of contention between the two Iberian powers. As a result of the rupture of diplomatic relations between Spain and Portugal after a trivial incident in Europe, the Governor of Buenos Aires received orders to take the Colônia by force of arms in 1735. He laid waste the fertile and cultivated countryside, but the Portuguese under governor Antônio Pedro de Vasconcellos held firm behind their rather poor fortification. When reinforcements arrived from Rio, Bahia, and Pernambuco during 1736, the besieging force of Spanish soldiers and Amerindians from the Jesuit missions was driven off. An armistice was concluded in March 1737, in Paris, ordering the reversion to the status quo. The author of this report was a second-lieutenant in one of the Portuguese battalions.

55. Tratado de limites das conquistas entre os muitos Altos e Poderosos Sinhores D. João V. Rey de Portugal e D. Fernando VI. Rey de Espanha. Lisbon, 1750.

This is the bilingual version of a treaty that was signed by the two Iberian powers in 1750, giving the Colônia do Sacramento to Portugal (the area corresponds roughly to the Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul today). It shows that this particular border conflict had been perceived as the latest in a line of territorial fights that began in 1492. The publication reprints all declarations, treaties, or agreements relevant to this problem of international law: the Bull of Alexander VI (1493), the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), the Saragossa Agreement (1529), the Provisional Treaty of Lisbon (1681), and the Treaty of Utrecht (1715).

56. Relação dos officios de guerra, e mais pessoas, que so achão nomeadas por Sua Magestade, para a expedição da America Portuguesa. Lisbon, 1751.

This rare pamphlet draws attention to the fact that the Portuguese expansion into the Atlantic world was an enterprise in which many nationals participated. Armies were mainly made up of mercenaries, and even officers came from many different countries. The officers sent by the Portuguese crown to serve in the south of Brazil who are listed in the present booklet include Germans, Italians, and one Swiss. Their pay varied considerably according to background and function.
VI. The Amazon and the State of Maranhão

In many respects, the history of discovery, exploration, and development of the Amazon river, its estuary, and its thousands of tributaries is different from the same process in the coastal belt of Brazil or the interior. For 350 years after the discovery of the Amazon by Vicente Pinzón, the region remained an almost undisturbed wilderness, occupied by Indian tribes whom the food quest had split into countless fragments. Only a few European settlements existed on the banks of the rivers, either for trade with the Indians, for various products the forest yielded in abundance, or for evangelical purposes. The Amazon area and the regions south and east of the Amazon proper, also characterized by rivers and almost impenetrable rain-forest, the captaincies of Maranhão and Paraíba, were united in 1621 under the name “Estado do Maranhão” and made independent from the southern captaincies named “Estado do Brasil.” The state of Maranhão remained independent until 1774, when it again became subject to a central colonial administration.

57. Antonio Pereira. [Western section of a world map]. Lisbon? ca. 1546.

This map, one of a three-part world map attributed to a Portuguese map maker named Antonio Pereira, is one of the earliest to show the results of the explorations of the American continent by Francisco de Ulloa, Hernando de Alarcón, Jacques Cartier, and Francisco de Orellana. It was probably drawn in Lisbon and based upon information contained in the official world map (“padron real”) maintained for Spanish pilots in the Casa de Contratación in Seville. Pereira was one of the first mapmakers to record the famous voyage by Orellana down
the Amazon from Peru in 1541–1542, of which we know many details from the account by the accompanying Father Gaspar de Carvajal. It was Orellana who called the river “Amazon” when he saw warrior women fighting with bows and arrows on its banks. The news of Orellana’s discovery reached Europe in 1543, and the names on Pereira’s map correspond to those mentioned in Carvajal’s report.

58. Monsieur de Pezieu (d. 1613). *Brief recueil des particularités contenues aux lettres envoyées par Monsieur de Pezieu a messieurs ses parents & amis de France.* Lyons, 1613.

The first European settlement in the Maranhão was established by a French trading expedition under Jacques Riffaut of Dieppe in 1594, who lost two of his three vessels near the island of Maranhão and left some of his men on the island when he returned home. Soon afterwards, Daniel de la Rivardière was commissioned by the French crown to found a colony on the island, which was done in 1612. De Pezieu was a French gentleman who followed Rivardière to participate in the colonization project. He was killed in the fight at Guaxanduba in 1615, when the Portuguese finally expelled the French colonizers. His account consists of three letters: the first gives an account of the voyage and arrival in Maranhão (1612), the second (dated 10 Dec. 1612) describes affairs of the colony, projects planned, and the native population, and the third is from Monsieur de Rassilly, one of the accompanying officers who returned earlier, to Pezieu’s mother in Paris, giving news of her son and commending him highly. In the second letter Pezieu described the Indians as peaceful and friendly. He was fascinated by their use of palm-oil, coconuts, manioc flour, and all kinds of exotic fruits.


