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**RECORDS OF SOUTH-EASTERN AFRICA.**



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SOUTH-EASTERN AFRICA

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BY  
GEORGE McCALL THEAL, LL.D.,  
HISTORIOGRAPHER TO THE CAPE GOVERNMENT.

VOL. I.

PRINTED FOR  
THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CAPE COLONY.  
1898.



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## P R E F A C E.

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THE Government of the Cape Colony, being desirous of obtaining as much authentic knowledge as it is possible to gather upon the past condition of the Bantu tribes south of the Zambesi, has entrusted me with the collection and publication of Portuguese and other records upon the subject. The Dutch and English archives in Capetown have more than once been examined for this purpose, but no attempt has hitherto been made to draw upon the great fund of information contained in Portuguese manuscripts and books unknown to all but a very few readers. In order to form a complete record of events in the territory bordering on the Indian sea from the last years of the fifteenth century to our own time, I am including in the collection documents and extracts from printed pamphlets and books concerning the discoveries made by the first European explorers in South Africa and the transactions of their successors, though these do not always refer to the natives.

It is not possible to publish these papers in chronological order, as I am doing with documents concerning the Cape Colony in the Public Record Office in London, because they are being gathered in many places and important additions are continually being made. The most that can be done in this respect is to arrange the contents of each volume in order of date. So far I have searched in the Archive Department at the Hague, in the Library Casanatense at Rome, and in the National Library at Paris, in each of which I obtained original documents of value. At present I am engaged in the Library of the British Museum in London, where there are a great many volumes of original Portuguese

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archives in manuscript, as well as a large number of rare books in the same language. In other Libraries, and naturally at Lisbon, I hope to obtain much more.

I give these documents without the alteration of a letter or a point, as only in that form can they be of value for reference. But for the convenience of English readers I add translations, sometimes more free than literal, of all the Portuguese documents, and I am having translations made for the same purpose of a few in Spanish and Italian.

I am unable at present to say to what number of volumes the work will extend.

GEO. M. THEAL.

LONDON, *April*, 1898.

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ERRATA IN THE TEXT.

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Page 94. In nineteenth line from top, 12/3 should be 12/1. On the same page, in the next line, the word Portuguese should come between 128 and pounds.

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# RECORDS OF SOUTH-EASTERN AFRICA.

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## EXTRACTS FROM "ASIA PORTUGUESA."

BY MANUEL DE FARIA E SOUSA.

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[The author of this work was regarded as one of the most learned men of his age, and his literary productions are as numerous as those of any other writer that Portugal has ever produced. His chief fault was excessive credulity, which led him to make statements that seem absurd at the present day. He was born at Caravella in the province of Minho on the 18th of March 1590, and died at Madrid on the 3rd of June 1649. His works deal with many subjects: they were mostly written in the Castilian dialect, and published after the author's death. His "Asia Portuguesa" is in three folio volumes, the first of which was published at Lisbon in 1666, the second and third in 1674. They contain many portraits—some certainly not genuine—and plans of strongholds, among which is one of the fort at Sofala. As a history the work is far below that of João de Barros, but it is partly drawn from original manuscripts, and it contains several particulars concerning the early voyages not given by that great writer. It covers the long period of two hundred and twenty-nine years—1412 to 1640. It was translated into English by Captain John Stevens, and published at London in 1695 in three crown octavo volumes, entitled "The Portuguese Asia, or the History of the Discovery and Conquest of India by the Portuguese." The translation is fairly accurate, though in places paragraphs have been condensed and a good deal of matter not essential to the history has been altogether omitted. As the Spanish edition is easily obtainable, I have not thought it necessary to give the extracts in the original. The English translation, which is without plates, is rare, but there is a copy in the library of the British Museum. In quoting from it all that refers to Eastern Africa below the Zambesi I have modernised the spelling, punctuation, and use of capital letters, but have made no other alteration of importance.—G. M. T.]

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### TOME I.—PART I.—CHAPTER III.

KING JOHN was informed by the Benin ambassador, who came to desire that priests should be sent to them, that two hundred and fifty leagues beyond them was the most powerful prince of all

those countries, called Ogane, by whom the kings of Benin for their security were confirmed, receiving of him a staff with a head and a cross like that of Malta, all of brass curiously wrought. An ambassador went with rich presents to solicit these ensigns of royalty, who never saw Ogane, because he speaks from behind curtains, but at their departure shows a foot, in token that he grants their request. Our king imagined this prince might be he that is vulgarly called Prester John, by comparing these formalities with what he had heard reported of him. He fitted out three ships, commanded by Bartholomew Dias; he set up a cross in 24 degrees of south latitude, 120 leagues beyond the other discoverers in Serra Parda. He sailed in sight of the bay they called dos Vaqueiros, or of Herdsmen, because of the many cows they saw there; beyond this they touched at the small island Santa Cruz, or Holy Cross, so called from one he set up; 25 leagues farther they came into the mouth of a river which they called do Infante, the surname of the second captain, who was the first that saw it. Being about returning they discovered that so many ages unknown promontory, which they called Tormentoso, or Stormy, because of a great tempest they met with there; but our king gave it the name of Cabo de Boa Esperança, or Cape of Good Hope, from the great hopes it gave of discovering the Indies. There was set up the cross St. Philip. The two first ships coasting along met the third with only three men aboard, having lost it nine months before with nine men in it then. With mere joy of seeing the others (a strange, but not unheard-of death) one of the three died, the other six had been killed by the blacks. With various fortune observing the discovered country they arrived in their own, the extent of land till then found out being 750 leagues.

Whilst these discoverers conquered the difficulties of the seas, Peter de Covilham and Affonso de Paiva travelled by land, who came first to Naples, then to Rhodes, to Alexandria, Grand Cairo, then with a caravan of Moors to Toro on the coast of Arabia. Here they parted, Paiva towards India and Covilham for Ethiopia, having appointed a time when to meet again at Grand Cairo. Covilham went to Cananor, Calicut, and Goa (famous cities in the East), passed thence to Sofala in Ethiopia, then to Aden at the mouth of the Red Sea on the side of Arabia, and at last to Grand Cairo, where he found his companion had died. After these had

been sent out two Jews, Rabbi Abraham of Beja and Joseph of Lamego. Covilham sent back the latter to inform the king of his success, with the other he embarked for Ormuz, where having observed what was most remarkable, he left the Jew to follow the caravans of Aleppo, and returning to the Red Sea came to discover the court of Prester John, who detained him there as a spy.

TOME I.—PART I.—CHAPTER IV.

King Manuel inherited not only his predecessor's kingdom, but his earnest desire of finding a shorter passage by sea to the East Indies. This attempt was generally condemned by the greater number, but carried by the more prevalent judgments. The king was in the town of Estremoz when he appointed Vasco da Gama to command the fleet he designed to send. This was a gentleman of sufficient quality, ability, and spirit for such a difficult enterprise. The king honoured him, expressing the great confidence he had in him, and delivered the colours he was to carry, on which was the cross of the military order of Christ, and on which this worthy hero took the oath of fidelity.

Having received letters for the princes of the East, among others Prester John and Zamori or the king of Calicut, he sailed from Lisbon on Saturday, the 8th of July 1497, with only three small ships and one hundred and sixty men. The names of the ships were *St. Gabriel*, *St. Raphael*, and *Berrio*, the captains Paul da Gama, brother to Vasco, and Nicholas Nunes; there went also a barque laden with provisions, commanded by Gonçalo Nunes. Having passed the seas already known to Portuguese sailors, they discovered others, and after five months' sail landed on the sands of a bay now called St. Helena Bay, because first seen on that saint's day. Here they took one of two blacks who were busy gathering honey in the mountain, little thinking how far human boldness carries men. This man, pleased with some glasses and small bells, brought some others from a village, in hopes of getting some of those things, and these being furnished brought many more.

Fernando Veloso, a daring young man, asked leave to go to see the habitation of the blacks; but he returned with more speed than he went, being pursued to the shore, and a shower of arrows



following as he got into the boat. Vasco da Gama, endeavouring to appease them, was wounded in the leg, and because they would not hearken to him, he revenged himself with crossbows from aboard. The third day, being the 20th of November, he weighed and passed the great Cape of Good Hope. On St. Catherine's day they touched at Agoada de S. Bras, this is sixty leagues beyond the Cape. Here they exchanged some merchandise, and observed the people guarding their cattle, some women riding on oxen, and some dancing to pipes that made no contemptible music.

But because as they coasted in order to find some port, they found the blacks appeared in greater numbers and warlike manner, he terrified them with firing some guns. He took all the provisions out of the barque, and burned it. On St. Lucia's day happened a storm, the more terrible because it was the first. On Christmas day they saw the land, which for that reason they called Terra de Natal, or Christmas Land, as also the river they named dos Reys, or of the Kings, for being first seen on the day of Epiphany. Here Gama left two men to inform themselves of the country, and give him an account at his return. For this purpose he carried some malefactors, their punishment being changed for these dangers. After dealing for some ivory and provisions, so much to the satisfaction of the blacks that their king came aboard, he went on as far as Cabo das Correntes, and without seeing the town of Sofala, passed fifty leagues farther, and went up a river where were several boats with sails made of palm. It was an encouragement to our men to see these people, for that they understood something of sailing, a thing they had not seen on all those coasts, and because they were not so black as the others and understood the Arabic letter. They concluded them more civilised by their habit of several colours and divers sorts of stuffs both cotton and silk. They said that to the eastward lived white people, who sailed in vessels like ours.

This river Gama called de Bons Sinaes, or of Good Signs, for the information he got of what he looked for; though he lost some men, and many sickened, their gums swelling out of their mouths, and there was no cure but cutting, which proceeded from the badness of the provisions. Sailing hence they again cast anchor among the islands of St. George, opposite to Mozambique, whence came several zambucos or boats in jovial manner, the

music of several instruments sounding in them. As they came near were seen some black, others almost white, all had Persian veils, and were clothed with cotton of sundry colours. They asked our men boldly who they were, and what they wanted. Gama answered to the first part, and said he would answer to the rest when he knew whose that town was. They said the lord of it was Zacoaja, to whom all vessels sent notice of their arrival. Then Gama replied that his voyage was to India, and he wanted a pilot to conduct him to Calicut, that this was what he desired of the xequé or lord. He sent him some presents, though not of great value, valuable for their rarity.

A Moor who carried the advice returned with many thanks for the presents, with some fresh meats, making excuses that the great distance was what hindered the lord from visiting him. These lucky beginnings moved Gama to attempt entering the harbour, but meeting some danger he anchored above the town, which lies in  $14\frac{1}{2}$  degrees of south latitude, and is encompassed by the sea; the land about it is low and unhealthy, the houses of hurdles, that of the lord and the mosque of mud walls; the inhabitants were strangers and Moors: this being between Kilwa, which lies above, and the mine of Sofala below it. This place was ever much accounted of by our seamen, being a most secure place to winter in. The natives of the continent are black.

Here came aboard Gama three Ethiopians, who as soon as they spied St. Gabriel painted on the poop, fell on their knees, as those who had always preserved Christianity, which was preached among them in the primitive times, though now with some corruption.

Vasco da Gama sent other presents to the lord, and they concluded a peace, which was confirmed on our part by erecting a cross there by the name of St. George. But the barbarians having deceitfully concluded this agreement, our men going for wood, fourteen boats fell upon them, pouring in abundance of arrows, but being answered by our crossbows and guns, they never offered to molest us a second time. They sailed hence the 11th of March 1498 with one Moorish pilot; he had hired two, but the other fled. Bad weather obliged him to come to an anchor again at St. George's island. He took in water by force of arms, the blacks opposing it. And they increasing to two thousand, he

fired some cannon, which killing some, the others with the fright fled to the continent, leaving many in our hands.

The zeque or governor at first refused a pilot, he they had being fled, but fearing it might be revenged, sent another so wicked that he ran the ships among some islands, which were called do Açoutado, because the pilot was there severely whipped for this fault. This punishment, instead of amendment, provoked him to another fraud. He persuaded Gama to take the port of Kilwa, by telling him there were Christians there ; but believing our ships might be destroyed. The currents drove the ships off, and they came to an anchor at the city Mombasa, which is an island made by a river that falls into the sea by two mouths ; the buildings like those of Spain ; the inhabitants all Moors, without any mixture of Christians as the pilot affirmed. Our commander sent a present to the king, and he deceitfully offered a kind reception. This inclined Gama to enter the port, but it being God's will to deliver him, the ships fell off, and our seamen making some extraordinary cry to bring them about, some Moors, who were aboard, thought they were discovered, and taking this for a signal of battle, they all leaped overboard, which undeceived the commander, who calling on, and chasing two boats, he took one with thirteen Moors. By them he was informed that not far off was the city Melinde, and there several vessels from India.

Melinde is seated on the plainest of a rocky coast, encompassed with orchards, palm-trees, and woods of fruit-trees ; the buildings great and sightly ; the country as well stored with cattle as fruit ; the natives pagans, of colour swarthy, of body strong ; the women are counted beautiful, from the waist downward they wear silks and cottons, on the head veils with gold laces. Most of the merchants who trade here are of Guzerat, who in return of their spice, carry gold, ivory, amber, and wax. The king is a Mohamedan, and is served with state and splendour. Gama gave him an account of his voyage by a soldier, and how he stood in need of a pilot. Some presents and compliments having passed between them, they met on the sea, where the king was pleased above all with the gift of the thirteen Moors not long before taken.

The Portuguese feared the Moors' kindness was deceitful ; but it proved otherwise, for the effect of this interview was a lasting peace faithfully observed by the Portuguese and Moors. Here

Gama discoursed with some merchants of Cambaya, who aboard his ship were seen to worship an image of our Lady, which showed there were yet among them some footsteps of the preaching of St. Thomas the Apostle. He carried with him Malemo Cana of Guzerat, finding him so expert in navigation that being shown an astrolabe he took little notice of it, as one who was used to more considerable instruments. With this able pilot Gama set forward, having first erected a cross, which he called of the Holy Ghost; and crossing that great gulf of seven hundred leagues, in twenty-two days anchored two leagues below Calicut.

#### TOME I.—PART I.—CHAPTER V.

The admiral (Pedro Alvares Cabral) arrived with only six ships of all his fleet upon the 16th of July 1500 on the coast of Sofala. He chased two ships, the one was stranded, the other taken; they belonged to Moors, and came from the mine of Sofala, commanded by Xequé Foteyma. The admiral treated him courteously, restoring all that was taken, because he was uncle to the king of Melinde, who deserved well of the Portuguese for the kind offices Vasco da Gama had received of him in time of need. Having quitted the Moor, he arrived at Mozambique on the 20th of July, where he refitted and held on his voyage.

Coasting along, he came to an anchor before the ancient and noble city Kilwa. Abraham, a man renowned among his people, and rich with the trade of Sofala, then reigned there. The admiral sent him word he had important affairs to communicate to him from our king. The answer was that he should come ashore, and he would hear him. He replied that according to his instructions it was not permitted him to land, unless to fight such as refused the friendship of Portugal; but that in respect to such a prince, he would meet him in a boat in the middle of the bay. This answer was surprising, and fear wrought more than kindness. Several boats were set out on both sides, richly adorned and filled with music. Our commander proposed amity, trade, and religion. The Moor gave good words, but disguised ill designs. This known, a council was held, the resolution was to go on, leaving the revenge for a fitter opportunity, and thus they arrived at Melinde the 2nd of August, where they were received with all kindness,

not only upon account of the friendship established with Vasco da Gama, but also for the generosity wherewith Xequé Foteyma had been treated. They visited and made presents to each other. Ours, which was considerable, was carried by the factor Ayres Correa, together with a letter from our king, written in Arabic, which was so highly prized by that king, that to the end he might keep the bearer ashore that night, he sent the admiral the ring whereon was his seal, the greatest security of those kings. He told how much he was infested by the king of Mombasa for having admitted our friendship, and renewed and confirmed it with words and actions. Soon after our ships sailed, having taken in two Guzerat pilots, and set ashore two men in order to discover Prester John's country, the ancient desire of our princes.

\* \* \* \* \*

About the middle of January 1501 the admiral set out (from India) in order to return home. On the coast of Melinde one of the ships was driven by bad weather upon a bank, the men were saved. At Mozambique the rest were refitted, and one was sent to settle a trade at the mine of Sofala. At Cape Verde they found Pedro Dias and his vessel, which had been parted from them; he had escaped many dangers by sea and land, chiefly in Port Magadoxa near Cape Guardafui. After the admiral arrived also in Portugal Pedro de Ataide, who had been parted, and the other sent to the discovery of Sofala, with an account of it.

In March, before this fleet returned, sailed out of Lisbon four ships with four hundred men, commanded by Joam de Nova, an able seaman. In 8° south latitude he found the island that he called of the Conception. Beyond the Cape of Good Hope, at the place called Agoada de S. Bras, they found in a shoe a letter written by Pedro de Ataide, who anchored there after the storm before spoken of: it gave an account of the voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral. In August they arrived at Mozambique, then at Kilwa, having found an island which from the commander was called Joam de Nova. Short of Melinde they gave chase to two great ships, one was taken, lightened, and then burnt.

#### TOME I.—PART I.—CHAPTER VI.

The account Pedro Alvares Cabral brought showed it was requisite either to attempt making a great fortune with a great

force, or else to quit the attempt. Some were of opinion to desist, but the credit of so great an action prevailed; and though many were lost, the gain of those who returned was so great that it outweighed the consideration of the damage. The king was inspired with the hope of carrying on what the Apostle St. Thomas had begun, and planting the Christian religion in those countries, and enlarging his royal titles by adding to them, as he did, those of Lord of the Navigation, Conquests, and Trade of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India, which were confirmed by the Pope.

The king was sensible that to obtain a great name among so many, so powerful, and so distant nations, it was requisite to show great power; therefore in March he sent out three squadrons: the first of ten ships, commanded by Vasco da Gama, now on his second voyage; the second of five ships, under Vicente Sodre, which was to scour the coasts of Cochin and Cananor, and hinder the trade of the ships of Mecca, watching the mouth of the Red Sea; the third under Estevam da Gama, but all subordinate to Vasco da Gama. The whole consisted of twenty ships, and were gone before Joam de Nova arrived.

The admiral arrived the 12th of July at Kilwa, having lost two ships in bad weather. He entered furiously, firing all his cannon, and battering the town in revenge of the ill-usage others had received from that king. But he, to prevent his total ruin, came in a boat to appease the admiral, offering to be subject and to pay tribute to King Manuel. Thus the storm was converted into joy. Sailing thence he put by the port of Melinde, and was forced to anchor eight leagues below it in a bay, whence spreading his fleet that no ship might escape him, he took several, but was most severe with those of Calicut. A ship of great bulk, called *Meri*, belonging to the sultan of Cairo, most richly laden and full of many Moors of quality who went pilgrims to Mecca, fell so unexpectedly into our hands that she was taken without the least resistance, and all the goods were shifted into our ships. But when two hundred and sixty Moors perceived we were going to force the vessel, in which, besides them, were above fifty women and children, laying hold of what weapons were at hand, they beat the boats from the sides; a ship coming to her assistance was almost taken, till another relieved it, and the admiral coming up, the enemy's vessel was boarded, and after a courageous

resistance was taken and burnt with all that were in her, except twenty children who were afterwards baptized.

#### TOME I.—PART I.—CHAPTER VII.

In 1503 there sailed from Lisbon nine ships under three distinct commanders. The first was Affonso de Albuquerque, the second Francisco de Albuquerque, and the third Antonio de Saldanha. The three last were to cruise in the mouth of the Red Sea against the Moors, the others to return with their lading.

Antonio de Saldanha, having lost Diogo Fernandes Peteira, came to an anchor at St. Thomas. Short of the Cape of Good Hope was made famous a place by the name of Aguada de Saldanha, or Saldanha's Watering Place, not for any water he took, but for the blood of his men shed there, endeavouring to land. At this time a storm had parted from him Ruy Lourenço Ravasco, driving him up to Mozambique, whence he held his course to Kilwa, where he took some small prizes. An ambition of doing something more remarkable carried him to the island Zanzibar, twenty leagues short of Mombasa, where he took twenty small vessels. Then he appeared before the town of that name. The king of it designed to take the ship with a number of paraos or boats, but our long-boat going out with thirty men, killed several, and took four paraos. The king appeared on the shore with four thousand men commanded by his son, who was killed with some others by the first volley. Their loss produced our safety, for one of them running from their crowd with colours bearing the arms of Portugal, peace was concluded, that king agreeing to pay one hundred miticals of gold yearly as tributary to Portugal.

Thence he visited Melinde, whose king was oppressed by him of Mombasa for his friendship to us. This obliged Ruy Lourenço to stand in; by the way he took two ships and three zambucos, small vessels, and in them twelve magistrates of the city Brava, who, as such, submitted that city to Portugal, with the yearly tribute of five hundred miticals. The two kings came to a battle, and parted upon equal terms. Now came Antonio de Saldanha, whereupon he of Mombasa came to an agreement.

\* \* \* \* \*

In the beginning of January 1506 Lopo Soares sailed from India, and he arrived at Lisbon on the 22nd of July with thirteen victorious ships laden with riches; three were of the foregoing year's fleet; of his own he lost Pedro de Mendoza, who, being stranded fourteen leagues from Aguada de S. Bras, was never more heard of.

#### TOME I.—PART I.—CHAPTER VIII.

On the 25th of March 1507 sailed from Lisbon a fleet of twenty-two ships, eleven of them were to return with merchandise, and eleven to remain in India; they carried fifteen hundred fighting men, and were commanded by Dom Francisco d'Almeida, who went to govern in India with the title of viceroy, and gave great demonstrations of his prudence and courage.

Dom Francisco d'Almeida arrived at Kilwa with only eight vessels, the others were separated by stress of weather, and one was lost, but the men were saved. He entered that port, and saluted as usual, but was not answered, whereupon he complained to the king. He at first framed excuses, and avoided coming to a conference, though Dom Francisco attended in the place appointed, which set him upon studying revenge. After a council held, it was resolved to erect a fort in that place, as was desired by King Manuel.

Drawing a line from the southern borders of Congo across the continent eastward, there remains to the southward that great portion of Africa, to which the barbarous inhabitants have given no name, but was called by the Persians Kaffraria, and the inhabitants Kaffirs, which signifies a rude people, without law or government; and our late geographers call it Ethiopia Inferior. Above this, on the east, runs for above two hundred leagues that coast which we call Zanguebar; but the Arabians and Persians give this name to all the coast as far as the Cape of Good Hope. Above Zanguebar as far as Point Guardafui and the mouth of the Red Sea is that which the Arabs call Aiam or Aiana, inhabited by the same Arabs, and the inland by heathen blacks.

Most of this coast is very low, and subject to inundations, covered with impenetrable woods, which make it excessively hot and unhealthy. The natives are black, of curled hair, idolaters,



so given to superstition that upon frivolous motives they give over the most important designs, as it happened to the king of Kilwa at this time, who, because a black cat crossed him at his coming out, failed of meeting Dom Francisco d'Almeida. The cattle, fruit, and grain are answerable to the wildness of the country. The Moors who inhabit the coast and adjacent islands are little given to tilling, and feed upon wild beasts and some loathsome things; those who live in the interior, and have commerce with the barbarous Kaffirs, make use of some milk.

Nature has stored the country with much gold, that those people might inhabit it, and our covetousness, though at such distance, find them out. It was covetousness that first drew thither the Arabs, called Emozaydii, that is subjects of Zayde, who built two considerable towns, only sufficient to secure them against the Kaffirs. These continued so, till great numbers of other Arabs, who were neighbours of the city Lacah, forty leagues from the island Baharem in the Persian Gulf, came over thither, whose first plantation was Magadoxa, and afterwards Brava; the former became the metropolis. The first Arabs separated from these, and, mixing with the Kaffirs, were called Baduiis.

The first that had the trade of the mine of Sofala were those of Magadoxa, who discovered it accidentally. Thence they spread themselves, but never durst pass Cape Correntes, a point opposite to the westernmost part of the island Madagascar or St. Laurence, and takes its name from the violent current of water which often endangers ships there. But along these coasts they possessed themselves of Kilwa, Mombasa, Melinde, the isles of Pemba, Zanzibar, Monfia, Comoro, and others. Kilwa was the chief of all their plantations, and thence many were spread, particularly on the coast of Madagascar. The sea by degrees wearing away both sides made Kilwa an island. It bears many palm and thorn trees, and divers herbs and plants, cattle, wild beasts, and birds; much after the same manner as Spain; the buildings also after our manner, flat at the top, with gardens and orchards behind. On one side is the royal palace, built in the manner of a fort; the gate to the sea opposite to the anchoring place, where ours at that time were.

Dom Francisco d'Almeida, having resolved to land, was the first that touched the shore with five hundred men. He and his son Lourenço at the same time attacked the city in two places.

Our men had enough to do to cover themselves with their shields from the showers of arrows that flew, yet they advanced; but finding the greatest damage they received was from the tops of the houses, they entered and gained some of them, and thereby so much advantage that the king fled and set up in the field Portuguese colours, which stopped the current of the conquerors till he had got over to the continent with his wives and riches. The city was plundered, and not one man lost in this action, though a considerable number of the enemy were killed.

Mir Abraham, now overcome, was but an usurper, but the forty-fourth possessor of that island, of which number many were tyrants like him. A kinsman of this Abraham, called Mohamed Anconi had been very faithful and serviceable to the Portuguese; to requite him Dom Francisco ordered, when the city was plundered, that nothing appertaining to him should be touched; and, after all was settled, sent for him, and declared him king of that place, putting a crown of gold upon his head with much pomp and ceremony. It was a wonderful act of moderation in this barbarian, that as soon as the crown was on his head, he declared that had the lawful king Alfudail, murdered by the late usurper, been living, he would have resigned that crown to him, but since he could not do it, he desired the son of the said Alfudail might be sworn hereditary prince, though he himself had children for whom he might covet that inheritance.

All things being again settled, Dom Francisco in twenty days raised a fort, the gentlemen, captains, and he himself working at it. He put into it five hundred and fifty men, and left a caravel and a brigantine to cruise there. The 8th of August he set sail for Mombasa, and arrived there with thirteen sail.

The city Mombasa is seated in an island, which is about fourteen leagues in circumference; it is beautiful and strong; before it is a large bay capable of containing many ships. Before he entered, two vessels were sent to sound the bar, which is commanded by a platform with eight pieces of cannon, which began to play upon them that were sounding, but they repaid the courtesy so fortunately that a ball falling among the enemy's powder did great harm, and they quitted the work. The like success was against two lesser works, so that our fleet entered without further resistance. Dom Francisco was told the king was prepared, and had hired fifteen hundred archers of the

Kaffirs besides his own men. He sent a message to him, but was not hearkened to, and only answered that the Moors of Mombasa were not to be frightened with the noise of cannon, like those of Kilwa. Dom Francisco, enraged that some men had been wounded, attempting to burn the ships of Cambaya in the port, without succeeding, landed his men and marched to the city.

He entered the town the 15th of August, and drove the enemy out at the other end, and among them the king, whose palace he had possessed himself of and planted thereon a cross, and here received the news of the victory at sea, the ships having been burnt as he ordered. In this action were lost five Portuguese; of the Moors 1513 killed and 1200 taken, whereof he kept but 200, discharging the rest, the ships being heavy with plunder; after which the city was burnt to the ground. Some of the ships which had been separated by the storm joined the fleet here. Dom Francisco despatched two before him to carry the news of what he had done and the necessary orders till he came. He set out for India with fourteen ships.

#### TOME I.—PART I.—CHAPTER IX.

King Manuel, to secure the trade of the gold of Sofala, had caused a fort to be built at Kilwa, another at Mozambique, and a factory at Melinde. After Dom Francisco he sent out Pedro de Anaya with six ships to build a fort at Sofala; three of the ships were to go on to India, and return with lading, the other three were to cruise on the coast of Sofala. One of the captains fell overboard, and was lost; another had sixteen men killed in an island where he landed. The others found Dom Pedro de Anaya in the port of Sofala. He obtained leave of that king, and raised a fort, whereby the trade was secured, which that king never intended, imagining that the country being unhealthy, the Portuguese would be obliged to quit it. Here Anaya found twenty Portuguese in a miserable condition, after travelling with great hardships from Cape Correntes, where they were forced to run their ship ashore, being no longer able to keep above water. Their captain was Lope Sanches, whom they would not obey ashore, but dividing, travelled in several companies through

those unknown countries. They were all lost except these twenty, and five found by Antonio de Magallanes in the river Quiloame, who brought them to Sofala.

#### TOME I.—PART I.—CHAPTER X.

The kingdom of Sofala is a large tract of land, of seven hundred and fifty leagues circumference, subject to the Monomotapa, that is emperor of that south part of Africa called by the same name, or Ethiopia Inferior. It is watered by these two famous rivers: Rio do Espirito Santo and Cuama, the last navigable two hundred and fifty leagues. These, and many other rivers that fall into them, have golden sands. Most part of the land enjoys a temperate air, pleasant, wholesome, and fruitful. In part it bears great flocks of sheep, of the skins whereof the natives are clothed, because of the cold south winds. Along the banks of Cuama the country is mountainous, covered with woods, and watered with many rivers, which make it delightful, and therefore the best peopled, and the common residence of the Monomotapa. It is abundantly stocked with elephants, and consequently ivory, and mines of gold encompassed thirty leagues about with mountains, on the tops whereof the air is serene and clear. They are called the mines of Manika fifty leagues south-west of Sofala, there are others a hundred and fifty leagues distant, none there much valued by their owners.

Here are some buildings of wonderful structure, with inscriptions of unknown characters, but the natives know nothing of their foundation. They believe in one God, under the name of Mozimo, and use no idols. Witchcraft, theft, and adultery are most severely punished by them. They have as many wives as they can maintain; the king's are above a thousand, but the first commands the others, and her children inherit. In their funerals they are superstitious. Their clothing is of cotton, the better sort mixed with some gold threads; the houses of wood. The king's attendance is more ceremonious than great; his guard two hundred dogs, and he is always followed by five hundred jesters. He is sovereign over many princes, and because they rebel, always keeps their heirs about him. There are no lawsuits among them. They fight on foot; their arms are arrows,

javelins or darts, daggers, and small sharp hatchets. The women are so much respected that if the king's son meets one he gives her the way, and stops till she passes.

The Moors of Magadoxa were the first that possessed these mines of Sofala; after them, those of Kilwa, whose kings were possessed thereof till Yçuf, one of their governors, rebelled and usurped the sovereignty to himself, with the title of king, and was the same with whom Pedro de Anaya now treated; and in this place he built the fort so much desired by King Manuel, strong though of wood. The three trading ships sailed toward India, under the command of Pedro Barreto. Francisco de Anaya was ordered by his father to secure the coast up to Cape Guardafui with two ships; both vessels were lost, and the captains saved in their boats.

Whilst the sea swallowed the guard of the coast, the Moors studied the destruction of Pedro de Anaya at Sofala. The king's son-in-law persuaded him to get rid of them at such time as they were so weak through diseases contracted by the strange air, that they joined six of them to bend a crossbow. The king, laying hold of this opportunity, surrounded the place with five thousand Kaffirs, and filled the ditch with faggots, then gave the assault, darkening the sun with showers of arrows; but our cannon being well played made such havoc that they filled with their carcases the part of the ditch they had not levelled with wood. Only thirty-five Portuguese who were able to carry arms did all this execution. Afterwards Pedro de Anaya sallied out with fifteen or twenty Moors, and drove the Kaffirs first to a wood of palm-trees, and then to their dwellings, with such consternation that they cried out the king of Sofala had called them to fight against God. Pedro de Anaya with a few men attacked the town by night, and entering the king's house, he stood behind the door with a scymitar, and as Anaya entered wounded him in the neck, but was soon killed with many more. Next day his sons with all the Moors assaulted the fort, but in vain, for the fright cured many of the sick, who joining in the common defence, the enemy was repulsed. The two brothers fell out about the succession to the crown, and Soliman gaining Anaya, was by him crowned, and for his own security made a strong alliance with, and supported the Portuguese.

Cide Barbudo and Pedro Quaresma, coming with two ships

from Portugal, after many misfortunes arrived at Sofala, where they found Pedro de Anaya and most of his men were dead, and the rest sick. Quaresma remained there to relieve the fort, and Barbudo sailing towards India, found Kilwa in the same condition, whereof he gave the viceroy an account. He sent with all speed Nuno Vaz Pereira to the relief of the fort, who having repaired it and given necessary orders, went on to Sofala. Nevertheless the fort of Kilwa was afterwards razed by the same hands that built it, after having cost many lives.

### TOME I.—PART II.—CHAPTER III.

The viceroy Dom Francisco d'Almeida sailed from India on the 19th of November 1509, and had fair weather till he passed the Cape of Good Hope, when he said, "Now, God be praised, the witches of Cochin are liars, who said we should not pass this Cape." Near there he put into the bay of Saldanha to take water; and some men going to exchange goods with the blacks, a servant of the viceroy treated two of them so ill, that they knocked out his teeth and sent him away bloody. Some gentlemen looking upon this as an affront, persuaded the viceroy to go ashore, when they ought to have advised him to punish his servant for abusing people where they sought relief. This had been justice. He yielded, but so much against his will that as he went into the boat he said, "Ah! whither and to what end do they now carry the sixty years?" hereby declaring that was an action of raw heads.

There went with him one hundred and fifty, the flower of the ships. They went on to a miserable village, and returned with some cattle and children, when one hundred and seventy blacks coming down from the mountain, whither they had fled, attacked them in defence of their children, casting stakes with sharp points hardened at the fire, so furiously that in a little time they killed fifty gentlemen, and among them the viceroy, who died kneeling on the sand, with his eyes lifted up to heaven, stuck through the throat with one of these stakes. George de Mello returned with the wounded men to the ships, and when he thought the blacks were withdrawn, went ashore and buried the viceroy and the rest. This was a manifest judgment of God, that so few

unarmed barbarians should overcome those who had done such noble actions in India. George de Mello carried the news to Lisbon, where it was received with great grief.

#### TOME II.—PART II.—CHAPTER IX.

1552. The ambassador was one Diogo Gomes d'Almeida, who was lost in the unfortunate ship in which Manuel de Sousa e Sepulveda was cast away with his wife Dona Leonor de Albuquerque e Sá, who, being put ashore at the Cape of Good Hope, endured incredible hardships, and at length died miserably, giving occasion to sundry relations that are spread about the world, which being in part false, I shall here give a brief account of the whole matter.

They got ashore at the Cape of Good Hope, to the number of five hundred and thirty souls, and at first marched in good order, with colours and a crucifix on high, designing for Mozambique. They began their march the 3rd of July, and about the end of it several were left behind famished, and among them a natural son of Manuel de Sousa. Dona Leonor marched on foot, for those who had carried her were no longer able to support themselves. At the end of three months and a half they came to the cottages of Inhaca, a little prince on the banks of the river Do Espirito Santo. This good old man entertained them with great kindness, offering to relieve them till some Portuguese ships came to the neighbouring shores, whereof his people had always notice. He also warned them that further on was the little prince Ofumo, who would do them all the harm he could if they proceeded on their journey. Manuel de Sousa following his destiny went on; but seeing that of five hundred and thirty persons he had but one hundred and twenty left, and that his wife Dona Leonor could hardly go farther, taking her turn with the slaves in carrying her little children, he began to show some signs of distraction, which was an incredible grief to his wife, who doted on him.

Being come to Ofumo's country, forgetting the warning Inhaca had given, he trusted him, and resolved there to wait for Portuguese ships. Ofumo designed to rob him, but feared his men's arms. He persuaded him to deliver them up, and he should

have all necessaries abundantly provided, pretending his subjects did not supply him for fear. Notwithstanding all persuasions to the contrary, he delivered them, and had scarce done it when he was robbed of all his jewels, and only their clothes left them. At this he became quite mad, and his wife taking him by one hand and her son in the other, her slaves following and some few men, they went on till the Kaffirs fell upon them and stripped them.

Dona Leonor endeavoured to defend herself to no purpose and with hazard of her life, till her husband persuaded her to choose the lesser evil; but she thought it less ill to die than to be seen naked by any but her husband. As soon as she was stripped, she made her slaves stand about her, and sitting down on the sand, made a hole where she covered herself to the waist. Then looking upon the pilot Andres Vaz, she said "You see how God permits, as a punishment of my sins, that my husband, children, and I perish in this miserable manner; if you get to Portugal or India, give an account of it." The pilot, not able to return an answer for grief, went whatever way chance guided him. Manuel de Sousa had run to the wood to gather some wild fruit for his wife and children, who were perishing with hunger, and returning found one dead and her with the other scarce alive. He buried the dead child, and returned for more fruit, but too late, for when he came they were both dead. After pausing a while, he made a hole and buried his son, and then his wife; after which he ran into the thickest of the wood without once looking back. Three of his slaves got to India, who gave this relation, as others who reached Mozambique did of other passages. Among these was Sebastian de Sá.

#### TOME II.—PART II.—CHAPTER X.

1554. The viceroy despatched the ships for Portugal. That of Fernando Alvares Cabral was cast away at Aguada de S. Bras. Some of the men got ashore in boats. After a tedious journey by land, Cabral and Dom Alvaro de Noronha with his family were drowned in a river.



## TOME II.—PART III.—CHAPTER V.

1567. This year our great poet Luis de Camoens was at Sofala. Being very poor in India, where he served sixteen years, Pedro Barreto, who was going to command at Sofala, promised him great things, and Camoens, finding nothing came of them, after waiting long resolved to come to Portugal in a ship that had touched there, in which was Hector de Silveira and other gentlemen. Being about to depart, Pedro Barreto, who had made those promises not to prefer him but divert himself, demanded two hundred ducats he said he had spent upon him, and those gentlemen paid the money and brought him away. So it may be said that Luis de Camoens' person and Barreto's honour were at once sold for that money. He arrived at Lisbon the year 1569, when the plague raged in that city, so that famous man always flying one plague fell into another.

## TOME II.—PART III.—CHAPTER XII.

King Sebastian, thinking the government of India as it was then extended too great a burden for one man, divided it into three parts: the first from Cape Guardafui to the island Ceylon, which is that of India; the second from Cape Correntes to Guardafui, which is Monomotapa; the third from Pegu to China, which is that of Malacca. The first was given to Dom Antonio de Noronha, with the title of viceroy; the second to Francisco Barreto, and the third to Antonio Moniz Barreto, both styled governors.

## TOME II.—PART III.—CHAPTER XV.

*The Government of Francisco Barreto in Monomotapa beginning in the year 1569, in the reign of King Sebastian.*

When Francisco Barreto returned to Portugal, after having been governor of India, he was appointed admiral of the galleys: he exercised this command at the time of that memorable action of Pennon, by which he gained great reputation. Being come

back to Lisbon, and the king resolved to make that division of governments, he named him for Monomotapa, with the additional title of Conqueror of the Mines there. The great inducement to this conquest was the information and experience of the vast quantity of gold found, particularly at Manika in the kingdom of Makaranga.

The doubt was whether it was proper for a man who had been governor of all our dominions in Asia and this southern part of Africa, to accept of this, which was the least considerable part into which it was divided, but the danger and difficulty of it made amends for the greatness. Three things prevailed with him to accept of it: the first, that he was poor; the second, that he thought it no lessening to take a less command in obedience to his prince; and the third, that it was allowed him in case the viceroy and he met at sea, their power should be equal in all respects.

In fine, Francisco Barreto submitted to the king's command and the desires of his country, and sailed from Lisbon in April 1569 as captain-general and governor of that conquest, with three ships. He carried one thousand landmen, and might have had more if the vessels could have contained them, for the noise of gold drowned the thoughts of danger, and nothing raises men like the thoughts of gain. Among these were many gentlemen and old African soldiers. Being come to Mozambique, he went to subdue the king of Pate, who was revolted from us.

Barreto had orders not to undertake anything without the advice of Francisco de Monclaros, a Jesuit, who was the cause of the ill success of this enterprise, so great an error is it to subject a soldier to a religious man, so indiscreet a presumption for a religious man to undertake what does not belong to his profession. There were two ways to the mines: the one through Monomotapa, the other by Sofala. Barreto was for this, Monclaros for the other and carried it, notwithstanding all the votes to the contrary, and so the first step they gave was to their ruin.

Now the governor enters upon this conquest, let us say something of its climate, quality, and extent. The coast from Cape Delgado to Mozambique is in the form of a bow; it begins in 9° of S. latitude, and ends in 14° 3', in which space are the islands of Pajaros. Mesa, one at the mouth of the river Pandagi, Mocoloe, Matemo, Queriba, Cobra, near the river Menluane, Quisve, and

Cabras, or Do Açoutado. Then follow the rivers Mucutii, Mucululo, Situ, Habe, Xanga, Samoca, Veloso, Pimba, Quizimaluco, Tintagone. Between these last are the bays of Xanga and Fuego, and the sands of Pinda. From Mozambique to the port of the bay of Cauca, in  $21\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  S. latitude, the continent runs to the westward, gathering the waters, where appears the shoal of Sofala, the dangerous Scylla and Charybdis of those seas, into which fall these rivers: Mocugo, Bayones, Mossige, Mojuncoale, Sangage, Ambuzi (here lie the three islands of Angoya), Monio, Macolongo (with three other islands), Tondamaje, Corombeca, Quesungu, Loranga, Chimani, Mogundo, Mafuta (between the last are the ports of Quilimane and Luabo, with the island Chingoma), Tendiculu, Quiloe, Sabam, Bagoë, Miave, Sofala (with the island in front called Inhansato), Quiloane, Mambony, Molimon, Quilamancobi. Between Cape Bosiqua in 32 degrees of south latitude and Cape Correntes in 23 is the great bay of Sauca. Into this bay falls the river Inhambane, where is the trade of ivory. From these names I infer the language of those people cannot be harsh, being mostly compounded of the soft letters l and m.