Like the Portuguese, the French colonizers brought in missionaries as soon as the colony was established. Many of the indigenous tribes in the Maranhão received the French in a friendly manner as natural allies against the Portuguese, their enemies. The French Capuchins, in turn, took many of their Indian protégés to France in order to give them a Christian and European education. Most of them fell ill, however, and died soon after their arrival in Europe.


On April 11, 1713, a treaty was signed between Louis XIV of France, and King João V of Portugal, in which France acknowledged the Portuguese rights to Brazil, in particular in the Amazon region (Article VII–XIII). This agreement was part of the Treaty of Utrecht of 1715, in which several European powers settled territorial conflicts in Europe and in the New World. The present copy of the treaty is bilingual, with French and Portuguese in parallel columns.


The Spaniards had always been interested in the Amazon because it connected their colony of Peru with the Atlantic Ocean. Between 1580 and 1640, when Portugal was ruled by the Spanish Hapsburgs, Spanish–Portuguese cooperation in the exploration of the river was common. In 1638, the Portuguese Pedro Teixeira reached Quito by way of the Rio Napo, completing the first ascent of the Amazon in history. He returned in 1639 with the Jesuit fathers Acuña and Artieda, delegated by the Viceroy of Peru to accompany him. In 1640, Portugal revolted against Spain and regained its independence. In his account, published first in 1640 and again in 1643, Acuña, after giving a report on the expedition, urged the Spanish crown to take possession of the Amazon before the Portuguese managed to establish themselves there securely. He proposed nine weighty reasons for doing so, one of which being the importance of the river for traffic with the provinces of Peru.
Indians to come to the missions. António Vieira, the famous Portuguese Jesuit, was himself a missionary in the Maranhão from 1655 to 1661. In this letter he criticized the practice of the "resgates," in which Indians were enslaved contrary to the laws protecting them.


The State of Maranhão attracted few Europeans until the 1750s, when the crown finally gave high priority to its development. Apart from missionaries, royal officials, and minimal garrison forces, most of the early European inhabitants of the State apparently came as deported criminals ("degredados"), sentenced to exile by tribunals in Portugal, or as homesteaders from the Atlantic Islands, especially the Azores. Mendonça, in his *Universal History of Earthquakes* written following the terrible earthquake that destroyed Lisbon in 1755, tells about a hundred couples from the island of Faial who were given land in the Maranhão by King Pedro II, after an earthquake on 12 April 1672 had resulted in the destruction of their houses and farms on Faial.


The author of this anonymous account must certainly have travelled in the north of Brazil. He described the beautiful forests producing wood that exceeded ebony in quality and color, and pointed out how easily the trees could be felled since the roots did not go deep. He expressed his admiration for the elegant and dangerous animals of the jungle, like the jaguar ("onça") and the big snakes ("sumuteres"). He considered the region a paradise and intended to advertise it. It seems, however, that this work did not meet the expected success, because the promised second part was never published.


This very rare popular pamphlet ("folheto de cordel") was written as a letter from a Portuguese, who had recently arrived in Pará, to a
gentleman in Lisbon. Though mentioning the pleasant climate, the author speaks about a harsh (“agrestes”) country that is scarcely populated. Food could be abundant if there were enough people to plant and harvest. Only meat is cheap. In order to relieve the shortage of labor, he says, African slaves are imported, and from one arriving slave-ship he observed that all the “pieces” were sold in an instant. The notion that northern Brazil was badly underpopulated was common among observers and often mentioned as the reason for the problems of the area.


In 1750 the aged King João V expired, and his “colorless do-nothing son,” as one historian has described him, succeeded as José I. The new administration, in which Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, later named Marquis of Pombal, became the dominant figure, devoted considerable attention to the State of Maranhão. Pombal came to the conclusion that the State’s critical socioeconomic problems could be solved by investing sufficient capital and manpower, which in turn would yield lucrative returns for the crown. A commercial company for the Maranhão, modelled after examples of joint-stock companies in other European countries, had long been proposed. Such a company was incorporated on 7 June 1755, receiving exclusive rights to conduct trade between the African slave ports, Maranhão, and Portugal. The expectation was that this General Company of Commerce of Greater Pará and Maranhão would finally bring in an ample supply of black slaves to remedy the constant labor shortage, the first prerequisite for the planned abolition of Indian slavery.

68. Diretório que se deve observar nas povoações dos índios do Pará, e Maranhão. Lisbon, 1758.

When Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado, the younger brother of Pombal, was appointed governor and captain-general of Maranhão in 1751, his instructions from the crown included the abolition of Indian slavery. This was implemented as valid law in 1755, though with the requirement that Indian slaves were to serve their former masters for another six years as wage earners. As the next step, the Portuguese crown secularized the Indian missions (“aldeias”) with the establishment of the Directorate system. Since most of the new supervisors or “directors” were administrators with close links to the colonists, and were unsalaried and dependent for their income on a substantial share of the village earnings, the Indians continued to be exploited. Many deserted or died. By the end of the century, the population of the former missions in the Maranhão had fallen to one third of what it had been. The government decree shown here announces the abolition of the mission villages and declares the Indians free Portuguese citizens with equal rights.