The empire of Monomotapa from the mouth of Cuama in the east runs two hundred and fifty leagues, is divided by the great river Zambesi, which falls into that of Chiri, running through the country of Bororo, where are many other large rivers, and on their banks many kings, some absolute, some subjects of Monomotapa. The greatest of the first is Mongas, bordering on Sena and the Zambesi, which falls into the sea between Mozambique and Sofala, to the south-east by four mouths: the first that of Quilimane, 90 leagues from Mozambique, the second Cuama, 25 to the southward, the third Luabo, 5 leagues lower, and the fourth Luaboel, 15 more to the south. Between them are fruitful and large islands, whereof one is sixty leagues in compass. The river is navigable the same number of leagues up to the town of Sena, inhabited by Portuguese, and as many more to Tete, a colony of theirs also. The richest mines are those of Masapa, called Aufur, the Ophir where the queen of Sheba had her riches, when she went to Jerusalem. In these mines has been found a lump of gold worth twelve thousand ducats. It is not only found among stones, but grows up within the bark of several trees to the top where the branches spread.

The mines of Manchica and Butica are not much inferior to these. There are many others not so considerable. There are three fairs or markets, whither our people trade for this gold from the castle of Tete on the river Zambesi, 120 leagues from the sea: the first is Luane, four days' journey up the inland; the second Buento, farther distant; and Masapa the third, yet farther off. This gold was purchased for cloth, glass beads, and other things of no value among us. At Masapa resides a Portuguese officer appointed by the commander of Mozambique, by consent of the emperor of Monomotapa, but upon condition not to go into the country without his leave upon pain of death. He is judge of the differences that arise there. There are churches of the Dominicans at Masapa, Bocuto, and Luanze.

The original number and time of the reign of the kings is not known; it is believed there were several in the time of the queen of Sheba, and that they were subject to her, for thence she had her gold. In the mountain Afur, near Masapa, are seen the ruins of stately buildings, supposed to be palaces and castles. In process of time the empire was divided into three kingdoms: Quiteve, Sabanda, and Chicanga, this last the most powerful, as possessing the mines of Manchica, Butua, and others. It is believed the blacks of Butua of the kingdom of Chicanga are those that carry the gold to Angola, because it is thought there are but one hundred leagues distance between those two places. This country bears rice and what we call Indian wheat, has abundance of all sorts of cattle, fowl, and gardening. Their chief care is pasturage and tillage. This empire is divided into twenty-five kingdoms, which are Mongas, Baroe, Manica, Boesa, Macingo, Remo, Chique, Chiria, Chidima, Boquiza, Inakanzo, Chiruvia, Condesaca, Daburia, Macurumbe, Mungussi, Anturaza, Chove, Chungue, Diza, Romba, Rassini, Chirao, Mocaranga, and Remo de Beza. There are many lordships that have not the title of kings.

The emperor has a great palace, though of wood; the chief apartments in it are three: one for himself, another for his wife, and a third for his menial servants. It has three doors into a court: one for the queen to go in and out at, another for him and the servants that attend his person and are sons of his noblemen, the third for his cooks, who are two great men and his relations, and the under-cooks who are also men of quality.

None of these must be above twenty years of age, for till that age they do not believe they have to do with women, and if any do they are severely punished ; after that time they are preferred to great employments. Those within doors are governed by a captain, and those without by another, as formerly in Spain.

The principal officers about the king are Ningomoxa, governor of the kingdoms ; Macomoaxa, captain-general ; Ambuya, great steward, to him it belongs when the Mazarira, or the king's principal wife, dies, to name another in her stead, but it must be one of the king's sisters or nearest relations ; Inhantovo, the head musician, who has many under him, and is a great lord ; Nurucão, captain of the vanguard ; Bucurumo, which signifies the king's right hand ; Magande, the chief conjuror ; Netambe, the apothecary that keeps the ointments and utensils for sorcery ; Nehono, chief porter. All these offices are executed by lords. There is no delicacy in cookery used ; they only eat boiled and roasted ; they eat the same as is usual with us, with the addition of mice, which they esteem as good as partridge or rabbit.

The king has many wives, only nine called great queens, which are his sisters or near relations, the others the daughters of nobles. The chiefest is called Mazarira, and mother of the Portuguese, who often present her, because she solicits their business with the king, and he sends no ambassador to them without some servants of hers ; the second is Inabanda, that solicits for the Moors ; the third Nabuiza, that lives in the same apartment with him ; the fourth Navemba ; the fifth Nemangore ; the sixth Nizingoapangi ; the seventh Negangoro ; the eighth Nessani ; the ninth Neca-runda. Each of them lives apart, with as great state as the king, and have several revenues and kingdoms for their expense. As soon as one dies, another succeeds in place and name. They have power to reward and punish, as well as the king. Sometimes he goes to them, sometimes they come to him. There are many women waiting on them, of whom he makes use as he pleases.

The principal people of Monomotapa, and whereof the emperor is, are the Mocaranga, not warlike, nor furnished with any other arms but bows, arrows, and javelins. They have no religion nor idols, but acknowledge one only God, and believe there is a devil, that he is wicked, and they call him Muzuco. They believe their kings go to heaven, and call them Muzimos, and call upon

them in time of need, as we on the saints. They speak of things past by tradition, having no knowledge of letters. They give ear to the doctrine of Christianity: the lame and blind they call the king's poor, because maintained by him with great charity, and if they travel the towns they go through are obliged to maintain and furnish them guides from one place to another: a good example for Christians.

Every month has its festival days, and is divided into three weeks, each of ten days; the first day is that of the new moon, and the festivals the fourth and fifth of each week. On these days they put on their best apparel, the king gives public audience to all, holding a truncheon about three quarters of a yard long in each hand, as it were leaning upon it; they who speak to him lie prostrate; this lasts from morning till evening. If he is indisposed Ningomoxa stands in his place; nobody can speak to him or go to court on the eighth day of the new moon, because it is held most unlucky.

On the day the new moon appears, the king with two javelins runs about in his house as if he were fighting, the great men are present at this pastime, and it being ended, a pot full of Indian wheat, boiled whole, is brought, which he scatters about the ground, bidding them eat, because it is the growth of the earth; they know how to flatter, for every one strives to gather most, knowing that pleases him, and they eat it as savourly as if it were the greatest dainty.

Their greatest holy day is the first day of the moon of May, they call it Chuavo. On this day all the great men, which are a great number, resort to court, and there with javelins in their hands run about representing a fight. The sport lasts all day. Then the king withdraws, and is not seen in eight days after, during which time the drums never cease beating. On the last day he orders the nobleman he has the least affection for to be killed; this is in the nature of a sacrifice to his Muzimos or ancestors; this done, the drums cease, and every man goes home. The Mumbos eat man's flesh, whereof there is a public butchery. Let this suffice for the customs of this empire, for it would be endless to relate all.

## TOME II.—PART III.—CHAPTER XVI.

*Continues the Government of Francisco Barreto in Monomotapa.*

Such was the country whither the governor Francisco Barreto was now going. He set out from Mozambique with more vessels than he brought, and more men, tools, camels, horses, and other necessaries for war and for the work of the mines; having sailed ninety leagues, he went up the river Cuama, called by our first discoverer *Dos bons sinaes*, he came to Sena, or Fort St. Marçal, as Friar Monclaros desired, and repaired the town Inaparapala, which is near to another of the Moors. They being always professed enemies to the Christians, began to undermine our designs, as they had formerly done in India. They attempted to poison our army, and some men and horses began to die, and the cause being discovered by one of them, they were all put to the sword, and the chief of them torn to pieces at the mouths of guns, except one (called Mahomet Jame), who, affirming the Blessed Virgin had appeared to him and commanded him to become a Christian by the name of Lawrence, had the favour to be strangled. The discoverer was pardoned.

Barreto sent an ambassador to the emperor, who for the more honour admitted him to his presence, not as other ambassadors were treated at this court, which is to go without arms, bare-footed, on their knees, and when they come near, prostrating themselves on the ground. The effect of the embassy was to desire leave to punish the King of Mongas, who was in rebellion, and go on to the mines of Butua and Manchica. The first part was a piece of flattery to obtain the second, because the lands of Mongas lie between Sena and the mines, and it was necessary to make way with the sword. He consented to all, and offered one hundred thousand men. Barreto accepted not of them, because he would give him no share in the honour gained in that war, and thinking thereby to oblige him the more.

He marched ten days with twenty-three horse and five hundred and sixty musqueteers (enduring much by hunger and thirst), for the most part along the river Zambesi, over whose most rapid stream hang pieces of the high mountain Lupata, ninety leagues distant from the Ethiopian sea. At the end of this tedious march they began to discover part of the enemy, and soon after

saw the mountains and valleys covered with armed men. The governor was not daunted, seeing it was hard to discover the end of that multitude: he drew up, and gave the van to Vasco Fernandes Homem; he had the rear, and between the bodies was the baggage and some field-pieces. When they came to charge, he removed the cannon to the front and flanks; the two unequal bodies advanced, the enemy in the form of a half moon; before they engaged, an old woman advanced and scattered some powder towards our men, having persuaded the enemy (she was a notorious witch) that that powder alone would gain the victory.

Barreto understanding the superstition, having seen the like in India, ordered a gunner to level a piece at her, which was so well performed that the old woman was torn to pieces. The Kaffirs were astonished, believing her immortal. Barreto rewarded the gunner with a gold chain. The enemy advanced without order, either through ignorance or relying on their multitude, and clouds of arrows and darts began to fly, but our musqueteers killing them by hundreds, they turned their backs. Many were killed in the pursuit, and then our men were ordered to halt. The governor marched to the city Mongas, and met another multitude like the former, which in like manner was put to flight. Above six thousand Kaffirs were slain, and two of our men, and the governor was forced to alight and lead his men. The city was entered without opposition, being abandoned. Our men entrenched, and in the morning discovered an army as great as both the former. The Kaffirs were again routed, and begged peace in the king's name. The governor received the messenger with such majesty that he was astonished, and could not speak; being come to himself, and having delivered his message, Barreto promised he would see the king and matters should be adjusted.

The next day our men marched and encamped in a convenient place, where ambassadors came from the king to treat of peace. It happened that one of our camels broke loose and came so near the governor that he stopped him till they came up that were in pursuit of him. The Kaffirs having never seen such a beast, admired it stopped at the governor, thinking it some submission it made to him, and began to ask some questions. He, making his advantage of their ignorance, told them he had many of those beasts that only fed upon man's flesh, and having devoured all that were killed, that beast came from the rest to desire he would



not make peace, because they would come to want food. They, astonished hereat, earnestly entreated him he would desire the camels to be satisfied with good beef, and they would instantly bring them a good number. He granted their request, and marched on. He was in great distress for provisions when news came that his presence was required at Mozambique. He gave the command of the forces to Vasco, and departed. The cause was this :

Antonio Pereira Brandam, who at the Maluccas had committed crimes that deserved the severest punishment, in Portugal was condemned to banishment into Africa ; he desired the governor he might be permitted to go with him to Monomotapa ; he did it, and being come to Mozambique, gave him the command of that fort. Brandam, though eighty years of age and under such obligations, resolved to secure himself in the fort, and defame Francisco Barreto with false information sent to the king. The original papers fell into the governor's hands, who, being come to Mozambique, showed them to him, and he falling down and kissing his feet begged pardon ; Barreto lifted him up and forgave him, then giving the command of the fort to Lourenço Godino, returned to prosecute his design.

Our governor being come to the fort of Sena, Father Monclaros came out in a great rage to tell him he should desist from that conquest, with which he had imposed upon the king, that no more men might be lost, for he should be answerable to God for what had and should die. It was most certain Barreto was not the promoter of that conquest, and Monclaros was in fault for all the miscarriage that had been committed. Barreto took this insolence so much to heart that he died within two days without any other sickness, breathing out his soul in sighs. Doubtless the Father had more to answer for his death, than he for the miscarriage the Father was guilty of.

King Sebastian much resented this loss, and particularly expressed it by the honourable reception he made to his body when brought to Lisbon. So this great man having escaped so many bullets among the Indians, so many darts and arrows among the Kaffirs, and the malice of a villain, fell by the words of a religious man.

## TOME II.—PART III.—CHAPTER XVII.

*The Government of Vasco Fernandes Homem in Monomotapa, in the Reign of King Sebastian.*

The governor Francisco Barreto being dead, an order of the king's found among his papers was opened, by which Vasco Fernandes Homem, his major, was appointed to succeed him. The persuasions of Father Monclaros, who now disliked the conquest, so far prevailed with him that, forgetting his duty, he returned to Mozambique. There some understanding persons, and chiefly Francisco Pinto Pimentel, his kinsman, represented this affair in such manner to him that he returned to Monomotapa. Being now delivered of that religious man, who went away to Portugal, he set out by the way of Sofala, as Francisco Barreto would have done, that being the most proper road for the design in hand. He marched directly towards the mines of Manchica of the kingdom Chicanga, bordering by the inland with that of Quiteve, the next in power to Monomotapa. With him was the same number of men and sorts of instruments his predecessor had. To oblige the king of Quiteve, he complimented him and sent him presents, and though these are the most efficacious means to make all things easy, that prince grew so jealous of these solicitations that he received all very coldly.

The governor, not making much account of his answer, marched into his kingdom. Several bodies of Kaffirs attempted to stop his passage, but were routed with great slaughter. The king, seeing he did not prevail by force of arms, had recourse to policy. He caused all the people and provisions to be withdrawn from the towns and country, so that our men suffered extreme want till they came to Zimbae, his court, whence he was fled, and had fortified himself in inaccessible mountains. Vasco burnt the city, and marched on to Chicanga, the king whereof, rather through fear than love, received him with exterior signs of affection, and gave him free passage to the mines. Our men marched to them, many believing they should gather gold by handfuls; but seeing the natives with much difficulty gathered but little in a long time, and not being expert at that work, and that to make anything of it more men and materials were requisite, they returned the way they came, and parted friends with that king.

Though they obtained not what was sought this way, yet the ease wherewith they came to the place designed evinced how great an error it was to impose Father Monclaros as director to the late governor, who, only to follow his own extravagant humour, led him a way so dangerous and tedious. Vasco returned to Quiteve, and that king did now for fear what he refused before, permitting the Portuguese to march to the mines of Maninnas, only upon condition they should pay him twenty crowns yearly. Vasco passed thence to the kingdom of Chicova, bordering upon Monomotapa to the northward along the inland. The cause of undertaking this march was the account he had of rich silver mines. Having encamped, he asked the Kaffirs for the mines, and they, seeing it was in vain to resist, and fearing the discovery of the mines would be their ruin, scattering some ore far enough from the mines, showed it, telling them there they were.

By this means the Kaffirs got time to escape, for our men, giving credit to them, let them go, perhaps not desiring they should see what treasure they got. The governor caused all round about to be dug, and after much labour it was no wonder he did not find what was not there. Provisions growing scarce, and finding no fruit of his labour, he marched away, leaving Captain Antonio Cardoso d'Almeida with two hundred men and necessaries to continue there some days, to examine into the truth of that so much coveted corner of the earth.

Vasco being gone, Cardoso suffered himself to be again deceived by the Kaffirs, who had before imposed upon him. They offered, since he could not find a vein there, they would show him a place where he might; and leading him the way of death rather than that of the mines, killed him and all his men, after they had defended themselves with incredible bravery. This may convince those who affirm that numbers of Kaffirs would fly from a gun, as not having before seen them, since here two hundred men fighting with them for their lives were all slain by their darts and arrows.

This was the end of that government, scarce begun sooner than ended, and possessed by two governors who no sooner saw than they lost it: the first killed by rash words, the second expelled by a prudent, not barbarous, stratagem. However, the peace and trade with the emperor of Monomotapa continued.

These actions of Francisco Barreto and Vasco Fernandes Homem were in the time of the government of Dom Luis de Ataide, Dom Antonio de Noronha, and Antonio Monis Barreto; but we could never exactly find when the first died and the last desisted.

## TOME III.—PART I.—CHAPTER III.

1585. Fifteen years before this time there came upon the country of Mozambique such an inundation of Kaffirs that they could not be numbered. They came from that part of Monomotapa where is the great lake out of which spring those great rivers whose source was formerly unknown. To these were joined the Kaffirs Macabire and Ambei, and other borderers upon Abyssinia. With them came their wives and families as those that sought new countries to inhabit, their own not being able to contain them. Their choice food human flesh, and for want of it that of beasts. They left no other signs of the towns they passed by but the heaps of ruins and bones of the inhabitants. For want of them they ate their own, beginning by the sick and aged, so that doubtless fathers became food to their children. The women, deformed and hardy, carry their goods on their backs, and in sight use the bow as dexterously as the men. These march in armour, and wherever they halt fortify themselves.

Hierome de Andrade, from the castle of Tete, sent out a party of musqueteers, who firing among that multitude killed some to their great astonishment, having never before seen that sort of arms, that they fled without looking back. In two encounters above five thousand were slain. They stopped not till they came to the country of Mozambique, having destroyed all in their way like a fiery inundation. This place was approved of by Mambea, commander of about six thousand, and he began to build a fort and towns two leagues from Mozambique. The fort of Cuama, where Nuno Vello Pereira commanded, was much incommoded by them, he therefore sent out Antonio Rodrigues Pimentel, or Pinto, with four hundred men, four of them Portuguese, who unexpectedly falling on the barbarians, slew a vast number and burnt the fort, but retiring in disorder, they fell upon and killed him and all his men, except three Portuguese and very few blacks. All the dead were eaten by the victorious Kaffirs, except their heads, hands, and feet.

Since this relation has brought us to Mozambique, it will not be amiss to give some account of that country. It is full of orchards and fruit-trees, especially citron, lemon and orange trees, has all sorts of tame and wild beasts, as in Europe, and an infinite number of elephants. The people feed on Indian wheat. The woods are of ebony, a high tree, bearing a leaf like that of our apple-trees, the fruit like medlars but not eatable; from the ground upward it is so covered with thorns that it is difficult to come at; where one is cut down another never grows; the bark of it is as susceptible of fire as tinder. There is another sort of a yellowish colour that is of value. The best manna is produced here. Among the fish of that river there is one as devouring as crocodiles; no man in reach escapes them, but they touch not women, so great is the privilege of that sex. One of these of a prodigious bigness was taken that had gold rings in the ears. It was supposed to be some piece of witchcraft of the Kaffirs, to clear the river of those dangerous monsters.

#### TOME III.—PART I.—CHAPTER IV.

1587. The king of Melinde, always most faithful to us since our first discoveries in Asia, advertised the viceroy how prejudicial to our affairs what Mir Alibet had done with the galley of Mocha would prove. And indeed this was a great step towards the Turk's design of possessing himself of the mines of Sofala and Cuama, the king of Mombasa having given him leave to raise a fort there. The viceroy hereupon consulted the men of most experience in those affairs, and the resolution was that a considerable fleet must be sent to stop their further progress. Eighteen sail were fitted out, and the command of them given to Martim Affonso de Mello Pombeiro.

They came to an anchor in the port of Ampaza, because that being the first place that offended, it was thought fit to punish it first, as also because that king, relying on his fortifications and four thousand armed men, had executed João Rabelo for not renouncing the Christian faith. Our men assaulted the town in two bodies. The first met great opposition, and slew the king, then making their way, both parties entered the town, sparing neither women nor children. The town and vessels in the port

were burnt, whilst the woods were cut down. Ten days were spent in destroying all, with the loss of only four men on our part.

The king of Pate, seeing this ruin, submitted, he of Lusiva fled to the mountains, and our admiral gave this kingdom to a matron, who had been deposed by him that fled, and came now to plead her right. The king of Mombasa at first made show as if he would oppose us, having got together seven thousand men, but afterwards fled out of the island, and from the top of a mountain beheld the flames that consumed his city.

The commander of Mozambique, Dom Jorge de Meneses, was not idle, but still employed against the Moors, who endeavoured to settle themselves in the trade of those parts of the island Madagascar that lay opposite to him. Many of ours were slain, and among them Friar João of S. Thomé, a Dominican, who preached the faith to those infidels.

TOME III.—PART I.—CHAPTER VII.

1589. The ships that were homeward bound being despatched, Dom Paul de Lima embarked in that called the *St. Thomas*, whereof Stephen de Vega was captain. On the coast of Natal she sprang a leak in the stern, and a storm raging she could not be kept above water, though they threw overboard all the riches that were in her.

The boat being launched, all strove to perish in it, because they would have it hold all that the ship contained. Several were killed upon this occasion, and Dom Paul, standing on the side with his sword drawn, could in no way prevent it. At length those that the boat could not contain returned to the ship. The women were let down and almost drowned before they were taken in, because it could not come to the ship's side. Dona Joanna de Mendoza going into it, left behind a daughter but two years old, and calling for her afterwards, could not get her, because the nurse would not let the child go unless they would take her with it.

The boat was not far from the ship when they saw it swallowed up by the sea. It was yet worse, that being overloaded with one hundred and twenty persons, and there being no other remedy

left, they were forced to throw some into the sea, who immediately sank. The boat came to the shore.

Ninety-eight persons, men and women, landed, several of them gentlemen of note, their wives, and some friars, one of which, after having confessed the people in the ship, would have stayed to die with them, that he might be aiding to them in that last hour. They marched in good order, a friar going before with a crucifix on high. The women put themselves into men's habit, after the Indian manner, that their coats might not be a hindrance to them in going.

The place where they landed is called by the Portuguese the country of the Fumos, by the natives "of the Macomatos," being inhabited by Kaffirs of this name. It is in the latitude of 27 degrees 20 minutes, beyond the river of Simon Dote, fifty leagues south of the bay of Lourenço Marques. All the land of the Fumos belongs to the king of Virangune, and runs thirty leagues up the inland, bordering on the south with the country of Mocalapata, the king whereof extends his dominion to the upper part of the river St. Lucia, in the latitude of 28 degrees 15 minutes, and to the kingdom of Vambe, that contains a great part of Terra de Natal. From hence to the Cape of Good Hope there are no kings, but Ancozes or lords of villages. Next the kingdom of Virangune is that of Inhaca, towards the north-east to the point of the bay of Lourenço, in 25 degrees 45 minutes of south latitude, and has two islands opposite to it called Choambone and Setimuro, the last not inhabited is the receptacle of the Portuguese that resort thither to buy ivory.

About the bay many great rivers fall into the sea, as Beligane, Manica, Espirito Santo, Vumo, Anzate, and Angomane. At Vumo died Dona Leonor and her children, and Manuel de Sousa was lost. Anzate runs along the edge of vast inaccessible mountains covered with herds of elephants, the people of a gigantic stature. In the latitude of 25 degrees the river Dos Reys or Do Ouro falls into the sea, west of which are the kingdoms of Innapula and Manuca. From this place to Cape Correntes the sea makes a great bay, along which inhabit the Mocrangas, notable thieves. Opposite to the point St. Sebastian are the islands of Bazaruta, and not far from it the kingdom of Innabuze, that reaches to the river Innarigue; then that of Pande, bordering on the other Monnibene, which extends to that of Zavara in the

inland. Near these are the kingdoms of Gamba and Mocuraba, next to it is Cape Correntes.

After suffering much hunger, thirst, and weariness, and being persecuted by thieves, they came to the town of the king of Manica, by whom they were courteously received and entertained. He offered them to live in his town, or in the island (where we said before the Portuguese used to reside during the time of their stay) till such time as Portuguese merchants came thither. They accepted of the island, where some died. Being ill-accommodated there, they passed over in boats to the other side of the continent, and in the passage were parted. Some few got to the fort of Sofala, others to the king of Inhaca's town, where were some Portuguese traders who had also suffered shipwreck. Here after enduring great hardships, many died.

Dom Paul de Lima ended his days; and was there buried on the shore. Such as escaped death a long time after went over to Goa. Among these were three women: Dona Mariana, Dona Joana Mendoca, who after led a solitary life, and Dona Beatrix, wife to Dom Paul, who carried his bones to Goa, then went to Portugal, and married again at Oporto.

### TOME III.—PART I.—CHAPTER VIII.

1592. Let us go to Mozambique, where there happened a great loss. Our commander of Tete had some skirmishes with the Kaffirs our enemies. Tete is a fort of that authority that all the neighbours for three leagues about, divided under eleven captains, obey the commander of it, as each does their own, and upon the least signal given resort thither, to the number of two thousand armed men. With these Kaffirs and some Portuguese he marched against Quisura, captain of the Mumbo Kaffirs, who was at Chicarongo. Six hundred of these gave him battle, and were cut off every man of them, whereby many prisoners were released, who were to have been slaughtered like cattle for the shambles, theirs being of human flesh. The tyrant Quisura was also killed, who used to pave the way to his habitation with the skulls of those he had overcome.

Andre de Santiago, commander of the fort of Sena, designing as much against the Muzimbas, found them so well fortified he



was obliged to send to Pedro Fernandes de Chaves, commander of Tete, for aid. Chaves marched with some Portuguese musqueteers and the Kaffirs under his command; but the Muzimbas, being informed of it and fearing the conjunction of those forces, fell upon him so unexpectedly that they slew him and all his Portuguese, being advanced before their Kaffirs, who thereby had time to retire. The victors quartered the dead for food, and returned with them to their works. Friar Nicolam of the Rosary, a Dominican, was reserved from this general slaughter, and afterwards shot to death with arrows.

Next day the Muzimbas marched out of their works after their leader, who had put on the Casula or vestment taken from the martyred priest, and holding a dart in his right hand and the chalice in the left. The men carried the commander of Tete's head on a spear, and the quarters of the Portuguese on their backs. Andre de Santiago, astonished at that sight, thought to retire by night, but the enemy falling upon him he was killed with most of his men, so that in both actions above one hundred and thirty of them were cut in pieces, to be buried in those barbarous bellies.

Dom Pedro de Sousa, commander of Mozambique, under whose jurisdiction Tete is, set out with two hundred Portuguese and fifteen hundred Kaffirs to take revenge on these Muzimbas. He battered their works, but with no success, and endeavouring to scale them was repulsed. Being likely to succeed by raising gabions as high as their trenches, he was prevented by some cowardly Portuguese, who, to hide their fear, pretended the fort of Sena was in danger. Our commander, drawing off to relieve it, was attacked by the Muzimbas, and lost many of his men, the cannon, and other booty. Yet the enemy offered peace, which was concluded.

Soon after one of these Muzimbas marched eastward, gathered fifteen thousand men, and killing all in his way that had life, set down before Kilwa, which he entered by the treachery of one of the inhabitants, and put them all to the sword.

This done, he caused the traitor and all his family in his presence to be cast into the river, saying it was not fit such base people, who betrayed their country, should be spared, nor yet eaten, because they were venomous, therefore he cast them to be food for the fish. So odious is treason even among barbarians.

He designed to have done the same at Melinde, but that king, assisted by thirty Portuguese, withstood him till three thousand of the Mosseguejo Kaffirs coming to the relief of Melinde, the Muzimbas were so slaughtered that of all that army only one hundred escaped with the general, after they had ravaged three hundred leagues. Behold the chalice of this Muzimba.

TOME III.—PART I.—CHAPTER IX.

1593. The ship *Santo Alberto* sailing for Portugal was cast away on the coast of Natal. Some of the men were lost, the rest marched in a body under the command of Nuno Vello Pereira, suffering great hardships, to the river of Lourenço Marques, where finding Manuel Malleiro with a ship, Nuno and most of the men embarked and came to Mozambique. Those who were left behind travelled by land, and forgetting their miserable condition, so provoked the Kaffirs with their insolence that they killed most of them.

TOME III.—PART II.—CHAPTER VII.

1607. The Hollanders now aimed at the conquest of the island of Mozambique. Our fort there was commanded by Dom Estevam de Ataide, who not long before had obtained of the emperor of Monomotapa a grant of all the silver mines in his dominions, which are much richer than those of Asia, to the crown of Portugal. The motive of this donation was that we might assist him to subdue his rebellious subjects, which Dom Estevam performed, securing him in his throne, and to us that great gift, if we had known how to make use of it.

TOME III.—PART III.—CHAPTER IX.

1616. There were great complaints against the commander of Mozambique, Ruy de Mello e Sampayo, for that he robbed the natives, and did not pay the soldiers, having privately strangled some of them, which caused a mutiny. Francisco de Fonseca Pinto was sent from Goa to regulate these disorders. With him went Salvador Vaz da Gama to succeed Mello, in case he were

found guilty. Mello's conscience accusing him, he refused to admit the judge, who resolved to return to Goa, but hearing that Mello had left open a wicket of the fort, he rushed in, and deposing him, gave the command to Guerra, contrary to what the viceroy had ordered. He was also to victual the fort at Tete, and furnish it with cloth, that fort being maintained to continue the discovery of the mines of Monomotapa, which gave great hopes of profit. But before we relate what happened at this time, let us refresh the memory of what was before.

In the tenth chapter of the third part of the second volume we gave some account of what was acted by some of our commanders in these parts. Chunzo, a powerful king, rebelled against the emperor of Monomotapa, and was subdued by the assistance of the Portuguese; so other rebels. To gratify these favours he for ever gave all his mines to the king of Portugal, making a resignation of them to Diogo Simoens Madera, commander of Tete, who was then in his service. The substance of the instrument was, that he gave all his mines of gold, silver, copper, tin, iron, and lead to the king of Portugal, upon condition that he should support him in his throne; that the king should admit of him as his brother; that the next year he would send his son with an ambassador to Goa; that he had put two sons, and would soon put two daughters, into the custody of Diogo Simoens to be bred Christians. The emperor ordered Simoens to have an instrument made hereof; and he asking how he would sign it, since in his empire none could write, the emperor made three crosses on the ground, one under the other, and said he would sign it that way, which accordingly he did.

This done, Simoens with his men accompanied the emperor who was marching towards Ancone that was in rebellion. Gaspar Pereira Cabral being left behind wounded was carried by Kaffirs, who ran away from him. Simoens understanding it, went back with one slave, and helped to carry him on his own back, an act worthy of memory, from a captain to a soldier. The rebel being subdued, Simoens returned to Tete with the emperor's two sons. They were baptized by the names of Filipe and Diogo. The latter returned there, the other went back to his father.

The emperor, thinking he could now overcome his enemies without the assistance of the Portuguese, marched to the kingdom of Baroe, and was there defeated; at Mongas he had a son killed,

and Matuziane usurped his whole empire. Diogo Simoens restored him, and possessed himself of Chicova. Matuziane raising new forces was defeated and killed by the Portuguese. Dom Estevam de Ataide raised a fort at Masapa, and gave that command to Diogo Carvalho, whom he sent to Monomotapa with a present to obtain the delivery of the mines.

Carvalho went and told the emperor he had a great present, but gave him none; and he seeing the Portuguese entered his lands for gold without his consent, caused all they had to be taken from them, and many to be killed. Carvalho had with him some forces belonging to the emperor, with whose assistance he curbed the robbers of Quizinga, and supported himself. He resolved to revenge the spoiling of the Portuguese by a horrid treachery against those that served him, for joining with the Quizingas, he one night fell upon the Kaffirs, and killing many put the rest to flight, who justly cursed the falseness of the Portuguese.

Carvalho, fearful of his own wickedness, abandoned the fort of Masapa and went to Tete, leaving all the country in arms against the Portuguese. All he acted was by order of Dom Estevam de Ataide, who, instead of appeasing the emperor, threatened him with war. He sent out from Sena, and by his order Carvalho raised another fort on the banks of the Zambesi, two days' journey from Tete. Diogo Simoens Madera was left in command at Tete, because Ataide returned to Mozambique, hearing the Hollanders were coming thither. Dom Estevam perceiving no Dutch appeared in six months, returned to Tete. The emperor sent to offer him Chicova if he would send the ordinary present, which was a debt, and no gift. Dom Estevam would not so much as hear the ambassadors, refusing to give a present of five thousand ducats, which might have saved much greater charges, for about thirty thousand were already lost at Masapa to no purpose.

Dom Estevam set forward with one hundred and fifty men, but being better advised, expected news from Portugal and India. In July he received the king's orders to go to Goa, and give the command of Tete to Diogo Simoens, and that of Mozambique to Dom Joam de Ataide, the viceroy's brother. Dom Estevam obeyed against his will, leaving Simoens one hundred and forty soldiers without anything to maintain them in that

dangerous conquest. However Simoens made the best of it, and resolved to proceed, beginning with Chombe, a powerful Kaffir, demanding of him what he owed as our tributary, and the restitution of the Portuguese he had. Some infamous Portuguese advised Chombe to take no notice of Simoens, because he could do him no harm. This caused that king first to slight, and then to molest him in the vessels wherein he sailed for Tete. Simoens landing drove the Kaffirs so that they troubled him no more.

TOME III.—PART III.—CHAPTER X.

*Continues the Government of the Viceroy Dom Hierome de Azevedo, in the year 1616.*

Diogo Simoens Madera, raising six thousand Kaffirs, marched with them and his Portuguese against Chombe at the beginning of September. One night they heard a voice that said "Chombe rejoices at your coming, and desires you will make haste, for he is hungry, and expects to feast upon your bodies." Simoens marched on, and fortified himself close under the enemy's works, which were half a league in length, and in breadth proportionable, furnished with eight thousand men. Simoens attacked them twice, but to no effect. Next night a Kaffir fled to the enemy, and from them a Christian black woman to us with advice that Chombe would fall upon our men before day. Simoens expected them with silence, and killing a thousand, put the rest to flight.

The enemy proposed a peace, but nothing was concluded. Simoens attempted their works, but without success; he sent to the commander of Sena for succour, who sent him forty Portuguese and three thousand Kaffirs. The works were again assaulted in vain. Soon after some deserters gave information that the intrenchment was weakest on the side of a lake. Here the assault was renewed, the works entered, Chombe put to flight, and the place given to Quitambo, a Kaffir, who faithfully served us on condition to pay what Chombe had denied.

Diogo Simoens was now bent upon the conquest of the silver mines in Chicova. The emperor sent to acquaint him that he again resigned those mines to him, upon condition he should not

go thither with an armed power. Simoens desired he would send one to put him in possession thereof, and to receive cloth to the value of four thousand ducats he had to present him. The emperor was satisfied, and Simoens, with applause of all the Kaffirs, took possession of Chicova on the 8th of May 1614, being put into it by Inanxangue, a great man, nephew to the emperor. The first thing he did was to raise a fort there; the next, to join friendship with a powerful Kaffir called Sapoe, and his country Bororo.

The lord of Chicova, now subject to the Portuguese by virtue of the emperor's resignation, withdrew himself from them; so that complaint was made thereof to the emperor, who gave leave to depose him and put another in his place, sending a Kaffir called Cherema to show the mines. This man twice deceived Simoens, causing him to dig in places where he had hid some ore, for which reason he was confined; and then showed another place, of which some hope was conceived, he excusing himself what was done had been by the emperor's order. Nevertheless Simoens sent him a present; he detained the messengers, and sent word that he would have needles, pins, knives, looking-glasses, candles, soap, zafran, pepper, and some rich silks. He repented the giving of Chicova, and sought occasion of disagreement, thinking that Simoens could not send what he demanded. But he sending all things, the emperor seemed satisfied.

That Dom Filipe the emperor's son, whom Diogo Simoens caused to be baptized, attempted several times to make his escape to the Portuguese, and was taken; at length he got to the fort of Chicova, and was joyfully received. Hearing there that Cherema was fled to avoid discovering the mines, he sent for him, pretending to be sent ambassador by his father, and having rebuked and secured him, went himself to Tete. The emperor hearing thereof, proffered great rewards to any would kill his son. At the same time it fell out that a soldier gathering some fruit, the son of the owner, who was a powerful man, forbade him; the soldier complained to his captain Diogo Teixeira Barroso, who without further examination shot the young man. The father, in revenge of his son's death, did the Portuguese much harm; and the emperor declared war, because they entertained his son against his will.

In March 1615 ten thousand Kaffirs assaulted the fort, but

were forced thence with great loss, Diogo Simoens coming in time with succour. The country being clear, Simoens sent some men with Cherema to discover the mines; after some days digging they discovered ore, whereof one half was pure metal, and some scarce wanted casting. It appeared to be no cheat, some being grown into the roots of a tree.

Our commander being assured there were rich silver mines, resolved to send three great lumps of ore for a proof to Spain. The messengers and ore were received with great joy at Madrid. Gaspar Bocarro was so ambitious of carrying this news that after the others were gone he gave two thousand ducats to purchase the employ, and offered to go by land at his own expense; but he ended his days at Mozambique.

The excessive heat caused a sickness in the fort of Chicova, whereof the soldiers died in three or four days. Next followed a famine, which gave occasion to the Kaffirs who served the fort and dug in the mines to run away, so that there was no silver to buy cloth, and consequently no cloth to purchase provisions with at Sape, it being the only coin that passed there. Diogo Simoens had acquainted the viceroy that conquest could not be maintained without relief. The chief sustenance of that garrison for some days was a small fruit, so harsh they could not swallow it, unless rolled in ashes.

The supplies were sent by the viceroy to Mozambique, but never reached Chicova, which thereupon was abandoned. The hatred the lawyer Francisco de Fonseca Pinto, to whom the viceroy had given the whole charge of the affair, bore to Diogo Simoens, was the cause he was not relieved, and that important place lost.

This is that Francisco de Fonseca Pinto who took the command of Mozambique from Ruy de Mello e Sampayo, and had all necessaries for Chicova, as well of provisions as tools to work in the mines. But his hatred to Simoens diverted him from sending those succours; besides he sold all that was to relieve that place, and converted it to his own use, and seized upon Ruy de Mello's effects. Diogo Simoens pressed him by letters for relief, in his last protesting with all his men that if the place were lost the fault would lie upon him.

All the answer that insolent fellow returned was putting Simoens' nephew, sent to conduct him, in irons. Then he entered

his lands, and destroyed all that was there, selling his slaves; he forbade the inhabitants on pain of death corresponding with, or relieving those of Chicova, and sent word to the emperor that he might freely kill Simoens for entering his dominions without orders from the viceroy. Not satisfied to procure his ruin by those means, he marched towards Chicova with intention to murder him. Simoens understanding it withdrew thence, and Pinto hearing of it, though so near, would not relieve the fort, nor examine the mines as he had in orders, but returned hastily to Tete, fearing Diogo Simoens should meet him. But going back to the fort, he caused the notary to draw an instrument, containing the causes why that fort was abandoned, to which they all signed. This done, they marched with their women and children towards Tete.

Weakness caused them to march very slowly, and two soldiers fell dead for want. At Marenga Simoens received a summons from Pinto, to appear before him at Tete in nine days to answer for himself, but knowing now he had quitted the fort, sent two thousand Kaffirs commanded by a Portuguese to murder him; they, though the opportunity was presented, would not do it. Simoens stayed in the country of Inambanzo, which was his own, and all the company went to Tete. There Pinto enquired of them whether there were any mines at Chicova, they all unanimously answered there were. But he in hatred to Simoens desiring to conceal them, with threats and rewards prevailed with each of them singly to swear there were none. Then he gave sentence against Simoens for abandoning the fort, not considering if there were no mines there (as he endeavoured to make out) it was no crime, and that if any fault were it was his own, since the other held it longer than could be required.

This done, Pinto promised the emperor a considerable present if he would fall upon Simoens at Inambanzo. The emperor not only expelled Simoens from those lands, but so distressed Tete that they were forced to make up the present promised by Pinto, to buy his absence, the emperor positively requiring it at their hands. Diogo Simoens afterwards returned to Tete, being utterly ruined by his good service, and Pinto who had ruined all was enriched by his villainies and rapine. This is what happened about the mines of Monomotapa. I will only add that the first commander there, Francisco Barreto, was undone by a divine,

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and now Diogo Simoens by a lawyer; and the king, by employing such gownmen in things they understand not, lost the great advantages that might be expected from those mines.

TOME III.—PART III.—CHAPTER VIII.

*The Government of the Viceroy Dom Michael de Noronha, Count of Linares, from the year 1629 till 1635.*

The ship *St. Gonzalo*, having set out from Goa with two others, finding, after being parted from her company, that she could not be kept above water, they made the shore, and came to an anchor in the bay called Formosa for its largeness, being three leagues over, exposed to no winds but the east, north-east, and south-east, and lies near the Cape of Good Hope.

Being come to anchor, they ought whilst the weather favoured to have landed the men and goods that were not before cast overboard; but instead of that, at the persuasion of some officers, they attempted to suck the ship dry in order to sail again. Three men were let down one after another to clear the pump, and returned not; then a fourth being put down with a rope about him, and brought up almost dead, it appeared that the steam of the pepper which had taken wet killed them.

In order to refit the ship, one hundred men landed, and one hundred and thirty remained aboard, who after fifty days perished together with the ship by a sudden storm, being beaten to pieces upon the coast. The hundred men left ashore built huts, because it would be long before they could find the means of going to sea, which were only by building two small vessels out of the wreck and the trees on the mountain. The captain, being old and sick, gave the men leave to choose another, and they pitched upon Rocque Borges, who behaved himself well; but one Simon de Figueyredo, in that misery ambitious of command, endeavouring to kill him missed his design, yet grievously wounded him, but Borges, recovering, stabbed him, and all was quiet again.

They sowed some seeds, and reaped the fruit; meanwhile they lived upon rice that had been saved, some fish taken, and cows and sheep they bought of the natives for iron. The language of these natives could not be understood, therefore they had recourse to signs. They are not quite black, go naked, cover

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their privy parts with a skin, in winter wear cloaks of the same, their bodies anointed with the dung of bulls, they make sudden stops in their speech, carry fox-tails in their hands to make signs with; have no towns, but wander with their cattle like the hordes of Arabs; some carry stakes and mats to make a sort of tents; they use no tillage, and offered our men a cake that seemed to be made of meal of roots mixed with cow-dung; they eat flesh, but almost raw, just showed to the fire, which is made by rubbing sticks together; their choicest food is the guts and tripes, the filth only squeezed out; their weapons are darts and bows; no sign of religion was discovered among them, but it was observed that on Midsummer or St. John Baptist's day they appeared crowned with garlands of sweet herbs and flowers.