This essay describing the population, agriculture, arts, and commerce of the province of Pará, was sent by the anonymous author to an (equally unknown) editor or publisher in the hope that its publication would draw attention to this rich and yet neglected region. The author praises the fertility and the wealth in natural resources of the country, but laments the negligence and inertia of the inhabitants. The backwardness of Pará is to him also a result of the general evils of the Portuguese empire, among which he mentions despotism, corruption, oppression by the Inquisition, neglect of sciences and arts, excessive influence of the church in secular matters, oppressive taxation, and complicated and confused legislation. Once more, under-population is seen as a major reason for the socioeconomic problems of northern Brazil; partly, the author says, because Portugal missed the chance to attract energetic people to Brazil for lack of political and religious freedom. Poor uneducated colonists coming to Brazil, he writes, soon turn into masters and arrogant lords, reigning over slaves and never wanting to work themselves, while most mechanical jobs like those of a carpenter, stoneworker, blacksmith, and mason, are performed by blacks who are not as inventive or diligent as they could be because they are not free and poorly compensated.
VII. Trade, Plantations, and Mines: Colonial Economy and Society

The first explorers arriving on Brazil's coast were on their way to East India, the land of spices. Many others who followed, coasting down the eastern shore of Brazil, were more interested in finding the southwest passage to India than in Brazil itself. But there was always the possibility that the land had gold and silver, and Vespucci inquired carefully among the Indians if they knew of any precious metals. After all, the voyages had to be paid for. Since they could not find gold, the ships brought back other profitable goods: Indian slaves, parrots, and the red dye-wood called "brazil-wood" that gave the newly found land its European name. The first Portuguese colonists introduced sugarcane to Brazil. It flourished beyond all expectations, and as the techniques of sugar production developed in Madeira and São Tomé were improved, sugar soon became the major export of the country. Other export crops gained importance: tobacco and cotton, for instance. The settlers learned to eat and grow the native manioc. Since Indian slaves resisted or did not survive the hard work, more and more African slaves were imported, and the first major plantation economy based on black slave labor developed in Brazil. The slave trade was a profitable business for many a merchant. Later, cattle ranching in the vast "sertão" provided meat for consumption and hides for export.

The economy based on barter and agricultural products changed considerably when, towards the end of the seventeenth century, first gold and then diamonds and other precious stones were found in the Brazilian hinterland. Minas Gerais ("General Mines") became the economic (and cultural) center of Brazil in
the eighteenth century. The Portuguese crown did everything to monopolize the gold and diamond trade and channel the wealth to the metropolis, but smuggling was rampant, and a clandestine domestic economy developed, with structures that would eventually help the country after independence in 1822.

70. Pedro de Magalhães Gandavo, *Historia da provincia sâcta Cruz a que vulgarmente chamamos Brasil*. Lisboa, 1576.

This is the first Portuguese work about Brazil, and Gandavo explains the reason in his preface: the Portuguese did not care very much about Brazil at that time; their attention was concentrated on the East India trade. Foreigners were better informed about the wealth of these new lands in the West than the Portuguese, which is why they were trying to establish colonies there. Gandavo praised and glorified the country and its resources, trying to promote immigration and attract investors. His style has been described as "the language of an immigration agent" (Sérgio Barreto de Holanda). From the fact that this book is so extremely rare today, it has been concluded that it was suppressed after publication because of the information it contained on the colony's riches, which the Portuguese government might not have wanted to see published.

71. Portugal, King Philip II (1598–1621). *Dom Philipe per graça de Deus, Rey de Portugal... Faço saber a vos*. Lisbon, 1606.

Trade with Portuguese posts in West Africa as well as with Brazil required special licenses given by the Portuguese crown. Sometimes these were granted to foreigners, but in general trade in the Luso-Afro-Brazilian triangle was restricted to Portuguese merchants. Foreigners had to pay heavy tariffs and taxes. Between 1580 and 1640, when the two countries were united under the Spanish crown, the Spaniards had access to the Portuguese empire. The present "alvared" (law publication) forbade the entry of foreign, i.e., non-Iberian, vessels into any port of Brazil, Portugal, or Angola, and it ordered the expulsion of all foreigners from the Portuguese colonies, supposedly because licenses for trade had been forged and tariffs not been paid. These measures were mainly aimed at Dutch merchants, who were increasing their trade with the Iberian colonies.


When the Dutch West India Company conquered the northeast of Brazil in 1630, they were very much aware that the wealth of the colony they were trying to tap lay in the sugar-mills of Pernambuco and the other northeastern capitanias. By granting the Portuguese sugar planters religious freedom and good conditions for work and trade, they managed to prevent many skilled planters and sugar-producers from fleeing Dutch Brazil. Boiling and refining the sugar was a task requiring special skills, which the Dutch had to learn from the Brazilians. Willem Piso, the editor of the present book containing articles by several authors, was the personal physician of Prince Maurice of Nassau-Siegen, governor of Dutch Brazil from 1638 to 1644.