The soil is fruitful, free from stones, produces all sorts of herbs, plants, sweet flowers, and variety of trees. It is watered by great rivers, and many springs. The spring begins in November. Summer and winter in these parts, as also in India, are not caused by the sun coming near or going from the zenith as in Europe, but by the winds. It is winter when it rains, and then the sun is in his greatest altitude; when in his greatest declination it rains not, and then it is summer. Winter begins about the end of May, when the west wind reigns, which brings great rain, and lasts till September, during which time all navigation ceases. From September till May the north-east winds blow, which keep a serene sky, and this is the summer when all put to sea. Let us return to the description of that country and our men there.

There is an infinite number of wild beasts, and those very large, as deer, wolves, seahorses, buffaloes, wild boars, monkeys, tigers, and elephants, and some rabbits not unlike our ferrets. They have abundance of wild turkeys, geese, pigeons, turtles, and partridges, which last build their nests hanging on branches of trees. Thus much of the people and country about the Cape of Good Hope. There lived our shipwrecked Portuguese, and had erected a sort of church where mass was said, and there were frequent sermons, five priests being in that company.

The ships being built, instead of tar they made use of benjamin and frankincense, and wanting oil to dissolve them, they supplied it with that of seawolves. Before their departure they erected a cross on the top of a mountain, with an inscription signifying

their misfortune. The vessels were launched, the men and goods shipped, one party designing for Portugal, the other for India. The former, after some days' fruitless labour, were almost in the same place they set out from, and in that condition were taken up by Antonio de Sousa e Carvalho in that ship which, as was before said, afterwards perished upon the bar of Lisbon.

Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira was commander of Mozambique, and died this year. Dom Filipe Christian was emperor of Monomotapa, with whom we were in league. A Kaffir named Capranzirle rebelled against him, who, falling upon a body of our men as they marched to Tete, slew three hundred Portuguese, the chief cause whereof was a dispute between our captains about superiority. All had been lost but for Christopher de Brito e Vasconcelos, who put a stop to the current of the victorious enemy. Diogo de Sousa e Meneses commanded Mozambique at that time in the place of Pereira. Soon afterwards it was known that the Kaffir died of a musket shot he had received, and a brother of the emperor, but thirteen years of age, and a Christian, baptized by the Dominicans by the name of Domingo, was proclaimed king.

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#### APPENDIX.

*A short Account of what the Portuguese are possessed of between the Cape of Good Hope and China, &c.*

The Portuguese empire to the eastward extends from the Cape of Good Hope in Africa to Cape Liampo in China. The first part is bounded by the Cape of Good Hope and the mouth of the Red Sea. This division contains along the coast many kingdoms of the Kaffirs, as the vast one of Monomotapa, who is lord of all the gold mines in Africa. Here the crown of Portugal is possessed of the forts of Sofala and Mombasa and the city and fort of Mozambique. The forts of Sofala and Mozambique are worth to their commanders two hundred thousand ducats each. This value is computed for three years.

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*Extractos da Navegação de PEDRO ALVARES CABRAL.\**

Continuando a nossa viagem chegamos diante de Çofala, onde ha hum a mina de ouro, e achámos junto a esta povoação duas Ilhas : estavam aqui duas naos de Mouros, que tinham carregado ouro daquella mina, e hião para Melinde, os quaes tanto que nos avistarão, começaram a fugir, e lançarão-se todos ao mar, tendo primeiro alijado o ouro para que lho não tirassemos. Pedro Alvares depois de se ter apoderado das duas náos, fez vir ante si o Capitão dellas, e lhe perguntou de que paiz era, ao que respondeo que era Mouro, primo de El-Rei de Melinde, que as náos erão suas, e que vinha de Çofala com aquelle ouro, trazendo comsigo sua mulher e hum filho, os quaes se tinham afogado querendo fugir para terra : o Capitão mór quando soube que o Mouro era primo de El-Rei de Melinde (o qual era muito nosso amigo) se desgostou sobre maneira, e fazendo-lhe muita honra, lhe mandou entregar as suas duas náos com todo o ouro que se lhe tinha tirado. O Capitão Mouro perguntou ao nosso se trazia comsigo algum Encantador, que podesse tirar a outra porção que tinham deitado ao mar, ao que elle respondeo que eramos Christãos, e que não tinhamos semelhantes uzos. Depois tirou o nosso Capitão mór informações das cousas de Çofala, que ainda neste tempo não era descoberta senão por fama, e o Mouro lhe deo por novas, que em Çofala havia hum a mina muito abundante de ouro, cujo Senhor era hum Rei Mouro, o qual assistia em hum a Ilha chamada Quiloa, que estava na derrota, que deviamos seguir : e que o parcel de Çofala já nos ficava atraz ; com isto o Capitão se despedeo de nós, e continuámos a ncssa jornada.

\* . \* . \* . \*

Por ordem do Capitão mór partio dalli (Moçambique) Sancho

\* This account of Cabral's voyage was written by a Portuguese pilot in the fleet, whose name is unknown. It was translated into Italian and appeared in that language at an early date, but was retranslated into Portuguese and published by the Royal Academy of Sciences at Lisbon in 1812 in Vol. II. of *Collecção de Noticias para a Historia e Geografia das Nações Ultramarinas que vivem nos Dominios Portuguezes*. The fleet under Cabral sailed from Portugal in the year 1500. The events related in the first paragraph occurred on the outward passage, those related in the second and third paragraphs when the six remaining ships of the fleet were returning home.—G. M. T.

de Tovar em hum navio mais pequeno, com hum Piloto que tinhamos tomado, a fim de reconhecer a Ilha de Çofala.

\* \* \* \* \*

Partindo daqui chegámos a este Cidade de Lisboa no fim de Julho: hum dia depois chegou a náó que perdemos de vista quando voltavamos, e igualmente Sancho de Tovar com a Caravella que foi a Çofala; que elle disse ser huma pequena Ilha na embocadura de hum rio; e que o ouro que alli vem, he de huma montanha aonde está a mina, he povoada de Mouros, e Gentios, que resgatão o dito ouro por outras mercadorias. Quando alli chegou Sancho de Tovar achou muitas náos de Mouros, e tomou hum destes para refens de hum Christão da Arabia que mandára a terra, e pelo qual esperou dous ou tres dias; passados os quaes vendo que elle não voltava o deixou ficar vindo com o Mouro para Portugal; de modo que da Armada que foi a Calicut vierão seis náos, e todas as outras se perderão.

[*English translation of the foregoing.*]

Continuing our voyage we arrived before Sofala, where there is a mine of gold, and we found close to this town two islands; here were two ships of Moors, who had laden gold from that mine and were going to Melinde, who as soon as they caught sight of us took to flight, and all threw themselves into the sea, having first cast overboard the gold in order that we should not take it from them. Pedro Alvares, after taking possession of the two ships, caused their captain to come before him, and asked him from what country he was, to which he replied that he was a Moor, cousin of the king of Melinde, that the ships were his, and that he came from Sofala with that gold, carrying with him his wife and one son, who had drowned themselves when trying to escape to land. The chief captain, when he knew that the Moor was a cousin of the king of Melinde (who was our great friend), was annoyed at what had occurred, and did him much honour; he commanded his two ships to be restored to him with all the gold that had been taken. The Moorish captain asked ours if he carried with him an enchanter who could recover the other part that had been cast into the sea, to which he replied that we were Christians, and that we had no such usages. Afterwards our chief captain obtained information upon the affairs of Sofala, which had

not yet at this time been discovered except by report, and the Moor gave him for news that in Sofala there was a mine containing much gold, the lord of which was a Moorish king who lived on an island named Kilwa, that was on the route which we must follow; and that we had already passed the shoal of Sofala. With this the captain took leave of us, and we continued our voyage.

\* \* \* \* \*

By order of the chief captain, Sancho de Tovar went from that place (Mozambique) in a smaller ship, with a pilot whom we had engaged, in order to inspect the island of Sofala.

\* \* \* \* \*

Leaving this place we arrived at this city of Lisbon at the end of July; the following day the ship that we lost sight of when we put about arrived, and also Sancho de Tovar with the caravel which went to Sofala, that he stated to be a small island in the mouth of a river, and that the gold which comes here is from a mountain where the mine is situated, and it is inhabited by Moors and heathens, who barter the said gold for other merchandise. When Sancho de Tovar arrived there he found many ships of the Moors, and he took one of these (Moors) as a hostage for a Christian of Arabia whom he had sent ashore, and for whom he waited two or three days, at the end of which, seeing that he was not returning, he left him behind and came to Portugal with the Moor; so that of the fleet which went to Calicut six ships returned, and all the others were lost.

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*Extracto da Navegação a's Indias Orientaes, por THOMÉ LOPES.\**

Aos quinze de Julho achavamo-nos sobre a embocadura do rio de Çofala, e por estar calmaria estivemos aqui surtos em onze braças, desde huma Sexta feira depois de Jantar até ao Domingo

\* This is an account of the second voyage of Vasco da Gama, published by the Royal Academy of Sciences at Lisbon in 1812 in Vol. II. of *Collecção de Noticias para a Historia e Geografia das Nações Ultramarinas, que vivem nos Dominios Portuguezes*. The extract refers to the rear division of the fleet, consisting of five ships under command of Estevão da Gama, in one of which Thomé Lopes sailed. The call at Sofala was made on the passage to India, in July 1502.—G. M. T.

á tarde; os da terra fizerão-nos muitas rogativas, e vimos muitos fumos com que nos convidavão a entrar, o que não fizemos, perdendo nisso muito; pois não obstante achar o Almirante pouco ouro quando alli passou.

[*English translation of the foregoing.*]

*Extract from Voyage to the East Indies, by THOMÉ LOPES.*

On the 15th of July we found ourselves at the mouth of the river of Sofala, and as it was calm we were here at anchor in eleven fathoms from a Friday after dinner until Sunday in the afternoon; those on shore made us many requests, and we saw much smoke with which they invited us to enter the river, which we did not, by which we lost much; although the Admiral (*i.e.* Vasco da Gama) found little gold when he passed there.

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*Carta de PEDRO QUARESMA a EL-REY sobre a sua viagem de Lisboa a Moçambique, e a Sofalla; e com varias noticias d'esta terra.\**

Senhor. Per esta dou comta a Vossa Allteza de tudo o que nesta vyagem pasamos. Partymos de Lixboa aos xix dias de Novembrro de 505, e vyemos a Bezegiche aos tres dias Dezembro; e aly se alemantou mais a caravella, \* \* \* \*; e dally partymos aos sete dias do dito mes; e fomos tam chegados a costa de Gyne, que as callmas atraves do cabo do Moto nos deteveram; e assy nos deu ho vento mais esqasso, e nos fomos na vollta do sull e do sudueste; e despoes ao ssuete ate sermos lleste e oeste com ho cabo de Boa Esperança; e d y fomos em lesueste ate nos pormos em trinta e ssete graos he meio; e em este dia que hestevemos

\* This is a copy of the original letter in the archives at Lisbon, and was published by the Portuguese government in 1892 in a beautifully printed volume of five hundred and fifty-five foolscap pages, which contains, in addition to the printed papers, numerous lithographed copies of ancient documents and signatures of kings and princes. The volume is entitled *Alguns Documentos do Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo acerca das Navegações e Conquistas Portuguezas, publicados por ordem do Governo de sua Majestade Fidelissima ao celebrar-se a commemoração quadricentenaria do descobrimento da America.*—G. M. T.

em esta alltura fallou, senhor, ho meu pylloto com ho de Cyde Barbudo; e o pilloto da nau fazia çemto e çincoenta leegoas do cabo, e ho da caravella trezemas e tamtas; e emtão dyse Cide Barbudo que tyrasemos em lesnordeste pera darmos no rosto do cabo, como Vossa Allteza mandava; e ao por do soll vynos hũa ilha aos bj dias de Fevreyro de b<sup>c</sup>bj, que Vasco Gomez d'Abreu achou, coma majs comprydamente dira a Vossa Allteza, e nos affyrmamos ser o cabo, por ho pilloto da nao ser tão perto d'elle; e, tamto que ha vynos, vyrei a nao na vollta do noroeste, e segy co ella até pella menhãa; e não vynos terra; de maneira, senhor, \* \* \* \* amdamos arreamdo, até que fomos dar n angra das Areas aos trres dias de Março, que ssão do cabo pera Gyne trezentas leegoas; e d ahy, senhor, partymos a xij dias de Março; e fomos na vollta do sull, ate nos fazermos leste he hoeste com ho cabo, e comtudo quando ho fomos demandar fomos aynda a re d'elle xx legoas; e os xbiiij dias d'Abrill pousamos na augada d'Antonio de Salldanha, que he oyto leegoas do cabo; e aly, senhor, estevemos biij dias; e á haly muito gado; e \* \* Cide Barbudo \* \* \* \* fez paz com a gemte; e ally me tyrou Cyde Barbudo da caravella, e me meteo na nao, e elle na caravella, dizendo que havia melhor de buscar a costa que heu; e assy mudou ho pilloto que Vossa Allteza mandava na caravella, pera amostrar ha nao; e levou consygo ho seu; d aly partymos com vento norte; e os xxbj d'Abrill fomos comtando hos padrões; e d aly a dous dias se leyxou ficar a caravella a re, de noyte; e heu qujdando que ha levava avamte segy avamte, he fuy com ha nao com ventos bonanças, e de noyte callma poussando por casso das comrrentes tres hou quatro vezes fui ate ho cabo d'Aagulhas comtando os padrões; e avamte do cabo me deu ho vento sull, de maneira que me fuj com ha nao mais ao mar e os dous dias de Mayo fui emtrar n augada de Ssão Bras não levando quem ha conhecesse, nem homem que nella fosse senão por huia ermyda que vynos demtro que fez Johão da Nova a conhecemos; e mandey amarrar a nao, como Vossa Allteza mamdava en seu regymento; e d aly a duas horas veo Cide Barbudo com ha caravella a vella, e não quis poussar, dizemdo que nom hera aly augada; e emtão a fomos ver com hos batés e a conhecemos; e ao houtro dia se tornou a partjr e levou ho meu pilloto, pera lhe hir amostrar homde vyra a nao com Lopo d'Abreu; e ventou tamto ponente, que se tornou, e não chegou lla; e emtão mandou dous homes, saber



huum degradado e huum gromete, os qoaes amdarom la trres dias, e dyserom que forom homde a nao esteveira, e que acharom hũa osada de homem e hũa racha de huum masto; mas nom sey, senhor, quanto ysto podera ser verdade. Na dita augada não achamos majs novas; e aly estevemos xiiij dias; e d aly partymo aos xbj dias do mes de Mayo, ao llongo da costa, e tanto avante como a pomta de Samta Luzya hũa noyte se perdeo a caravella da nao, e eu com a nao fui a ver amtre o cabo das Correntes e de Samta Maria; e d aly fuj sempre ao llongo da costa ate Cofalla, como Vossa Allteza mandava; e chegey a Cofalla a xj dias de Junho; e Cide Barbudo avia huum dya que chegara aly; achamos a fortaleza desbaratada, com pero d Anhaya morto, e o allcayde mor e setenta e sseis homens, e sem mantymientos, como Vossa Allteza vera pellas cartas de Manuell Fernandes que he capitaõ; d aly me mandou Cide Barbudo ha caravella, e elle se partjo pera a Hyndia, e me deyxou na fortaleza, por o quall, senhor, com ha minha gente \* \* \* \* e ystye ahy ate que hos mouros se poserom em fazer paz com a fortaleza; é tamto que Manuell Fernandes lhe pareceo que não tynha de mym neçessydade me pydio cinco homens e allgum pão e artylharia, e mandou que fosse agoardar Tristão da Qunha, como Vossa Allteza mandava. E de Cofala parti aos xiiij dias de Julho e os xxbij do dito mes chegey a Moçambique, homde achey Vasco Gomez d Abreu e Diogo Fernandes com elle, hos qoaes estavam em gran neçessydade, como dirão a Vossa Allteza; e eu lhe dey quamtas lonas trazia, e assy brreu e sebo, e assy lhe dey a mor parte do pão que trazia que me fycara de Cofalla; e Vasco Gomez me mandou dar allgum milho e pesqado pera manter a gente e ajudô nos com hum carpynteyro e dous calafates que trazja, e pus a caravella aqui em monte, que vynha em neçessydade d isso.

Alem de todo esto, lhe faço saber, que, quamdo party de Cofalla, Manuell Fernandes, capitão do dito logar não sabya que ho navjo Saõ Johão em que handava Ffrancisco d Anhay hera perdido, nem que ha qaravella que fora de Johão de Qeyros era aqy perdida com esta do busano, os qoaes navjos Vossa Allteza tinha hordenados ao dito lugar. Eu, senhor, vynha aqy agoardar Tristão da Qunha, segundo vossos regymientos e vomtade do dito Manuell Fernandes, que lhe largamente espreve do q é necessario aquella fortaleza; e daqy me havia dir a Qyloa, segundo o dito regymiento; e Vasqo Gomez me dise da vossa

parte que eu não fezese nenhum outro fundamento senão d estar em Çofalla com Manuell Fernandes ate Vossa Allteza mandar repayro e outros navjos a dita fortaleza, apertamdo me muito da vossa parte a fazer ysto, dizendo que lhe parecy a assy vosso servjço; somente dizendo me que heu chegase a Qujloa, e que se lla achasse Tristão da Qunha, que helle Tristão da Qunha me mandaria o que heu fezese, porque helle mesmo lhe esprevy a necesydade de Çofalla; e nom ho achando hy qe reqerese ao qapitão de Qylloa hos homes e artelharia que elle Vasqomez lhe lla mandara da caravella que se aqy perdera; e assy levarja della panos pera Çofalla, he allguum mantymto; e com tudo me fose lloguo pera Çofalla com hos levantes que agora fajião, e não leyxasse a dita fortaleza ate Vossa Allteza dar a ella provysão. Ysto, senhor, farey, se nom achar o dito Tristão da Qunha por m o requerer da vosa parte do dito Vasco Gomez, se a mjm e ao capitaõ de Qylloa nos parecer majs vosso serviço, porque ho pratycarey co elle, e lanço me fora de nenhuns houtros proveytos senão servjr Vossa Allteza; e peço por merçee a Vosa Allteza que na primeyra frota que vyer me mande d aqy hir d estas partes. \* \* \* \*

Feyta em Moçambique, ho derradeyro dia d Agosto de 1506.

Pero Coresma.

*Sobrescripto* : A El Rey nosso Senhor.

[*English translation of the foregoing.*]

*Letter from PEDRO QUARESMA to the King concerning his voyage from Lisbon to Mozambique and Sofala, with various particulars concerning this country.*

Sir,—By this I give an account to Your Highness of all that we went through in this voyage. We left Lisbon on the 19th of November 1505, and reached Bezegiche on the 3rd of December; and there the caravel took in more provisions, \* \* \* \*; and we sailed from that place on the 7th of the same month; and were so close to the coast of Guinea, that the calms detained us abreast of Cape Moto; and then with light winds we turned to the south and south-west; and afterwards to the south-east until we were east and west with the Cape of Good Hope; and thence we went to the south-east until we reached thirty-seven and a half degrees;

and on the day that we were in this latitude, Sir, my pilot consulted with the pilot of Cyde Barbudo ; and the pilot of the ship reckoned the Cape to be distant a hundred and fifty leagues, and the pilot of the caravel about three hundred ; and then Cyde Barbudo said that we should direct our course to the north-east in order to make the Cape, as Your Highness ordered ; and at sunset on the 6th of February 1506 we saw an island, which Vasco Gomes d'Abreu discovered, as he will describe more particularly to Your Highness, and we declared it to be the Cape, because the pilot of the ship (believed he) was so close to it ; and as soon as we saw it, I directed the course of the ship to the north-west, and continued on that course until morning ; and we did not see land ; so that, Sir, \* \* \* \* we kept on, until we reached the bay of Areas on the 3rd of March, which is from the Cape towards Guinea three hundred leagues ; and that place, Sir, we left on the 12th of March ; and proceeded towards the south, until we made ourselves east and west with the Cape, and yet when we went to look for it we were still twenty leagues behind it ; and on the 18th of April we came to anchor in the watering place of Antonio de Saldanha, which is eight leagues from the Cape ; and there, Sir, we remained eight days ; and there are many cattle ; and Cyde Barbudo \* \* \* \* made peace with the people ; and there Cyde Barbudo removed me from the caravel, and placed me in the ship, and went himself in the caravel, saying that he could examine the coast better than I ; and thus he changed the pilot that Your Highness placed in the caravel (and sent him) to direct the ship ; and took his (pilot) with him ; we left that place with a north wind ; and the 26th of April we were counting the pillars (set up on shore) ; and two days later the caravel dropped behind at night ; and I believing that she was in front pushed forward, the ship having light winds, and the night being calm, stopping on account of the currents three or four times, as far as Cape Agulhas I was counting the pillars ; and beyond the Cape the wind was south, so that I stood out more to sea with the ship, and on the 2nd of May I entered the watering place of St. Bras, having no one on board who knew the locality, nor a man who had been there, but by a hermitage made by Joham da Nova which we saw therein we recognised it ; and I ordered the ship to be anchored, as Your Highness commanded in your instructions ; and there two hours

afterwards came Cyde Barbudo with the caravel under sail, and did not wish to remain, saying that it was not a watering place; and then we went to examine it with the boats and recognised it; and the next day he left and took with him my pilot, in order to show him where he had seen the ship of Lopo d'Abreu; and it blew so hard from the west that he returned, without reaching the spot; and then he sent two men, namely a convict and a ship's boy, who travelled three days, and they said that they went to the place where the ship had been, and that they found a man's skeleton and a splinter of a mast; but I do not know, Sir, how far it was true. In the said watering place we did not obtain any more information; and there we remained thirteen days; and we left on the 16th of May, (and kept) along the coast as far as the point of Saint Lucia. One night the caravel parted from the ship, and I with the ship went to examine between the Cape Correntes and that of Saint Mary; and thence I kept always along the coast to Sofala, as Your Highness commanded; and I arrived at Sofala on the 11th of June; and Cyde Barbudo had arrived there the day before; we found the fortress in great distress, with Pedro d'Anaya dead, and the chief magistrate and seventy-six men, and without provisions, as Your Highness will see by the letters of Manuel Fernandes who is captain; there Cyde Barbudo replaced me in the caravel, and he departed for India, and left me in the fortress, by which, Sir, with my people \* \* \* \*, and I remained there until the Moors made terms of peace with the fortress; and as soon as Manuel Fernandes thought that he had no necessity for my assistance he asked of me five men and some bread and artillery, and sent me to wait for Tristam da Cunha, as Your Highness commanded. And I left Sofala on the 14th of July and on the 27th of the said month I arrived at Mozambique, where I found Vasco Gomes d'Abreu and Diogo Fernandes with him, who were in great want, as they will inform Your Highness; and I gave them all the canvas I had with me, and also pitch and tallow, and also gave them the greater part of the bread that I had brought from Sofala; and Vasco Gomes directed me to give some millet and dried fish as food to the people and he helped me with a carpenter and two calkers that he had with him, and here I put in repair the caravel, which was in want of it.

Besides all this, I inform you that when I left Sofala, Manuel

Fernandes, captain of the said place, did not know that the ship *Saint Joam* in which was Francisco d'Anaya was lost, nor that the caravel of Joam de Queiros was here lost with that of Busano, which ships Your Highness had sent to the said place. I, Sir, came here to wait for Tristam da Cunha, according to your instructions and the wish of the said Manuel Fernandes, who will write you all particulars of what is required for that fortress; and from this place I should have gone to Kilwa, according to the said instructions; and Vasco Gomes told me on your behalf that I should undertake nothing else than to stay at Sofala with Manuel Fernandes until Your Highness should send reinforcements and other ships to the said fortress, pressing much on me on your account to do this, stating that he thought this for your service; saying to me that I should merely go to Kilwa, and that if I found there Tristam da Cunha, that he Tristam da Cunha would instruct me what I should do, because he would himself write to him about the needs of Sofala; and not finding him there that I should ask the captain of Kilwa for the men and artillery which he Vasco Gomes had sent to him from the caravel which had been lost here; and so I should bring from it cloth for Sofala, and some provisions; and above all that I should return speedily to Sofala with the east wind now prevailing, and that I should not leave the said fortress until Your Highness should send supplies to it. This, Sir, I shall do, if I do not find the said Tristam da Cunha, in consequence of the request of the said Vasco Gomes on your part, if to me and the captain of Kilwa it appears to be more for your service, because I shall act in concert with him, and I shall do nothing except for the service of Your Highness; and I pray Your Highness graciously to send me away from these parts in the first fleet that comes.

Done at Mozambique, on the last day of August 1506.

(Signed) Pero Coresma.

Addressed: To the King our Lord.

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*Carta de* DIOGO DE ALCAÇOVA a EL-REI D. MANUEL *sobre Sofala, seu commercio, logares de onde lhe vem o oiro, que são no interior, no reino de Vealanga, maneira por que a elle se vae, modo por que se lavram as minas, certeza de que todo o oiro sae por Sofala, guerras do rei de Vealanga e mal que d'ahi resulta a esta cidade pois não o recebe em tanta quantidade como d'antes, meios de acabar esta guerra, e algumas noticias de Quiloa e Mombaça.\**

Senhor. Vossa Alteza me mandou a Çofalla por que vos servysse nella. Eu, senhor, quando vim de Purtugall vim com Pero Davyam, que Deus aja, na naao *Santo Esprito*, em que elle vinha, e, como chegamos ssobre o praçel de Çofala, adoeçy de febres, e levey as atee jumto com Çofala, e fequey d elas com o estamago muito danado de purgas que me deram; e, despoys da forteleza facta, torney adoeçer de febres com o trabalho do fazimento d ela, de que estyve pera me finir; leixaram me; e fiquey com o estamago muito jmchado. Porque pareço, senhor, a Pero Davya que eu me fosse pera Purtugall, poys que cada vez era pior, vym me na caravela *Espera* a Quyloa, pera d aly me hyr a Purtugall; e nom achey em que fosse: vym me a Jmdia asy doemte, mas nom tamto como d antes, homde fico por mandado do vysso rey pera servyr Vossa Alteza no que me elle mandar. As cartas de Pero Davyam, e asy huum presente d ouro que el rey de Çofala mandou a Vossa Alteza, me mandou o vysso rey que entregasse a Lourenço Moreno, feytor, porque avia por servyço de Vossa Alteza, que eu fosse estar em Batecala por feitor; e entregey lhe tudo; e o vysso rey o mandou a Vosa Alteza asy como o eu trazia, e o espreve a Vossa Alteza.

He bem, senhor, que dê alguma comta a Vossa Alteza das coussas de Çofala, e do oiro que ha nella, e d omde vem, e como o tiram, e o porque agora nom vem, porque porventura nymgem o nom sabera tam çerto dizer a Vossa Alteza como eu, porque o ssoube muito çerto. O regno, senhor, em que ha o ouro que vem a Çofala sse chama Vealanga, e he regno mujto grande, em que

\* This is a copy of an original letter in the archives at Lisbon, and published by the Portuguese government in 1892 in the volume already mentioned.—G. M. T.

ha muytas villas muyto grandes, afora muitos lugares outros, e a propea Çofala he d este regno, sse nam como toda a terra da beyra do mar. Os rexs do sertão nom curam muito nem pouco d ela sse a senhoream os mouros ; e jmdo polla beyra do mar e pollo sertão atee iiij legas, porque mays demtro nom oussam, porque os roubam os caferes e matam, porque noni creem em neuhuua cousa. E podera, senhor, huum homem hyr a huãa cydade, que se chama zumubany de Çofala que he grande, em que sempre o rey esta, em x ou xij dias, sse andar hordenadamente como em Purtugall ; mas porque elles nom hamdam ssenom desde polla menhãa atee meo dia, e comem e dormem atee o outro dia pola menhãa, que partem, nom vão a esta cydade em menos de xx ou xxiiij dias ; e em todo o regno de Vealanga sse tira o ouro ; e he nesta maneira : cavam a terra e fazem como myna que hiram por ella por baixo da terra huum grande tiro de pedra, e vam no tirando por veeas com a terra mesturada com o ouro, e, apanhado, o metem em hũa panella, e ferve muito no fogo ; e despoys que ferve a tiram fora, e a poee a esfriar, e, fria, fica a terra, e o ouro tudo ouro fyno ; nysto nom aja Vossa Alteza ssenam por muita verdade ; e nom no pode nenhuum homem tirar ssem liçenca d el rey ssô pena de morte. E este rey que agora regna, senhor, em Vealanga he filho de Mocomba, rey que foy do dito regno, e ha nome Quesarymgo Menamotapam, que he como dizer rey fuão, porque o nome de rey he Menamotapam, e o regno Vealanga. Ja Vossa Alteza ssabe como doze ou treze annos que ha gerra no regno d omde vinha o ouro a Çofala ; elle he este o Vealanga ; a gerra, senhor, foy nesta maneira. No tempo de Mocomba Menamotapam, pay d este Quesarymgo Menamotapam, tinha huum sseu pryvado que era grande senhor em seu regno, e que governava todo o regno de desterrar e degolar, e de todas outras coussas que queriam, como rey, que sse chamava Changanijr, e era justiça moor d el rey ; e o nome d este justiça moor he amyr, asy como dizemos governador. E este amyr tinha no regno muytas villas e lugares que lhe o rey dera. E, estando o amyr em suas terras, fazia sse grande polo mando que tinha no regno e aquyria muita jente assy ; e outros pryvados do rey, com enveja, começaram a dizer a el rey, que sse queria o amyr alevantar com regno ; que o matasse. E a elrey pareceo lhe que era asy polla jente muyta que o aguardava ; detrimynou elrey de matar o amyr, e mandou lhe a ssuas terras por huum fidalgo huãa pucara

com peçonha que a bebesse ; e porque tem por costume, quando quer que o rey quer mandar matar algum homem, assy grande, como pequeno, mandar lhe dar peçonha a beber, e bebem a, e isto pruvycamente, como degolar por justiça. E quando a á de beber aquele a que a dam, esta muito contente e muito ricamente vestido de pano de sseda ; e os panos vão de Çofala. E, sse a bebe, morre logo, e herdada sseus filhos ou parentes erdeiros todas suas terras e fazenda ; e, se nom quer beber a peçonha, cortam lhe a cabeça, e nom erda nenhum de seus filhos nem herdeiros nenhuã cousa sua, e fica a elrey. E este amyr, quando lhe elrey mandou a peçonha, que a bebesse elle, a nom quys beber, e deu por repostada a elrey, que o mandasse pelejar em guerra, homde ele quesese, porque queria antes morrer pelejando que asy com peçonha. E, quando lhe mandou esta repostada, mandou elle a elrey Mocomba Menamotapam quatro barrys asy como d'auga de naao cheos d'ouro e mays iiij vacas mochas ; e que lhe nom mandasse beber aquella peçonha. E elrey tornou lha a mandar que a bebesse todavia ; e o amyr nom quys ; de maneira que tres vezes lhe mandou elrey que a bebesse. E quando o amyr vyo que elrey asy queria, hordenou de o matar na cydade homde estava, que se chama Zunhauhy ; e levou comsygo muita jente ; e quando chegou junto com a cydade, que souberam os grandes que estavam com elrey que vinha, foram no receber, e, quando o viram vyr d'aquella maneira, nom quyseram estar na cydade e foram sse fora ; e o amyr foy sse as cassas d'elrey, que eram de pedra e barro muito grandes e todas terreas, e entrou homde estava elrey com sseus escravos e alguns homens ; e estando falando com elrey lhe cortou o amyr a cabeça a elrey ; e, como o matou, alevantou sse com o regno e se fez rey ; e lhe obedeceram todos ; e regnou iiij anos paçyficamente ; e ficaram a elrey Mocombo xxij filhos ; e todos lhos matou o amyr, sse nam huum, o mays velho, que era ainda moço, que ha nome Quecary-nugo, que agora he rey ; e este fogyram com elle pera outro regno de huum sseu tyo ; e depoy que foy de xx anos, sse veoo poderar do regno de muita jente da de seu pay, que sse veoo pera elle ; e veoo sobre o amyr que matara seu pay, junto com a cydade em huum campo. E, quando o amyr vio que elle vinha ssobre elle, mandou muita jente pelejar com elle ; e o filho d'elrey matou lhe muita jente ao amyr ; e quando o amyr vio que lhe matam tanta jente, sayu fora a pelejar com elle ; e o filho d'elrey



matou o amyr no campo; e durou a peleja iij dias meio, em que morreu muita jente de hūua e da outra parte; e, como o amyr foy morto Queçarimugo Menamotapam com o regno ssomente, que as terras do amyr que lhe nom quessero obedecer; e ficou do amyr huum seu parente que sse chama 'Toloa, que agora faz a gerra com huum filho que ficou do amyr a elrey Queçarinuto. E elrey Queçarinuto mandou ja muitas vezes dizer a Toloa que fossem amijgos, e o Toloa nom quer, e diz, que poys elle matou seu senhor, que elle ha de matar a elle. E d esta maneira, senhor, se alevantou a gerra, e esta ajmda oje. E por jsto, senhor, nom vem o ouro que ssoya a Çofala, porque huuns roubam os outros de huua parte a outra; e o ouro, senhor, todo esta na terra do amyr e ao redor d ela, ajmda que alguum ha polo regno, mas he muito pouco. E, quando, senhor, a terra estava de paz tiravam de Çofala cada huum ano tres, quatro naaos, huum mjllham d ouro, e as vezes huum mjllham e trezentos mill mytiqaes d ouro, de huum mjllham pera cyma, e nom pera baixo. Eu, senhor, procurey tambem de ssaber sse saya alguum ouro do regno de Vealanga por algua parte do sertoão; nom say por nenhūua parte, ssenam por Çofalla, e algūua cousa por Angoje, mas nom muito; disseram me que sayriam por Angoje L mytiqaes d ouro cada huum anno, pouco majs ou menos. E asy, senhor, trabalhey de saber de que maneera se poderiam fazer pazes antre estes ambos, o rey de Vealanga e o 'Toloa; disseram me que sse nom podiam fazer ssenam por elrey de Çofala ou por elrey de Quiloa. E que a nom fizeram todo o tempo pasado, ssenom por nom vyr o ouro a Çofala, como soya, por que o nom achasem hy os christāaos, sse hy viesem ter; porque, como souberam que o almyrante viera a India, que logo ouveram os christāaos por senhores de Çofala, e que por jsto nom fizeram as pazes. E que, senhor, sse as mandarem fazer, que ha de ser com mandarem a elrey Queçarinugo Menamotapam huum presente, e ao Toloa outro; e que o presente ha de ser de panos ricos dos que vem a Çofar de Cambaya; e que nom sera muyto de fazer a paz com elles d esta maneira. Elrey de Çofala, senhor, era mouro, e todos hos homens que ha em Çofala sam mouros; alguuns cafres vyvem ao redor d eles; mas nom amtrem eles; ha, senhor, na primeira aldeia de Çofala que esta na pomta do mar iiij<sup>c</sup> moradores; e naldea d elrey outros iiij<sup>c</sup> moradores; e ha de hūua a outra acerca de meia legoa. E ha em todo o

senhorio d elrey de Çofala  $\bar{x}$  homeens ; e acodem ao seu atabaquie bij homeens de huum dia ao outro. Assy, senhor, me afyrmaram que avia em Quiloa que vinham e hiam xxx homeens, pouco mays ou menos, e Çofala era do regnno de Quylloa. Mombaça, senhor, he de grande vantagem de Quiloa, asy de mercadores como d outra jente. Os direitos, senhor, que tem elrey de Mombaça dos mercadores que vaão a Çofalla ssam estes: quallquer mercador que vem a Mombaça e traz mjll pannos pagua a elrey de direitos d emtrada por cada mill pannos huum mjtiquall d ouro; e entam partem lhe os mjll panos pola metade; e elrey toma a metade; e a outra metade fica ao mercador; e, quer os leve fora, quer os venda na cydade, á lhe de levar esta metade; e elrey manda vender o seu a Çofala ou a Quiloa. E os direitos que tem elrey de Quiloa ssam: que quallquer mercador que entrar na cydade paga de cada b<sup>c</sup> pannos que traz, quer sejam ricos, quer bayxos, huum mjtiquall d ouro d emtrada; e, despoys de pagar este mjtiquall por os b<sup>c</sup> pannos, leva elrey dous terços de toda a mercadoria que fica, e o mercador huum terço; e do terço que fica ao mercador nom ho ha de tirar da cydade, e tornam lhe a valiar toda a mercadaria que lhe fica n aquele huum terço, e paga de cada mill mytiquaes xxx mytiquaes pera elrey de Quiloa. E d aly parte o mercador pera Çofala; e, como la chegava, pagava de cada bij panos huum pano pera o dito rey de Quiloa. E, quando se torna pera Quiloa, que vem de Çofala, á de vymir de força por Quiloa; e pago do ouro que traz a elrey de cada mjll mjtiquaes L<sup>ta</sup> mjtiquaes d ouro, e em Mombaça a jda nom paga nada. E, sse passa por Quiloa, e nom entra nela, ha de hyr todavia a Mombaça, e, sse nom leva alvara de como pagou em Quiloa, aly lhe tomam estes L<sup>ta</sup> mytiquaes de cada mjll mitiquaes, e os mandam a elrey de Quiloa. E o direito que tambem pagam a elrey de Quiloa do marfim he: que de cada bahar paga xx mytiquaes d ouro em Çofala; e, quando vem a Quiloa, paga majs de cada bij demtes huum, e em cada bahar ha xx farazulas, e em cada farazula ha xxiiij arrates. E despoys, senhor, que este rey de Çofala, que matou Pero Davyam, regnou, nunca mays deu nenhuuns direitos a elrey de Quiloa, dos que sse arrecadavam em Çofala. Sprita em Cochim a xx dias do mes de Novembro de 1506.

Senhor, peço a Vossa Alteza que olhe a quamto servjço eu tenho feito, e que nom tenho nenhũa cousa, e que tenho b filhos

e filhas ; e, poys ca ando servyndo Vossa Alteza, que me faça merçee da feitoria de Cananor, despoys que Lopo Cabreyra acabar seu tempo, ou primeiro, se se ele primeiro quiser hyr, no que Vossa Alteza me fara grande merçee.

Feitura de Vosa Alteza

Diogo d Alcaçova.

Sobrescripto.—A ElRey Nosso Senhor.

[*English translation of the foregoing.*]

*Letter of* DIOGO DE ALCAÇOVA *to the* KING DOM MANUEL *concerning* Sofala, *its trade, places where the gold is obtained, which are in the interior, in the kingdom of* Vealanga, *the manner in which one goes to them, the way in which the mines are worked, the certainty that all the gold is exported through Sofala, wars of the king of Vealanga and the evil resulting therefrom to this town, because it does not receive it (the gold) in so large a quantity as before, the means of putting an end to that war, and some observations upon Kilwa and Mombasa.*

Sir,—Your Highness sent me to Sofala that I should serve you in it. I, Sir, when I came from Portugal came with Pedro d'Anaya, whom may God have,\* in the ship *Santo Espirito*, in which he came, and as we arrived upon the banks of Sofala I had an attack of fever, and I carried it as far as close to Sofala, and in consequence of it I was left with my stomach in a very disordered state through the purgatives which they gave me ; and, after the fortress was built, I again fell ill with fever through the labour of making it, of which I nearly died ; they gave me purgatives again ; and I was left with my stomach very swollen. As it seemed, Sir, to Pedro d'Anaya that I should leave for Portugal, as each attack was more severe, I came in the

\* There is great difficulty in fixing upon the correct names of individuals in all such ancient documents as this, especially when they were written by men with no pretension to literary attainments. In the translation I give the modern form of the name, which by the best of the old authors was written da Nhaya. As the Portuguese text is copied *verbatim et literatim*, it is optional with the reader to follow my rendering it into English or not. The expression "whom may God have" is used only of one who is dead.—G. M. T.

caravel *Espera* to Kilwa, in order to go from that place to Portugal; and did not find (any vessel) in which to go: I came to India in this state of illness, but not so bad as before, where I remain by order of the viceroy to serve Your Highness in what he may command. The letters of Pedro d'Anaya, and also a present of gold which the king of Sofala sent to Your Highness, I was ordered by the viceroy to deliver to the factor Lourenço Moreno, because I had to go to Batecala to act as factor for Your Highness; and I delivered all to him; and the viceroy sent it to Your Highness just as I brought it, and he writes of it to Your Highness.

It is well, Sir, that I should give some account to Your Highness of the affairs of Sofala, and of the gold that there is in it, and where it comes from, and how it is taken out, and why it does not come now, because very likely no one will be able to tell Your Highness so well as I, as I knew it very exactly. The kingdom, Sir, in which there is the gold that comes to Sofala is called Vealanga, and the kingdom is very large, in which there are many large towns, besides many other villages, and Sofala itself is in this kingdom, if not the whole land along the sea. The kings of the interior pay little or no regard to it if the Moors are in possession; and going along the coast and towards the interior four leagues, because they (the Moors) do not attempt to go farther inland, as the Kaffirs rob and kill them, for they do not believe in anything. And, Sir, a man might go from Sofala to a city which is called Zumubany (Zimbabwe) which is large, in which the king always resides, in ten or twelve days, if you travel as in Portugal; but because they do not travel except from morning until midday, and eat and sleep until the next morning, when they go on again, they cannot go to this city in less than twenty or twenty-four days; and in the whole kingdom of Vealanga gold is extracted; and in this way: they dig out the earth and make a kind of tunnel, through which they go under the ground a long stone's throw, and keep on taking out from the veins with the ground mixed with the gold, and, when collected, they put it in a pot, and cook it much in fire; and after cooking they take it out, and put it to cool, and, when cold, the earth remains, and the gold all fine gold; in this Your Highness has nothing but pure truth; and no man can take it (the gold) out without leave from the king, under penalty of

death. And this king who now reigns, Sir, in Vealanga is the son of Mokomba, late king of the said kingdom, and he has the name Kwesarimgo Menamotapam, which is like saying king so and so, because the title of the king is Menamotapam, and the kingdom Vealanga. Your Highness is already aware that for twelve or thirteen years there has been war in the kingdom from which the gold came to Sofala; it is this Vealanga; the war, Sir, was in this way. In the time of Mokomba Menamotapam, father of this Kwesarimgo Menamotapam, he had a favourite who was a great lord in his kingdom, and who ruled the whole kingdom by exiling and beheading, and all other things that he willed, like a king, who was called Tshanganijr, and was chief justice of the king; and the title of this chief justice was ameer, just as we say governor. And this ameer had in the kingdom many towns and places which the king had given to him. And the ameer being in his territories, made himself great through the authority he possessed in the kingdom, and thus he acquired many retainers; and other favourites of the king, through envy, began to tell the king that the ameer wanted to raise himself to sovereign authority; that he should kill him. And to the king it seemed that it was so through the many people that he maintained; the king resolved to kill the ameer, and sent to him in his territory by a nobleman a cup of poison that he should drink it; and because it is usual, when the king wishes any one to be killed, whether high or low, to send him poison to drink, and they drink it, and this is equivalent to beheading by justice. And when it is to be drunk, that one to whom they give it is much pleased and richly dressed in silk cloth; and the cloth comes from Sofala. And if he drinks it, he dies immediately, and his children or relations who are heirs inherit all his lands and goods; and, if he will not drink the poison, they cut off his head, and none of his children or heirs inherit anything of his, and it remains to the king. And this ameer, when the king sent him the poison that he should drink it, would not do so, and gave as a reply to the king, that he should send him to fight in war, wherever he pleased, because he would rather die fighting than thus with poison. And, when he sent him this reply, he forwarded to the king Mokomba Menamotapam four barrels like ships' water-casks full of gold and also four thousand hornless cows; and (begged) that he should not order him to drink

that poison. And nevertheless the king commanded again that he should drink it; and the ameer would not; so that the king ordered him three times to drink it. And when the ameer saw that the king thus desired, he made up his mind to kill him in the city where he was, which is called Zunhauhy (Zimbabwe?); and he took with him many people; and when he arrived near the city, the grandees who were with the king knew that he was coming, they went to receive him, and, when they saw him coming in that way, they would not remain in the city and went out of it; and the ameer went to the houses of the king, which were of stone and clay very large and of one storey, and he entered where the king was with his slaves and some other men; and while speaking to the king the ameer cut his head off; and as he killed him, he made himself king; and all obeyed him; and he reigned peacefully four years; and the king Mokomba left twenty-two children; and the ameer killed them all, except one, the eldest, who was still young, whose name was Kwekarynugo, who is now the king; and this one fled to another kingdom of his uncle; and when he was twenty years old, he took possession of the kingdom with many people of his father, who came to join him; and he marched against the ameer who had killed his father, in a field close to the town. And, when the ameer saw that he was coming upon him, he sent many people to fight with him; and the son of the king killed many people of the ameer; and when the ameer saw that they killed so many people, he came out to fight with him; and the son of the king killed the ameer in the field; and the battle lasted three days and a half, in which many people were killed on both sides; and, as the ameer was dead Kwekarimugo Menamotapam had the kingdom to himself, except that the territories of the ameer would not submit to him; and the ameer left a relative who is named Toloa, who now with a son of the ameer wages war with the king Kwesarinuto. And the king Kwesarinuto sent many times to Toloa to say that they should be friends, and Toloa will not, and says that as he killed his lord, he will kill him. And in this way, Sir, the war originated, and is still to-day. And for this reason, Sir, the gold does not come to Sofala as it used to, because some rob the others on both sides; and the gold, Sir, is all found in the territory of the ameer and round about it, although there is some in all parts of the kingdom, but in small

quantities. And, Sir, when the land was at peace three or four ships took away from Sofala each year a million of gold, and sometimes one million three hundred thousand miticals\* of gold, of over a million, and not below. I, Sir, also tried to ascertain if any gold went out of the kingdom of Vealanga through any other part of the interior; it does not go out through any other part, except through Sofala, and something through Angoya, but not much; I was told that through Angoya about fifty thousand miticals of gold came every year. And so, Sir, I endeavoured to ascertain in what manner peace could be made between these two, the king of Vealanga and Toloa; I was told that it could not be done except through the king of Sofala or through the king of Kilwa. And that they did not make it all this time, in order that the gold should not come through Sofala, as it used to, that the Christians should not find it if they came there; as they heard that the Admiral (Vasco da Gama) had come to India, and that the Christians were in possession of Sofala, and that therefore they did not make peace. And that, Sir, if they make peace, it will be by sending a present to the king Kwesarinugo Menamotapam, and another to Toloa; and that the present will be of rich cloth like that which comes to Sofala from Cambaya; and that there will be no great difficulty in making peace between them in this way. The king of Sofala, Sir, was a Moor, and all the men who are in Sofala are Moors; some Kaffirs live round about them; but not among them; there are, Sir, four hundred inhabitants in the first village of Sofala, which is on a point at the sea; and in the village of the king other four hundred inhabitants; and the distance between them is about half a league. And there are in the whole seigniory of Sofala ten thousand men; and there rally round his kettle-drum from day to day seven thousand men. Thus, Sir, I was assured that there were in Kilwa thirty thousand men who came and went, more or less, and Sofala was part of the kingdom of Kilwa. Mombasa, Sir, is superior to Kilwa, both in merchants and other people. The duties, Sir, which the king of Mombasa receives from the merchants who go to Sofala are the following:

\* Taking the mitical at four hundred and sixty-seven reis, and one hundred reis as equal to five and three-fifths English pennies, the quantity of gold yearly exported through Sofala, as here represented, would be from £108,966 13s. 4d. to £141,656 13s. 4d. But see subsequent letters from Sofala.—G. M. T.

any merchant who comes to Mombasa and brings a thousand pieces of cloth pays to the king duties of entrance for each thousand pieces of cloth one mitical of gold; and then they divide the thousand pieces of cloth into two halves; and the king takes one half; and the other half remains to the merchant; and, whether he carries them beyond, or sells them in the city, he has to take this half to the king; and the king sends his to be sold at Sofala or at Kilwa. And the duties which the king of Kilwa has are: that any merchant who wishes to enter the city pays for each five hundred pieces of cloth he brings, no matter what the quality, one mitical of gold as entrance duty; and, after paying this mitical for the five hundred pieces of cloth, the king takes two-thirds of all the merchandise, and the merchant one-third; and the third which remains to the merchant must not be taken from the city, and the whole merchandise remaining in that third is again valued, and pays for each thousand miticals thirty miticals for the king of Kilwa. And from that place the merchant departs for Sofala; and, on arriving there, he must pay for every seven pieces of cloth one piece for the said king of Kilwa. And when any one returns from Sofala, he is obliged to stop at Kilwa; and he must pay to the king for each thousand miticals of gold he carries with him fifty miticals of gold, and at Mombasa going through costs nothing. And, if he passes Kilwa, and does not enter it, he must however go to Mombasa, and if he does not carry with him a clearance to show that he has paid at Kilwa, there they take these fifty miticals out of every thousand miticals, and send them to the king of Kilwa. And the duty on ivory which they also pay to the king of Kilwa is: that for each bahar he pays twenty miticals of gold in Sofala; and when they come to Kilwa, he pays further for each seven tusks one, and in each bahar are twenty farazulas, and in each farazula there are twenty-three pounds. And since, Sir, this king of Sofala, whom Pedro d'Anaya killed, reigned, no one has ever paid duties to the king of Kilwa out of those collected at Sofala.

Written at Cochin on the 20th day of the month of November 1506.

Sir, I pray Your Highness to bear in mind what I have done, and that I possess nothing, and that I have five sons and daughters; and whereas I am serving Your Highness, that you will grant me the factory of Cananor, after Lopo Cabreyra has



completed his term, or sooner, if he wishes to leave earlier, by which Your Highness will confer upon me a great favour.

The servant of Your Highness,

Diogo d'Alcaçova.

To the King our Lord.

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*Extracto do Regimento dado a DIOGO LOPES DE SEQUEIRA, para ir descobrir a parte oeste da ilha de S. Lourenço, pois a outra era já toda descoberta, e quaesquer terras até Malaca, tomando de tudo informação :—\**

E achando ouro em Moçambique, que hy tenha Vasquo Guomez d'Abreu nosso capitam e o feitor do nosso resgate de Çufalla, lhe requererees que vollo entregue pera nollo trazerdes; e sse elle ho nam tevesse hy, e tevesse recado que estava em Cufalla, hirees a Cufalla, e tomarees ho ouro que hy achardes, e nollo trazees, e com elle e com todo a mais que nas ditas jlhas descobrirdes vos virees em boã ora a nos. E por este capitollo mandamos ao dito Vasco Guomez nosso capitam de Çufalla e Moçambique que vos faça entregar o ouro que tener hy em Mocambique ou em Cuffalla ate contia de L̄ dobras pera nollo trazerdes.

Feito em Allmeirim a xiiij dias de Fevereiro de j̄b<sup>c</sup>biiij<sup>o</sup>.

Rey.

[*English translation of the foregoing.*]

*Extract from the Instructions given to DIOGO LOPES DE SEQUEIRA, to go and explore the western part of the island of Madagascar, as the whole of the other coast had already been explored, and any other countries as far as Malacca, taking information about everything :—*

And finding gold at Mozambique, that Vasco Gomes d'Abreu our captain and the factor of our trade at Sofala may have there, you will ask him to deliver it to you in order to bring it to us; and should he not have it there, and should he have received

\* This is an extract from an original manuscript in the archives at Lisbon, published by the Portuguese government in 1892 in the volume already mentioned.—G. M. T.

information that it was in Sofala, you shall proceed to Sofala, and shall take the gold that you may find there, and shall bring it to us, and with it and with whatever else you may have discovered in the said islands you shall come back in a fortunate hour to us. And by this instruction we send order to the said Vasco Gomes our captain of Sofala and Mozambique to deliver to you the gold that he may have there at Mozambique or at Sofala up to the amount of fifty thousand dobras, that you may bring it to us.

Done at Almeirim on the 13th day of February 1508.

(Signed) The King.

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*Extractos da Carta de DUARTE DE LEMOS a ELREI D. MANUEL.\**

Faz Duarte de Mello isto, e todas as outras coussas da governança da terra, com tanto rrequado, he tamta diligemçia, que me pareço voso serviço dizelo, pera lho agradecer e fazer muita merçe, que por isso mereçe; porque, segundo as cousas d aquj e principallmente Çafalla estam desmanchadas, por nam ser avido Vasco Gomez, que d isso tinha carequo; se aquj fiquara outro omem de mon . . . rrequado, que Duarte de Melo tudo esto . . . era perdido; porque, comquanto provê a tudo, quanto a elle he posyvell, muito comprira a voso serviço ser Yorie d Aguiar presente, ou eu ter çerteza que elle erra avante ou a rre, pera fazer nisso o que me pareçera serviço de Vossa Alteza. E, porque, senhor, eu queria dar bõa conta de mjm em tudo, quando vir que vosso serviço se perde, e eu com rezam ho devo prover, crreya Vossa Alteza que ho farey enteiramente, ho melhor que eu souber; porque em cousa em que tanto vaij a so serviço, nam compre dilaçam. E, segundo a emformaçam que aquj acho em totalas pessoas que nesta fortaleza estam, tudo esta mall aparelhado e principallmente tenho d isto enformaçam pello feitor d aquj e officiaes, que todos falam per hũa maneira; e asaz he de ser verdade o que me dizem nam aver em Çofalla mays de dous ate tres mjll mitiquaes d ourro, depois que Vasco Guomez d ella partio, ate aguora.

\* These are extracts from an original document in the archives at Lisbon, published by the Portuguese government in 1892 in the volume already mentioned.—G. M. T.

Item. Lhe mandava Vossa Alteza que da abastança do ourro de Çofalla, lhe escrevese que tinha sabido, e asy da terra firme e ilhas; e se tinha descoberto com os navios algũa cousa.

Vasco Guomez, como chegou a Çofalla, fez hũa sala . . . na fortaleza. Aquj em Moçambique nam leixou rregimento, como ya tenho dyto a Vossa Alteza esperando tornar aquj. O que tenho por nova, açerqua do ouro de Cofalla, he que á muito na terra, e na feitura de Vossa Alteza á muyta merquadoria e rresgatam muito pouquo. Per mouros e per christaos, e pellos proprios officiaes d aquj de Moçambique, que sam alcaide e feitor e escrivam, tenho sabido que he cullpa de vossos officiaes nam aver mays ourro na cassa de Cofalla, e que ya . . . tem mandado hũa enquiriçam a Vossa Alteza que se aquj tirou. Das ilhas que Vossa Alteza queria saber, e asy sse descobrirra algũa cousa com os navjos, nam ha i nada feyto.

Item. Da saude da jemte de Cofalla, Deus seya louvado, he mays saão que Symtra. Tenho, senhor, sabido que nam adoeço em todo este ano pasado hum soo omem.

Item. Dos mouros d Amgoya, estan como estavam: danam todo o trato de Cofalla. Parece me pouquo voso serviço estar allij aquella Jadroeira. Segundo per esta carta de Vasco Guomez vij a vomtade de Vossa Alteza, nam tardarra muito que se nam faça d elles o que Vossa Alteza a Vasco Guomez tinha mandado; e eu o fezerra loguo, com estes navios que comjguo estan, se nam esperarra por Jorie d Aguiar; mas, tanto que sua vimda emborra for, elle verra qu é tanto serviço de Vossa Alteza, que o mandarra fazer loguo; porque, com a estada d estes mouros d Amguoja, e asy com alguns outros que ao lomguo d esta costa d aquj pera Cofalla estan tudo danado é; asy dous outros que aquj estan em Mocambique, he pouquo serviço de Vossa Alteza leixalos aquj estar, porque sam mercatores, e secretamente . . . trratam com os d Amgoja, per cima de todallas diligemçias que os officiaes de Vossa Alteza posam fazer; porque, como a este lugar henham ter vossos capitães, e suas gentes tragam panos de suas partes, estes mouros os rrecolhem todos secretamente por quatro galinhas, e d aquj os mandam a Amgoya, pellos mesmos mouros que aquj d Amgoya vem trazer mantimentos, e d alij rresgatam com Çofalla; e, que seyam buscados pellos officiaes de Vossa Alteza, nam lhe acham nada, porque, hum dia antes ou dous, tem posto em almadias de pescar, na terra firme, tudo o defeso, e camdo vam de

camjnho, tomom no; e asy fazem quando pera qua vem. Asy, senhor, que o atalho d isto pera Vossa Alteza ser servido seria nem aquj, nem em toda a costa, d aquj a Cofalla, nam aver mouro d estes omrados, que danam voso trrato; porque os d aquj da terra de Moçambique sam bystiaes, e comtentam se . . . . guan-harem hum alqueire de mjho, e nam podem danar em maijs, e servem nestas obrras e em tudo, como escpravos; e estes outros que danam, sam todos mercadores e estrramgeiros: hum he d Ormuz; outro he d Adem; outros sam d outrras partes; e sam todos meus avjsados e que toda sua vida trrataram; e estees sam os que danam voso servico, que aviam mester todos pimchados.

Vasco Guomez fez em Cofalla, emquanto hij esteve, hũa carravella de coremta tonés, que comsiguo levou. Leixou aqui em Mocambique hum navio que se chama Sam Geaão, o quall d aquj pera Cofalla vay com mantimentos, quando sam neççarios, e mercadoria. Amda por capitam d elle Lopo Cabrall; e la he aguurra, senhor, em Cofalla.

Em Cofalla esta por capitam, que hij deyxou Vasco Guomez, Ruj de Brito Patalim; por feitor, Pero Pesoa.

Item. Do dinheiro que Vossa Alteza mandava dar a Ruj d Arrahujo, e asy ao capitam moor, nam sse fez nada, pello nam aver em Cofalla e menos aquj.

Item. Da mercadoria que Vossa Alteza quer saber que d estes rreinos haproveitaria pera Cofalla, dizem m aquj vosos ofiçiaes, que nam querem senam panos de Cambaya e comcas que ha em Mjlimdj; e, se algũa de Purtugall elles querem, sam brabantes alvos e larguos. Tomey aquj os nomes das mercadorias que querem d esta costa por omde avemos d amdar pera dar d iso conta ao capitam moor pera as aver, ou, em sua ausemçia, quando vimjr que elle nam vem, fazer eu o que elle faria, vemdo a neççidade que d iso tem a casa de Cofalla, temdo outra muyta mercadoria que vall gram soma de dinheiro.

Escprita em Moçambique, o derradeiro dia de Setembro de 508.

Beyjo as mãos de Vos Alteza.

Duarte de Lemos.

[*Translation of the foregoing.*]

*Extracts from a Letter from DUARTE DE LEMOS to the KING  
DOM MANUEL.*

Duarte de Mello does this, and all other matters connected with the government of the country, with so much care, and so much diligence, that I thought for your service I should inform you, in order that you should thank him and show him much favour, as he deserves it; because as matters here and chiefly at Sofala are out of order, in consequence of Vasco Gomes, who was at the head of affairs, not having appeared; if another man of less ability than Duarte de Mello had been left here all would be lost; nevertheless, although he attends to everything, as far as he can, the presence of Jorge d'Aguiar will forward your service, or I (could do so if I had) the certainty that he was in advance or still behind, in order to take such action as I thought would be in the interest of Your Highness. And because, Sir, I should like to give a good account of myself in everything, when I see that your service is going backward, and I with reason ought to attend to it, be assured, Your Highness, that I will do it thoroughly, to the best of my ability; because in a matter that affects your interests so much, it is not right that there should be any delay. And, according to the information that I obtain here from all persons who are in this fortress, everything is in bad order and chiefly I have this information from the factor here and the officers, all of whom speak in the same way; and it is but too true what they tell me that at Sofala no more than two to three thousand miticals of gold have been obtained, since Vasco Gomes left that place until the present time.

Item. Your Highness commanded him to write what he had ascertained concerning the supply of gold at Sofala, and also concerning the mainland and the islands; and if he had discovered anything with the ships.

Vasco Gomes, when he arrived at Sofala, built a hall . . . in the fortress. Here at Mozambique he did not leave instructions, as I have already informed Your Highness, he expecting to return here. The information I have concerning the gold of Sofala is that it is plentiful in the country, and in the factory of Your Highness there is much merchandise and they barter very little.

From the Moors and from the Christians, and from the officers themselves here at Mozambique, who are the judge and the factor and the secretary, I have ascertained that it is the fault of your officers that there is not more gold in the store at Sofala, and that a report has already been sent to Your Highness of what has taken place here. Concerning the islands of which Your Highness wished to have information, and also if anything had been discovered with the ships, nothing has been done.

Item. Of the health of the people at Sofala, God be praised, it is healthier than Cintra. I have known, Sir, that during the whole of last year not a single man fell ill.

Item. Of the Moors of Angoya, they are as they were: they ruin the whole trade of Sofala. I think it is little for your service that thieving being there. From the letter of Vasco Gomes I saw the wishes of Your Highness, what Your Highness ordered Vasco Gomes will soon be done to them; and I would have done it at once, with these ships which were with me, if I were not waiting for Jorge d'Aguiar; but, although his coming is delayed, he will see that it is so much for the service of Your Highness that he will have it done at once; because, with the existence of these Moors of Angoya, and also with some others who are along this coast from this place to Sofala everything is being ruined; also of the others who are here in Mozambique, it is of little service to Your Highness to allow them to remain here, because they are merchants, and they deal secretly with those of Angoya, in spite of all the efforts that the officers of Your Highness can make; because, as your captains come to this place, and their crews bring pieces of cloth on their own account, these Moors buy them all secretly for four hens, and they send them from this place to Angoya by the same Moors who bring food here from Angoya, and from that place they barter with Sofala; and, if they are searched by the officers of Your Highness, nothing is found on them, because, one or two days before, they place all the smuggled goods in fishing canoes on the mainland, and when they go on the road they take it with them; and so they do when they return. Thus, Sir, the best thing for the interests of Your Highness would be that neither here nor on the whole coast from this place to Sofala should there be any Moors who injure your trade; because those here of the territory of Mozambique are beasts, and they are quite content to earn a measure of

millet, and they cannot do more harm (than they are doing at present), and they act in these matters and in everything as slaves; and these others who injure us are all merchants and strangers; one is from Ormuz; another is from Aden; others are from other places; and they are all crafty-minded and have been trading all their lives; and these are they who injure your service, who should all be blown up.

Vasco Gomes built in Sofala, while he was there, a caravel of forty tons, which he took with him. He left here in Mozambique a ship which is called *Saint John*, which plies between this place and Sofala with provisions, when they are needed, and merchandise. The captain of this vessel is Lopo Cabral; and he is there now, Sir, in Sofala.

In Sofala is as captain, left there by Vasco Gomes, Ruy de Brito Patalim; as factor, Pedro Pesoa.

Item. Concerning the money which Your Highness ordered to be given to Ruy d'Araujo, and also to the chief captain, nothing has been done, for there was none at Sofala and less here.

Item. Of the merchandise of these countries that would be of advantage for Sofala, concerning which Your Highness wishes to be informed, your officers here tell me they only need cloth of Cambaya and shells which are in Melinde; and if they require any merchandise from Portugal, it is Flemish linen white and broad. I took down here the descriptions of the merchandise that is required along this coast where it is frequented, in order to give an account of it to the chief captain, so that he may get them, or, in his absence, when I see that he is not coming, to do what he would do, taking into consideration the requirements of the factory of Sofala, and its having much other merchandise which is worth a large sum of money.

Written at Mozambique on the last day of September 1508.

I kiss the hands of Your Highness.

(Signed) Duarte de Lemos.

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*Carta de PEDRO VAZ SOARES, feitor de Sofala, a ELREI DOM MANUEL, sobre os negocios d'esta feitoria, com muitas noticias d'aquelles logares e do seu commercio com o interior e com Portugal, principalmente no que respeita ao oiro.\**

Senhor,—nam escreuy a vosa alteza quando daquy foy bertolameu prestrelo das cousas desta feitoria e do trato dela porque me pareceo que por ele seria vosa alteza emformado largamente de todo o que compryse a seu seruiço e a sua fazenda somente escreuy a dom martinho das mercadarias que achey nesta feitoria e Regeby do dito feitor pera que se comprise vosa alteza o poder saber dele per mjnha carta. E asy do ouro que memtregou ho dito feitor fazendo fundamento dar depois conta a vosa alteza do Remdimento e Resgate desta casa e das cousas que me parecese seu seruiço, eu Senhor depois que fuy entregue da dita feitoria que foy na fim doutubro de UcXII ate fim deste mes de junho de UcXIII que sam UIII meses nam tenho Resgatado mais de seis mjll e quinhentos até sete mjl meticaes e este ouro casy todo Resgatey com os mouros mercadores daquy de çofala que continoamente Resgatam pouco ou mujto porque dos çafres e mercadores de sertam vejo aquy tam poucos que deles ategora nam tenho Resgatado quinhentos meticaes certo senhor eu nam sey a que ho ponha e posto que ategora segundo eles dizesse que amtre eles ouve geras e causas por onde nam vinham mercadores agora toda ha tera esta da paz ate menamotapa que he o mor Rey e Senhor de toda esta tera e a que todos os outros Reyx e senhores sam sojeitos e obedecem e onde ha majs cantidade douro ha nestas partes segundo todos dizem, o qual depois que acabou algũas geras em que andava mandou fazer paz por toda a tera que lhe obedeçe pera que todos os mercadores podessem jr e vjr tratar por onde quisesem seguramente e alem de tudo ho capitam trabalhou de fazer amjzade com todos estes Reix e senhores aquy comarçaos dos quaes podiamos ter neçesidade pera os mercadores poderem jr e vjr seguros por suas teras com dadivas e presentes e asy algũs com temças de çerta cousa cada seis luũas segundo o costume damtre eles e com a bamdeyra de vosa alteza como lhe tem mandado e dado poder per as terem como vasalos e serujdores de vosa alteza e por terem seus camjnhos de suas terras abertos e

\* Copied for me from the original in the archives at Lisbon.—G. M. T.



sem nenhum Jnpedimento pera os ditos mercadores poderem Jr e vjr seguros, polo qual Senhor os mouros daquy de cofala vam e vem agora seguros por onde querem com suas mercadarias o que ategora nam faziam porque em mujtas partes eram Roubados e os matavam e comtudo nam leixavam de jr com as ditas mercadarias pelo grande ganho e proueyto que fazem com os cafres em suas teras E por este custume e foro em que estam creio que nam vem aquy a comprar sem alguns que compram majs grosso que sam Senhor muj poucos e posto que em toda a tera aja ouro he espalhado pela tera e nem tem cada hum tanta cantidade pera que posa ca vir de tam lonje a Resgatalo e asy porque esperam que lhe levem la as mercadarias onde compram cada hum o que quer e asy vem feiras certas onde estam xeques daquy de cofala feitores destes mercadores onde lhe vem comprar as mercadorias que lhe de qa mandam. E tambem Senhor sera jnconvenjente nam vjr aquy tanto ouro porque os mouros por o que compre a seus tratos emformaram os cafres muy mal dos christãos dizendo lhe que lhe vendemos as mercadarias majs caras do que lhe eles vendem levandolhas a suas teras pera ver se per algũa maneyra poderam inpedir e danar o Resgate daquy e isto faram secreto porque pubrico amostram que nam desejam majs bem todos que serujrem vosa alteza e acreçentar este trato e vjrem aquy mercadores E ategora o capitam despenceo e gastou de vosa fazenda com as ditas dadas por os camjnhos serem abertos e seguros E eles vam la fazer seus Resgates e proveitos com as mercadarias que aquy tomam. E a outra causa porque me parece Senhor que nam ha nesta tera tanto ouro como tem dito a vosa alteza he porque todo o que aquy vem asy dos cafres como dos mouros que de la trazem he laurado em contas e joias muj meudas que muj pouco vem em pedaços grosos fundido que he muj desviado do ouro que vem do castelo da mjna que he em grosas manylhas e colares, que he synal que he amtre eles muj estimado e que nem he tanto como deziam porque quando algum Rey aquy manda algũa dadas por cousas que lhe mandam que valem quarenta meticaes manda aquy ao capitam hum Ramal de contas douro muj meudas que pesa dez e doze meticaes avendo que lhe manda ha maior cousa do mundo que me nem satisfaz Senhor mujto polo que compre a voso seruiço e pola esperança que tem da Renda de cofala pera o mujto gasto e despesa que aquy tem feita nesta fortaleza e se faz cada dja com ha jemte que aquy tem

e caravelas que aquy andam que he mujta despesa pera tam pouco Rendimento e proveito, que escasamente abastara per as despesas da dita casa porque dois mil e tantos meticaes que memtregou ho feitor quando se foy com todo ho outro ouro que Remdeo esta casa atee fim de março que eram majs tres mil e tantos meticaes se despenderom em soldos e mantimentos dos moradores desta forteleza e jemte das caravelas de todo o tempo que lhe era devjdo des que partiram de portugal sendo lhes feito seus descontos do que la Receberam dante mão, de maneira que foy necesarjo ao capitam tomar huns dois mil meticaes que aquy memtregou o feitor do ouro dos finados pera Resgoardo da despesa da dita casa como vosa alteza lhe mandou em hum Regimento que trouxe e la manda as aRecadacões do dito ouro ha vosa alteza pera o la mandar pagar Aos erdeiros dos ditos defuntos e ho majs que ategora Remdeo esta casa abastara pera o que ja he devjdo dos ditos moradores daquy em diante espero em noso Senhor que nos acudjra Resgate pois que ha tera toda esta de paz e sem nenhum empidimento pera os mercadores poderem vjr se os hy a. E em quanto Senhor esta casa nom Rende o que vosa alteza espera mujta despesa que aquy tem sobeja a pode bem escusar como he alcaide mor que haquy no he majs neçesaryo que pera levar dinheiro a vosa alteza, E ajnda Senhor capitam ho podera vosa alteza muj bem escusar que leva hum terço do gasto desta casa cadano porque com hum feitor homem de Recado e de que vosa alteza confye com dous escrivaes abasta pera goarda desta forteleza e trato dela, com hum almoxarife que tenha caRego dos mantjmentos e toda ha outra jemte ser de trabalho e doçios macanycos pera aquy necesarjos que se acharam por menos dos vinte mil reaes que aquy tem ordenados, porque a tera he aquy tam segura e sojeita a esta forteleza que mais nom pode ser com duas caravelas que aquy andem hũa pera goarda da costa e outra pera Resgates de fora e provymentos dos mantimentos pera aquy necesarjos, tambem Senhor tem este trato hum dano que lhe faz mujto Jmpidimento do dito Resgate o qual he angoja onde estam mujtos mouros estantes mercadores de quiloa e melinde e lhe vem mujtas mercadorias em zambuços que sempre pasam aos tempos que eles sabem que podem vir sem perigo de os tomarem porque sam avjsados polos mouros que estam em moçambique ao tempo que devem pasar e quando hy nom esta navjo porque todos tem trato huns com outros com os quaes emchem toda a terra de

panos, e fazem grande quebra no Resgate desta feitoria o que vosa alteza devja mandar lançar daly fora os ditos mouros ou destroilos de maneira que nam posam hy viuer nem tratar, e aquele paso de moçambique ser bem goardado aos tempos que eles podem vjr porque sempre os tomaram. E asy tambem Senhor neste Rio de cuama que he o major Rjo que ha nesta costa ha nele mouros estantes mercados no qual ha mujto marfym e pelo dito Rjo açima ha mujtos Resgates douro o qual os ditos mouros am polas mercadarias que hy tem e polo muito proveito que nele ha o capitam desejou mujto e trabalhou pera nele mandar tratar e pera o bem poder descobrir mandou fazer paz e amjzade com hum xeque Senhor dele que he cafre que esta na emtrada do dito Rio em huma Jlha, e lhe mandou dadivas e Recados pera fazer com ele a dita paz pera hy mandar tratar todo o que na tera ouvese e poder mjlor descobrir o dito Rjo por ele açima e mandou daquy huma caravela com jente e hum feitor e spivam com mercadarias pera fazerem hy algum Resgate fazendo a dita paz com huns mouros honRados daqui de çofala que pera iso hyam e com Recados e dadiuas do dito Rej de çofala pera os majs provocar a jso. E depois de la serem e terem feita e asentada a dita paz per meo dos mouros que daquy hiam pera iso parecendo ao capitam da caravela e feitor e sprivam que era sy verdade e querendo se ja vjr o dito xeque peitando pelos mouros da tera que mandase chamar o capitam da caravela com ho feitor e escrivam e hum bonbardeiro que era ljangoa pera lhes jurar a dita paz e amjzade segundo seu custume porque doutra maneira ha nam aviam por feita e tendo os em tera os matase e que poderiam tomar a caravela com toda a outra jente e as mercadarias que nela hiam e que nem tornariam la mais os christaos a cometer lhe a dita paz o que o dito xeque fez pola dita maneja mandado chamar o dito capitam e feitor e escriuam e bombardeiro em tera pera com eles fazer o dito juramento aos quaes por lhe parecer que seria verdade sem tomarem majs outra seguramça nem aRefes se foram la onde tanto que la foron os mataram todos, levando grandes avisos e Regimento do capitam que por nenhũa cousa nam saise em tera senem o escriuam ou hum so homem quando comprise com os mouros que de qa hiam os quaes se lançaram a nado e eles sos escaparam e se salvarom a caravela sobre a qual vieram mujtos azambuços com mujta jente com arcos e frechas pera ver se poderjam tomar o dito navjo o qual se defendeo o mjlor que

pode as bestas e bombardas com que mataram deles cinco ou seis, e com muita fadiga cortou as amarras e se veo por o Rio a fundo ate sair de fora e se veo aquy a çofala com este mao Recado e por nam conprirem o que leuauam por Regimento do capitam nam sabemos ategora se foy esta treição feita pelos mouros de ca se por os de la somente aquy se pode Senhor dar hum bom castigo se vosalteza quiser com hum navjo pequeno que venha pera aquy quando for pera Jndya com outro que daqy Jra e com ajudas que ca ha pera iso, pera que se nom ouse cometer outras vezes semelhantes treições ho capitam creio que escrevera a vosa alteza aqerqa diso e lhe dara de tudo majs larga conta, e do que se poder fazer o qual Senhor he ido a moçambyque tanto que aquy veo Recado que nom viera armada da Jndya ao tempo que de moçambique partio bertolomeu prestrelo em huma naao de dom nuno que hy veo por pimenta a prover algumas cousas na dita fortezeza e agoardar armada que ha de vjr de portugal, E algumas mercadarias que nos Senhor sam necesarjas nesta feitoria escrevemos a jndja aos feitores de vosa alteza pera nolas mandarem per as quaes lhe mandamos daqy quarenta quintaes de marfim que aquy Resgatey depois de aquy ser e mjl meticaes porque majs se non pode mandar marfim Senhor ha quy aRazoadamente e me trabalho de aver o majs que posso por que sey que he muj proveitoso na Jndya e se ganha nele mujto polo pouco que aquy custa polas mercadarias com que se compra.

beijo as Reaes maos de vosa alteza.

de çofala A trinta dias de junho de quinhentos e treze.

criado e feitura de vosa alteza,

Pedro Vaaz soares.

Sobrescripto: A ElRey Nosso Senhor, do feitor de çofala.

Conforme o original no Archivo da Torre do Tombo.

O Director,

José Manuel da Costa Basto.

[*Translation of the foregoing.*]

*Letter from PEDRO VAZ SOAREZ, factor of Sofala, to the KING DOM MANUEL, upon the trade of the factory, with much information concerning that place and of its commerce with the interior and with Portugal, principally in respect of gold.*

Sir,—I did not write to Your Highness concerning the affairs of this factory and of its trade when Bartholomeu Perestrello left, because I thought Your Highness would be fully informed by him of all that was done for your service and for your business, only I wrote to Dom Martin of the merchandise which I found in this factory and received from the said factor, in order that he might make Your Highness acquainted with it by means of my letter. And so of the gold which the said factor delivered to me, acting on the principle of giving afterwards to Your Highness an account of the revenue and barter of this establishment and of the matters which appeared to me for your service. I, Sir, since the said factory was transferred to me, which was at the end of October 1512, until the end of this month of June 1513, that is eight months, have not bartered more than six thousand five hundred to seven thousand miticals, and nearly all this gold I bartered from the Moorish traders here at Sofala, who constantly barter a little or much, for of the Kaffirs and traders of the interior I see here so few that from them to the present time I have not bartered five hundred miticals.

Sir, I do not know how to give you an exact statement, and although hitherto, according to what they say, there were wars between them and causes owing to which the traders did not come, at present the whole country is at peace as far as Menamotapa, who is the chief king and lord of all this country, and to whom all the other kings and lords are subject and obedient, and where there is the greatest quantity of gold in these parts, according to what all say, who, after he finished some wars in which he was engaged, sent to make peace through all the country which is obedient to him, in order that all the traders might go and come to carry on traffic wherever they wished in security. And also the captain laboured with gifts and presents to make friendship with all these kings and lords who carry on

commerce here, whose aid was needed for the traders to pass safely through their territories, and thus he gave to some allowances of a fixed amount every six moons, according to the custom among them, and with the flag of Your Highness, as he was ordered and empowered to receive them as vassals and servants of Your Highness, and to have the roads through their territories open and without any impediment, that the said traders might go and come safely.

Through which, Sir, the Moors here at Sofala go and come now safely where they will with their merchandise, which previously they could not do, because in many parts they were robbed and murdered. And withal they did not desist from going with the said merchandise, on account of the great gain and profit that they make from the Kaffirs in their territories. And according to their usual practice, I think they do not come here to buy without some who buy in large quantities, who, Sir, are very few. And although there is gold scattered over the whole country no one has such a quantity that it is worth his while to come so far in order to barter it, and this is why they wait until the goods are brought there, where every one buys what he wants. And thus fairs are established, where there are leading men from Sofala, factors of these traders, where they come to buy the merchandise which is sent from this place.

And also, Sir, there will be an obstacle in much gold coming here, because the Moors, in order that the Kaffirs shall buy from them, speak very ill of the Christians, telling them that we sell merchandise dearer than they, taking it to their countries in order to see if they by any means can hinder and spoil the barter here, and this they do secretly, for publicly they pretend that they have no other wish than that all should serve Your Highness, and increase this traffic, and that the traders should come here. And up to the present the captain has expended and used your goods for the said gifts, that the roads may be open and safe, and they go there to barter and make their profits with the merchandise which they obtain here.

And another reason why it appears to me, Sir, that there is not in this country so much gold as has been reported to Your Highness, is that all which is brought here, as well by the Kaffirs as by the Moors who convey it thence, is wrought into very small beads and trinkets. Very little comes in large melted

pieces, which is very different from the gold which comes from the castle of the mine,\* which is in large bracelets and necklaces, a sign that it is much esteemed among them, and that it is not in such quantity as they reported. Moreover when any king sends here a gift in return for articles sent to him that are worth forty miticals, he sends here to the captain a bunch of very small beads of gold, which weighs ten and twelve miticals, making out that he is sending to him the greatest thing in the world.

This does not satisfy me much, Sir, that it tends to your service, and to the prospect that the revenue of Sofala will be proportionate to the great expense and cost which has been caused by this fortress, and is occasioned every day for the people who are stationed in it and the caravels that are engaged in the trade: a great expense for so little revenue and profit, which is scarcely sufficient to cover the charges of the said establishment. For two thousand and odd miticals which the factor transferred to me when he left, with all the other gold which was obtained by this establishment until the end of March, which was three thousand and odd miticals more, were expended in salaries and provisions for the residents in this fortress and the people of the caravels for all the time that was owing them since they left Portugal, deducting from it what they had received in advance there, so that the captain was compelled to make use of some two thousand miticals of gold belonging to deceased persons delivered to me here by the factor, in order to meet the expense of the said establishment, as Your Highness commanded in an order which he brought, and he sends the distribution accounts of the said gold to Your Highness, that it may be paid to the heirs of the said deceased.

The revenue of this establishment until the present will suffice for what is already due to the said residents here. For the future I trust in our Lord that he will help us in the barter, because the whole land is at peace and with nothing to prevent the traders coming here, if any are there.

As long, Sir, as this establishment does not produce what Your Highness expects, much of the present expense is unnecessary. For instance, the officer whose only duty here is to transmit money to Your Highness, and even the captain, Sir,

\* St. George Delmina, on the western coast.

whose salary is one-third of the expense of this establishment every year, Your Highness could easily dispense with, because a factor, a forwarding officer whom Your Highness could trust, and two secretaries will be sufficient to take care of this fortress and carry on its trade, with an officer to take charge of the provisions, and all the other people to be labourers and artisans necessary for this place, who could be provided for less than twenty thousand reals that are spent here in salaries, because the country here is as safe and subject to this fortress as it possibly can be; with two caravels to be employed here, one to guard the coast and the other for trade beyond and for conveying the necessary provisions here.

This trade, Sir, is also greatly hindered by the barter carried on at Angoya, where there are many resident Moorish traders of Kilwa and Melinde, and much merchandise is brought to them in zambucos, that always pass over at the time they know they can do so without risk of being seized, for they are warned by the Moors of Mozambique of the time when they must make the passage, when there is no ship there, because they all deal with each other, through which they fill the whole country with cloths and cause great damage to the barter of this factory. Your Highness ought to order the expulsion of the said Moors, or reduce them in such a way that they should not be able to live or trade there, and that passage from Mozambique should be well guarded during the time that they can use it, because they always take it.

And also, Sir, on this river of Cuama, which is the largest river on this coast, there are resident Moorish traders, on which river there is much ivory, and along it there is much bartering of gold, which the said Moors obtain for merchandise they have there. On account of the large profit to be made there the captain desired much and tried to open a trade, and in order to be able to explore it thoroughly he sent to make peace and friendship with a chief, Sir, who is a Kaffir, who lives on an island at the entrance of the said river, and he sent gifts and messages to make peace with him, in order that he could send to trade for all that is in the country and could better explore the said river upwards. And he sent a caravel from this place with people, and a factor, and a secretary, with merchandise to carry on trade there, making the said peace by means of some



respectable Moors from this place Sofala, who went for this purpose, and with messages and presents from the said king of Sofala to induce them the more to it.

After arriving there and having concluded peace by means of the Moors who went from this place for the purpose, it appearing to the captain of the caravel and the factor and the secretary that it was in earnest, the said chief, bribed by the Moors of the country to send for the captain of the caravel and the factor and the secretary and a bombardier who was interpreter, that they should confirm the said peace and friendship by oath according to his custom, as otherwise it would not be perfect, and that when they were on land he should kill them all and then seize the caravel with the rest of the people and the merchandise in it, so that the Christians should not come there again to enter into peace, the said chief did it in this manner :

Sending for the captain and factor and secretary and bombardier, to come on shore in order to make with them the said oath, they, thinking all was right and without taking any security or hostage, went there, where as soon as they arrived they were all murdered. They had strong warnings and instructions from the captain that on no account should any one go ashore except the secretary or one man only if necessary with the Moors that went from this place. These saved themselves by swimming, and they alone escaped to the caravel, against which came many zambucos with many people with bows and arrows to see if they could seize the said ship, which was defended in the best manner possible with crossbows and bombs, with which they killed five or six of the enemy ; and with great trouble they cut the cables and went down the river to the sea, and came here to Sofala with this bad news. This happened because they did not carry out their instructions from the captain.

We do not yet know whether this treachery was the work of the Moors here, or solely of the Moors there ; only here, Sir, a good punishment can be inflicted, if Your Highness wishes, by means of a small ship calling when on the way to India, with another sent from this place with such assistance as is available, in order that similar treacherous deeds shall not occur again.

The captain, I think, will write to Your Highness about this, and will give a fuller account of everything and of what can be

done. He, Sir, went to Mozambique as soon as intelligence reached this place that no fleet from India had arrived when Bartolomeu Perestrello left Mozambique in a ship of Dom Nuno, who came there for pepper, to provide several things in the said fortress, and to wait for the fleet which is expected from Portugal.

And for some merchandise which we, Sir, are in want of in this factory we wrote to the factors of Your Highness in India that they should send it to us in exchange for what we sent them from this place, forty quintals \* of ivory which I bartered here after I came, and a thousand miticals, because more could not be sent. Of ivory, Sir, here is a reasonable quantity, and I try to get as much as I can, for I know that it is very profitable in India, and a good deal is gained by it in consequence of the trifling value here of the merchandise with which it is purchased.