In the commercial Luso-Afro-Brazilian triangle, West African products played an important role: ivory, gold, and the human cargo, slaves. With the growth of the plantation economy in Brazil the demand for African slaves rose, and by the end of the nineteenth century, millions of Africans had crossed the Atlantic to be sold as slaves in the New World. Portugal had established the large scale trade in the sixteenth century, but soon the United Netherlands challenged the Portuguese monopoly and conquered important slave posts on the African coast, like El Mina in 1637. The Dutch West India Company employed many Germans. One of them was Michael Hemmersam, a goldsmith from Nuremberg, who served for two years as a soldier and for three years as a sergeant. He spent most of his service in the garrison at El Mina (1639–44), and he participated in the conquest of the Portuguese

Fishing and whaling was an important part of the Portuguese-Brazilian economy. Fish was integral to the Portuguese diet, and whales provided many important raw materials, like oil, bones, and skin. In this contract, the Portuguese crown awarded a three-year monopoly for whaling on the coast of the captaincy of Rio de Janeiro to Domingos Pinto de Magalhães, at a price of 24,000 cruzados per year and under the condition that he build a new factory in Rio de Janeiro.


Rocha Pitta was a member of a Bahian sugar-planting family and a colonel in the local militia. He was nominated by the Royal Academy in Lisbon to write the official history of Portuguese America. The discovery of gold (ca. 1693–95), diamonds (ca. 1725), and emeralds in Brazil occurred in his lifetime. He gives a detailed account of the history of the mining regions (Minas Gerais), and the war in the gold district between Paulistas on one side and recent Portuguese immigrants and Brazilians from the coastal towns on the other, called the “Guerre dos Emboadas” (1708–1711). His work is also a good source for the events named the “Guerre dos Mascates” in Recife (1709–1711) when the old sugar-planter oligarchy with town houses in Olinda clashed with the new merchant bourgeoisie in Recife over privileges and political influence. These events showed the “growing pains of a colonial society,” Charles Boxer has commented, in which important socio-economic changes were taking place.


The first foreigner to be granted entry to the gold and diamond districts of Minas Gerais, Goiás, and Mato Grosso was the Englishman John Mawe. For over a century the Portuguese crown had taken extreme care in maintaining its monopoly of trade by keeping its main source of wealth hidden from the eyes of strangers. Although Mawe visited the Brazilian interior in the first decade of the nineteenth century, much of what he wrote about mining methods is equally applicable to a century earlier. He described how slaves washed the river mud and sand in search for gold under the surveillance of overseers, and reported on smuggling and prostitution in the mining area.

77. Charles Brockwell. *The natural and political history of Portugal ... to which is added the history of Brazil*. London, 1726.

“Killing is no murder” was a common saying in eighteenth-century Brazil, where life was chronically insecure and most free men went about heavily armed at all times. An edict by the Governor of Pernambuco in 1710, attempting to proclaim a general ban on the carrying of firearms by civilians, met with heavy protest and led to his dismissal. In the mining areas of Minas Gerais, it was even more common to walk around armed to the teeth, since law enforcement was weak, large sums were at stake, and controversies easily ended in minor civil wars. However, as Brockwell observes, being heavily armed was also a Portuguese tradition: even in eighteenth-century Portugal, men went about carrying swords, daggers, and pistols, to be able to defend their honor at any time.

78. Arte, e Dicionario do Commercio, e Economia Portuguesa para que todos negociem, e governem os seus bens por calculo, e não por conjectura; ou para que todos lucrarem mais com menos risco. Lisbon, 1784.

This small treatise on commerce presents the statistics of Portuguese (and Brazilian) commerce for the year 1777, with comparative numbers
for 1776, alphabetically ordered by item and including the names of the trade partners. The statistics show, for example, that rice had become a profit-yielding export item. Nevertheless, the author recommended that the export trade be expanded, finding that the Portuguese empire had a negative trade balance in 1777, and that the economy diversify instead of relying on gold mines, with all the income being spent during the "fat" years.


Frei Velloso, born in Minas Gerais in 1742, was entrusted by the Portuguese government with the task of translating and editing foreign books that would be useful in the development of the arts, industry, and agriculture. Velloso employed many young Brazilians who were then in Lisbon. Of all the works published by Velloso, the most important is the collection of ten volumes entitled O Fazendeiro do Brasil.

In the preface, Velloso expressed his hopes for the progress of Brazil. He dwelt on the backwardness of agriculture in the colony, and he found the yields of Brazilian sugar mills insignificant compared to those in the English colonies. But he believed enthusiastically that the riches of the country could be increased if the lands were cultivated more wisely and by introducing new crops and the use of modern techniques. Unfortunately, his work had few or no practical results, mainly because the books never reached their intended readers; no commercial distribution of books existed in Brazil. The Portuguese government had sent copies of the work from Lisbon to various governors in Brazil, to be sold or even given away free. Only in Bahia and Pernambuco were they received with interest, mainly by those in the sugar business. In the other places, the work remained in the governor’s office, being devoured by insects.

The ten volumes are divided into five parts, dealing with (1) sugar, (2) dyes, (3) coffee and cacao, (4) herbs, spices, and tobacco, (5) cotton and other textile raw materials.


Koster was born in Portugal, the son of an English sugar merchant. He came to Recife in 1809, from where he started his travels to Paraiba and Maranhao. He settled in Pernambuco on a sugar estate, and later acquired land in Itamaracá. He became well-acquainted with members of the sugar-aristocracy, and described their manners and customs. But he also observed the poorer people, the fishermen, the small farmers, the inhabitants of the "sertão." The colored plates accompanying his account and made after his drawings by a relative, include among others "A Jangada," the fisherman's catamaran of the Northeast; "A Sertanejo," an inhabitant of the interior; "A Lady going to a Visit" in a litter carried by two slaves; "A Cotton Carrier"; and "A Sugar Mill."


Portugal always took great care not to publish too much information about her colonies, especially not about Brazil. However, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, England had gained enormous political and economic influence on the Portuguese empire for being her protector against Revolutionary France, and English merchants were eager to know more about Brazil and its products. The Portuguese original of the present essay had been published in Lisbon, 1794, under the title Ensaios economico sobre o commercio de Portugal e suas colonias. The translator pointed out how important he felt it was that the information contained in it be known in England. The author, a famous Brazilian Enlightenment figure, bishop of Pernambuco, educated, and a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences, criticized among other things Portuguese monopolies, like the salt monopoly, which made items too expensive for lack of competition. He strongly supported slavery (against which the translator protested in a footnote), arguing that Brazil's problem was underpopulation and that only African slaves could provide the badly needed labor.
VIII. The Scientific Exploration of Portuguese America

The discovery and exploration of the New World confronted the Europeans with observations that did not fit the old categories and required new explanations. American flora and fauna fascinated naturalists; previously unknown diseases and their cures from previously unknown pharmaceutical plants provided new material for studies in medicine. Also, the encounter with strange peoples challenged the European view of mankind and led to the development of the scholarly discipline of anthropology.

The beginnings of the scientific exploration of Brazil are generally associated with the governorship of Prince Maurits of Nassau-Siegen in Dutch northeast Brazil. Prince Maurits brought with him to Brazil several scientists who studied plants and animals, medicine, astronomy, and Indian linguistics. Later, in the eighteenth century, it was materia medica that prevailed in the studies, until the nineteenth century when Brazil finally began to attract scientific expeditions from all over Europe.

82. Nicolás Bautista Monardes (ca. 1512–1588). Simplicium medicamentorum ex novo orbe delatorum ... Quorum in medicina usus est, historia. Antwerp, 1591.

The descriptions, the plants, and the animals brought back by the Iberian explorers from America presented a challenge to European scientists. Soon they became interested in the pharmaceutical properties of New World plants about which the explorers learned from the natives. Published in its original Spanish version in 1565, this is the first book on American materia medica. Monardes, son of a Genoese bookseller and a Spanish mother, was a leading physician in Seville and an active merchant (he was also involved in the slave trade). He never left Seville, but he examined whatever came in with returning fleets, and
he had a botanical garden where he studied plants transplanted from the New World. His scientific descriptions of tobacco, coca, mechoaca, sarsaparilla, and sassafras soon reached all parts of Europe, his works being translated into Latin, English, Italian, French, and German. One of his most famous translators was the Flemish physician, botanist, lawyer, linguist, and mentor of Jacob Fugger, Charles L’Écuelle (1526–1609).

Here he describes the armadillo, an animal common in Brazil and object of much admiration by explorers and travellers for centuries to come, in terms of its medical use: pills from the powdered bones of its tail are said to cure ringworm, scrat, deafness, and to cure various pains.


The *Historia Naturalis Brasiliae*, as it is also called, is the first scholarly work on Brazil in the natural sciences, and it remained the most important reference book on this subject until the nineteenth century. Marggraf’s studies in the natural history of Brazil, including careful descriptions and drawings of plants, fish, birds, quadrupeds, reptiles, and insects, form the second part of the work. The first part, on materia medica, diseases, and drugs, was written by Willem Piso, personal physician of Maurits of Nassau-Siegen. The book also contains a chapter about the “Tapuyas,” the non-assimilated native tribes allied to the Dutch, based on writings by a famous Jewish-German interpreter of indigenous languages in Dutch service, Jacob Rab.