I kiss the royal hands of Your Highness.

Sofala, 30th of June, 1513.

The Servant and Factor of Your Highness,  
Pedro Vaz Soares.

To the King our Lord, from the Factor of Sofala.

A true copy of the original in the archives in the Torre do Tombo.

The Director,  
José Manuel da Costa Basto.

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*Extractos do Livro de DUARTE BARBOSA.†*

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*Primeiramente ho Cabo da Sam Sebastiam.*

Indo ha ho longvo da costa, passando ho Cabo da Boa esperança, caminho da India até ho de Sam Sebastiam, saom hvas terras

\* Forty quintals equal to about three tons avoirdupois.

† Duarte Barbosa was a native of Lisbon, who spent several years in the king's employment in India, during which time he was also diligently engaged in collecting information upon the various countries recently opened to Europeans. The highest office that he is known to have filled was that of secretary of the factory of Cananor. At a later date he entered the Spanish service with his relative Fernando de Magalhães, and was killed with him at the Philippine

assaz fermosas de mvytas montanhas, e campos, em que ha mvyta criuçam de mvytas uaqvas, carneiros e ovtras alimarias montezes ; he a dita terra habitada de hvas gentes pretas, andaom nvvs, somente trazem de peles, com sev pelo de ceruo ov dovtras alimarias, hvas capas Francezas ; da qual gente hos nossos nvnqva poderáo hauer noticia de lingoa nem serem informados do qve uai pela terra dentro ; nem elles tem nauegaçam, nem se seruem do maar, nem hos Movros Darabia, e Persia nvnqva téli nauegaraom, nem ha descobriraom por caso do cabo das Correntes ser mvyto tormentoso.

*Has Ilhas qve chamaom Hvcicas grandes.*

Indo mais ha ho longvo da Costa passando este cabo de Sam Sebastiam caminho da India, estaom jvnto com ha terra firme hvas Ilhas qve chamaom Hvcicas grandes ; em has qvaes pela terra firme dellas, estaom algvmas pouoaçoens de Movros, qve trataom com hos Gentios da terra firme, e prestaom com elles ; nestas Hvcicas se acha mvyto ambar qve estes Movros apanhaom, ho qual he mvyto boom, qve elles uendem pera ovtras partes : tambem se achaom mvytas perolas e aljofar mevdo, qve se acha dentro no maar, em ostras, porem elles nam ho sabem apanhar nem pescar ; algvm qve tiraom he com assarem has ostras, e ho aljofar qve fiqva he mvyto roim e qveimado ; nam seria mvyta dvuida hauello hy boom, se ho sovberem apanhar, e pescar, como fazem em ovtras partes de qve ha ho diante falarey.

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islands on the 1st of May 1521. His *Livro em que dá relacão do que viu e ouviu no Oriente* was completed in 1516, but was not published in the language in which it was written until 1813, when it was issued at Lisbon by the Royal Academy of Sciences in the second volume of *Collecção de Noticias para a Historia e Geografia das Nações Ultramarinas que vivem nos Dominios Portuguezes*. It was however translated into Italian and published at Venice soon after the middle of the sixteenth century, and was also, with some alterations, translated into Spanish, though it was not printed in that language. From a Spanish copy preserved in the library at Barcelona, an English translation was made by the Hon. E. J. Stanley, and was published by the Hakluyt Society in 1866, under the title of *A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the beginning of the sixteenth century*. It agrees fairly well, though not absolutely, with the original Portuguese version as given here.—G. M. T.

*Hucicas pequenas nos Rios.*

Passadas as Hucicas grandes para a banda de Çofala, que he huma fortaleza que aqui tem ElRei de Portugal, perto da qual se acha muito ouro ; a dezasete ou dezouto legoas longe della, ha alguns rios que formão Ilhas pela meio, a que chamão Hucicas pequenas, aonde ha alguns lugares habitados por Mouros, que commerceão com os Gentios da terra firme : o seu sustento he arroz, milho, e carnes, que conduzem a Çofala em pequenas barcas.

*Çofala.*

Indo mais adiante passando estas Hucicas caminho da India, ha uinte ov trinta legoas della, esta huv rio, qve nam he mvyto grande pelo qval dentro esta hva pouoçam de Movros que chamaom Çofala, jvnto com ha qval tem elRey N. Sr. hva fortaleza ; estes Movros ha mvyto tempo qve pouoçraom aqvi, por caso do grande trato de ovro qve tinhaom com hos Gentios da terra firme : hos Movros desta pouoçam falaom Arauia, e tem hvn Rei sobre sy qve esta ha obediencia delRey N. Sr., ha maneira de sev trato era qve ha elles uinhaom em peqvenos nauios, qve chamaom zambvqvos do regno de Qviloa, Mombaça e Melynde mvytos panos pintados dalgodam, ovtros branqvos e azvis, delles de seda, e mvytas continhas pardas, e roxas, e amarellas, qve ha hos ditos regnos nem em ovtros nauios mayores do gran regno de Cambaya, has qvaes mercadorias hos ditos Movros qve uinhaom de Melynde e Mombaça comprão a outros que aqui as trazem e lhas pagaom em ovro pelo preço de qve elles hiaom mvyto contentes ; ho qval ovro lhe daom ha pezo : hos Movros de Çofala goardauaom estas mercadorias, e has uendiaom depois ha hos Gentios do regno de Benametapa qve aly uinhaom carregados dovro ; ho qval ovro lhe dauaom ha troqvo dos ditos panos sem pezo, em tanta quantidade qve bem ganhaom cento por huv. Estes Movros recolhem tambem mvyta soma de marfim qve achaom derredor de Çofala, qve tambem uendem pera ho regno de Cambaya ha sinco e ha seis crvzados ho qvintal ; tambem uendem algvm ambar qve lhe trazem das Hucicas, qve he mvyto bóo. Saom estes Movros homeins pretos, e delles baços, falaom algvns delles arauia, e hos mais se seruem da lingoa da terra qve he ha dos Gentios : elles se cobrem da cinta pera bayxo com hvvs

panos dalgodam e seda; trazem ovros panos sobraçados como capas, e fotas nas cabeças, algvns delles carapvcinhas de graam de qvartos, e de ovros panos de laam de mvytas cores, e chamalotes, e dovtras sedas, sevs mantimentos saom milho, arroz, carne, e pescado; em este rio ha ho maar delle, saem em terra mvytos caualos marinhos ha pascer, hos qvaes caualos andaom sempre no maar como peixes, tem dentes da feição dos alifantes peqvenos em sva cantidade segvndo saom; este he melhor marfim qve do alifante, mais aluo e rijo sem nvnqva perder coor. Na propia terra derredor de Çofala ha mvytos alifantes brauos e mvy grandes os quaes a gente da terra não sabe nem costuma domesticar, onças, e lieens, e ueação, e ovtras mvytas alimarias: ha terra he do campos e montanhas, de mvytas ribeiras de mvy boas agoas; na mesma Çofala fazem agora nouamente grande soma dalgodam, e tecemno, de qve se fazem mvytos panos branqvos; e porqve nam sabem tingir, ov por nam terem tinta, tomaom panos azvis ou de outras cores de Cambaya, e desfiaomnos e tornaomnos ha jvntar, de maneira qve fazem hvv nouelo, e coeste fiado e com ovro branqvo do sev, fazem mvytos panos pintados, e delles haom mvyta soma dovro “o qval remedio fizeraom depois qve uirão qve nossas gentes lhe tolhiaom ha nauegaçam dos Zambvcos; has mercadorias nam podem uir ha elles senam por mam dos feitores qve elRei N. Sr. tem aly em svas feitorias e fortalezas.”

*Ho grande regno de Benametapa.*

Indo assy desta terra contra ho certam, jaz hvv mvy grande regno de Benametapa qve he de Gentios, ha qve hos Movros chamaom Cafres; saom homeins pretos, andaom nvvs, somente cobrem svas uergonhas com panos pintados dalgodam da cinta pera bayxo; delles andaom cobertos com peles dalimarias monteses, algvns qve saom mais honrados, trazem das mesmas peles hvas capas com hvvs rabos, que lhe arrastaom pelo cham; trazem isto por estado e galantaria, andaom dando saltos, e fazendo gestos do corpo com qve fazem saltar aqvella pele de hvv cabo pera ho ovro; trazem estes homeins hvas espadas metidas em hvas bainhas de páo lyadas com mvyto ovro, e ovros metaes, e ha parte da mam esqverda como nós, com cintas de pano qve pera isso fazem, com qvatro ov cinco noos, com svas borolas dependvradas, como galantes homeins; trazem tambem nas mãos

azagaias; e ovros arqvos e frechas meáoos que nam saom tam compridos como de Ingrezes, nem tam cvrtos como de Tvrqvos; hos ferros das frechas saom mvy grandes e svtis: elles saom homens de gverra, e ovros grandes mercatores; svas mvlheres andaom nvas, somente cobrem svas uergonhas com panos dalgodam entrementes saom solteiras, e como saom casadas e tem filhos lançaom ovros panos por cima dos peitos.

*Zimbaoche.*

Indo mais adiante pera ho certam qvinze ov uinte jornadas, esta hva mvy grande pouoaçam qve chamaom Zimbaoche em qve ha mvytas casas de madeira e de palha; qve he de Gentios, em ha qval mvytas uezes esta ho Rei de Benemetapa e dahy a Benemetapa são seis jornadas; ho qval caminho uai de Çofala pelo certam dentro contra ho cabo de Boa esperanza: nesta mesma pouoaçam de Benemetapa he ho assento mais accostvmado do Rei em hvv lvgar mvyto grande, donde trazem hos mercatores ovro dentro ha Çofala, ho qval daom ha hos Movros sem peso por panos pintados e por contas, qve antre elles saom mvyto estimadas, has qvaes contas uem de Cambaya: dizem estes Movros de Benametapa qve ainda este ovro uem de mvyto mais longe, de contra ho cabo de Boa esperanza, dovtro regno qve he svgeito ha este de Benametapa, qve he mvy grande Senhor, de mvytos Reis qve tem debayxo de sev porte: elle he Senhor de mvyto grande terra qve corre pelo certam dentro, assy pera ho cabo de Boa esperanza, como pora Moçambiqve; elle he cada dia seruido de mvy grandes presentes, qve lhe hos ovros Reis e Senhores mandaom, cada hvm em sva cantidade, e trazem-lhos pelo meio da Cidade, e descobertos sobre ha cabeça até qve chegvem a hva casa mvyto alta aonde ho Rei sempre esta apovzentado, e elle ho uee per hva janela e nam ho ueem ha elle, somente ovuemlhe sva palaura; depois elle mesmo Rei manda chamar ha pessoa qve lhe ho tal presente trovue, e ho manda logvo mvy bem despachado. Este Rei traz continuamente no campo hvv Capitam qve chamaom Sono, com mvyta soma de gente, e cinco e seis mil molheres qve tambem tomaom has armas, e pelejaom; com ha qval gente anda socegando algvvs Reis qve se leuantaom, ov qverem aleuantar contra sev Senhor. Este Rei de Benametapa manda cadano homens honrados, despachados per sev regno ha todolos Senhorios

e lvgares qve nelle tem, ha dar fogo nouo ; pera saber se estaom em sva obediencia, silicet, cada homê destes chegado ha cada lvgar, faz apagar qvantos fogos nelle estaom, de maneira qve em todo ho lvgar nam fiqva nem hvv fogo, e como saom todos apagados, todos ho tornaom ha uir tomar de sva maom, em sinal de mvyta amisade e obediencia, de maneira qve ho lvgar ov Uilla qve assy ho nam qver fazer, he loguo accvsado per reuel : ho qval manda logvo ho dito sev Capitam sobre elle, qve ho ua destruir ov meter debayxo do sev mando e Senhorio ; ho qval Capitam com toda ha sva gente darmas por honde qver qve for, hade comer ha cvsta dos lvgares ; sev mantimento he milho, arroz, e carne ; seruem-se mvyto dazeyte de gergelym.

*Cvama.*

Indo de Çofala caminho de Moçambique ha corenta legoas de Çofala pouco mais ov menos, está hvv mvy grande rio qve chamão Cvama, dizem qve entra contra ho regno de Benametapa mais de cento e setenta legoas ; na boqva do qval rio está hvv lvgar ha cvjo Rei chamaom Mangaló, por este rio uem dentro ha este lvgar de Movros mvyto ovro de Benametapa ; do qval rio se faz ovtro braço que uem dentro ha hvv lvgar qve chamaom Angoya, qve he por honde se hos Movros seruem com mvytas almadias de trazer hos panos, e ovtras mercadorias mvytas Damgoya ; hos ovtros lhe trazem mvyto ovro e marfim.

*Angoya.*

Indo ha ho diante leyxando este Cvama ha cento corenta legoas delle, ha ho longvo da costa, esta hva mvy grande pouçam de Movros que chamaom Angoya que tem Rei sobre si. Uiuem nella mvytos mercadores qve trataom em ovro, e em marfim, em panos de seda e algodam, e contas de Cambaya ; assy como sohiaom de fazer hos de Çofala : has qvaes mercadorias lhe trazem hos Movros de Çofala, de Mombaça, de Melynde, e Qviloa, em hvvs nauios mvyto pequenos escondidamente dos nossos nauios, de maneira qve daly leuão mvy gram soma de marfim, e mvyto ovro ; neste mesmo lvgar Damgoya ha mvyto mantimento, milho, arroz, e mvytas carnes ; ha gente delle saom homeins pretos, baços ; andaom nvvs da cinta pera cima, della pera baixo

se cobrem com panos dalgodam e seda, e trazem ovtros panos sobraçados ha maneira de capas; deles fotas em has cabeças; outros trazem huas carapuças de quartos de pano de seda; falaom ha lingoa natural da tera que he dos Genticos, alguns deles falaom arauia: Estes Mouros has uezes estaom ha obediencia de elRei N. Sr., ovtras uezes estaom aleuantados por estarem apartados das nosas fortalezas.

*Moçambique.*

Indo mais ha ho diante leyxando Amgoya caminho da India, estaom muyto perto da tera fyrme tres Ilhas, antre has quaes esta huma poucada de Mouros que chamaom Moçambique, que tem muyto bõ porto; em ho qual todolos nauios dos Mouros nauegantes que pera Çofala e Cuama nauegaom, faziaom sua escala "pera corregimento de suas naos, honde tomauaom muyta agoa, lenha, e mantimento:" antre hos Mouros desta ilha e de Moçambique, auya hũu Xarife que hos governaua e tinha ha direito: estes Mouros saom da mesma lyngoa e costume dos Damgoya: aquy tem elRei N. Sr. hua fortaleza, com que estaom hos ditos Mouros debayxo de seu mandado e gouernança; e agora tomaom neste porto has nosas naos agoa, e lenha, e mantimentos que ha na tera, e nele se coregem has que ho haom mister; asy quando vaom, como quando uem; e daquy mandaom tambem mantimentos dentro ha Çofala ha hos Portuguezes que lá estaom, asy de muytas cousas que uem de Portugal, como da India por lhe ficar em caminho. Na tera fyrme destas Ilhas ha muytos alifantes e muyto grandes, e outros animacs selvagens: ha tera he habitada de Genticos, que saom hũus homeins bestiaes, que andaom nuus, e barados todos com hum baro uermelho; trazem suas naturas emburilhadas em huas tiras de pano azul de algodam, sem nenhũa outra cobertura; trazem hos beiços furados com tres furos; em cada beiço tres buzios, e neles metidos huus osos com huas pedrinhas, e outros brinquinhos.

*Quilóa.*

Indo deste lugar de Moçambique ha ho longuo da costa, esta hua ilha junto com ha tera fyrme que chamaom Quilóa, em que está hua uila de Mouros de muy fermosas casas de pedra e cal, com muytas janelas ha nosa maneira, muyto bem aruadas, com



muytos terados; has portas de madeira muy bem lauradas de muy fermosa macenaria, deredor muytas agoas, e pomares, e hortas com muytas agoas doces; tem Rei mouro sobre sy: daqui trataom com hos de Çofala donde lhe traziaom muyto ouro; daqui se extendiaom por toda Arabia felix, que tambem daqui por diante poderemos chamar asy ainda que seja sobre a Ethiopia, porque toda ha ribeira do maar nay muyto poucada de muytas uilas e lugares de Mouros. Antes que elRei N. Sr. mandase descobrir ha India, hos Mouros de Çofala, Cuama, Angoya, e Moçambique estauom todos ha obediencia delRei de Quiloa, que era muy poderoso Rei antreles, em ha qual uila hauia grande soma douro, porque nenhuus nauios nom pasauaom pera Çofala que primeiro nom uiesem daar nesa ilha; e hos Mouros dela saom, deles branquos, deles pretos: andaom asas bem ataiados de muytos panos riquos douro e seda e dalgodam, e has molheres tambem, e com muyto ouro e prata em cadeas, e manilhas que trazem nos peis e nos braços, e muytas joias em has orelhas; estes Mouros falaom arauya e tem ha ceita do Alcoram, creem muito em Mafamede, e ha ho Rei dela lhe foi tomado ho lugar forçosamente pelos Portuguezes, nom querendo per sua soberba obedecer ha ElRei N. Sr., honde lhe captiuarão muyta gente, e ho Rei fugio da ilha, e S. Alteza mandou fazer nela hua fortaleza, e hos meteo debayxo do seu mando e gouernança “depois ha tornou ha mandar deribar por nom ser seu seruiço nem proueito sostentala, ha qual desfes Antonio de Saldanha.”

[*English translation of the foregoing.*]

*Extracts from the Book written by DUARTE BARBOSA.*

*First the Cape Saint Sebastian.*

Going along the coast, having passed the Cape of Good Hope on the way to India, until reaching that of Saint Sebastian, there are tracts of land beautiful enough, with many mountains and fields, in which there is much stock of cows, sheep, and other wild cattle; it is a country inhabited by black people who go naked, they wear only skins with the fur of deer or of other animals, like French cloaks; of which people ours could never obtain information of the language, nor learn what there is in

the interior of the country; neither do they practise navigation, nor do they make use of the sea, neither have the Moors of Arabia and Persia ever sailed so far, or discovered them, by reason of the Cape of Currents being very stormy.

*The Islands that are called the Great Hucicas.*

Going farther along the coast, having passed this Cape Saint Sebastian on the way to India, there are close to the mainland some islands which are called the Great Hucicas; in which on the side towards the mainland there are some settlements of Moors, who trade with the heathens of the mainland, and are serviceable to them. In these Hucicas much ambergris of very good quality is found, which these Moors gather and sell in other places; also many pearls and small seed pearls are found in the sea, in oysters, but they do not know how to gather or fish for them; they get some by broiling the oysters, and the seed pearls that remain are of poor quality and burnt; there is not much doubt that there are good ones, if they knew how to gather and fish for them, as is done in other places, of which I shall speak hereafter.

*The Little Hucicas in the Rivers.*

The Great Hucicas being passed towards the side of Sofala, which is a fortress that the king of Portugal has there, near to which much gold is found, at seventeen or eighteen leagues distance there are some rivers which between them form islands that are called the Little Hucicas, where there are some places inhabited by Moors, who trade with the heathens of the mainland; their sustenance consists of rice, millet, and meat, which they convey to Sofala in little vessels.

*Sofala.*

Going still farther, passing these Hucicas on the way to India, at twenty or thirty leagues from it there is a river which is not very large, on which a little way inland is a village of Moors that is called Sofala, close to which the king our lord has a fortress. These Moors have resided there a long time, by reason of the

great trade in gold which they have with the heathens of the mainland. The Moors of this settlement speak Arabic, and have a king over them who is subject to the king our lord. The manner of their trade was that they came in little vessels which they call zambucos from the kingdom of Kilwa, Mombasa, and Melinde, bringing much coloured cotton cloth, some white and blue, some of silk, and many grey and purple and yellow beads, which come to the said kingdoms in other larger ships from the great kingdom of Cambaya, which merchandise the said Moors who come from Melinde and Mombasa buy from others who bring it there, and they pay for it in gold at a price which makes them well contented, which gold is given by weight. The Moors of Sofala kept this merchandise, and sold it afterwards to the heathens of the kingdom of Benametapa who came there laden with gold, which gold they gave in exchange for the said cloth, without weighing, in such quantity that they commonly gain a hundred for one. These Moors also collect a large quantity of ivory, which is found about Sofala, which they likewise sell for the kingdom of Cambaya at five or six cruzados ( $12/3$  or  $14/6$ ) the quintal (128 pounds), they sell also some ambergris, which is brought from the Hucicas, which is very good. These Moors are black men, and among them are some dark brown, some of them speak Arabic, and the others use the language of the country, which is that of the heathens. They cover themselves from the waist downward with cloth of cotton and silk, they wear other cloths folded as capes, and turbans on their heads; some of them wear little caps of scarlet cloth and of other cloths of wool of many colours, and camlets, and of other silks. Their food is millet, rice, meat, and fish. In this river near to the sea there are on the land many sea-horses feeding, which horses move about always in the sea like fish; they have teeth like small elephants, but less in quantity; it is better ivory than that of the elephant, whiter and harder, without ever losing its colour. In the country about Sofala there are many elephants, wild and very large, which the people of the country do not know how to tame, panthers, and lions, and antelopes, and many other animals. It is a country of plains and mountains, of many streams of very good water. In this same Sofala they have recently begun to produce much cotton, and they weave it, of which they make many white cloths; and because they do not know how to dye it,

or have not got dyes, they take the blue or other coloured cloths of Cambaya and unravel them and again put it together in such a way that they make a ball, and with this thread and other white of their own they make many coloured cloths, and with them they obtain much gold; which remedy they made after they saw that our people prevented the navigation of the zambucos; the merchandise can only reach them through the hands of the factors that the king our lord keeps in his factories and fortresses.

*The Great Kingdom of Benametapa.*

Going thus from this country towards the interior there is a very great kingdom of Benametapa, which is peopled by heathens whom the Moors call Kaffirs; they are black men, who go naked, only they cover themselves with coloured cotton cloths from the waist downward; some of them go covered with skins of wild animals, others who are more respectable wear cloaks of the same skins with their tails behind them, which they trail on the ground; they wear this for state and display, in travelling they make leaps and movements of their bodies by which they cause that skin to move from one end to the other; these men carry swords sheathed in scabbards of wood bound with much gold and other metals, on the side of the left hand as we do, with girdles of cloth which they make for this purpose, with four or five knots, and their tassels hanging down, like gallants; they carry also in their hands assagais, and others ordinary bows and arrows which are of medium size, not so long as those of the English nor so short as those of the Turks, and the iron points of the arrows are very large and sharp. They are men of war, and some of them are great traders; their women go naked, only they cover their loins with cotton cloths while they are single, and when they are married and have children they throw other cloths over their breasts.

*Zimbaoche.*

Going farther towards the interior fifteen or twenty days' journey there is a very large town which is called Zimbaoche, in which are many houses of wood and straw, which is of the heathens, in which the king of Benametapa frequently resides,

and from it to Benametapa is six days' journey, which road goes from Sofala inland towards the Cape of Good Hope. In this same town of Benametapa is the usual residence of the king, in a very large place, whence the merchants take to Sofala gold which they give to the Moors without weighing for coloured cloths and beads which among them are much valued, which beads come from Cambaya; these Moors of Benametapa say that this gold comes from a more distant country towards the Cape of Good Hope, from another kingdom which is subject to this of Benametapa, who is a very great lord of many kings whom he has under his rule; he is lord of a very large territory which extends far inland as well towards the Cape of Good Hope as towards Mozambique; he is each day served with very large presents, which the other kings and lords send to him, each one in a fixed quantity, and they bring them through the middle of the town bareheaded until they reach a very high house where the king is always lodged, and he sees them from a window, and they do not see him, only they hear his words; afterwards the king himself orders the person who has brought the present to be called, and he sends him away immediately, wishing him a pleasant journey. This king constantly takes with him into the field a captain whom they call Sono, with a great number of people, and five and six thousand women who also bear arms and fight; with which people he goes about quieting whatever kings rebel or desire to revolt against their lord. This king of Benametapa sends each year honourable men throughout his kingdom to all the seigniories and places that are in it to give them new fire, to ascertain if they are obedient, that is to say, each man of them having reached a place causes all the fires that are in it to be extinguished in such a way that in all the place no fire is left, and when all have been put out, all go to him to take it from his hand as a token of much amity and obedience, so that the place or town that does not choose to do this is immediately accused of rebellion, and the king at once sends his captain against it to destroy it or to reduce it to obedience, which captain with all his people pass through all the places where they will at their expense. Their food is millet, rice, and meat, and they use much oil of sesame.

*The Cuama (Zambesi).*

Going from Sofala on the way to Mozambique, at about forty leagues from Sofala there is a very large river, which is called the Cuama, it is said that it flows from the kingdom of Benametapa, more than a hundred and seventy leagues, in the mouth of which river there is a place whose king is called Mongalo. By this river comes to this place of the Moors much gold from Benametapa, which river makes another branch that comes to a place called Angoya, where the Moors make use of many canoes to convey the cloths and much other merchandise from Angoya, others convey to it much gold and ivory.

*Angoya.*

Going forward and leaving this river Cuama, at a hundred and forty leagues from it along the coast there is a very large town of the Moors, which is called Angoya, that has a king over it. Many merchants live there, who traffic in gold and in ivory, in cloths of silk and cotton, and beads from Cambaya, the same as do those of Sofala, which merchandise the Moors of Sofala, of Mombasa, of Melinde, and Kilwa bring in very small vessels concealed from our ships, in such a manner that they carry away a great quantity of ivory and much gold. In this place Angoya there is abundance of food, millet, rice, and much meat. The people are black and dusky-brown men; they go naked from the waist upward, from it downward they cover themselves with cloths of cotton and silk, and they carry other cloths folded like mantles, some wear turbans on their heads, others wear caps of silken cloth. They speak the language of the country, which is that of the heathens, and some of them speak Arabic. These Moors are sometimes in obedience to the king our lord, at other times they are in insurrection, for they are a long way from our fortresses.

*Mozambique.*

Going farther forward and leaving Angoya on the way to India, very near the main land there are three islands, one of which is inhabited by Moors, and is called Mozambique. It has

a very good port, which all the ships of the Moors that sail to Sofala and Cuama made the station for repair, where they took in water, fuel, and food. Among the Moors of this island of Mozambique there was a sheriff who governed them and carried out the laws. These Moors are of the same language and customs as those of Angoya. Here the king our lord has a fortress, by means of which the said Moors are under his command and government, and now our ships take in at this port water and fuel and provisions of the country, and in it are repaired those that are in need of it, as well the outward as the homeward bound. And from this place likewise provisions are sent to the Portuguese who are at Sofala, also many things that come from Portugal as well as from India, because they are stored here on the way. On the main land abreast of these islands there are many very large elephants and other wild animals. The country is inhabited by heathens, who are men like beasts, who go naked and covered all over with red clay, they have their loins wrapped in strips of blue cotton cloth, without any other covering, and they have their lips pierced with three holes, in each lip they wear three shells, and some of them put in bones with small stones, and others rings.

#### *Kilwa.*

Going from Mozambique along the coast there is an island close to the main land which is called Kilwa, in which there is a town of the Moors of very handsome houses of stone and lime, with many windows in our style, very well laid out, with many terraces; the doors are of wood very well wrought with beautiful joinery, around are many tanks of water, and orchards, and gardens with much fresh water. They have a Moorish king over them, and they trade with those of Sofala, from which place they brought much gold, which was spread hence through all Arabia Felix, as the whole country in front to Abyssinia can also be called, on account of the low lands along the sea being occupied by many towns and places of the Moors. Before the king our lord sent people to discover India, the Moors of Sofala, Cuama, Angoya, and Mozambique were all under obedience to the king of Kilwa, who was a very powerful king among them, in which town he had a great quantity of gold, because no ships went to Sofala without first touching at this island. The Moors in it are

some white, some black ; they are sufficiently well dressed with many rich cloths of gold and silk and cotton, and the women also with much gold and silver in chains and bracelets which they wear on their feet and arms, and many jewels in their ears. These Moors speak Arabic, and they have the religion of the Koran, and have strong faith in Mohamed. This place was forcibly taken by the Portuguese from the king, who on account of his pride was unwilling to obey the king our lord, when many prisoners were made, and the king fled from the island, in which his Highness ordered a fortress to be built, and put them under his command and government. Afterwards he gave instructions that it (the fortress) should be razed, because its maintenance was neither for his service nor his gain, and Antonio de Saldanha broke it down.

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*Carta de FRANCISCO DE BRITO, feitor de Sofala, a ELREI DOM MANUEL, sobre as necessidades da fortaleza de Sofala, por causa da guerra do chefe Inhamunda com a gente das terras do Bouro, Manica e Monomotapa, onde havia muito ouro, pela qual as mercadorias das ditas terras não podiam vir á fortaleza, e sobre negocios do seu cargo.\**

Senhor,—na naõ sam tome escrepuy a uossa alteza como esta tera estaua perdida e asy esta ate o dia dose sem teer nenhũa sayda de mercadoryas per nenhua parte por Respeyto de Jnhamunda hum Senhor que tem todas as teras tomadas ao Redor desta fortaleza que nenhum mercador nom ousa a sayr desta fortaleza com mercadorja nem do Sertão ousa a vyr e se vem he alguns de maravyilha que vem pollos matos e tam escoteyro que muy pouqua cousa pode leuar e se ho acha gemte de Jmhamunda que sempre traz gados pera que nenhũa pessoa posa hyr nem vyr que elle nom sayba he Roubado e as vezes os matam e lhe tomam quanta mercadorja lhe acham e ao capytam mandam dizer que nom comsyntem que os mercatores veham a feytorja pollos matos que elle tem os camjnhos abertos e tudo he falcydade porque se forem abertos vyryam mercatores e os mouros que moram na aldea de cofala hyryam de muy bõa mente que outra cousa nam desejam nem tem outro ofycio so senam trautar e

\* Copied for me from the original in the archives at Lisbon.—G. M. T.



temos nouas que os mercadores do bouro honde dizem a muyto ouro desejam de vyr trautar comnosco majs nom podem que nom ousam com Jnhamunda que no tem outro camjnho se nam por sua tera e a asy os de manhyqua e os de benabotapa com quem o dito Jnhamunda tem a gera e outras terras mujtas em que dizem que ha muito ourro e ja na outra mjnha carta primeiro escrepuy a uosa alteza jso majs largamente dando logo a Rezam de capytam em capytam e dos Rendymentos de todollos feitores e cofala Senhor no he pera tantos gastos nem os homes nom podem majs coreger que aqujlo que deus quer e lhe apraz e parece me que seruyremos qua e leuaremos sertidoes pera sermos panos neses Reyno se deus mylagrosamente nom acore por que em seu mado estam toda las cousas, a nao que Senhor hera em Cambaya como escrepuy a uosa alteza veeo a qujloane UIII legoas desta fortaleza de cofala o capytam mandou por a pyloto tendo elle capytam ja aboyada a bara pera meter a nao demtro na baja e ho pyloto a tornou a boyar nom se estreueo de ha meter demtro e descaregou em qujloane tudo quanto trazia que sam estas cousas de beitungys nove mil reaes que custaram em Cambaya sessenta e seis reaes cada hum e nesta feytorja estam avalyados a dois meticaes meio cada hum que ha cada metical quatro centos sessenta e sete reaes e de macaçeres que sam como bejrames mas sam majs grosos que bejrames oito centos e oito p (peças?) que custaram em dyo a cento e onze reaes p e nesta feytorja estam a dous meticaes cada hum e de cotonyas trouxe cento e noventa e oito p que custaram em dyo a cento cincoenta e um reaes p e na feytorja estam a quatro meticaes cada hũa e de teadas trouxe setecentos e noventa e cinco p que custam a cento e cincoenta e um reaes e sam dos quatro meticaes cada hũa avalyadas e trouxe mil quatrocentos vinte e quatro p de sabones que custam em dyo a trinta e nove reaes p e aquj na feitorja vendese a metical p e trouxe destanho de cambaya vinte e um quintaes menos quatro aRetes que custou cada vinte e seis aRetes que he hũa faracola de dyo dois mil novecentos reaes e a farazola que he valyada nesta feytorja a trinta meticaes cada trinta aRetes que nom sam as farazolas todas jguaes que de hum cabo destas partes tem vinte e quatro Rates e doutro tem majs e doutro menos e trouxe de contas vermelhas de cambaya tres quintaes meio nove Rates que custaram em dyo a oito centos quarenta reaes farazolla que quando sam boas estam avalyadas na feitorja a cincoenta meticaes de hy pera cyma e

trouxe em dinheiro vinte e oyto mil duzentos vinte e cinco tangas moeda de prata de dyo que he cada hũa de sessenta reaes e esta Roupa se tyuera sayda valera bõo dinheiro majors esta tudo tam morto que hos homes nom tem corações nem se gasta nada nada a dinheiro cousa que seja pera dizer dinheiro e se se gasta algũ cousa pouqua he Roupa que leuam fyada pera trazerem algum marfyr que poderey ter Resgatado as majors desne que siruo de feitor cem quorenta quintaes de marfym. desne setembro de quinhentos e desoito que siruo de feitor tem Rendydo esta feytoria quinhentos e cinquenta e dous meticaes e meio ate fym de março de quinhentos e desanove anos e desne emtram ate feytura desta carta tera Rendido duzentos cincoenta meticaes e com os tres mil e tantos meticaes que me entregou o feitor dante nym e as tangas que vyeram de dyo e com ho dinheiro dos dous terços do vinhos que se uendem de uosa alteza e com estes quinhentos e tantos meticaes ditos teho paga a gente desta fortaleza e de duas caravellas que andauam nesta costa e a naõ e algũa gente de moçambyque seruo nesta fortaleza por mandado do capytam em ajudarem a fortaleza de madeira que se avya de asentar em cuama.

Item. aos quinze dias deste agosto de quinhentos e desanove anos tynha sancho de tovar prestes e feyta huma torre de madeyra em quadrado que avya de hyr asentar em cuama e agardava polla naõ que era em moçambique buscar mjlho pera esta fortaleza pera com a gente da nao e das caravellas a hyr asentar e vymdo as caravellas de qujuane aos tres dias primeiros da deste agosto caregadas de mjlho porque a nao no podya emtrar nesta bara avysta da fortaleza se perdeo huma das caravellas huma que Sancho de touar mandou fazer em moçambyque pera guarda da costa de moçambyque pera melynde que ja esta caravella tynha tomada huma preza e trazya parte dela a cofala e a outra deyxada ao feitor de moçambyque e por se perder esta caravella e a nao nom poder emtrar em cuama e ao menos que fycava donde se avya dasentar asentar a fortaleza segundo dezyam serya oito legoas por este Respeito nom foy asentar em cuama a torre que me parese que fora huma cousa muyto serujco de uosa alteza majors nesta desaventura o estoruou determyna mandar fazer logo huma caravella e hum barganty que ponha em cuama que nom venha nenhum zambuquo de comtra aquelas partes de melynde quando a nao veeo de cambaja achegou a qujuane aos tres dias

andados dabrij e outra caravella que fycou de cristouam de tauora que hera estromquada se perdeo em qujluane de que muyto dambos deram grande estoruo as benfeytorjas e todalas cousas querem dita e uosa alteza cujdaua que aproueytaua a mym a me fazer me desta feytorja ho cuido e ha vomtade he virtuosa de uosa alteza e eu Senhor estou de todo perdido e nom qujxera qua ter vymdo por nenhum preço porque nenhum serujço vos faço Senhor em cofala e a mym desaproueyto na honra e na fazenda que se não fora por pareser a uosa alteza que nom hera homem pera vos saber serujr em tal cargo ajmda que ja em outra feytorja vos tynha serujdo e por nom dar prazer a meus ymygos eu Senhor me tyuera ja ydo de cofala a vos serujr a jndya honde peço por merçe a uosa alteza que me faca merce de qualquer alcaydarja mor que na jndya me Senhor qujxerdes dar que feytorja bem ha saberja serujr majs com alcaydarja Receberya grade merce e quando naão seja feytorja ou o que me Senhor qujxerdes dar que cayba em mym e seja ofycyo de tera ou qualquer cousa destas em goa ou em aRamuz ou honde quer que uosa alteza se qujxer serujr de mym que com ho que tenho ganhado em cofala nom ousarey de hyr a portugal senam com tençam de emportunar uosa alteza pera tornar logo pera qua e nom querja Senhor tornar a pasar tanto mar e trabalho homde perdy hum filho que tanto como a mym querya e jndo sem nenhum proueyto e aja uosa alteza a ter servido a vinte e cinco anos desne que fuy homem em armadas e caualos e homes e eu Senhor escrepuo ao baram que por sua bondade e pollo de deus Requera estas cousas e outras que em hus apomtamentos lhe mando que a uosa alteza os Requeyra por mym o que beyxarey as mãos fazerlhas que pera uoso serujço o quero e pera mantimento de seis filhos e molher o quero que bem sabe uosa alteza que cousa he filhos ajmda que sejaes tamanho princepe e Rey e Senhor que deus acresemente vossos dias e estado pera que sempre lhe poderdes acrescentar lhe suas honras e estados com descanso de uosa alteza e de uosos Reynos terey em merce a uosa alteza fazer me merce que me mandem algum vinho pera meu beber a nao parte Senhor desta fortaleza pera cambaja a doze dagosto de quinhentos desanove anos parece me que he grande pera esta costa e leua desta feytorja cento cincoenta qujmtaes de marfym com outro que tem em moçambyque que trouxe de portugal e cobre o capytam escrepuera a uosa alteza o que aserqua della lhe parece bejxo as

Reaes mãos de uosa alteza que prasa a deus que acresente sua vyda e estado.

oje nesta fortaleza a oito dias dagosto de mil quinhentos dez e nove anos.

francisco de brito.

Sobrescripto : perce elRey nosso senhor.

Conforme o original existente no Archivo da Torre do Tombo.  
3 de Setembro de 1897.

O Director,  
José Manuel da Costa Basto.

[*English translation of the foregoing.*]

*Letter from FRANCISCO DE BRITO, factor of Sofala, to the king DOM MANUEL, concerning the requirements of the fortress of Sofala, in consequence of the war between the chief Inhamunda and the people of the territories of Bouro, Manica, and Monomotapa, where there was much gold, owing to which the merchandise of the said countries could not be brought to the fortress, and concerning the affairs of his office.*

Sir,—By the ship *St. Thomas* I wrote to Your Highness how this country was ruined, and it is still in the same condition, without any merchandise having arrived from any part of it, on account of Inhamunda, a chief who has reduced all the territories around this fortress to such a state that no trader can venture to leave the fortress with merchandise, neither can any one venture to come from the interior. If any arrive, they are some who occasionally come through the thickets so free of encumbrance that they can carry very little, and if they are found by the people of Inhamunda, who are always herding cattle so that no person can go or come without its being known, they are robbed and sometimes murdered. And they take from them as much merchandise as they can find, and send to the captain to say that they will not allow the traders to come to the factory through the thickets, that there are open roads. This is false, because if they were open the traders would use them, and the Moors who live in the village of Sofala would go with much confidence, as they desire nothing else, nor have they other occupation than trading.

We have information that the traders of Bouro, where it is said there is much gold, desire to come to trade with us, but they cannot, as they dare not on account of Inhamunda, and there is no other road than through his territory. And in like manner those of Manica and those of Benabotapa, with whom the said Inhamunda is at war, and many other countries in which it is said there is much gold.

In my first letter I wrote to Your Highness more fully about it, giving an account from the successive captains, and of the receipts of all the factors. And Sofala, Sir, cannot bear such charges, nor can men do anything except what God wills and pleases. And I think that we shall be servants here and shall carry the badges of slavery in the interior if God by a miracle does not come to our aid, for everything is at his disposal.

The ship, Sir, which was at Cambaya, as I wrote to Your Highness, came to Kilwane, eight leagues from this fortress of Sofala. The captain sent for a pilot, having already buoyed the bar, to take the ship into the bay, and the pilot began to put down buoys and did not attempt to take her in. She discharged at Kilwane all that she carried, which are these articles :

Pieces of calico to the value of nine thousand reis, which cost in Cambaya sixty-six reis each, and in this factory are valued at two and a half miticals each, and each mitical is worth four hundred and sixty-seven reis ; macassars, which are something like cotton cloths, but thicker, eight hundred and eight pieces, which cost in Diu one hundred and eleven reis each, and in this factory the price is two miticals each ; dimity one hundred and ninety-eight pieces, which cost in Diu one hundred and fifty-one reis each piece, and in the factory the price is four miticals each ; linen seven hundred and ninety-five pieces, which cost one hundred and fifty-one reis and are valued at four miticals each ; one thousand four hundred and twenty-four pieces of sapon, which cost in Diu thirty-nine reis each piece, and here in the factory are sold at one mitical each ; tin from Cambaya twenty-one quintals less four pounds, which cost each twenty-six pounds, that is a farazola of Diu, two thousand nine hundred reis, and is valued in this factory at thirty miticals the farazola of thirty pounds, for the farazolas are not all the same, being at some places in these countries twenty-four pounds, at other places more, and at others again less ; red beads of Cambaya three and

a half quintals nine pounds, which cost in Diu eight hundred and forty reis the farazola, which, when they are good, are valued in the factory at fifty miticals and more. And he brought in money twenty-eight thousand two hundred and twenty-five silver coins of Diu, each of which is worth sixty reis.

The cloth, if it was saleable, would be worth a good deal of money, but everything is so dull that men have no heart, nor is anything purchased for cash or anything that can be called money, and if anything is bought it is very little. The cloth is taken on credit to obtain with it some ivory, which I shall be able to have bartered. The most that I have obtained in this way since I have been here as factor is one hundred and forty quintals of ivory.