In the eighteenth century, scurvy was still a major problem on long voyages on the high seas. Miranda describes how Africans arrived in Bahia as “veritable skeletons.” At least 2,000 died every year at their arrival, while many more perished during the voyage. Being able to cure sick slaves was not only a scientific success but a profitable business (not unlike medicine in later centuries). Miranda recalls that he bought three ailing slaves, the sickest for only six milreis, and after he cured them, sold them for a hundred and fifty milreis and more each.

Miranda was a surgeon from Oporto who came to Bahia in 1726, where he practised medicine until his death in 1773. He is an interesting and somewhat representative figure of eighteenth-century Brazil, because he not only practised as a surgeon, but travelled to Rio and Minas Gerais; was active as a merchant (perhaps not always lawfully since his name is mentioned in a lawsuit against persons selling sugar for more than the permitted price); and he was owner of a ship used to transport slaves from Africa to Bahia. It was in Bahia while dealing with newly-arrived African slaves that he discovered a remedy for the “mal de Loanda” or scurvy. The remedy, with its preparation published in the present book, became known widely, although its effectiveness was disputed.


The “Achaque do Bicho” was a common disease in Brazil and West Africa up to the nineteenth century, and is well described by Willem Piso in the “Historia naturalis et medica” (*Ch. XIV, B. II*: “De ulcera et inflammatione ani”; see above item #83). It appears to have been a gangrene of the rectum, complicated by lack of bodily hygiene. Many people in the Portuguese colonies succumbed to it. Like Miranda, Pimenta found a profitable way of buying sick slaves at a low price, curing them, and then selling them at a large profit. Pimenta was not a physician. The son of Portuguese farm laborers, he came to Recife at age fifteen or sixteen, in 1678 or thereabouts. He started as a shop boy and soon became a prosperous merchant. He also was a “familiar” of the Inquisition in Brazil, an office of high prestige reserved only for people of “pure blood,” i.e., without Jewish, Moorish, or Black ancestry.


No major scientific descriptions of Brazilian flora and fauna appeared from the time of Marggraf and Piso’s work to the late eighteenth century, and medical use of Brazilian plants was widely unknown in
Europe until the nineteenth century. One exception is Ipecacuanha, a root obtained from Psychotria, a small shrub found mainly in Mato Grosso. Ipecacuanha, though in common use in Brazil, was not employed in Europe prior to 1674. In France within a few years after that date, it formed the chief ingredient in a remedy against dysentery. The powdered root was applied in varying doses as an expectorant, as a stimulant for appetite and digestion, for diaphoretic purposes, and as an emetic, which was probably its most valuable and best known function.

Vandelli, a native of Padua (Italy), came to Portugal by invitation of the Marquis of Pombal to take over the chair for Philosophy in the University of Coimbra. He was a member of the Royal Academies of Sciences in Lisbon, Upsala, Padua, and Florence, was a deputy in the Portuguese Royal Council of Commerce, Agriculture, Manufacturing, and Navigation, and as the Director of the Royal Botanical Gardens in Ajud a he had the chance to study Portuguese flora. Concerning the Brazilian part of his work, Vandelli used information provided by Joaquim Veloso de Miranda, correspondent of the Royal Academy in the Brazilian province of Minas Gerais.


In the late eighteenth century, under the leadership of the enlightened despot the Marquês de Pombal, the acquisition of knowledge from abroad through the translation and publication of foreign books was finally perceived as necessary for the progress of the country, and geography was promoted as an indispensable science for those living in an empire as extensive as that of Portugal. In his preface, the translator of this geographical textbook for young people (written in the "question and answer" style), makes a strong statement for the "science of geography" and gives reasons for its importance: one can not understand or write history without geographical knowledge; a knowledge of topography is vital for the success of military operations; and international commerce, trade, foreign policy, and diplomacy all require an understanding of the geographical conditions of other countries. As for geography's relationship with religion, translator João Bautista

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Fig. 21
The root Ipecacuanha from Brazil, in powdered form used for various medical purposes. From Domingos Vandelli, Flore Lusitanicae et Brasiliensis specimen (Coimbra, 1788), Tab. V at end.
Bonavie presented the idea that if there were Portuguese missions of the universal Catholic Church all over the world, there was also an obligation to know more about those Christian brothers and sisters in other countries. Over two hundred years later, many of these arguments remain surprisingly valid.


Better knowledge of the geographical setting of Brazil was not only desirable from a generally scientific point of view, but also from a military one. Caldas was an officer in the Royal Portuguese school for military engineers in Bahia. In the eighteenth century, map-drawing had become a requirement in the education of military engineers. This hand-drawn map shows the Espírito Santo Bay in the captivity of the same name, south of Bahia and north of Rio de Janeiro.


Prince Maximilian travelled through Brazil from 1815 to 1817, accompanied by the naturalists Georg Forrest and Friedrich Sellow. From Rio they journeyed to Cabo Frio, along the coast of Ilheus, from there up the river Jequitinhonha to the borders of Minas Gerais, and back to Bahia. The plates accompanying his narrative are based on drawings done by Maximilian himself. While the plates were "europeized" and their style adapted to the prevalent taste of the times, his hundreds of drawings, of which many are still preserved in various collections worldwide, are considered the best, most accurate visual depictions of the Bocedal and Puri Indians of the Brazilian interior. Still valuable for anthropologists today, they also contain many details about the native flora not found in other illustrations.

**IX. Literary and Cultural Life**

Throughout the age of Portugal's overseas expansion, from the reign of Dom João II to that of Dom José and the reforms of the Marquis of Pombal, Luso-Brazilian culture was predominantly religious in nature. Devotional works, descriptions of religious feasts and processions, sermons, and biographies of saints or saintly persons comprise the bulk of Portuguese literature of that time on both sides of the Atlantic. Some of these writings have the linguistic power of great literature, such as the ones by Padre Antônio Vieira, as we have mentioned above.

With the Portuguese explorers, colonists, administrators, and missionaries, Portuguese language and civilization traveled across the Atlantic, to West Africa and to Brazil. But conditions for the development of a secular literary life were not favorable: there was strict censorship by the crown as well as by the Inquisition; there was no printing press overseas; there was no commercial network for the distribution of books; and finally, apart from the Jesuit colleges, there were practically no institutions of higher learning until the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, in Brazil literary activities can be found as early as the sixteenth century, and a specific Brazilian literature becomes visible in the eighteenth century through the literary circles of Minas Gerais, strongly influenced by the French Enlightenment.


No other poet is as famous in the Portuguese world as Luís de Camões. His panegyric on the Portuguese navigators, discoverers, and
explorers, combining elements of the classical epics of Homer and Virgil with those of Christian sermons and folk ballads, has inspired generations of Portuguese. The poor poet Camões has a secure place in the hall of fame of national Portuguese heroes, but it came only after he had died in extreme poverty, his body being thrown into a mass grave.

The fact that Camões glorifies Portuguese deeds in the east and the voyages around the African continent but only mentions Brazil in a few words, shows how little importance was still given to Portuguese America at the end of the sixteenth century.

Camões’s epic poem was not of the kind that drew immediate attention from abroad. Originally published in Lisbon in 1572, it took eighty-three years to be translated into English and a hundred and thirty-three to appear in French. A Latin translation came out in 1622 under the name of the translator, Thomas de Faria, without a mention of Camões.

91. Filipe Neri Correa (fl. 1753). Relação das festas que se fizeram em Pernambuco pela festa acolada do ... D. Joseph I. Lisbon, 1753.

Much of the social and cultural life of colonial Brazil was centered around religious festivities, like saints’ days or processions. Festivals brought together the often widespread communities, creating opportunities for the presentation of concerts or plays. Sometimes the occasion would be provided by the visit of a high official from Portugal, the arrival of a new governor or bishop, or, as in the present case, the acclamation of King José I. The festivities performed in Olinda and Recife in the state of Pernambuco, from June 1751 to February 1752 (suspended for some months due to bad weather) included: a solemn Te Deum in the cathedral, many festive illuminations at night, a grand banquet given by the governor for the officers of several regiments, the performance of three comedies on a stage mounted in front of the governor’s palace, dance performances, and serenades.

Fig. 22
that of the corresponding authorities in Spain. Whereas a printing press was functioning in Mexico from about 1539 and in Peru from about 1584, the first officially tolerated press in Brazil only started to function in 1808, when the Portuguese royal family and the government arrived in Rio de Janeiro as refugees from Junot's occupation of Lisbon. However, in the 1740s, António Isidoro da Fonseca, a well-known printer from Lisbon, managed to establish a press in Rio de Janeiro, though without applying for the necessary licenses. When the authorities found out that he was printing without a license, his press was closed down immediately and his equipment shipped back to Lisbon. Altogether, Fonseca seems only to have printed three small books and about twelve separate loose leaves. The Relação da entrada shown here describes the arrival of the new bishop in Rio. It was the first book printed by Fonseca in the New World, and it is the first book printed in Brazil.


The idealization of the Brazilian Indian as a “Noble Savage” was virtually non-existent in Portugal and Brazil, from the time of the first sixteenth-century settlers (as opposed to transient voyagers), to the second half of the eighteenth century when the influence of the French Enlightenment, with its attendant literary glorification of the “Good” and “Noble” Indian, reached Brazil. We then find this influence in some of the works of the Mineiro School of Poets, so called because these writers were either born or lived for long periods in Minas Gerais. Da Gama’s poem O Uruguary, dealing with the expulsion of the Jesuit Guaraní missions from the La Plata region 1754–1759, and Durão’s epic Caramurú about the arrival of the first Portuguese on the coast of Bahia, both belong to the part of Mineiro literature reflecting a growing interest in the Brazilian Indian.