From September 1518, when I became factor, this factory has received five hundred and fifty-two miticals and a half to the end of March 1519, and from that date to the time of writing this letter the receipts have been about two hundred and fifty miticals. With the three thousand and odd miticals which were delivered to me by the preceding factor and the coin which came from Diu, together with the money for the two-thirds of the wine which I sold on Your Highness's account and these said five hundred and odd miticals, I have paid the people of this fortress, the crews of the two caravels which are employed on this coast and the ship, and some people of Mozambique who were employed in this fortress by order of the captain in preparing a wooden fort which was to be put up on the Cuama.

Item. On the 15th \* of this month of August 1519 Sancho de Tovar finished a square tower of timber which was to be put up on the Cuama, and he was waiting for the ship which went to Mozambique to bring millet for this fortress, in order to proceed to that place and erect it there with the assistance of the crews of the ship and the caravels. And the caravels having arrived from Kilwane in the first three days of this month of August laden with millet, because the ship could not cross the bar, one of the caravels was lost in sight of the fortress, the one which Sancho de Tovar had ordered to be built at Mozambique to guard the coast from that place to Melinde. And that caravel had already taken a prize and brought part of what was in it to Sofala, and left the

\* This date must be incorrect. It may have been 15th of July. See date of the letter.

other part with the factor at Mozambique. In consequence of this caravel being lost, and the ship not being able to enter the Cuama, he could not go and put up that tower, as it was said it would be about eight leagues (up the river). For this reason he did not go and erect the tower at Cuama, which I think would have been of great service to Your Highness, but by this mishap he was prevented from doing it. He resolved to have another caravel built at once, and a brigantine which he would station at Cuama to prevent any zambucos coming from Melinde to those parts. When the ship came from Cambaya and arrived at Kilwane on the 3rd of April, and another caravel that was left by Christovam de Tavora, and was damaged, was lost at Kilwane, a great drawback was occasioned to the improvement of matters here. Everything was unfortunate.

Your Highness thought to help me by employing me at this factory, and I credit the good intention of Your Highness. And I, Sir, am quite ruined, and I wish I had not come here at any price, because I am doing no service to you, Sir, at Sofala, and I am losing in honour and in property, so that if it were not that Your Highness might think I am not a man who knows how to serve you at such a post, although I have already served you in another factory, and in order not to give pleasure to my enemies, I, Sir, would have gone from Sofala to serve you in India, where I beg as a favour Your Highness will be pleased to give me any commandantship whatever, as there are plenty of factories where I can be more useful to you in a commandantship, and for which I would be very thankful; and if there is not a factory, whatever other office, Sir, you will be pleased to give me that I can fill, in service on land, or in any employment in Goa, or Ormuz, or anywhere else that Your Highness can make use of me. For with what I have earned at Sofala I cannot venture to go to Portugal, except to trouble Your Highness and return here immediately. And I should not like to undertake another long voyage with the discomforts of the sea, where I lost a son who was very dear to me, and I should be going also without any advantage. Your Highness will remember that I have served twenty-five years, since I became a man, in the fleets and in cavalry and infantry.

I am writing, Sir, to the baron, asking that through his kindness and for God's sake he will represent these matters and others which I mention to him in notes, and that he will apply to Your

Highness on my behalf, for which I shall kiss your hands, because all my wish is to work in your service and for the support of six children and a wife. Your Highness is well aware of what it is to have children, although you are such a great prince and king and lord. May God lengthen your days and increase your dignity, so that you may be able to add to your honours and estates for the benefit of Your Highness and of your kingdoms.

I shall take it as a great favour if Your Highness will do me the kindness to send me some wine for my use.

The ship leaves this fortress, Sir, for Cambaya on the 12th of August 1519. I think she is too large for this coast. She takes from this factory one hundred and fifty quintals of ivory, with other freight brought from Portugal which there is at Mozambique, and copper. The captain will write to Your Highness what he thinks about this matter.

I kiss the royal hands of Your Highness. May God be pleased to lengthen your life and add to your dignity.

To-day in this fortress, the 8th of August, 1519.

Francisco de Brito.

Addressed : To the King our Lord.

Agrees with the original in the Archives in the Torre do Tombo. 3rd September, 1897.

The Director,  
José Manuel da Costa Basto.



RELAÇÃO  
DO  
NAUFRAGIO DO GALEÃO GRANDE S. JOÃO  
*Na Terra do Natal no anno de 1552.\**

PARTIO neste Galeão Manoel de Sousa, que Deos perdoe, para fazer esta desaventurada viagem de Còchim, a tres de Fevereiro o anno de cincoenta e dous. E partio taõ tarde por hir carregar a Coulaõ, e lá haver pouca pimenta, onde carregou obra de quatro mil e quinhentas, e veyo a Còchim acabar de carregar a copia de sette mil e quinhentas por toda com muito trabalho por causa da guerra que havia no Malavar. E com esta carga se partio para o Reyno podendo levar doze mil; e ainda que a Nao levava pouca pimenta, nem por isso deixou de hir muito carregada de outras mercadorias, no que se havia de ter muito cuidado pelo grande risco que correm as Naos muito carregadas.

A treze de Abril veyo Manoel de Sousa haver vista da Costa do Cabo em trinta e dous grãos, e vieraõ ter tanto dentro, porque havia muitos dias que eraõ partidos da India, e tardáraõ muito em ver o Cabo por causa das roins vèlas que traziaõ, que foy huma das causas e a principal de seo perdimento; porque o Piloto Andrè Vàs fazia seo caminho para hir à terra do Cabo das Agulhas, e o Capitaõ Manoel de Sousa lhe rogou que quizesse hir ver a terra mais perto; e o Piloto por lhe fazer a vontade, o fez: pela qual razaõ foraõ ver a Terra do Natal, e estando à vista della, se lhe fez o vento bonança, e foy correndo a Costa athè ver o Cabo das Agulhas, com prumo na mão, e sondando; e eraõ os ventos taes, que se hum dia ventava Levante, outro se levantava

\* In the accounts of shipwrecks on the coast of South-Eastern Africa much information concerning the natives of the country is to be obtained, and I therefore include them among records of importance. There are several pamphlets in the Library of the British Museum containing narratives of such wrecks, printed very shortly after the disasters occurred, and published under authority from the government at Lisbon. Among them is the one from which this is copied, which gives an account of a disaster that will not be forgotten as long as the noble poem of Camoens finds readers.—G. M. T.

Poente. E sendo já em onze de Março eraõ Nordèste, Suduèste com o Cabo de Boa Esperança vinte e cinco legoas ao mar, alli lhe deo o vento Oèste, e Oesnoròeste com muitos fuzis. E sendo perto da noite o Capitaõ chamou o Mestre, e Piloto, e lhes perguntou que deviaõ fazer com aquelle tempo, pois lhe era pela proa, e todos respondèraõ, que era bom conselho arribar.

As razoens que davaõ para arribar, foraõ que a Nao era muito grande, e muito comprida, e hia muito carregada de caixaria, e de outras fazendas, e naõ traziaõ já outras vèlas, senaõ as que traziaõ nas vergas, que a outra esquipaçãõ levou hum temporal que lhe deo na Linha, e estas eraõ rotas, que se naõ fiavaõ nellas : e que se parassem, e o tempo crescesse, e lhe fosse necessario arribar, lhe poderia o vento levar as outras vèlas que tinhaõ, que era prejuizo para sua viagem, e salvaçaõ, que naõ havia na Nao outras ; e taes eraõ aquellas que traziaõ, que tanto tempo punhaõ em as remendar, como em navegar. E huma das cousas porque naõ tinhaõ dobrado o Cabo a este tempo, foy pelo tempo que gastavaõ em as amainar para cozerem ; e por tanto o bom conselho era arribar com os papafigos grandes ambos baixos, porque dando-lhe sómente a vèla de proa, era taõ velha, que estava muy certo levarlha o vento da verga pelo grande pezo da Nao, e ambos juntos hum ajudaria ao outro. E vindo assim arribando, que seriaõ cento e trinta legoas do Cabo, lhe virou o vento ao Nordèste, e ao Lesnordèste taõ furioso que os fez outra vez correr ao Sul, e ao Suduèste ; e como o mar que vinha feito de Poente, e o que o Levante fez meteo tanto mar, que cada balanço que o Galeaõ tomava, parecia que o metia no fundo. E assim corrèraõ tres dias, e ao cabo delles lhe tornou o vento a acalmar, e ficou o mar taõ grande, e trabalhou tanto a Nao, que perdeo tres machos do lème so-os polegar em que està toda a perdiçaõ, ou salvaçaõ de huma Nao. E isto se naõ sabia de ninguem, sómente o Carpinteiro da Nao que foy a ver o lème, e achou falta dos ferros, e entaõ se veyo ao Mestre, e lho disse em segredo, que era hum Christovaõ Fernandes da Cunha o Curto. E elle respondeo como bom Official, e bom homem, que tal cousa naõ dissesse ao Capitaõ, nem a outra nenhuma pessoa por naõ causar terror, e medo na gente, e assim o fez.

Andando assim neste trabalho, tornoulhe outra vez a saltar o vento a Oes-suduèste, e temporal desfeito, e já entaõ parecia que Deos era servido do fim que ao despois tiveraõ. E hindo com a

mesma vèla arribando outra vez, lançando-lhe o lème à banda, não quiz a Nao dar por elle, e toda se poz de lò; o vento que era bravo lhe levou o papafigo da verga grande. Quando se viraõ sem vèla, e que não havia outra, acodiraõ com diligencia a tomar a vèla de proa, e se quizeraõ antes aventurar a ficar de mar em travèz, que ficàrem sem nenhuma vèla. O traquete de proa não era ainda acabado de tomar quando se a Nao atravessou, e em se atravessando lhe deraõ tres mares tão grandes, que dos balanços que a Nao deu lhe arrebertaraõ os aparelhos e costeiras da banda de bombordo, que não lhe ficaraõ mais que as tres dianteiras.

E vendo-se com os aparelhos quebrados, e sem nenhuma enxarcea no mastro daquella banda, lançaraõ a mão a huns viradores para fazerem huns brandaes. E estando com esta obra na mão andava o mar muito grosso, e lhes pareceo que por entaõ era obra escuzada, e que era melhor conselho cortarem o mastro pelo muito que a Nao trabalhava; o vento e o mar era tamanho que lhe não consentia fazer obra nenhuma, nem havia homem que se pudesse ter em pè.

Estando com os machados nas mãos começando já a cortar vem supitamente arreberar o mastro grande por cima das polès das coroas, como se o cortaraõ de hum golpe, e pela banda do estibordo o lançou o vento ao mar com a Gavea, e enxarcea, como que fora huma cousa muito lève; e entaõ lhe cortaraõ os aparelhos, e enxarcea da outra banda, e todo junto se foy ao mar. E vendo-se sem mastro, nem verga fizeraõ no pè do mastro grande que lhe ficou, hum mastarêo de hum pedaço de entena bem pregada, e com as melhores arreataduras que pudèraõ: e nelle guarneçèraõ huma verga para a vèla da guia, e da outra entena fizèraõ huma verga para papafigo, e com alguns pedaços de vèlas velhas tornàraõ a guarnecer esta verga grande; e outro tanto fizeraõ para o mastro de proa; e ficou isto tão remendado e fraco, que bastava qualquer vento para lhos tornar a levar.

E como tiveraõ tudo guarneçido dèraõ às vèlas com o vento Susuèste. E como o lème vinha já com tres ferros menos, que eraõ os principaes, não lhe quiz a Nao governar, senaõ com muito trabalho, e já entaõ as escotas lhe serviaõ de léme. E hindo assim, foy o vento crescendo, e a Nao aguçou de lò, e poz-se toda a corda, sem querer dar pelo lème, nem escotas. E dèsta vez lhe tornou a levar o vento a vèla grande, e a que lhes servia

de guia; e vendo-se outra vez desaparelhados de vèlas, acodiraõ à vèla da proa, e entaõ se atravessou a Nao, e começou de trabalhar: e por o lème ser podre hum mar que lhe entaõ deu, lho quebrou pelo meyo, e levoulhe logo ametade, e todos os machos ficàraõ metidos nas femeas. Por onde se deve ter grande recato nos lèmes, e vèlas das Naos, por causa de tantos trabalhos, quantos saõ os que nesta carreira se passao.

Quem entender bem o mar, ou todos os que nisto bem cuidarem, poderáo ver qual ficaria Manoel de Sousa com sua mulher, e aquella gente, quando se visse em huma Nao em Cabo de Boa Esperança, sem lème, sem mastro, e sem vèlas, nem de que as poder fazer; e já neste tempo trabalhava a Nao tanto, e fazia tanta agoa, que houvèraõ por melhor remedio para se não hirem ao fundo a pique cortàrem o mastro da proa que lhe fazia abrir a Nao; e estando para o cortar lhe deo hum mar taõ grande que lho quebrou pelos tamboretos, e lho lançou ao mar sem elles porem mais trabalho que o que tiveraõ em lhe cortar a enxarcea; e ao cahir do mastro deu hum golpe muito grande no gurupés, que lho lançou fóra da carlinga, e lho meteo por dentro da Nao quasi todo; e ainda foy algum remedio para lhe ficar alguma arvore; mas como tudo eraõ prognosticos de mayores trabalhos, nenhuma diligencia por seos peccados lhe aproveitava. Ainda a este tempo não tinhaõ vista da terra, despois que arribàraõ do Cabo, mas seriaõ della quinze athè vinte legoas.

Desde que se viraõ sem mastro, sem lème, e sem vèlas, ficoulhe a Nao lançada no bordo da terra: e vendo-se Manoel de Sousa, e Officiaes sem nenhum remedio, determinàraõ o melhor que pudèraõ de fazer hum lème, e de alguma roupa que traziaõ de mercadorias, fazerem algum remedio de vèlas, com que pudessem vir a Moçambique. E logo com muita diligencia repartiraõ a gente, parte na obra do lème, e parte em guarnecer alguma arvore, e a outra em fazer alguma maneira de vèlas, e nisto gastariaõ dez dias. E tendo o lème feito, quando o quizeraõ meter, lhe ficou estreito e curto, e não lhe servio; e todavia dèraõ às vèlas que tinhaõ, para ver se haveria algum remedio de salvaçaõ, e foraõ para lançar o lème, e a Nao lhe não quiz governar de nenhum modo, porque não tinhaõ a vitóla do outro que o mar lhe levàra, e já entaõ tinhaõ vista da terra. E isto era aos oito de Junho; e vendo-se taõ perto da Costa, e que o mar e o vento os hia levando para a terra, e que não tinhaõ outro remedio se

naõ hir varar, e por se naõ hirem ao fundo, se encomendãraõ a Deos, e já entãõ hia a Nao aberta, que por milagre de Deos se sustentãva sobre o mar.

Vendose Manoel de Sousa taõ perto da terra, e sem nenhum remedio, tomou o parecer de seos Officiaes, e todos disserãõ, que para remedio de salvarem suas vidas do mar, era bom conselho deixãrem-se hir assim athè serem em dez braças, e como achassem o dito fundo surgissem para lançãrem o Batel fóra para sua desembarcaçaõ; e lançãraõ logo huma manchûa com alguns homens que fossem vigiar a praya, onde dava melhor jazigo para poderem desembarcar, com acordo, que tanto que surgissem no Batel, e na manchûa, depois da gente ser desembarcada, tirarem o mantimento, e armas que pudessem, que a mais fazenda que do Galeao se podia salvar, era para mais perdição sua, por causa dos Cafres que os haviaõ de roubar. E sendo assim com este conselho, foraõ arribando ao som do mar e vento, alargando de huma banda, e caçando da outra; já o lème naõ governava com mais de quinze palmos de agoa debaixo da cuberta. E hindo já a Nao perto de terra, lançãraõ o prumo, e achãraõ ainda muito fundo, e deixãraõ-se hir: e d'alli a hum grande espaço tornou a manchûa à Nãõ, e disse que perto d'alli havia huma praya onde poderiaõ desembarcar, se a pudessem tomar; e que todo o mais era rócha talhada, e grande penedia, onde naõ havia maneira de salvaçaõ.

Verdadeiramente que cuidarem os homens bem nisto, faz grande espanto! Vem com este Galeao varar em terra de Cafres, havendo-o por melhor remedio para suas vidas, sendo este taõ perigoso: e por aqui veraõ para quantos trabalhos estavaõ guardados Manoel de Sousa, sua mulher, e filhos. Tendo já recado da manchûa, trabalhãraõ por hir contra aquella parte, onde lhe demorava a praya, athè chegarem ao lugar, que a manchua lhe tinha ditto, e já entãõ craõ sette braças, onde largãraõ huma ancora, e apozisso com muita diligencia guarneçãraõ aparelhos, com que lançãraõ fóra o Batel.

A primeira cousa que fizeraõ, como tiverãõ Batel fóra, foy portar outra ancora à terra, e já o vento era mais bonança, e o Galeaõ estava da terra dous tiros de bésta. E vendo Manoel de Sousa como o Galeao se lhe hia ao fundo sem nenhum remedio, chamou ao Mestre, e Piloto, e disselhes, que a primeira cousa que fizessem fosse pollo em terra com sua mulher e filhos, com vinte

homens, que estivessem em sua guarda, e apozisto tirasse as armas, e mantimentos, e polvora, e alguma roupa de Cambraya, para ver se havia na terra alguma maneira de resgate de mantimentos. E isto com fundamento de fazer fórte naquelle lugar com tranqueiras de pipas, e fazerem alli algum Caravelaõ da madeira da Nao, em que pudessem mandar recado a Sofála. Mas como já estava de cima, que acabasse este Capitaõ com sua mulher, e filhos, e toda sua companhia, nenhum remedio se podia cuidar, a que a fortuna naõ fosse contraria; que tendo este pensamento de alli se fazer fórte, lhe tornou o vento a ventar com tanto impeto, e o mar cresceo tanto, que deo com o Galeaõ à cósta, por onde naõ puderaõ fazer nada do que cuidaraõ. A este tempo Manoel de Sousa, sua mulher, e filhos, e obra de trinta pessoas em terra, e toda a mais gente estava no Galeaõ. Dizer o perigo que tivèraõ na desembarcaõ o Capitaõ, e sua mulher com estas trinta pessoas, fora escusado; mas por contar historia verdadeira, e lastimosa, direy, que de tres vezes que a manchua foy à terra se perdeu, donde morrèraõ alguns homens, dos quaes, hum era o filho de Bento Rodrigues; e athè entaõ o Batel naõ tinha hido à terra, que naõ ouzavaõ de o mandar, porque o mar andava muy bravo, e por a manchua ser mais leve, escapou aquellas duas vezes primeiras.

Vendo o Mestre, e Piloto, com a mais gente que ainda estava na Nao, que o Galeaõ hia sobre a amarra da terra, e entenderem que a amarra de mar se lhe cortàra, porque o fundo era çujo, e havia dous dias que estavaõ surtos, e em amanhecendo ao terceiro dia, que viraõ que o Galeaõ ficava só sobre a amarra da terra, e o vento começava a ventar, disse o Piloto à outra gente, a tempo que já a Nao tocava: Irmãos, antes que a Nao abra, e se nos vâ ao fundo, quem se quizer embarcar comigo naquelle Batel o poderà fazer, e se foy embarcar, e fez embarcar o Mestre, que era homem velho, e a quem fallecia já o espirito por sua idade: e com grande trabalho, por ser o vento fórte, se embarcàraõ no dito Batel obra de quarenta pessoas, e o mar andava taõ grosso em terra, que deitou o Batel em terra feito em pedaços na praya. E quiz Nosso Senhor, que desta batelada naõ morreo ninguem, que foy milagre, porque antes de vir a terra o çoçobrou o mar.

O Capitaõ, que o dia d'antes se desembarcàra, andava na praya esforçando os homens, e dando a maõ aos que podia, os levava ao fogo que tinha feito, porque o frio era grande. Na Nao ficàraõ

ainda o melhor de quinhentas pessoas, a saber: duzentos Portuguezes, e os mais escravos; em que entrava Duarte Fernandes Contra-Mestre do Galeão, e o Guardiaõ; e estando ainda assim a Nao, que já dava muitas pancadas, lhes pareceo bom conselho alargarem a amarra por maõ, porque fosse a Nao bem à terra, e nao a quizerão cortar porque a ressáca os nao tornasse para o pègo; e como a Nao se assentou, em pouco espaço se partio pelo meyo, a saber do mastro àvante hum pedaço, e outro do mastro à rè, e dahi a obra de huma hora aquelles dous pedaços se fizeraõ em quatro, e como as aberturas foraõ arrombadas, as fazendas, e caixas vieraõ acima, e a gente que estava na Nao, se lançou sobre a caixaria, e madeira à terra. Morrêraõ em se lançando, mais de quarenta Portuguezes, e settenta Escravos; a mais gente veyo à terra por cima do mar, e alguma por baixo, como a Nosso Senhor aprouve; e muita della ferida dos prègos, e madeira. D'alli a quatro horas era o Galeão desfeito, sem delle apparecer pedaço tamanho como huma braça, e tudo o mar deitou em terra, com grande tempestade.

E a fazenda que no Galeão hia, assim del-Rey, como de partes, dizem que valia hum conto de ouro: porque desde que a India he descuberta, athè entãõ naõ partio Nao de lá taõ rica. E por se desfazer a Nao en tantas migalhas, naõ pode o Capitaõ Manoel de Sousa fazer a embarcaçaõ que tinha determinado, que naõ ficou Batel, nem cousa sobre que pudesse armar o Caravela, nem de que o fazer, por onde lhe foy necessario tomar outro conselho.

Vendo o Capitaõ, e sua companhia, que naõ tinhaõ remedio de embarcaçaõ, com conselho dos seos Officiaes, e dos homens fidalgos, que em sua companhia levava, que era Pantaleão de Sã, Tristaõ de Sousa, Amador de Sousa, e Diogo Mendes Dourado de Setuval. Assentáraõ, que deviaõ de estar naquella praya, onde sahírao do Galeão, alguns dias, pois alli tinhaõ agoa, athè lhe convalecèrem os doentes. Entãõ fizeraõ suas Tranqueiras de algumas arcas, e pipas, e estiveraõ alli doze dias, e em todos elles lhe naõ veyo falar nenhum negro da terra; sómente aos tres primeiros apparecêraõ nove Cafres em hum outeiro, e alli estariaõ duas horas, sem terem nenhuma fala com nosco; e como espantados se tornáraõ a hir. E d'alli a dous dias lhe pareceo bem mandarem hum homem, e hum Cafre do mesmo Galeão, para ver se achavaõ alguns Negros, que com elles quizessem falar para resgatarem algum mantimêto. E estes audàraõ lá dous dias sem

acharem pessoa viva, senão algumas casas de palha despovoadas, por onde entendêraõ, que os Negros fugiraõ com medo, e entaõ se tornáraõ ao arrayal, e em algumas das casas acháraõ frêchas metidas, que dizem que he o seo sinal de guerra.

D'alli a tres dias, estando naquelle lugar, onde escapáraõ do Galeaõ, lhe apparecêraõ em hum outeiro sette, ou outo Cafres com huma vaca preza, e por acenos os fizeraõ os Christãos descer abaixo, e o Capitaõ com quatro homens foy falar com elles, e depois de os ter seguros, lhe dissêraõ os Negros por acenos, que queriaõ ferro. Entaõ o Capitaõ mandou pôr meya duzia de prêgos, e lhos amostrou, e elles folgáraõ de os ver, e se chegáraõ entaõ mais para os nossos, e começáraõ a tratar o preço da vaca, e estando já concertados, apparecêraõ cinco Cafres em outro outeiro, e começáraõ a brâdar por sua lingoa, que não dêssem a vaca a troco de prêgos. Entaõ se foraõ estes Cafres, levando consigo a vaca, sem falar palavra. E o Capitaõ lhe não quiz tomar a vaca, tendo della muy grande necessidade para sua mulher, e filhos.

Assim esteve sempre com muito cuidado, e vigia, levantando-se cada noite tres e quatro vezes a rondar os quartos, o que era grande trabalho para elle; e assim estiveraõ doze dias athè que a gente lhe convaleceo; no cabo dos quaes vendo que já estavaõ todos para caminhar, os chamou a conselho, sobre o que deviaõ fazer, e antes de praticarem o caso, lhes fez huma fala desta maneira.

Amigos e Senhores: bem vedes o estado a que por nossos peccados somos chegados, e eu creyo verdadeiramente que os meos só bastavaõ para por elles sermos pôstos em tamanhas necessidades, como vedes que temos; mas he Nosso Senhor taõ piedoso, que ainda nos faz tamanha mercè, que nos não fossemos ao fundo naquella Nao, trazendo tanta quantidade de agoa debaixo das cubertas; prazeraõ a elle, que pois foy servido de nos levar a terra de Christãos, e os que nesta demanda acabâraõ com tantos trabalhos, haverà por bem que sejaõ para salvaçaõ de suas almas. Estes dias, que aqui estivemos, bem vedes, Senhores, que foraõ necesarios para nos convalecerem os doentes que traziamos; já agora, Nosso Senhor seja louvado, estaõ para caminhar; e por tanto vos ajuntey aqui para assentarmos que caminho havemos de tomar para remedio de nossa salvaçaõ, que a determinaçaõ, que traziamos de fazer alguma embarcaçaõ, se nos atalhou como



vistes, por não podermos salvar da Nao cousa nenhuma, para a podermos fazer. E pois Senhores e Irmãos, vos vay a vida, como a mim, nao serà razao fazer, nem determinar cousa sem conselho de todos. Huma mercè vos quero pedir, a qual he que me nao desampareis, nem deixeis, dado caso que eu nao possa andar tanto, como os que mais andarem, por causa de minha mulher, e filhos. E assim todos juntos quererà Nosso Senhor pela sua misericordia ajudarnos.

Despois de feita esta fala, e praticarem todos no caminho que haviaõ de fazer, visto não haver outro remedio, assentãraõ, que deviaõ de caminhar com a melhor ordem que pudessem ao longo dessas prayas caminho do Rio, que descobrio Lourenço Marques, e lhe prometãraõ de nunca o desamparar: e logo o puzeraõ por obra; ao qual Rio haveria cento e outenta legoas por costa, mas elles andãraõ mais de trezentas pelos muitos rodeyos, que fizeraõ em quererem passar os rios, e brejos, que achavaõ no caminho: e despois tornavaõ ao mar, no que gastãraõ cinco mezes e meyo.

Desta praya onde se perdãraõ em 31 grãos aos sette de Julho de cincoenta e dous, começãraõ a caminhar com esta ordem, que se segue: a saber Manoel de Sousa com sua mulher e filhos com outenta Portuguezes, e com Escravos, e Andrè Vãs o Piloto na sua companhia com huma bandeira com hum Crucifixo erguido, caminhava na vanguarda, e D. Leonor sua mulher, levavaõna Escravos em hum andor. Logo atràs vinha o Mestre do Galeaõ com a gente do mar, e com as Escravas. Na retaguarda caminhava Pantaleaõ de Sã com o resto dos Portuguezes, e Escravos, que seriaõ athè duzentas pessoas, e todas juntas seriaõ quinhentas; das quaes eraõ cento e outenta Portuguezes. Desta maneira caminhãraõ hum mez com muitos trabalhos, fômes, e sedes, porque em todo este tempo não comiaõ senaõ o arroz que escapãra do Galeaõ, e algumas frutas do mato, que outros mantimentos da terra não achavaõ, nem quem os vendesse; por onde passãraõ taõ grande esterilidade, qual se não pòde crer, nem escrever.

Em todo este mez poderiaõ ter caminhado cem legoas: e pelos grandes rodeyos, que faziaõ no passar dos Rios, não teriaõ andado trinta legoas por Còsta: e jã entãõ tinhaõ perdidas dez, ou doze pessoas; só hum filho bastardo de Manoel de Sousa de dez ou onze annos, que vindo jã muito fraco da fôme, elle, e hum Escravo, que o trazia às còstas, se deixãraõ ficar atràs. Quando Manoel de Sousa perguntou por elle, que lhe disserãõ que ficava atràs obra

de meya legoa, esteve para perder o sizo, e por lhe parecer que vinha na trazeira com seo tio Pantaleaõ de Sã, como algumas vezes acontecia, o perdeo assim; e logo prometteo quinhentos cruzados a dous homens, que tornassem em busca delle, mas não houve quem os quizesse aceitar, por ser já perto da noite, e por causa dos Tigres, e Leoens; porque como ficava o homem atrás, o comiao; por onde lhe foy forçado não deixar o caminho que levava, e deixar assim o filho, onde lhe ficáraõ os olhos. E aqui se poderã ver quantos trabalhos foraõ os deste Fidalgo antes de sua morte. Era tambem perdido Antonio de Sampayo sobrinho de Lopo Vãs de Sampayo, Governador que foy da India: e cinco, ou seis homens Portuguezes, e alguns Escravos de pura fõme, e trabalho do caminho.

Neste tempo tinhaõ já pelejado algumas vezes, mas sempre os Cafres levavaõ a peyor, e em huma briga lhe matáraõ Diogo Mendes Dourado, que athè sua morte tinha pelejado muy bem como valente Cavalleiro. Era tanto o trabalho, assim da vigia, como da fõme, e caminho, que cada dia desfallecia mais a gente, e não havia dia que não ficasse huma ou duas pessoas por essas prayas, e pelos matos, por não poderem caminhar; e logo eraõ comidos dos Tigres, e Serpentes, por haver na terra grande quantidade. E certo, que ver ficar estes homens, que cada dia lhe ficavaõ vivos por esses desertos, era cousa de grande dor e sentimento para huns, e para outros; porque o que ficava, dizia aos outros que caminhavaõ de sua companhia, por ventura a pays, e a irmãos, e amigos, que se fossem muito embora, que os encomendassem ao Senhor Deos. Fazia isto tamanha magoa ver ficar o parente, e o amigo sem lhe poder valer, sabendo que d'alli a pouco espaço havia de ser comido de Féras Alimarias; que pois faz tanta magoa a quem o ouve, quanta mais fará a quem o vio e passou.

Com grandissima desaventura hindo assim proseguindo, ora se metiao no sertao a buscar de comer, e a passar rios, e se tornavao ao longo do mar sobindo serras muy altas: ora descendo outras de grandissimo perigo; e nao bastavao ainda estes trabalhos, senao outros muitos, que os Cafres lhe davao. E assim caminharã obra de dous mezes e meyo, e tanta era a fõme, e a sede que tinhaõ, que os mais dos dias aconteciaõ cousas de grande admiraçaõ, das quaes contarey algumas mais notaveis.

Aconteceo muitas vezes entre esta gente vender-se hum pucaro

de agoa de hum quartilho por dez cruzados, e em hum caldeiraõ que levava quatro canadas, se fazia cem cruzados; e porque nisto às vezes havia desordem, o Capitaõ mandava buscar hum caldeiraõ della, por naõ haver outra vasilha mayor na companhia, e dava por isso a quem a hia buscar cem cruzados: e elle por sua maõ a repartia, e a que tomava para sua mulher, e filhos, era a outo e dez cruzados o quartilho; e pela mesma maneira repartia a outra, de modo que sempre pudesse remediar, que com o dinheiro, que em dia se fazia naquella agoa, ao outro houvesse quem a fosse buscar, e se puzesse a esse risco pelo interesse. E alèm disto passavaõ grandes fõmes, e davaõ muito dinheiro por qualquer peixe que se achava na praya, ou por qualquer animal do monte.

Vindo caminhando por suas jornadas, segundo era a terra que achavaõ, e sempre com os trabalhos que tenho dito: seriaõ já passados tres mezes que caminhavaõ com determinação de buscar aquelle Rio de Lourenço Marques, que he a agoada de Boa Paz. Havia já muitos dias que se naõ mantinhaõ senaõ de frutas, que acuso se achavaõ, e de ossos torrados: e aconteceu muitas vezes vender-se no arrayal huma pelle de huma cabra por quinze cruzados: e ainda que fosse seca a lançavaõ na agoa, e assim a comiaõ.

Quando caminhavaõ pelas prayas, mantinhaõ-se com marisco, ou peixe, que o mar lançava fóra. E no cabo deste tempo vieraõ ter com hum Cafre, senhor de duas Aldeas, homem velho, e que lhes pareceo de boa condiçaõ, e assim o era pelo agazalho, que nelle achãraõ, e lhes disse, que naõ passassem d'alli, que estivessem em sua companhia, e que elle os manteria o melhor que pudesse; porque na verdade aquella terra era falta de mantimentos, naõ por ella os deixar de dar, senaõ porque os Cafres saõ homens que naõ semeaõ senaõ muito pouco, nem comem senaõ do gado bravo que mataõ.

Assim que este Rey Cafre apertou muito com Manoel de Sousa, e sua gente que estivera com elle, dizendo-lhe que tinha guerra com outro Rey, por onde elles haviaõ de passar, e queria sua ajuda: e que se passassem àvante, que soubessem certo que haviaõ de ser roubados deste Rey, que era mais poderoso que elle; de maneira que pelo proveito, e ajuda que esperava desta companhia, e tambem pela noticia que já tinha de Portuguezes por Lourenço Marques, e Antonio Caldeira, que alli estiveraõ, trabalhava quanto podia, porque d'alli naõ passassem; e estes

dous homens lhe puzeraõ nome Garcia de Sà, por ser velho, e ter muito o parecer com elle, e ser bom homem, que não ha duvida, senaõ que em todas as Naçoens ha mãos, e bons; e por ser tal fazia agazalhos; e honrava aos Portuguezes: e trabalhou quanto pode que não passassem àvante, dizendo-lhe que haviaõ de ser roubados daquelle Rey, com que elle tinha guerra. E em se determinar se detiveraõ alli seis dias. Mas como parece que estava determinado acabar Manoel de Sousa nesta jornada com a mayor parte de sua companhia, não quizeraõ seguir o conselho deste Reyzinho, que os desenganava.

Vendo o Rey, que todavia o Capitaõ determinava de se partir d'alli, lhe pedio que antes que se partisse, o quizesse ajudar com alguns homens de sua companhia contra hum Rey, que atràs lhe ficava; e parecêdolhe a Manoel de Sousa, e aos Portuguezes, que se não podiaõ escusar de fazer o que lhe pedia, assim pelas boas obras, e agazalho, que delle recebêraõ, como por razaõ de o não escandalizar, que estava em seu poder, e de sua gente; pedio a Pantaleaõ de Sà seo cunhado, que quizesse hir com vinte homens Portuguezes ajudar ao Rey seu amigo; foy Pantaleaõ de Sà com os vinte homens, e quinhentos Cafres, e seos Capitães, e tornaraõ atráz por onde elles já tinhaõ passado seis legoas, e peleijaraõ com hum Cafre, que andava levantado, e tomaraõlhe todo o gado, que são os seos despojos, e trouxeraõ-no ao Arrayal adonde estava Manoel de Sousa com ElRey, e nisto gastaraõ cinco ou seis dias.

Despois que Pantaleaõ de Sà veyo daquella guerra em que foy ajudar ao Reyzinho, e a gente que com elle foy, e descançou do trabalho que lá tiveraõ; tornou o Capitaõ a fazer conselho sobre a determinação de sua partida, e foy taõ fraco, que assentaraõ que deviaõ de caminhar, e buscar aquelle Rio de Lourenço Marques, e não sabiaõ que estavaõ nelle. E porque este Rio he o da agoa de Boa Paz com tres braços, que todos vem entrar ao mar em huma fôz, e elles estavaõ no primeiro: E sem embargo de verem alli huma gota vermelha, que era sinal de virem já alli Portuguezes, os cegou a sua fortuna, que não quizeraõ senaõ caminhar àvante. E porque haviaõ de passar o Rio, e não podia ser senaõ em Almadias, por ser grande, quiz o Capitaõ ver se podia tomar sette ou oito Almadias, que estavaõ fechadas com cadeas, para passar nellas o Rio, que ElRey não lhas queria dar, porque toda a maneira buscava para não passarem, pelos dezejões que tinha de os ter consigo. E para isso mandou certos homens a ver se

podiaõ tomar as Almadias ; dous dos quaes vieraõ, e disseraõ que lhe era cousa difficultosa para se poder fazer. E os que se deixaraõ ficar já com malicia, houveraõ huma das Almadias à maõ, e embarcãrãõ-se nella, e foraõ-se pelo Rio abaixo, e deixaraõ a seo Capitaõ. E vendo elle que nenhuma maneira havia de passar o Rio, senaõ por vontade do Rey, lhe pedio o quizesse mandar passar da outra banda nas suas Almadias, e que elle pagaria bem à gente que os levasse ; e pelo contentar lhe deo algumas das suas armas, porque o largasse, e o mandasse passar.

Entaõ o Rey foy em pessoa com elle, e estando os Portuguezes receosos de alguma trayçaõ ao passar do Rio, lhe rogou o Capitaõ Manoel de Sousa, que se tornasse ao lugar com sua gente, e que o deixasse passar à sua vontade com a sua, e lhe ficassem sómente os negros das Almadias. E como no Reyzinho negro não havia malicia, mas antes os ajudava no que podia, foy cousa leve de acabar com elle que se tornasse para o Lugar, e logo se foy, e deixou passar à sua vontade. Entaõ mandou Manoel de Sousa passar trinta homens da outra banda nas Almadias, com tres espingardas ; e como os trinta homens foraõ da outra banda, o Capitaõ, sua mulher e filhos passãrãõ àlem, e apoz elles toda a mais gente, e athè entaõ nunca foraõ roubados, e logo se puzeraõ em ordem de caminhar.

Haveria cinco dias : que caminhavaõ para o segundo Rio, e teriaõ andado vinte legoas quando chegãrãõ ao Rio do meyo, e alli achãrãõ negros, que os encaminhãrãõ para o mar, e isto era já ao Sol posto : e estando à borda do Rio, viraõ duas Almadias grandes, e alli assentãrãõ o Arrayal em huma area onde dormiraõ aquella noite : e este Rio era salgado, e não havia nenhuma agoa doce ao redor, senaõ huma que lhe ficava atrás. E de noite foy a sede tamanha no Arrayal, que se houveraõ de perder : quiz Manoel de Sousa mandar buscar alguma agoa, e não houve quem quizesse hir menos de cem cruzados cada caldeirão, e os mandou buscar, e em cada hũ dia fazia duzentos ; e se o não fizera assim, não se pudera valer.

E sendo o comer tão pouco como atrás digo, a sede era desta maneira ; porque queria Nosso Senhor que a agoa lhe servisse de mantimentos. Estando naquelle Arrayal ao outro dia perto da noite, virãõ chegar as tres Almadias de negros, que lhe disserãõ por huma negra do Arrayal, que começava já entender alguma cousa, que alli viera hum Navio de homens como elles, e que já

era hido. Então lhe mandou dizer Manoel de Sousa se os querião passar da outra banda: e os negros responderão, que era já noite (porque Cafres nenhuma cousa fazem de noite) que ao outro dia os passarião se lhe pagasse. Como amanheceo vierão os negros com quatro Almadias, e sobre preço de huns poucos de prégos, começãrão a passar a gente, passando primeiro o Capitão alguma gente para guarda do passo, e embarcando-se em huma Almadia com sua mulher e filhos, para da outra banda esperar o resto da sua companhia; e com elle hião as outras tres Almadias carregadas de gente.

Tambem se diz que o Capitão vinha já naquelle tempo maltratado do miolo, da muita vigia, e muito trabalho, que carregou sempre nelle, mais que em todos os outros. E por vir já desta maneira, e cuidar que lhe querião os negros fazer alguma traição, lançou mao à espada, e arrancou della para os negros, que hiao remando dizendo; Perros, aonde me levais?

Vendo os negros a espada nua, saltãrão ao mar, e alli esteve em risco de se perder. Então lhe disse sua mulher, e alguns que com elles hião, que não fizesse mal aos negros, que se perderiaõ. Em verdade, quem conhecera a Manoel de Sousa, e soubera sua descrição, e brandura, e lhe vira fazer isto, bem poderia dizer que já nao hia em seu perfeito juizo; porque era discreto, e bem ettentado: e d'alli por diante ficou de maneira, que nunca mais governou a sua gente, como athè alli o tinha feito. E chegando da outra banda, se queixou muito da cabeça, e nella lhe atãrão toalhas, e alli se tornãrão a ajuntar todos.

Estando já da outra banda para começar a caminhar, virão hum golpe de Cafres, e vendo-os se puzerão em som de pelejar, cuidando que vinhão para os roubar: e chegando perto da nossa gente, começãrão a ter fala huns com os outros, perguntando os Cafres aos nossos, que gente era, ou que buscava? Responderão-lhe que erão Christãos, que se perdẽrão em huma Nao, e que lhe rogavão os guiassem para hum Rio grande que estava mais àvante, e que se tinham mantimentos, que lhos trouxessem, e lhos comprariaõ. E por huma Cafra, que era de Sofála, lhe disserão os negros, que se queriaõ mantimentos, que fossem com elles a hum lugar onde estava o seu Rey, que lhe faria muito agazalho. A este tempo seriaõ ainda cento e vinte pessoas; e já entãõ D. Leonor era huma das que caminhavaõ a pè, e sendo huma mulher Fidalga, delicada, e moça, vinha por aquelles asperos caminhos

taõ trabalhosos, como qualquer robusto homem do campo, e muitas vezes consolava as da sua companhia, e ajudava a trazer seus filhos. Isto foy depois que naõ houve Escravos para o andar em que vinha. Parece verdadeiramente que a graça de Nosso Senhor supria aqui; porque sem ella naõ pudèra huma mulher taõ fraca, e taõ pouco costumada a trabalhos, andar taõ cumpridos, e asperos caminhos, e sempre com tantas fômes, e sedes, que já entaõ passavaõ de trezentas legoas as que tinhao andado, por causa dos grandes rodeyos.

Tornando à Historia. Depois que o Capitaõ, e sua companhia tiveraõ entendido, que o Rey estava perto d'alli, tomãraõ os Cafres por sua guia; e com muito recato caminhãraõ com elles para o lugar que lhe diziaõ, com tanta fôme, e sede, quanto Deos sabe. Dalli ao Lugar onde estava o Rey havia huma legoa, e como chegãraõ, lhe mandou dizer o Cafre, que naõ entrassem no Lugar; porque he cousa que elles muito escondem, mas que se fossem pôr ao pè de humas arvores, que lhe mostrãraõ, e que alli lhe mandaria dar de comer. Manoel de Sousa o fez assim, como homem que estava em terra alhea, e que naõ tinhaõ sabido tanto dos Cafres, como agora sabemos por esta perdiçaõ, e pela da Nao S. Bento, que cem homens de espingarda atravessariaõ toda a Cafraria; porque mayor medo tem dellas, que do mesmo demonio.