This is the second edition of a work first published in Rome in 1780. The two Brazilian Jesuits de Mello and Prudenci do Amaral (1675–1715) glorify in their Latin verses the products of Brazil: the book includes poems on manioc, tobacco, livestock, diamonds, and sugar.


The study of the Jewish contribution to Portuguese-Brazilian culture is still in its infancy. Many Portuguese Jews, forced under King Manuel in 1497 to convert to Catholicism and henceforth called "New Christians," emigrated to the New World where the vast new country of Brazil gave them better opportunities to live according to their own customs. However, the Portuguese Inquisition was also active in Brazil; a network of agents called "familiars" was there to spy out "Judaizers." The Holy Office itself made two visits to Brazil, one between 1591 and 1595, the other in 1678.

Some New Christians became outstanding figures in Brazilian literature. Bento Teixeira (ca. 1561–1600) [see above item #7], by many considered the first Brazilian poet, was arrested by the Inquisition in 1595, sent to Lisbon for trial, and after four years in prison came out at an auto-da-fé in January 1599. He was sentenced to wear the "habito," the cloak of sinners, for life, and died a year later, probably as a consequence of his long imprisonment.

The first two volumes of the present collection of plays contain works written exclusively by Antônio José da Silva (1705–1739), a Brazilian Jew from Rio de Janeiro. He first fell into the hands of the Inquisition in 1726, and escaped with a penitence. But a few years later he was again arrested, and was burnt at the stake in Lisbon on 10 October 1739 at age 34, one of the greatest poets of the Portuguese language of the eighteenth century. None of the plays in this collection bears the author's name. However, the two "decimas" concluding the preface are acrostical: the first letter of each verse spells out the name "Antonio Jose da Silva." Only in this obscure manner did the printer dare cite the name of this great poet burnt by the Inquisition.


100. M.D. Discurso, que fizerão duas senhoras portuguezas, depois de lerem o papel dos conselhos que deu hum Braziliero. Lisbon, 1789.

While we have many writings by Portuguese authors about Brazil, it is rare to see a Brazilian recounting his observations about Portugal. The present text is a bitter satire in verse on the manners and customs of the "Lisboetas," the people of Lisbon, written by a Brazilian. He pillories the behavior of the ladies of the society as much as the insincerity and unfaithfulness of Portuguese men: "Do not believe those who carry the words 'honor' and 'faith' in their mouths; it is all just words, born from falsehood." He dwells in particular on the arrogance of Portuguese women towards Brazilians: "Do not exhaust yourself loving one, do not try to express your feelings, for as soon as they see you are from Brazil they will not grant you their usual favors. I met one who expressed that she was burning like fire for me, but she cooled down when she found out that I was from Bahia."

A Portuguese writer felt compelled to counter this attack in a satirical pamphlet entitled Discurso que fizerão. Two fictitious Portuguese ladies make fun of the Brazilian: "He says he is a son of Bahia, but I do not think this is true; for I have heard it said that civilization has arrived there already. He may well be from the backlands, or from some jungle, where they call even black and mulatto women 'Lady'... This Brazilian only esteems monkeys, and only adores money. Perhaps he tried to seduce some honorable woman, and since he did not succeed, he now raises hell. I thought we were all people without religion, as they are, I believe, over there in that uncivilized sort... I have never read a more foolish thing in my life; I do not know how it could have had so much success at our court."

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Hippólito was a native of the Colônia do Sacramento, now the Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul. He studied in Rio de Janeiro and later in Coimbra where he received degrees in law and philosophy. From 1798 to 1800 he was a Portuguese envoy to the U.S.A. in Philadelphia. Having returned to Europe, he was sent as a cultural representative to London. But the next time he entered Portugal, Hippólito was arrested by the inquisition on charges of freemasonry. Three years passed before he was able to escape from prison, after which he fled in disguise to Spain, and from there to London. In London, he became the editor and main author of the first Brazilian periodical, the *Correio Brasiliense*. Hippólito was a liberal and a true cosmopolitan, a politician of fine tact, and a zealous, sincere patriot. As such, he made the *Correio Brasiliense* an impressive organ for denouncing the misconduct of Portuguese politicians, bribery, nepotism, abuses of power by both the secular administration and the church; but in his periodical one can also find news from all over the world, and essays on literature and culture.

Predictably, the Portuguese authorities disliked the *Correio Brasiliense*, and several writers were engaged to attack the periodical in counter-publications. One of these publications is shown here. The pamphlet is written in sharp language, attacking (and often insulting) the author and editor of the *Correio Brasiliense* personally. The Portuguese writer examines a whole issue of the journal, article by article. Since this and similar publications did not seem to diminish the popularity of the *Correio Brasiliense*, the crown resolved to prohibit its entry into Portugal and Brazil under severe penalties, renewing this edict three times until 1817. It was useless: the journal continued to be widely read and highly esteemed. So much prestige did Hippólito have in Brazil, that after Brazilian independence in 1822, he was appointed special Brazilian ambassador to the British court. He died at age 49 in September 1823.

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