Depois de assim estar agazalhado à sombra das arvores, lhe começou a vir algum mantimento por seo resgate de prègos. E alli estiveraõ cinco dias, parecendo-lhe que poderiaõ estar athè vir Navio da India, e assim lho diziaõ os negros. Entaõ pedio Manoel de Sousa huma casa ao Rey Cafre para se agazalhar com sua mulher e filhos. Respondeo-lhe o Cafre, que lha dariaõ; mas que a sua gente naõ podia estar alli junta, porque se naõ poderia manter por haver falta de mantimentos na terra: que ficasse elle com sua mulher e filhos, com algumas pessoas quaes elle quizesse, e a outra gente se repartisse pelos Lugares: e que elle lhe mandaria dar mantimentos, e casas athè vir algum Navio. Isto era a ruindade do Rey, segundo parece, pelo que ao depois lhe fez; por onde està clara a razaõ que disse, que os Cafres tem grande medo de espingardas; porque naõ tendo alli os Portuguezes mais que cinco espingardas, e athè cento e vinte homens, se naõ atreveo o Cafre a pelear com elles; e a fim de os roubar os apartou huns dos outros para muitas partes, como homens que estavaõ tuõ chegados à morte de fôme; e naõ sabendo quanto

melhor fora não se apartarem, se entregãrão à fortuna, e fizeram a vontade àquelle Rey, que tratava sua perdição, e nunca quizerão tomar o conselho do Reyziinho, que lhes falava verdade, e lhes fez o bem que pode. E por aqui verão os homens, como nunca haõ de dizer, nem fazer cousa em que cuidem que elles saõ os que acertaõ ou põdem, senaõ pôr tudo nas mãos de Deos Nosso Senhor.

Despois que o Rey Cafre teve assentado com Manoel de Sousa, que os Portuguezes se dividissem por diversas Aldeas, e Lugares para se poderem manter, lhe disse tambem que elle tinha alli Capitães secs, que haviaõ de levar a sua gente, a saber, cada hũ os que lhe entregassem para lhe darem de comer; e isto não podia ser senaõ com elle mandar aos Portuguezes, que deixassem as armas, porque os Cafres haviaõ medo delles em quanto as viaõ: e que elle as mandaria meter em huma casa, para lhas dar tanto que viesse o Navio dos Portuguezes.

Como Manoel de Sousa já entaõ andava muito doente, e fóra de seo perfeito juizo, não respondeo, como fizera estando em seo entendimento; respondeo, que elle falaria com os seos. Mas como a hora fosse chegada, em que havia de ser roubado, falou com elles, e lhes disse: Que nem havia de passar d'alli, de huma ou de outra maneira havia de buscar remedio de Navio, ou outro qualquer que Nosso Senhor delle ordenasse; porque aquelle Rio em que estavaõ, era de Lourenço Marques; e o seo Piloto André Vàs assim lho dizia: que quem quizesse passar d'alli, que o poderia fazer, se lhe bem parecesse, mas que elle não podia, por amor de sua mulher e filhos, que vinha já muy debilitada dos grandes trabalhos, que não podia já andar, nem tinha Escravos que o ajudassem. E por tanto a sua determinação era acabar com sua familia, quando Deos disso fosse servido: e que lhe pedia, que os que d'alli passassem, e fossem ter com alguma embarcação de Portuguezes, que lhe trouxessem ou mandassem as novas, e os que alli quizessem ficar com elle, o poderiaõ fazer; e por onde elle passasse passariaõ elles.

E porèm que para os negros se fiarem delles e não cuidarem que eraõ ladroens, que andavaõ a roubar, que era necessario entregarem as armas, para remediar tanta desaventura como tinhaõ de fóme havia tanto tempo. E já entaõ o parecer de Manoel de Sousa, e dos que com elle consentiraõ, não eraõ de pessoas que estavaõ em si; porque se bem olharem, em quanto tiveraõ suas armas comsigo, nunca os negros chegãrão a elles. Eutaõ mandou



o Capitão que puzessem as armas, em que depois de Deos estava sua salvação, e contra a vontade de alguns, e muito mais contra a de D. Leonor, as entregaraõ; mas não houve quem o contradissesse senão ella, ainda que lhe aproveitou pouco. Entaõ disse: Vòs entregais as armas, agora me dou por perdida com toda esta gente. Os negros tomaraõ as armas, e as levãraõ a casa do Rey Cafre.

Tanto que os Cafres viraõ os Portuguezes sem armas, como já tinhaõ concertado a traiçaõ os começãraõ logo a apartar, e roubar, e os levãraõ por esses matos, cada hum como lhe cahia a sôrte. E acabado de chegarem aos Lugares, os levãraõ já despídos, sem lhe deixar sobre si cousa alguma, e com muita pancada os lançaõ fóra das Aldeas. Nesta companhia não hia Manoel de Sousa, que com sua mulher e filhos, e com o Piloto Andrè Vãs, e obra de vinte pessoas ficavaõ com o Rey, porque traziaõ muitas joyas, e rica pedraria, e dinheiro; e affirmaõ que o que esta companhia trouxe athè alli, valia mais de cem mil cruzados. Como Manoel de Sousa com sua mulher, e com aquellas vinte pessoas foy apartado da gente, foraõ logo roubados de tudo o que traziaõ, sómente os não despio: e o Rey lhe disse que se fosse muito embora em busca de sua companhia, que lhe não queria fazer mais mal, nem tocar em sua pessoa, nem de sua mulher. Quando Manoel de Sousa isto vio, bem se lembraria quaõ grande erro tinha feito em dar as armas, e foy força de fazer o que lhe mandavaõ, pois não era mais em sua mão.

Os outros companheiros, que eraõ noventa, em que entrava Pantaleaõ de Sã, e outros tres Fidalgos, ainda que todos foraõ apartados huns dos outros, poucos e poucos, segundo se acertãraõ, depois que foraõ roubados, e despídos pelos Cafres a quem foraõ entregues por o Rey, se tornãraõ a ajuntar; porque era perto huns dos outros, e juntos bem maltratados, e bem tristes, faltando-lhe as armas, vestidos, e dinheiro para resgate de seo mantimento, e sem o seo Capitão, começãraõ de caminhar.

E como já não levavaõ figura de homens, nem quem os governasse, hiaõ sem ordem, por desvairados caminhos: huns por matos, e outros por serras, se acabãraõ de espalhar, e já entaõ cada hum não curava mais que fazer aquillo em que lhe parecia que podia salvar a vida, quer entre Cafres, quer entre outros Mouros: porque já entaõ não tinha conselho, nem quem os ajuntasse para isso. E como homens que andavaõ já de todo perdidos, deixarey

agora de falar nelles, e tornarey a Manoel de Sousa, e a desditosa de sua mulher e filhos.

Vendo-se Manoel de Sousa roubado, e despedido delRey, que fosse buscar sua companhia, e que já entãõ não tinha dinheiro, nem armas, nem gente para as tomar: e dado caso que já havia dias que vinha doente da cabeça, todavia sentio muito esta afronta. Pois que se pôde cuidar de huma mulher muito delicada, vendo-se em tantos trabalhos, e com tantas necessidades; e sobre tolas, ver seu marido diante de si taõ maltratado, e que não podia já governar, nem olhar por seos filhos? Mas como mulher de bom juizo, com o parecer desses homens, que ainda tinha consigo, começãõ a caminhar por esses matos, sem nenhum remedio, nem fundamento, sómente o de Deos. A este tempo estava ainda André Vãs o Piloto em sua companhia, e o Contra-Mestre, que nunca a deixou, e huma mulher ou duas Portuguezas, e algumas Escravas. Hindo assim caminhando, lhes pareceo bom conselho seguir os noventa homens, que àvante hiaõ roubados, e havia dous dias, que caminhavaõ, seguindo suas pizadas. E D. Leonor hia já taõ fraca, taõ triste, e desconsolada, por ver seo marido da maneira que hia, e por se ver apartada da outra gente, e ter por impossivel poderse ajuntar com elles, que cuidar bem nisto, he cousa para quebrar os coraçõens! Hindo assim caminhando, tornãõ outra vez os Cafres a dar nelle, e em sua mulher, e em esses poucos que hiaõ em sua companhia, e alli os despiraõ, sem lhe deixarem sobre si cousa alguma. Vendo-se ambos desta maneira com duas crianças muito tenras diante de si deraõ graças a Nosso Senhor.

Aqui dizem, que D. Leonor se não deixava despir, e que às punhadas, e às bofetadas se defendia, porque era tal, que queria antes que a matassem os Cafres, que verse nua diante da gente, e não ha duvida que logo alli acabãra sua vida, senãõ fora Manoel de Sousa, que lhe rogou se deixasse despir, que lhe lembrava que nasceraõ nũs, e pois Deos daquillo era servido, que o fosse ella. Hum dos grandes trabalhos que sentia, era verem dous meninos pequenos seos filhos, diante de si chorando, pedindo de comer, sem lhe poderem valer. E vendo-se D. Leonor despida, lançouse logo no chaõ, e cubriose toda com os seos cabellos, que eraõ muito compridos, fazendo huma cova na area, onde se meteo athè a cintura, sem mais se erguer d'alli. Manoel de Sousa foy entãõ a huma velha sua Aya, que lhe ficãra ainda huma mantilha rota, e

lha pedio para cobrir D. Leonor, e lha deo; mas com tudo nunca mais se quiz erguer daquelle lugar, onde se deixou cahir, quando se vio nua.

Em verdade, que não sey quem por isto passe sem grande lastima, e tristeza. Ver huma mulher tão nobre, filha, e mulher de Fidalgo tão honrado, tão maltratada, e com tão pouca cortezia! Os homens que estavaõ ainda em sua companhia, quando viraõ a Manoel de Sousa, e sua mulher despidos, afastaraõ-se delles hum pedaço, pela vergonha, que houveraõ de ver assim seo Capitaõ, e D. Leonor: Entaõ disse ella a Andrè Vàs o Piloto: Bem vedes como estamos, e que já não podemos passar daqui, e que havemos de acabar por nossos peccados: hidevos muito embora, fazey por vos salvar, e encomendainos a Deos: e se fordes à India, e a Portugal em algum tempo, dizey como nos deixastes a Manoel de Sousa, e a mim com meos filhos. E elles vendo que por sua parte não podiaõ remediar a fadiga de seo Capitaõ, nem a pobreza, e miseria de sua mulher e filhos, se foraõ por esses matos, buscando remedio de vida.

Despois que Andrè Vàs se apartou de Manoel de Sousa e sua mulher, ficou com elle Duarte Fernandes Contra-Mestre do Galeaõ, e algumas Escravas, das quaes se salváraõ tres, que vieraõ a Goa, que contaõ como viraõ morrer D. Leonor. E Manoel de Sousa ainda que estava maltratado do miolo, não lhe esquecia a necessidade que sua mulher e filhos passavaõ de comer. E sendo ainda manco de huma ferida que os Cafres lhe deraõ em huma perna, assim maltratado, se foy ao mato buscar frutas para lhe dar de comer; quando tornou, achou D. Leonor muito fraca, assim de fôme, como de chorar, que despois que os Cafres a despiraõ, nunca mais d'alli se ergueo, nem deixou de chorar: e achou hum dos meninos mortos, e por sua mãõ o enterrou na area. Ao outro dia tornou Manoel de Sousa ao mato a buscar alguma fruta, e quando tornou, achou D. Leonor fallecida, e o outro menino, e sobre ella estavaõ chorando cinco Escravas com grandissimos gritos.

Dizem que elle não fez mais, quando a vio fallecida, que apartar as Escravas d'alli, e assentarse perto della, com o rosto posto sobre huma mãõ, por espaço de meya hora, sem chorar, nem dizer cousa alguma; estando assim com os olhos pòstos nella: e no menino fez pouca conta. E acabando este espaço se ergueo, e começou a fazer huma cova na area com ajuda das Escravas, e sempre sem

se falar palavra a enterrou, e o filho com ella, e acabado isto, tornou a tomar o caminho que fazia, quando hia a buscar as frutas, sem dizer nada às Escravas, e se meteo pelo mato, e nunca mais o viraõ. Parece que andando por esses matos, naõ ha dũvida senaõ que seria comido de Tigres, e Leoens. Assim acabãraõ sua vida, mulher e marido, havendo seis mezes, que caminhavaõ por terras de Cafres com tantos trabalhos.

Os homens que escapãraõ de toda esta companhia, assim dos que ficãraõ com Manoel de Sousa quando foy roubado, como dos noventa, que hiaõ diante delle caminhando, seriaõ athé outo Portuguezes, e quatorze Escravos, e tres Escravas das que estavaõ com D. Leonor ao tempo que falleceo. Entre os quaes foy Pantaleaõ de Sã, e Tristaõ de Sousa, e o Piloto Andrè Vãs, e Balthezar de Sequeira, e Manoel de Castro, e este Alvaro Fernandes. E andando estes jã na terra sem esperança de poderem vir à terra de Christãos; foy ter àquelle Rio hum Navio em que hia hum parente de Diogo de Mesquita fazer marfim, onde achando novas que havia Portuguezes perdidos pela terra, os mandou buscar, e os resgatou a troco de contas, e cada pessoa custaria dous vintens de contas, que entre os negros he cousa que elles mais estimaõ; e se neste tempo fora vivo Manoel de Sousa, tambem fora resgatado. Mas parece que foy assim melhor para sua alma, pois Nosso Senhor foy servido. E estes foraõ ter a Moçambique a vinte e cinco de Mayo de mil e quinhentos e cincoenta e tres annos.

Pantaleaõ de Sã andando vagamundo muito tempo pelas terras dos Cafres, chegou ao Paço quasi consumido com fome, nudez, e trabalho de taõ dilatado caminho, e chegando-se à porta do Paço, pedio aos Aulicos lhe alcançassem do Rey algum subsidio; recusãraõ elles pedirlhe tal cousa, desculpando-se com huma grande enfermidade, que o Rey havia tempos padecia: e perguntando-lhes o illustre Portuguez, que enfermidade era, lhe respondẽraõ, que huma chaga em huma perna taõ pertinãz, e corrupta, que todos os instantes lhe esperavaõ a morte; ovio elle com atençaõ, e pedio fizessem sabedor ao Rey da sua vinda, affirmando que era Medico, e que poderia talvez restituirlhe a saude; entraõ logo muito alegres, noticiaõ-lhe o caso, pede instantemente o Rey, que lho levem dentro; e despois que Pantaleaõ de Sã vio a chaga lhe disse: Tenha muita confiança, que facilmente receberã saude, e sahindo para fóra, se poz a

considerar a empreza em que se tinha metido, donde não poderia escapar com vida, pois não sabia cousa alguma que pudesse applicarlhe; como quem tinha aprendido mais a tirar vidas, que a curar achaques para as conservar. Nesta consideração, como quem já não fazia caso da sua, e appetecendo antes morrer huma só vez do que tantas; ourina na terra, e feito hum pouco de lodo, entrou dentro a porlho na quasi incuravel chaga. Passou pois aquelle dia, e ao seguinte, quando o illustre Sà esperava mais a sentença de sua morte, do que remedio algum para a vida tanto sua como do Rey; sahem fóra os Palacianos com notavel alvoroço, e querendo-o levar em braços, lhe perguntou a causa de taõ subita alegria; responderão que a chaga com o medicamento que se lhe applicàra, gastàra todo o podre, e apparecia só a carne, que era sãa, e boa. Entrou dentro o fingido Medico, e vendo que era como elles affirmavaõ, mandou continuar com o remedio; com o qual em poucos dias cobrou inteira saude; o que visto, àlem de outras honras puzeraõ a Pantaleaõ de Sà em hum altar, e venerando-o como divindade, lhe pedio ElRey ficasse no seo Paço, offerecendo-lhe ametade do seo Reyno; e senaõ que lhe faria tudo o que pedisse: recusou Pantaleaõ de Sà a offerta; affirmando lhe era preciso voltar para os seos. E mandando o Rey trazer huma grande quantia de ouro, e pedraria, o premiou grandemente, mandando juntamente aos seos o acompanhassem athè Moçambique.

[*English translation of the foregoing.*]

## NARRATIVE

OF THE

### WRECK OF THE GREAT GALLEON SAINT JOHN

*On the Land of Natal, in the year 1552.*

Manuel de Sousa (whom may God forgive) set out on this unfortunate voyage from Cochim on the 3rd of February of the year 1552. He started so late through going to load at Coulão, where there was but little pepper. He took in about four thousand five hundred there, and went to Cochim to finish loading with the quantity of seven thousand five hundred , which was

very difficult because of the war in Malabar, so that with this cargo he set out for Portugal, though he was able to carry twelve thousand. But though the ship carried little pepper, it was nevertheless well laden with other merchandise, which obliged them to use much caution, on account of the great risks to which heavily-laden ships are exposed.

On the 13th of April Manuel de Sousa got sight of the coast of the Cape in 32 degrees, and they came in so far because they had left India many days before, and they were long in reaching the Cape because of the bad sails which they had, which was one, and indeed the principal, cause of their loss. The pilot, André Vas, was steering his course for Cape Agulhas, but the captain, Manuel de Sousa, asked him to make for the nearest land. The pilot, in accordance with his wish, did so, for which reason they saw the Land of Natal. Being in sight of it, the wind was favourable, and they ran along the coast, taking constant soundings, till they sighted Cape Agulhas. The winds were such, that if it blew from the east one day, the next it came from the west, and it being now the 12th of May, they were south-west of the Cape of Good Hope at a distance of twenty-five leagues. There the wind blew west and west-north-west with great fury. And it being almost night the captain called the master and the pilot, and asked them what was best to be done in such weather, the wind being dead ahead, and all were of opinion that it would be well to run before it.

Their reasons for this were that the ship was very large and long, and was heavily laden with boxes and other merchandise, and they had no other sails than those on the yards, the others having been carried away by a storm on the equator, and those in use were torn and untrustworthy, and so that if they hove to and the gale increased, and it became necessary to run before it, the wind might carry away their only remaining sails, which would be prejudicial to their voyage and safety, as there were no others in the ship, and those they carried were in such a state that they spent as much time in mending them as in navigating. And one of the reasons why they had not yet doubled the Cape was the time they took in unbending the sails to sew them, therefore it would be a good plan to run before the wind with the mainsail and foresail set, for with the wind only in the foresail it was certain that it would be blown from the yard, being so old

and the weight of the ship so great, but both being set, one might support the other. And thus sailing before the wind until the Cape was a hundred and thirty leagues distant, the wind shifted to the north-east and east-north-east, and blew so furiously that they were obliged again to run to the south and south-west, and the swell from the east and the west made such a heavy sea that at each pitch of the galleon it seemed as if she would go to the bottom. Thus they proceeded for three days, at the end of which the wind fell, but the sea was still so heavy and the vessel laboured so much that they lost three pintles from the rudder, the chief part on which the safety or loss of a ship depends. This was not known to anyone but the ship's carpenter, who examined the rudder and found the pintles wanting, and told the master of it in secret, who was Christovão Fernandes da Cunha o Curto. He like a good man and a good officer told the carpenter to keep it to himself, and not to tell even the captain, for fear of terrifying those on board, and he did as directed.

In these straits, the wind from the west-south-west sprang up again, and there was a violent storm, and it seemed that God was pleased that they should then be lost, as afterwards befell them. And wearing round again, with the same sail as before, the rudder became loose and the ship refused to obey it, and luffing, the wind carried away the mainsail from the yard. Seeing themselves without this sail, and having none to replace it, they began to take in the foresail with all diligence, preferring to let the sea strike the ship abeam rather than be left with no sail at all. Before they had finished taking in the foresail, the ship veered round and three heavy seas struck her abeam, and the rolling of the vessel broke the shrouds and backstays on the larboard side, and nothing was left but the three forestays.

Seeing their rigging broken and no shrouds left on that side, they seized hawsers to replace the backstays, but while they were occupied with this, the sea was so rough that they thought it useless, and that it would be better to cut away the mast and ease the labouring of the vessel. The wind and sea were so violent that it was impossible to do anything, no man being able to keep his feet.

They had begun to cut away the mast with axes, when it snapped above the upper pulleys as if it had been cut off with one stroke, and was blown overboard on the starboard side with

the topsail and shrouds, as if it had been a feather. Then they cut away the shrouds and rigging on the other side, and everything went overboard together. Finding themselves with neither mast nor yard, they made a jury mast of a piece of timber, and secured it to the stem of the lower mast which remained, fitting to it a yard for a small stormsail. They also made of another spar a yard for a mainsail, fastening to this mainyard some pieces of old sail. They did the same for a foremast; and these sails were so worn and mended that the least wind was sufficient to carry them off again.

This being done, they set sail with the wind south-south-east. And as the rudder had lost the three principal pintles, it could not govern the ship without great difficulty, and the tacks had to serve them as a rudder. As they were proceeding thus, the wind increased and the vessel luffed, and in spite of their endeavours refused to obey the rudder or tacks. Then the wind again carried away the mainsail and that which served them as a guide, and seeing themselves again without these sails, they took in the foresail, so that the vessel veered and began to labour, and the rudder being rotten a sea broke it in the middle and carried it away, leaving the pintles in the gudgeons. By this it is seen what care should be taken of the rudders and sails of ships, which were the cause of the hardships suffered in this voyage.

Whoever understands the sea, or will consider the matter, will see the state to which Manuel de Sousa with his wife and people was now reduced, being in a ship near the Cape of Good Hope, without rudder, mast, or sails, or anything with which to make them. By this time the ship was making so much water and laboured so much that they thought it prudent to cut away the foremast which was causing her to leak, rather than risk foundering; and while they were about it a heavy sea struck the ship and snapped the mast above the cap, carrying it overboard and leaving them nothing else to do but to cut the shrouds. And the fall of the mast drew the bowsprit out of its fastenings and threw it almost entirely into the ship; but they still had some resource, for some timber still remained, but everything foretold further hardship, and, for their sins, no diligence could help them. At this time they had no sight of land since they put away from the Cape, from which they would then be from fifteen to twenty leagues distant.



When they found themselves without mast, rudder, or sails, and the ship being driven towards the land, Manuel de Sousa and his officers, seeing no other remedy, determined to make a rudder as best they could, and with some cloth which was among their merchandise to make a substitute for sails, with which they might reach Mozambique. The crew were now divided and set to work with great diligence, some to make a rudder, some to prepare masts, and some to make substitutes for sails, and in this way they spent ten days. When the rudder was finished and they were about to fix it, it was found to be too short and narrow to serve its purpose, nevertheless they set what sail they had, to see if there was any chance of salvation, and fixed the rudder; but the ship could in no way be governed by it, as they had not the measurements of that which the sea had carried away. They were now in sight of land, it being the 8th of June, and finding themselves so near the coast towards which the wind and waves were driving them, and that they had no help but to run aground, they prayed to God that they might not sink, the ship being so leaky that it only kept above water by a miracle.

Manuel de Sousa, finding himself helpless and so near to land, called a council of his officers, who were all of opinion that the only chance of saving their lives was to drift on until they found themselves in ten fathoms of water, and then to anchor and get out a boat in which they might disembark. A boat was immediately got out with some men to search the shore for the best spot at which to disembark, with the understanding that when the ship was anchored, after those on board had disembarked, as much provisions and arms as could be taken from the galleon were to be got on shore in the two boats, but that to save any other merchandise from the ship would only be to their greater loss, because the Kaffirs were sure to rob them. With this decision they drifted on with the wind and sea, now to one side and then to the other, with a useless rudder and more than fifteen spans of water below the deck. The ship being now near land, they dropped the lead, but found the water very deep, and so let her drift on. A long time afterwards the boat returned with intelligence that there was a part of the shore close by where they might disembark, if they could reach it, but all the rest was sharp rock and great boulders which offered no hope of safety.

It would truly inspire men with horror to think of their case.

They were running aground with the galleon in the land of the Kaffirs, judging it, however perilous, to be their only hope of saving their lives, by which it may be seen with what hardships Manuel de Sousa with his wife and children were encompassed. On the return of the boat they endeavoured to make for that part of the shore which offered them a chance of landing, and on reaching it found seven fathoms of water and cast an anchor, and then arranged the ropes to get out the smaller boat with all diligence.

The first thing they did when the boat was launched was to run out another anchor towards the land, and the wind was now more favourable and the galleon lay at two cross-bow shots from the shore. Manuel de Sousa, seeing that the galleon must inevitably go down, called the pilot and master and said to them that the first thing to be done was to put him ashore with his wife and children and twenty men, who were to be his guard, and then to remove the provisions, arms, and powder from the ship, as well as some cambric, in case there might be means of bartering it for provisions. This he designed with the intention of making a kind of fort there, with a barricade of barrels, and building a caravel with the ship's timbers, by which to send a message to Sofala. But it had been decreed above that this captain with his wife and children and all his company were to perish, and thus all their plans were frustrated by circumstances; for they had no sooner thought of this plan than the wind rose with great fury, and the waves increased, so that the galleon was driven on to the coast where it was impossible to put it into execution. By this time Manuel de Sousa with his wife and children and about thirty people had landed, the rest remained in the galleon. It is not necessary to dwell upon the dangers which attended the landing of the captain and his wife with the aforesaid thirty persons, but to tell the true and mournful story I will say that the third time the large boat went to shore it was lost, and several men were drowned, one of whom was the son of Bento Rodrigues; and before that they had not dared to venture to shore in the small boat, as the sea was very rough, and the large boat being lighter escaped the first two trips.

The master and the pilot, with those who remained in the ship, seeing that she was riding on the land cable and guessing that the sea cable was cut, for they had been two days anchored on a

foul bottom, and on the morning of the third day this was found to be the case, and only the land cable remained, while the wind was rising, the pilot said to the others when the vessel was already grounding: "Comrades, let those who like come with me in the boat before the ship goes to pieces and sinks." Then he embarked, helping the master to do the same, he being an old man whose spirit was failing through age. About forty persons got into the boat with great difficulty, the wind being very high, and the surf was so great that the boat was dashed to pieces on the shore. But our Lord was pleased that not a soul in it should perish, which was a miracle, for it was swamped before it was thrown on shore.

The captain, who had disembarked the day before, went to and fro on the beach, encouraging his men and helping all that he could to get to the fire he had made, for the cold was intense. There still remained in the ship nearly five hundred persons, namely two hundred Portuguese, and the rest slaves, among the former were Duarte Fernandes, the quartermaster, and the boatswain. As the ship was already bumping on the rocks, they thought it advisable to veer away the cable, that she might get well on shore, but they would not cut it, in case the ebb should carry them back to sea. As the ship settled, in a little while she parted amidships, that is one piece before and the other abaft the mainmast, and in about an hour the two pieces split into four. Her breaking up caused the merchandise and boxes to come to the surface, and those in the ship tried to get ashore upon the cases and woodwork. More than forty Portuguese and seventy slaves were killed in this endeavour, but the rest got to land, some above the waves and some under, as it pleased God, many of them wounded by the nails and woodwork. In four hours there was not a piece of the galleon as large as a man's arm remaining, and the sea cast all the débris on shore in a great tempest.

It is said that the merchandise in the ship, belonging to the king and others, was worth a million in gold, for a vessel so richly laden had not left India since it was discovered. The galleon having been dashed into such splinters, the captain Manuel de Sousa could not carry out his former plan, for no boat remained, nor anything with which to equip or make a caravel, and thus he was forced to come to some other decision.

The captain and his company, seeing that they had no means of procuring a craft, with the counsel of his officers and those of high rank among them, who were Pantaleão de Sà, Tristão de Sousa, Amador de Sousa, and Diogo Mendes Dourado de Setuval, decided that they should remain on the shore where the galleon was lost, for a few days, until the sick were convalescent, for here water was to be had. Then they made a sort of fortification with chests and barrels, and remained there twelve days, during which time they saw no negro of the country to speak to; only on the third day nine Kaffirs appeared on a hill and remained there two hours without speaking to any of our people, and then withdrew as if afraid. And two days afterwards they thought it well to send a man and one of the Kaffirs of the galleon to see if they could find any negroes who would speak and barter provisions with them. They walked for two days, finding no living being, and only a few deserted straw huts, by which they understood that the negroes had fled in fear, and they then returned to the camp. In several of the huts they found arrows (or assagais) which is said to be the savages' war signal.

Three days later, while they were still in the same place, seven or eight Kaffirs appeared upon a hill, leading a cow. By signs the Christians induced them to come down, and the captain with four men went to speak with them, and after they had reassured them, the negroes declared by signs that they wanted iron. Then the captain sent for half-a-dozen nails, which he showed to them, to their great delight; and then they drew nearer to our people and began to treat of the price of the cow, which was just settled when five Kaffirs appeared on another hill and shouted to them in their own language not to exchange the cow for nails. So the Kaffirs withdrew, taking the cow with them, without speaking a word, and the captain would not take it from them, though he was in great need of it for his wife and children.

Thus he remained in great anxiety and vigilance, rising three or four times every night to make his rounds, which was a great labour for him; and this went on for twelve days, till all the sick were convalescent. Finding that they were now in a fit state to travel, he summoned all his people to a council, to consider what was to be done, but before discussing the matter he addressed

them as follows: "Friends and gentlemen, you see the state to which we are reduced for our sins, and I truly consider my own sufficient to have brought us all to these straits, but our Lord is merciful and has shown us so much favour as to save us from going down in the ship, which had so much water under the decks, and he may be pleased to bring us into a Christian land, and for those who have perished to count the hardships they have suffered to the salvation of their souls. Gentlemen, you are well aware that the twelve days we have spent in this place were necessary for the recovery of our sick, now, thank God, in a fit state to travel, and therefore I have called you together that we may decide what road we ought to take to save ourselves, for the intention we had of building some kind of craft is frustrated, as you have seen, by our being unable to save anything from the wreck with which to build it. And thus, gentlemen and comrades, as your lives are concerned as well as mine, it is not right to come to any decision without the advice of all. I have one favour to ask of you, which is that you will not abandon or desert me in case I should be unable to keep up with the rest, on account of my wife and children. And thus all united may our Lord in His mercy be pleased to help us."

After this speech, all discussed what course should be taken, and finding there was no help for it, they decided to travel along the shore, in the best order possible, to the river discovered by Lourenço Marques, and they promised the captain never to desert him, and then proceeded to carry out their decision. There were a hundred and eighty leagues of coast between them and the said river, but they travelled more than three hundred, because of the many windings they were obliged to make to get over the rivers and marshes they found on their way, and then returning to the sea. In this journey they spent five months and a half.

From the shore where they were wrecked in 31 degrees they set out on the 7th of July 1552 in the following order: Manuel de Sousa with his wife and children and eighty Portuguese, with slaves, André Vas, the pilot, in his company with a banner of the crucifix uplifted, and his wife D. Leonor carried by slaves in a litter. These went first. Then the master of the galleon with the seamen and female slaves, and lastly Pantaleão de Sã with the rest of the Portuguese and slaves, about two hundred in all. All

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the company together numbered five hundred, of whom a hundred and eighty were Portuguese. In this manner they journeyed for a month, enduring hardships, hunger, and thirst, for during all that time they had nothing to eat but the rice which was saved from the galleon and some fruit found in the thickets, the land yielding nothing else, nor did they meet anyone from whom they could buy provisions, for the sterility of the country through which they passed was beyond description or belief.

During this month they journeyed about a hundred leagues, and because of the deviations they made to pass over the rivers the distance they covered was not thirty leagues along the coast. They had already lost ten or twelve of their number, and an illegitimate son of Manuel de Sousa about ten or eleven years of age, who was much weakened by hunger, and a slave who bore him on his shoulders were left behind. When Manuel de Sousa inquired for him, and was told he had been left about half a league behind, he was almost beside himself, because he had supposed him to be in the rear with his uncle Pantaleão de Sà, as had sometimes happened before, and thus he came to be lost. His father offered two men five hundred cruzados to return in search of him, but no one would accept the offer, for it was now near night, and anyone lingering behind was devoured by lions and tigers. So he was obliged to proceed on his way, and abandon the son who was the desire of his eyes. By this we may see the sufferings endured by that gentleman before his death. Antonio de Sampayo, nephew of Lopo Vas de Sampayo, who had been governor of India, and five or six Portuguese and several slaves had also perished of sheer hunger and the hardships of the journey.

Meanwhile they had fought several times, but the Kaffirs were always worsted, though in one skirmish they killed Diogo Mendes Dourado, who until his death fought like a gallant gentleman. The mingled hardships of vigilance, hunger, and travel were so great that more of the company failed every day, and not a day passed but one or two were left on the shore or in the thickets, unable to go a step farther, and were afterwards devoured by tigers and serpents, which are numerous in those parts. Truly to see these men left daily in the desert while still alive was a source of great sorrow and pain to all, for he who was left bade the rest of the company, perhaps his father, brothers, and friends, go

on their way, commending them to the Lord God, and bitter was the grief caused by thus abandoning relatives and friends without power to succour them, knowing that they must shortly be devoured by wild beasts. If this is heartrending to those who hear of it, how much more so to those who had to see and endure it.

Thus with great misfortunes they proceeded on their way, now penetrating the interior to pass rivers or in search of food, and then returning to the sea, climbing high mountains, and now descending others to their great peril; and as if these hardships were not sufficient, they had to endure others from the Kaffirs. In this way they travelled for about two months and a half, and such were their sufferings from hunger and thirst that extraordinary things occurred nearly every day, of which I shall relate some of the most notable.

It often happened among them that a cup of water containing three-quarters of a pint was sold for ten cruzados, and a hundred cruzados were made out of a kettle holding six quarts, and as this sometimes led to disorder the captain used to send for a kettle full of water, there being no larger vessel in the company, giving a hundred cruzados to him who brought it, and then he divided it with his own hands, paying eight or ten cruzados a measure of three-quarters of a pint for what he required for his wife and children, distributing the rest at the same price. For the money thus paid one day someone was found on the next willing to risk fetching the water for gain. Besides this they suffered great hunger, and paid heavily for any fish caught on the shore, or for any wild animal whatever.

Three months had now elapsed since they set out with the intention of reaching the river of Lourenço Marques, which is the watering-place of Boa Paz, travelling every day according to the nature of the ground, and always enduring the hardships aforesaid. For many days they had sustained themselves with such fruit as they could find and roasted bones, and it often happened in the camp that the skin of a goat was sold for fifteen cruzados, and though dry, they soaked it in water and ate it. When they journeyed along the shore they lived on the shellfish and fish which the sea cast up. At the end of three months they met with a Kaffir, the head of two kraals, an old man who seemed of good condition, and so he proved by the succour he afforded

them. He told them they would do well to go no farther, but remain in his company, and he would maintain them as well as he could, for the want of provisions in the land was not due to the barrenness of the earth but to the fact that the Kaffirs sowed but little, and lived on the wild cattle which they killed.

This Kaffir king strongly urged Manuel de Sousa and his company to remain with him, saying that he was at war with another king in the country through which they must pass, and wanted their help, and if they went forward they would certainly be robbed by that king, who was more powerful than himself. Thus on account of the benefit and assistance he hoped for from their company, and because of his previous acquaintance with the Portuguese, through Lourenço Marques and Antonio Caldeira, who had been there, he did all he could to prevent their proceeding. Those two men had given him the name of Garcia de Sà, because he was old and resembled him greatly, and was a good man (for there is no doubt that there are good and bad in all nations). Therefore he sheltered and respected the Portuguese, and did his utmost to detain them, assuring them that they would be robbed by that king with whom he was at war. And while making up their minds they remained there six days, but as it seems to have been decreed that Manuel de Sousa and most of his company should perish on that journey, they would not follow the advice of that petty king who pointed out their mistake.

The king, seeing that the captain was determined to leave that place, asked him if before he went he would help him with some men of his company against a king whom they had left in their rear, and it seemed to Manuel de Sousa and the Portuguese that they could hardly refuse to do what he asked, on account of the good offices and shelter which they owed him, and for fear of offending him, as they were in his power and among his people. Manuel de Sousa asked his brother-in-law Pantaleão de Sà if he would go with twenty men and help his friend the king. Pantaleão de Sà with the twenty men and five hundred Kaffirs and their chiefs went back six leagues on the road they had come, and fought with a rebellious Kaffir and took away all his cattle, which are their spoils, and brought them to the camp where Manuel de Sousa was with the king, which expedition occupied five or six days.



After Pantaleão de Sà returned from the war, in which he went to help the king, and he and those who went with him had rested from the labours of that expedition, the captain called a council to decide whether they should set out again, and they were so weak that they agreed to proceed in search of the river of Lourenço Marques, not knowing that they had reached it, for this river is that of the water of Boa Paz with three arms, all of which enter the sea by the same mouth, and they were on the first arm. And though they saw a red ornament which was a sign that Portuguese had been there before, their fortune blinded them, and they insisted on pushing forward. And as the river was large and could not be crossed except in canoes, the captain wished to see if it were possible to get possession of seven or eight which were secured with chains, in order to pass it, as the king refused to give them, because he tried in every way to prevent their crossing, from his desire to keep them with him. To this end he sent certain men to see if it were possible to take the canoes, two of whom returned and said that it would be a very difficult matter, and those who maliciously remained behind laid hands on one of the canoes, embarked in it, and made off down the river, deserting their captain. Finding that it was impossible to cross the river except at the will of the king, the captain asked him to allow them to cross in his canoes, and he would pay his people well to take them over; and to satisfy him he gave him some of his arms to allow him to go free and command them to be taken across the river.

Then the king went with them in person, and the Portuguese fearing some treason while they were crossing the river, Manuel de Sousa begged him to return to his kraal with his people and leave them to cross at their will with only the negroes of the canoes. And as this negro king was free from malice and willing to help them as much as he could, it was an easy matter to persuade him to return to the kraal, and he left them to cross the river at their will. Then Manuel de Sousa ordered thirty men to cross to the other bank in the canoes, with three muskets, and when they had landed, the captain with his wife and children crossed over, and the rest of the company after them, and until that time they had not been robbed, and they put themselves in marching order again.

They had travelled five days towards the second river and

had covered about twenty leagues when they came to the central river, and found some negroes who directed them to the sea. This was after sunset, and being on the bank of the river they saw two large canoes, and they pitched their camp in a sandy place, where they slept that night. This river was brackish, and there was no fresh water in the neighbourhood except in one place which they had left behind. In the night the thirst in the camp was so great that they were almost dead. Manuel de Sousa wished to send for water, but no one would fetch it under a hundred cruzados for each kettlefull, and he sent them for it; and every day it cost two hundred, but if they did not do this there was no help for them.

And the food being so scanty, as I have said before, the thirst was as described above, because our Lord wished that water should serve them as provisions. Being in the same camp, the next day towards night they saw three canoes with negroes coming to them, who told them through a negress of the camp who began to understand something of their language, that a ship had come there with men like themselves, but had now gone away. Then Manuel de Sousa ordered that they should be asked if they would convey them across the river; the negroes replied that it was already night (for Kaffirs will do nothing at night), but that they would carry them over next day if they were paid. At daybreak the negroes came with four canoes, and at the price of a few nails began to carry the people across. The captain first sent over some men to guard their passage, and then embarked with his wife and children to await the rest of his company on the other bank, and with him went the three other canoes loaded with people.

They say that at that time the captain was suffering in his brain from constant watching and the many hardships which fell more heavily upon him than upon the others. And being in this state, and thinking that the negroes intended some treason towards him, he placed his hand on his sword and drew it on the negroes who were rowing, crying "Dogs! where are you taking me?"

The negroes, seeing the naked sword, jumped into the water, and were in danger of being lost. Then his wife and some of those who were with him told him not to hurt the negroes, or they would be lost. In truth, any one who knew Manuel de

Sousa, his discretion, and gentleness, and had seen him act thus, might well have said that he was not in his right mind, for he was both discreet and prudent; and thenceforth he was never able to govern his people as before. And when he landed on the other bank he complained greatly of his head, and they tied bandages round it. And there they all assembled once more.

Being on that bank and about to set out again, they saw a band of Kaffirs, and prepared for fight, thinking they came to rob them. When they came close to our people they spoke to them, the Kaffirs asking who they were and what they came to seek. They answered that they were Christians and had been wrecked in a ship, and begged that they would guide them to a large river which was farther on, and if they had any provisions that they would bring them and they would buy them. And the negroes said, through a Kaffir woman from Sofala, that if they wanted provisions they should go with them to a kraal where their king was, and he would give them good entertainment.

At this time they were about a hundred and twenty persons, and Dona Leonor was now one of those who travelled on foot, and being a woman of noble rank, delicate, and young, she traversed the rough and painful roads as if she were a man accustomed to labouring in the fields, often consoling those of her company, and helping to carry her children. This was after there were no more slaves to carry the litter in which she travelled before. It would truly seem that the grace of our Lord supported her, for without that, it would have been impossible for a weak woman, so little accustomed to hardships, to travel by such long and painful roads, suffering constant hunger and thirst, for they had now travelled more than three hundred leagues, owing to the long rounds they took.

To return to the narrative. When the captain and his company heard that the king was close by, they took the Kaffirs for their guide, and with great caution went with them towards the place they told them of, suffering God knows what hunger and thirst. It was a league to the kraal where the king was, and as they drew near to it, he sent a Kaffir to say that they should not enter it, because they always conceal it (i.e. the chief's residence) carefully, but that they should encamp under some trees which were pointed out to them, and he would there send them provisions. Manuel de Sousa did so, as a man in a strange land,

not knowing as much about the Kaffirs as we do at present through this wreck and that of the ship *S. Bento*, or that a hundred men with muskets might traverse the whole of Kaffraria, for they fear them more than the devil himself.

Being encamped under the trees, he sent them provisions in exchange for nails. Here they remained five days, and it seemed to them that they might remain there until some vessel came from India, and so said the negroes. Then Manuel de Sousa asked the Kaffir king for a house in which he might take shelter with his wife and children. The Kaffir replied that he would give him one, but that all his people could not remain there together, for there was a want of provisions in the country; but that he should remain with his wife and children, with such of his people as he chose, and the rest should divide themselves among the kraals, and he would command him to be supplied with provisions and houses until the arrival of some ship. This was the malice of the king, as appears by what afterwards occurred; by which it is clear that the Kaffirs have a great fear of muskets, as I have said; for the Portuguese not having more than five muskets there and about a hundred and twenty men, he did not dare to fight them, and in order to rob them scattered them about in many places as men who were brought to the last extremity of hunger; and not knowing how much better it would be to remain together, they abandoned themselves to fate, and did the will of this king who was contriving their ruin, but would never listen to the advice of the other petty king who spoke the truth and did them all the good in his power. And by this men may see that they should never say or do anything trusting to their own judgment and power, but should place everything in the hands of God our Lord.

When the Kaffir king had arranged with Manuel de Sousa that the Portuguese should be divided among the villages and kraals in order to subsist, he told him also that there were chiefs under him who would conduct his people, namely each one those who were allotted to him to be maintained, and this could not be unless he commanded the Portuguese to lay down their weapons, because the Kaffirs were afraid of them while they saw the arms, and he would command them to be put in a house and would return them when any Portuguese ship arrived.

Manuel de Sousa, who was very ill and not in his perfect senses,

did not answer as if he had his proper understanding, he merely said that he would speak to his people. But as the hour had come in which they were to be robbed, he spoke to them and said that he would not go any farther, and in one way or another they must find a ship or such other means of safety as the Lord might ordain, for this river where they now were was that of Lourenço Marques, as he had been told by his pilot André Vas. That any one who wished to go farther might do as he thought fit, but he himself would remain for love of his wife and children, who were so enfeebled with their great hardships that they could not walk and he had no slaves to help them. That his determination was to die with his family when it pleased God, and he asked those who went on if they met any Portuguese vessel to bring or send him news of it, and those who wished to remain with him might do so and they should go with him wherever he went. And that the negroes might trust them and not take them for thieves who wished to rob them, it was necessary to give up their arms, to put an end to the misery they had endured so long from hunger. At this time the judgment of Manuel de Sousa and of those who agreed with him was not that of sane persons, for if they had considered it well they would have seen that the negroes could not approach them so long as they had their arms. The captain then commanded them to lay down the arms, in which, after God, their only safety lay, and they were given up against the will of some, especially against that of Dona Leonor, but there was no one who spoke against it except herself, thus it was of little avail. Then she said: "You lay down your arms, and now I give myself up for lost with all these people." The negroes took the arms and carried them to the house of the Kaffir king.

So soon as the Kaffirs saw the Portuguese without arms, having already plotted this treason, they began to separate and rob them, leading them through the thickets, each one those who fell to him. And by the time they reached the kraals they had stripped them all, leaving them with nothing on, and with many blows cast them out of their villages. Manuel de Sousa was not in this company, having remained with the king with his wife and children and the pilot André Vas and about twenty others, because he had with him many jewels, precious stones, and money; and it is said that what that company had brought with them as far as this place was worth more than a hundred thousand

cruzados. When Manuel de Sousa with his wife and the said twenty persons were separated from the rest, they were immediately robbed of all they possessed, but were not stripped; and the king told him to go in search of his company, for he did not wish to do him any further harm, nor to lay hands on his person or that of his wife. When Manuel de Sousa saw what had happened, he perceived what a great error he had been guilty of in giving up his arms, but he was now obliged to do what they told him, for it was not in his power to act otherwise.

The rest of the company, ninety in number, among whom were Pantaleão de Sâ and three other noblemen, although they were all separated, little by little rejoined each other as they were able, for they were not far apart, after they had been robbed and stripped by the Kaffirs to whom the king had delivered them. And though they were in a wretched state and very sad, being in want of arms, clothes, and money with which to procure provisions, and without their captain, yet they again set out.

But now they had no longer the semblance of human beings, and having none to command them, they proceeded in disorder by different roads, some taking the woods and some the mountains, so that they were dispersed, and no one cared for anything further but to endeavour to save his life, either among Kaffirs or Moors, for they no longer took counsel together nor was there any one to assemble them for the purpose. And as men already lost, I shall speak of them no more, but shall return to Manuel de Sousa and his unfortunate wife and children.

Manuel de Sousa, seeing himself robbed and sent away by the king to rejoin his company, and having now no money, arms, or men to wield them, although he had been suffering from his head for many days was yet able to feel this affront deeply. And what can now be thought of a delicate woman finding herself amidst such hardship and want, and above all seeing her husband ill-treated before her eyes and unable to govern or defend his children. But as a woman of good sense, by the advice of the men who still remained with them, they began to journey through the thicket with no other hope or trust than God alone. At this time André Vâs the pilot was still in her company, as well as the boatswain, who never left her, and one or two Portuguese women and a few female slaves. Thus proceeding on their way, they thought it well to follow the ninety men who had been previously

robbed, and for two days they followed in their footsteps. Dona Leonor was now so weak, sad, and disconsolate at seeing her husband in such a state, and herself separated from the rest of the company and deeming it impossible to rejoin them, that it is heartrending to think of it. While they were proceeding thus the Kaffirs again fell upon him and his wife and the few in their company, and there stripped them, leaving them nothing to cover them. Seeing themselves thus, with two tender little children before them, they prayed to our Lord.

It is said that Dona Leonor would not allow herself to be stripped, but defended herself with blows and struggles, as she preferred that the Kaffirs should kill her rather than to find herself naked before the people, and there is no doubt but that her life would then have ended had Manuel de Sousa not begged her to let herself be stripped, reminding her that all are born naked, and since this was the will of God she should submit. One of the sorrows which she felt the most was to see two little children, her sons, crying before her and asking for food, without being able to succour them. Dona Leonor, seeing herself stripped, cast herself upon the ground and covered herself with her hair, which was very long, while she made a pit in the sand in which she buried herself to the waist, and never rose from that spot. Manuel de Sousa then went to an old woman, her nurse, who had still an old torn mantilla, and asked her for it to cover Dona Leonor, and she gave it to him; but in spite of all she would not rise from the spot where she threw herself down when she found herself naked.

In truth I know not who could pass over this without great grief and sorrow. To see a woman of such noble rank, daughter and wife of a nobleman of such honour, so ill-treated, and with such scant courtesy! The men who were still in her company, when they saw Manuel de Sousa and his wife thus stripped, withdrew a little, ashamed to see their captain and Dona Leonor in such a state. Then she said to André Vàs the pilot: "You see to what we are reduced and that we can go no farther, but must perish here for our sins; go on your way and try to save yourselves, and commend us to God; if you should reach India or Portugal at any time, say how you left Manuel de Sousa and me with my children." And they, seeing that on their part they could in nowise relieve the sorrow of their captain nor the poverty

and misery of his wife and children, went on their way through the thicket, endeavouring to save their lives.

After André Vās departed from Manuel de Sousa and his wife, there remained with him Duarte Fernandes, the boatswain of the galleon, and a few female slaves, of whom three were saved and came to Goa and told how they witnessed the death of Dona Leonor. Dom Manuel de Sousa, although his brain was affected, was not unmindful that his wife and children had nothing to eat, and though still disabled by a wound which the Kaffirs gave him in one leg, in this state went into the thicket to seek for fruit that they might eat. On his return he found Dona Leonor very weak, both from hunger and weeping, for ever since the Kaffirs stripped her she had not risen from the place or ceased to weep. And he found one of the children dead, and with his own hands buried him in the sand. The next day Manuel de Sousa again went into the thicket to look for fruit, and on his return found Dona Leonor dead, as well as the other child, and five slaves weeping over her with loud cries.

They say that he did nothing when he saw her dead except send the slave women to a little distance, and sit beside her with his face supported on one hand for the space of half an hour, not weeping or saying a single word, but sitting thus with his eyes fixed upon her, and taking no account of the child. At the end of the said half-hour he arose and began to make a grave in the sand with the help of the slaves, and always without saying one word buried her with her son. This being done, he took the same path as when he went to seek fruit, and without saying anything to the slaves disappeared in the thicket and was never seen again. It would seem that journeying through the thicket, there can be no doubt that he was devoured by tigers and lions. Thus husband and wife perished, having traversed the lands of the Kaffirs for six months amidst such hardships.

Those who escaped of all this company, as well from among those who remained with Manuel de Sousa when he was robbed as from the ninety who preceded him on the way, would be about eight Portuguese, fourteen male slaves, and three female slaves of those who were with Dona Leonor when she died. Among these were Pantaleão de Sã, Tristão de Sousa, the pilot André Vas, Balthazar de Sequeira, Manuel de Castro, and Alvaro Fernandes. These were wandering about the country with no hope



of ever reaching a Christian land, when a ship came into that river, in which was a relation of Diogo de Mesquita, in search of ivory, and hearing tidings that there were some Portuguese lost in that country, he commanded them to be sought for, and ransomed them with beads. Each person cost two pence three farthings worth of beads, which is a thing more esteemed among the negroes than anything else. Had Manuel de Sousa been alive he too would have been ransomed, but it seems that it was better for his soul as it was, since our Lord so willed it. All these arrived at Mozambique on the 25th of May 1553.

Pantaleão de Sà wandered about the lands of the Kaffirs for a long time, and at last arrived at the court almost dead with hunger, nakedness, and the hardships of his weary journey, and going to the door of the court he begged the courtiers to obtain him some relief from the king. They refused to ask the king, saying that he had been suffering for a long time from a serious illness. The illustrious Portuguese asked what the illness was, and they replied that it was a wound in one of his legs so persistent and corrupt that every moment they expected it to cause his death. He listened with attention, and bade them make his coming known to the king, for he was a doctor and could restore him to health. They went in joyfully to give notice of it to the king, who ordered him to be brought before him at once. When Pantaleão de Sà saw the wound he said to the king: "Have confidence, and you will easily recover your health." And going out he fell to considering the straits in which he now found himself, from which he could hardly escape with life, for he had no idea what to apply to the wound, as one who had rather learned to take life than to cure the attacks of sickness to preserve it. Whereupon as one who no longer takes account of his life, and wishing rather to die at once than to perish slowly, he made water on the ground, and having thus procured a little mud, he went in and applied it to the almost incurable wound. That day passed, and on the next, when the illustrious Sà was expecting rather sentence of death than any remedy for his own case or that of the king, the courtiers came out with loud rejoicings, and would have raised him in their arms, and on his inquiring the cause of this sudden joy, they replied that the ointment he had applied to the king's wound had drawn out all the corrupt matter, and the raw flesh now appeared clean and healthy. The pre-

tended doctor entered and found it was as they said. He bade them continue the remedy, by which, in a few days, the king was restored to perfect health. Seeing this, besides other honours, they placed Pantaleão de Sã upon an altar and adored him as a divinity. The king asked him to remain in his court, and offered him half his kingdom, or if he did not wish for that, to grant anything he liked. Pantaleão de Sã refused this offer, saying that he must return to his people; whereupon the king commanded a large quantity of gold and precious stones to be brought, and having richly rewarded him, commanded some of his people to escort him to Mozambique.

## RELAÇÃO

DO

## NAUFRAGIO DA NAO S. BENTO, \*

Escrita por MANOEL DE MESQUITA PERESTRELLO.

Mas como o tempo não era de muitas escolhas, dissimulando cada hum quanto podia o interno descorçoamento que levava, indireitámos com a terra, que mais perto vimos, a qual era huma praya grande de area, em altura de trinta e dous gros e hum terço, que estava na boca do Rio do Infante; e porque a agoa descia delle muito teza, com a vazante da marè: e a Nao já não acodia ao lème, mas sómente com a vèla se governava, foy-a o mar chamando a hum Ilheo de penedos, que està da boca do Rio para a parte do Cabo obra de hum tiro de espingarda: outra mercè grande de Nosso Senhor; porque se fomos encalhar onde levavamos vontade, por ser já a marè quasi vazia, ficava a praya aparcelhada, arrebrandando por toda ella o mar em flor muito longe da Costa, de modo que nenhum pudèra escapar: e por este caminho dos penedos era taõ alcantilada, que não estariamos delles mais de hum tiro de bèsta, e em sette braças de agoa; pelas quaes a Nao deo a primeira pancada, e em tocando foy logo partida pelo meyo; convèm a saber, o piaõ que ficou no fundo, as outras cubertas, e obras mortas, que foraõ atravessadas rolando à terra, ficando tudo arrazado de agoa athè as bordas, e apparecendo sómente os castellos descubertos, e chapiteos, por riba dos quaes passavaõ os mares taõ amiudo, e assim grossos como pezados, que

\* [The *Saint Benedict* was one of a fleet of five ships sent by King John the Third from Portugal to India in March 1553. She was the largest of the fleet, and was commanded by Fernão d'Alvares Cabral, who was commodore of the squadron. Having reached her destination in safety, she took in a return cargo, and sailed from Cochim on the 1st of February 1554. On the passage stormy weather with a very heavy sea was encountered, in which the ship sustained great damage, and when she reached the African coast it was feared every moment that she would go to the bottom. From this point onward the narrative is given here in full, the preceding portion being omitted.—G. M. T.]

naõ menos andavaõ a nado os que se a elles recolhiaõ, que os que pelas outras partes da Nao estavaõ; e desta maneira pegado cada hum o melhor que podia, no lugar em que lhe a sorte cahio, nos hiaõ as ondas botando à terra; soando neste tempo por todas as partes hum confuso, alto, e miseravel grito, com que todos a huma voz pediamos a Nosso Senhor misericordia.

E como quer que as mais das pessoas tinhaõ junto de si taboas ou barris ou outras cousas semelhantes, com que naquelle derradeiro extremo esperavaõ escapar nadando; tanto que tudo foy cuberto d'agoa, os que mais confiavaõ nesta arte se começãraõ de lançar ao mar; e os que della naõ sabiaõ, e ainda ficavaõ na Nao, vendo que o mastro com a grossura, e emsapreamento dos mares os soçobrava tanto que os fazia mergulhar muitas vezes, determinãraõ cortallo; pelo que cortandolhe a enxarcea da parte do mar, o fizeraõ cahir para a da terra, e taõ perto já della, que quasi tocava com o mastro em seco; e como cada hum estivesse aguardando o melhor meyo, que o tempo dèsse para sua salvaçaõ, e o mastro tivesse taõ boa apparencia de ponte, que parecia possivel sahir por alli pouco menos de a pè enxuto, havendo-se por remediados os que se a elle pudèraõ lançar, em hum momento o enchèraõ do pè athè a Gavea; mas neste comenos vieraõ tres ou quatro màres muito grossos, e o levãraõ por riba, com tanto pezo, que derribãraõ a todos os que nelle estavaõ, aos quaes as ondas que botavaõ para fóra faziaõ hir mergulhando, athè marrarem com a vèla que estava envergada, e estendida com o tresmalho, e nella ficãraõ entrelhados, de modo que de tantos quantos esta passagem comettèraõ, morto nem vivo, nenhum sahio à terra, senaõ hum Manoel de Castro, irmaõ de Diogo de Castro mercador, que escapára já a outra vez do Naufragio de Manoel de Sousa, ao qual o pè do mastro colheo huma perna entre si e o costado da Nao, e lha quebrou, e arrancou quasi de todo pela reigada da coxa, fazendolha d'alli para baixo em tantos pedaços, que lhe ficou de huma grande braça em comprido, com os ossos todos esburgados a huma parte, e taõ feitos em rachas, que por muitos lugares lhe hiaõ cahindo os tutanos; e levando-a desta maneira, teve taõ bom espirito, que naõ bastou a força dos mares que a tantos saõs derribãra, para que lhe estorvasse sahir em terra, e hir assim a rastro pelos altos e baixos daquella penedia, athè chegar aonde a agoa naõ alcançava, mas com tudo na noite seguinte falleceo.

A este tempo andava o mar todo coalhado de caixas, lanças, pipas, e outras diversidades de cousas, que a desaventurada hora do Naufragio faz apparecer; e andando tudo assim baralhado com a gente, de que a mayor parte hia nadando à terra, era cousa medonha de ver, e em todo o tempo lastimosa de contar, a carnicaria que a furia do mar em cada hum fazia; e os diversos generos de tormentos com que geralmente tratava a todos, porque em cada parte se viaõ huns que não podendo mais nadar andavaõ dando grandes e trabalhosos arrancos com a muita agoa que bebiaõ, outros a que as forças inda abrangiaõ menos, que encomendandose a Deos nas vontades, se deixavaõ a derradeira vez callar ao fundo; outros a que as caixas matavaõ, entre si entalados, ou deixando-os atordoados, as ondas os acabavaõ marrando com elles em os penedos; outros a que as lanças, ou pedaços da Nao, que andavaõ a nado os espedaçavaõ por diversas partes com os prègos que traziaõ, de modo que a agoa andava em diversas partes manchada de huma cor taõ vermelha como o proprio sangue, do muito que corria das feridas aos que assim acabavaõ seos dias.

Andando a cousa como digo, o que ainda havia da Nao se partio em dous pedaços: convem a saber os castellos a huma parte, e o chapiteo a outra, em os quaes lugares estavaõ recolhidos todos os que não sabiaõ nadar, sem ouzarem cometer o mastro, nem o mar, por verem quaõ atribuladamente acabavaõ os que por cada huma destas partes se aventuravaõ à terra; e tanto que estes pedaços ficàraõ assim apartados, e o mar se pode melhor ajudar delles, começou de os trazer no escarcêo aos tombos de huma parte para a outra; e dessa maneira, ora por baixo da agoa, ora por cima, andavamos athè que prouve a Nosso Senhor virem tres ou quatro mères muito grossos, que varàraõ estes pedaços em seco, onde ficàraõ encalhados sem a ressaca os tornar a server como outras vezes tinha feito, e nelles se salvou a mayor parte da gente, que ficou viva.

Escapados assim os que Nosso Senhor foy servido, despois que gastâmos algum espaço em lhe dar as graças devidas a tantas mercès, começou cada hum de bradar por cima daquelles penedos, pelas pessoas que lhe mais dohia, as quaes acodindo dos lugares donde sua ventura fizera portar, e manifestando bem com os olhos o sobejo contentamento, que daquella não esperada vista recebiaõ, se tornàraõ a abraçar de novo; e perguntando huns aos outros pelos que faltavaõ, soubemos onde estavaõ alguns taõ maltratados

das difficuldades e contrastes que tiveraõ em sua salvaçaõ, que se não podiaõ bolir donde jaziaõ, pelo que foy buscado tudo taõ miudamente, que se acabãraõ de ajuntar os vivos, e nós certificados que não eraõ fallecidos.

E porque entre estes penedos, e a terra firme havia ainda hum braço de mar, que os fazia ficar em Ilhèo, e a marè começava já de repontar, receando que os tolhesse, passámos a vão à outra banda, levando os mais saõs às costas aos mais feridos, posto que todos o estavamos pouco ou muito, huns dos desastres que no mar tiveraõ, e outros da aspereza dos penedos em que sahiraõ, que eraõ taõ asperos e pontagudos, que nenhum se pode livrar sem ficar assinalado.

Tanto que todos fomos passados à terra firme, mandou o Capitaõ saber os que faltavaõ, e acharaõ-se menos cento e cinquenta pessoas; convem a saber, passante de cem Escravos, e quarenta e quatro Portuguezes: entre os quaes foy D. Alvaro de Noronha, que naquella fortuna mostrou bem claro, que se obra humana bastãra a remediar tanta desaventura, o seo heroico esforço, incançavel alento e cuidado tinha assás merecido o remedio della, e taõ arreigado estava em todos o credito, q̃ suas passadas e obras naquella e em outras afrontas cobrãraõ, que foy sentida geralmente sua morte, como de pessoa em cuja companhia nenhum receava acometter e exporse a todos os perigos e contrastes, que lhe em taõ arriscada jornada sobreviessem; mas como seos feitos fossem dignos de outro melhor galardãõ, não sendo Nosso Senhor servido guardallo para tantos males, como estavaõ certos, se dalli escapãra, o arrebatou hum mal attentado, surdo, e furioso mar de riba do mastro onde estava, e o meteo debaixo da vèla, donde nunca mais appareceo.

Falleceo tambem Nicolao de Sousa Pereira, Gaspar de Sousa, Alvaro Barreto, Gaspar Luiz irmão do Padre Fr. Andrè da Insoa, Rodrigo de Niza Escrivaõ da Nao, Vicente Dias, Fernãõ Velozo, o Padre Antonio Gomes da Companhia de JESUS, Duarte Gonçalves Arcediago da Sè de Goa, e outros homens de mar, e passageiros.

E porque o que entre nós melhor vestido estava, não tinha mais sobre si que huma camiza sem mangas, e huns calçoens de giolho para cima, de que se apercebera, quando vinhamos a varar em terra, por se achar mais desembaraçado para poder escapar nadando; estavamos todos molhados, e entanguidos com frio.

Em quanto o Sol foy quente, deitamonos a enxugar por aquella praya, fallando nos diversos e desestrados modos de morte, com que viramos acabar os que faltavaõ; mas tanto que elle foy arrefecendo, nos recolhemos a hum mato que ahi perto estava, e por onde corria hum ribeiro d'agoa, com que lavamos as bocas do Sal, e satisfizemos a sede, sendo este o primeiro e derradeiro mantimento, que naquelle dia tivemos.

Tanto que escureceo a noite, agazalhandonos pelos pès das arvores que alli estavaõ, cada hum se recolheo aos pensamentos da sua fortuna, occupando-os no sentimento das cousas que lhe mais dohiaõ; e para que ainda este pequeno refrigerio naõ tivessemos com quietação, choveo aquella noite tanta agoa, que naõ podendo nossos mal enroupados corpos soffrer o demasiado frio que com ella fazia, nos levantamos, e assim às escuras andamos choutando de humas partes para outras, tomando este trabalho por remedio dos outros, que o frio, e pouco sono, e o medo de nossas proprias imaginaçoens causavaõ: as quaes cousas todas nos faziaõ desejar grandemente a tõrna da manhãa; e tanto que ella começou de esclarecer, partimos caminho da praya a buscar alguma roupa com que nos repairassemos, a qual achamos toda cuberta de corpos mortos, com taõ feyos e disíórmes gestos, que davaõ bem evidentes mostras das penosas mortes que tiveraõ, jazendo huns por riba, outros por baixo daquelles penedos, e muitos que naõ pareciaõ mais q̃ os braços, pernas, ou cabeças, e os rostos estavaõ cubertos de area ou de caixas ou de outras diversas cousas: e naõ foy tambẽ aqui pequeno o lugar, q̃ a infinidade de perdidas fazendas occupava; porque tudo quanto podiamos estender os olhos de huma e outra parte daquella praya, estava cheyo de muitas odoríferas drogas, e outra infinita diversidade de fazendas, e cousas preciosas, jazendo muitas dellas ao redor de seos donos, a quem naõ sómente naõ puderaõ valer na presente necessidade, mas ainda a alguns de quem eraõ sobejamente amadas na vida, com seo pezo foraõ causa da morte; e verdadeiramente que era huma confusa ordem com que a desventura tinha tudo aquillo ordenado, e que bastava a memoria daquelle passo, para naõ ser a pobreza havida por tamanho mal, que por lhe fugir deixemos a Deos, e o proximo, patria, pays, irmãos, amigos, mulheres e filhos, e troquemos tantos gostos, e quietaçãoens pelos sobejos que cà ficaõ. Em quanto vivemos nos fazem atravessar mãres, fogos, guerras, e todos os outros perigos, e trabalhos, que

nos tanto custaõ; mas por nao contrariar de todo as justas escuzas, que por si pòdem allegar os atormentados das necessidades, cortarey o fio ao catholico estilo, porque me hia e levava a memoria e medo do que alli foy representado, recolhendome a meo proposito, que he escrever sómente a verdade do que tũa aos acontecimentos desta Historia.

Assim que como pela sobegidaõ das cousas que por alli estavaõ perdidas, em breve tempo nos fornecemos das que haviamos mister, despois que dẽmos algum vigor a nossas desfallecidas forças com hum pouco de biscouto molhado que achãmos, tornãmonos ao lugar onde a noite passada dormimos, para fazer algum modo de gazalhado, em que nos recolhessemos os dias que alli houvessemos de estar. Pelo que pondo cada hum maõs à obra, em poucas horas se pudera ver hum lustroso e soberbo alojamento feito de alcatifas riquissimas, e de outras muitas peças de ouro, e seda, gastadas em bem diferente uso do para que foraõ feitas, e dos propositos com que seos donos as tinhaõ ganhadas com taõ largos trabalhos, com que semelhantes cousas se adquirem.

Isto acabado pareceo bem ao Capitaõ mandar descobrir aquella terra de riba de humas grandes serras, que pelo Sertaõ dentro appareciaõ, assim para saber se havia nella alguma gente, porque athè entã pelas mostras, e pouco aproveitado que vimos, parecia ser tudo deshabitado: como por ver se poderiamos achar alguma passagem ao Rio do Infante, por onde o atravessassemos com menos risco, do que por sua corrente, passando ao longo do mar, se esperava; e disto me rogou que tomasse cargo, mandando hir comigo a hum Joaõ Gomes Meirinho da Nao, e a outros dez ou doze homens dos mais saõs, que entre nõs havia. Pelo que apercebendonos das armas necessarias, andãmos a mayor parte do dia, de outeiro em outeiro, e de serra em serra, sem descobrir gente, nem outra cousa viva; sómente obra de duas legoas pelo Rio acima, onde elle ainda cõrre muito poderoso, e vay de ambas as ribas cercado de rõtchas talhadas a pique, vimos da banda d'alem sahir huma alimaria mayor que cavallo debaixo de certas lapas, e de cor negra, ao que cà donde estavamos pareceo, a qual nas partes que mostrava fõra d'agoa, que foraõ cabeça e pescoço, e parte do lombo, nenhuma differença tinha de Camelo; e se o assim ha marinho, certo que este o era; do qual quiz escrever isto, porque em nenhuma parte de todo aquelle caminho achãmos despois outra alimaria de tal feiçaõ.



Tanto que foraõ horas de me recolher, sem trazer mais recado, que o já dito, me torney ao Capitaõ de quem soube como aquelle dia, em quanto eu andãra fóra, apparecêraõ sobre hum cabeça que dahi perto estava, sette ou oito homens, que foraõ os primeiros que naquella terra vimos; aos quaes elle mandou alguns dos nossos aparelhados de paz e guerra, para ver que modo de gente era, e se podiaõ delles saber alguma cousa, das muitas que nos eraõ necessarias; mas elles havendo medo fogiraõ, sem quererem vir com os nossos; de modo que nenhuma outra informaçaõ pudemos ter mais que serem Cafres de cor bem negra, e cabello revolto, que andavaõ nus, com mais apparencia de salvagens, que de homens racionaes. E vindo a noite, em quanto a chuva se aparelhava como a passada, cada hum se tornou ao lugar da sua estancia e gasalhado occupandose em fazer alguns fogos, para que menos sentissem a frialdade della. Posto que o conselho do Sabio seja, que as cousas de admiraçaõ e espanto, ainda que verdadeiras, sejaõ antes de passar calladas, que de contar com risco de serem mal cridas; atrevome a dizer huma, pelas muitas testemunhas com que posso allegar; e he, que assim esta noite, despois que fomos recolhidos, como a outra atràs passada, e as mais que neste lugar estivemos, quando era já bem cerrada a noite, ouviamos claramente brãdos altos no lugar onde se a Nao quebrãra, q̄ por muitas vezes gritavaõ, dizêdo: A bombordo, a estibordo, a riba, e outras muitas palavras confusas, que naõ entendiamos, assim e da maneira que nòs faziamos, quando já alagados vinhamos na força da tormenta que nos alli fez encalhar. O que isto fosse, nunca se pode saber de cêrto, sómente sospeitãmos, que ou a nòs se representava aquillo nos ouvidos, pelos trazermos atroados dos brãdos, que continuamente naquelle tempo ouviamos: ou eraõ alguns espiritos malignos que festejavaõ o que de alguns alli poderiaõ alcançar (cousa que Nosso Senhor por sua piedade naõ permitta). Mas qualquer destas que fosse, o certo he que foy, ou ao menos, a todos pareceo sellõ; porque posto que ao principio cada hum cuidãsse, que a elle só se representava aquelle espantoso som, e pela difficuldade que nisso havia, naõ cresse ser verdade; a continuaçaõ do tempo fez perguntar huns aos outros, se ouviaõ o mesmo? e affirmando todos que sim, assentãmos, segundo as horas, escuro, e tempestade das noites, ser alguma cousa das que dito tenho.

Ao outro dia pela manhãa da banda d'alem do Rio do Infante,

apparecêraõ certos Cafres que andavaõ ao longo da praya queimando alguns pedaços da Nao que o mar lançava, para lhes tirar os prêgos : e sendo por nõs chamados, alguns delles se chegãraõ à borda do Rio defronte onde estavamos ; e afoutandose mais depois que nos viraõ sem armas, que logo de industria naõ quizemos levar, andãraõ atravessando o Rio a nado, e vieraõ ter conosco, aos quaes Fernãõ D'alvares fez o mayor gazalhado que pode, dandolhes desse pobre comer que tinhamos, barretes, panos, e pedaços de ferro, com o que ficãraõ taõ contentes, como se os fizeraõ senhores do mundo ; e posto que elles contavaõ muitas cousas por lingoagem naõ taõ mal pronunciadas, como sempre houve. e naquella Cõsta se costumava, por faltar entre nõs quem os entendesse, naõ ficãmos por derradeiro sabendo mais, que ter aquelle Rio váo muito pela terra dentro, e elles viverem à sua bõrda da outra banda, e com isto se tornãraõ.

Na tarde deste mesmo dia apparecêraõ sobre hum cabeçaço, que perto de nõs estava, obra de cem Cafres com muitos pãos tostados nas mãõs, que estas saõ as suas principaes armas, e algumas azagayas com ferros : e como a miseria do nosso estado nos fizesse receosos de tudo o que podia ser, em vendo a estes homens assim juntos, tomãmos nossas armas, e fomos ter com elles, cuidando que este fosse seo proposito ; mas como tivessem outro, nenhum abalo fizeraõ com nossa chegada, e assim como dantes se deixãraõ estar quedos ; pelo que vendo nõs sua determinação, tambem mudãmos a nossa, começando de fallar com elles, e d'entre todos hum só, de que os outros faziaõ mais conta, e era o que respondia a nossas perguntas, que elles taõ mal entendiaõ como nõs as suas ; o qual posto que na pequena pompa, e pobre atavio de sua pessoa naõ tivesse differença de seos companheiros, por vir assim nu como elles ; trazia de ventagem humas poucas de contas de sua laya, que saõ de barro vermelho, tamanhas como graõs de coentro, e assim redondas : as quaes folgãmos de ver, parecendonos que havia destas por ser perto de algũ rio onde viesse Navio de resgate ; porque aquellas contas se fazem no Reyno de Cambaya ; donde sómente pelas mãõs dos nossos saõ trazidas aos lugares daquella Cõsta : e depois que gastãmos nestas confusoens e detenças a mayor parte do dia, nos recolhemos, sem ficarmos entendendo delles mais que por seo repouso e segurança serem homens que fóra de mão preposito nos vinhaõ a ver, como a cousa nova e desacostumada entre elles, mostrando espantaremse da

nossa cor, armas, trajes, e disposiçoens; os quaes tanto que virãõ horas, se levantãõ tambem, e começãõ de espalharse por aquelles matos pacendo, como alimarias brutas, humas certas raizes que achavaõ; e assim pouco a pouco se foraõ alongando, athè que de todo os perdemos de vista.

Passando assim aquella noite com taõ pouco repouso, como as passadas, pareceo bem o todos ao outro dia, entendermos em buscar algum modo de mantimento de que tinhamos muita necessidade; porque despois que alli estavamos, naõ comiamos senãõ cocos; e foy taõ pouco o que sahio à Cõsta, por as agoas serem mortas, que sómente se pode ajuntar huma pipa de biscouto, e obra de hum fardo de arroz, com alguns taçalhos de carne; e isto tudo taõ molhado que naõ estavaõ para durar, mas assim foy igualmente repartido entre todos. Pelo que vendo o Capitaõ como havia cinco dias que alli estavamos, e em todos elles naõ cessava de chover, por onde parecia ser entãõ naquella Cõsta a força do Inverno, que para quaõ mal remediados estavamos, se naõ podia alli aguardar, e assim os poucos mantimentos que havia, e que ainda esses estavamos gastando; quiz praticar comnosco a determinaçãõ que melhor parecia tomar-se em nossas cousas; e sendo para isto chamados todos, nos propoz sua tençaõ; e posto que houve alguns de parecer, que tomassemos o caminho para o Cabo de Boa Esperança; e na Anguada de Saldanha esperassemos athè que Nosso Senhor fosse servido trazer a ella alguma Nao, que nos cobrasse: e outros que nos fizessemos fórtes alli onde estavamos, athè fazer algum modo de embarcaçaõ em que mandassemos recado a Sofála; por final conclusãõ assentãmos, que ainda que pudessemos vencer a difficuldade dos grandes rios, e serras, que jaziaõ entre nòs, e o Cabo, e desembaraçarnos da gente da terra, athè chegarmos à Anguada de Saldanha, que segundo era pouco frequentada de muitos annos a esta parte, primeiro nos gastariamos todos, que alli fosse ter Nao que nos tomasse; e além disto, que antes de muito tempo se nos havia de acabar o ferro, que podiamos levar para o resgate, e entãõ a necessidade nos havia de forçar a entregarnos à gente da terra, de cuja mà inclinaçaõ, e fé pouca, a desestrada morte de D. Francisco de Almeida nos ainda atemorizava; e tambem que posto que nos ahi fizessemos fórtes, naõ poderiamos assim estar mais, que em quanto nos durasse o mantimento da Nao, pois a terra era taõ esteril, que nem a esses poucos de seos naturaes podia sustentar,

senaõ com raizes e bagas do mato, segundo os dias de antes viramos; nem menos podiamos fazer embarcaçaõ, por se naõ salvar mais que hum pequeno machado sem prègos, sem verrumas, sem breu, e sem outras cousas a isso necessarias; e taõ pouco podiamos mandar por terra recado, pois nos naõ entendiamos; e quando isto alcançassemos, já seriamos quasi todos mortos. Assim que alterados todos estes pareceres, que quiz escrever, por ter ouvido sobre isto algumas reprehensõens, a conclusaõ, e remate de tudo foy, que nos aparelhassemos para tomar o caminho, que Manoel de Sousa levàra, a ver se poderiamos chegar a Sofála; e porque se naõ dilatasse mais a cousa, pois havia de ser, vendo o Capitaõ, que os feridos estavaõ já em parte repairados para poderem caminhar, determinou que levassemos os quartos da Nao à borda do Rio para nelles o passarmos ao outro dia; e isto feito, cada hum apercebeo seo alforge das mais cousas de comer que achou, e dos mais prègos e ferro que podia levar para o resgate: que estas eraõ naquella tempo as joyas de mais estima. E nisto se gastou toda aquella tarde e noite seguinte.

Apercebidos todos da maneira que tenho dito, ao outro dia que eraõ vinte e sette do mez de Abril em amanhecendo fomos ter à estancia do Capitaõ que nos já estava esperando, e contando-nos alli, achamos sermos 322 pessoas, a saber 224 Escravos e 98 Portuguezes, os mais delles armados com lanças ou espadas e rodèlas, e huma espingarda, que só se pode salvar com dez ou doze cargas de polvora, assás danificada da agoa; com a qual companhia o Capitaõ abalou para o Rio, deixando o alojamento onde estiveramos assim armado, como o tinhamos, e nelle hum mancebo Gurumete, e huma Escrava, cada hum com sua perna quebrada, que naõ estavaõ para poderem viver, quanto mais caminhar; e este dia gastamos em passar à outra banda sobre duas jangadas que dos quartos fizemos, afogando-se com tudo aqui hum Escravo, que hia a nado levar as linhas com que as alávamos; e dormindo alli na borda do Rio aquella noite, tanto que amanheceo nos puzemos a ponto de caminhar.

E porque todos nos enganavamos em cuidar que o Sertaõ havia de ser mais povoado, que a fralda do mar, pelo pouco cõmercio, que aquella gente tem com elle, determinamos esperar pelos Cafres, que a nado foraõ ter com nosco, e cada dia alli vinhaõ, para que nos ensinassem algum caminho, que fosse ter a povoado; os quaes posto que vieraõ, tanto que nos viraõ passados da parte

em que elles estavaõ, naõ se quizeraõ fiar de nõs, nem fallarnos, por mais que os chamãmos. Pelo que havendo por tempo perdido o que se mais nisto gastãsse, pòstos em ordem, levando hum Crucifixo arvorado em huma lança, e huma bandeira benta na dianteira, que hia encomendada a Francisco Pires Contra-Mestre, com os homens do mar, que o seguiraõ (porque logo estes fizeraõ delle Cabeça) e hum Retabolo da Piedade na retaguarda, em que hia o Capitaõ com os passageiros, e os escravos, e desarmados; no meyo, que levãraõ entre si os feridos (porque quasi a quarta parte dos que eramos, começou a caminhar com bordoens e moletas) nos metemos em fio, hum atràs do outro, por a largura do caminho naõ ser para mais; e pondo os rostos no Sertaõ por huma vereda de Elefantes endreitãmos com hum Cabeço, donde nos pareceo que descobririamos alguma povoação ou sinaes della; e em quanto hiamos por aquella ladeira acima fazendo cada hum dos que o entendiaõ, entre si conta com quaõ pouco apercebimento começava taõ comprido, incerto, e perigoso caminho; e quaõ certo tinha acabar nelle à pura necessidade, e desamparo, posto que dos outros perigos escapasse, sem fallar palavra, levando a fantasia occupada nesta angustia, e os olhos arrazados de agoa, naõ podia dar passo, que muitas vezes naõ tornasse atràs, para ver a ossada daquella taõ fermosa, e mal afortunada Nao; porque posto que já nella naõ houvesse pào pregado, e tudo fosse desfeito naquellas ròchas, todavia em quanto a viamos, nos parecia que tinhamos alli humas reliquias, e certa parte desta nossa dezejada terra, de cujo abrigo e companhia (por ser aquella a derradeira cousa que della esperavamos) nos naõ podiamos apartar sem muito sentimento: e hindo desta maneira fazendo muitos pousos, chegãmos ao alto do Cabeço, onde achãmos tudo bem differente do que cuidavamos; porque naõ taõ sòmente naõ vimos povoação, mas ainda quanto descobriamos com os olhos, eraõ cercados de valles taõ baixos, e serras taõ altas, q̃ estas confinavaõ com as estrellas, e aquelles com os abismos. E o peyor de tudo foy, que a vereda porque caminhavamos, se nos cegou, e ficãmos sem ter por onde seguir; e despois que estivemos hum pouco confusos sobre o que fariamos, assentãmos cortar direito ao Nordèste, imaginando q̃ por aqui encurtavamos nosso caminho para Sofála: e com esta determinação tornãmos a caminhar athè a tarde, que por chover, e hirmos todos cançados do ruim caminho, e desuzadas carregas, nos recolhemos a hum mato, onde passãmos aquella noite.

Ao outro dia pela mesma ordem do passado, seguimos nossa jornada, e assim fizemos ao terceiro, no qual fomos dar sobre huns outeiros, pelo pè dos quaes corria hum Rio, atravessandonos o caminho que levavamos: pelo que cortamos direito àquella parte delle, onde nos pareceo que daria melhor passagem; e acertou logo de ser toda aquella Costa, por onde desciamos, taõ ingreme, e chea de penedos, hervas e mato, que naõ vendo onde punhamos os pès, a cada passo cahiamos de focinhos: mas depois que gastamos nesta descida a mayor parte do dia, levando cada hum muitos tombos, chegamos à borda do Rio, o qual foy logo apalpado por diversas partes, sem acharmos alguma por onde se pudesse valear; pelo que desconfiando de passar por alli à outra banda, por ser tarde, e chover como todos os outros dias fizera, agazalhâmonos aquella noite em humas moytas, que ahi perto estavaõ.

Ao outro dia em amanhecendo tornamos a desandar a carreira, por onde o dia d'antes desceramos; em o qual caminho foy tanto o trabalho, que levavamos pela summa aspereza delle, que este contamos por hum dos dias, em que o mayor tivemos, e do que para ao diante mais danno recebemos; porque como a sobida fosse taõ ingreme, que difficulosamente a poderia trepar huma pessoa despojada, aos que hiamos embaraçados com armas e outros estorvos poz em tanta necessidade que nos forçou a alijar o mais do ferro que levavamos; e depois fez tanta mingoa, com quanto sabiamos muito certo, que aquillo que alli deixavamos, naõ era ferro, mas vidas; e alèm disto eraõ as impossibilidades do caminho taõ terriveis, que naõ bastando as forças dos muitos a vencellas, se deitavaõ por entre os penedos, que estavaõ ao longo da trilha que levavamos, taõ cançados e desconfiados de poderem d'alli sair, que pedindo a Nosso Senhor perdaõ dos seos peccados, naõ cessavaõ de despedirse dos que passavaõ: os quaes vendo a seos amigos assim jazer, deixando o fio da outra gente, se assentavaõ junto delles, esforçando-os para que tornassem ao caminho, dizendo que em nenhum modo se havia de partir d'alli com os deyxar; ajuntando a isto outras muitas palavras, que bem mostravaõ o sobejo sentimento, que de os ver naquelle passo recebiaõ; com os quaes convencidos os que assim jaziaõ, trabalhavaõ tirar esforço de sua fraqueza, e tornavaõ a caminhar o melhor que podiaõ; e com quanto, por este respeito, fizemos muitos pousos, e detenças, huns e outros, andamos athè que nos tornamos a ajuntar no mais alto do Cabeço. Depois que aqui descansamos hum pedaço,

houve differença no determinar do caminho, que levaríamos; porque huns queriam hir pela meya ladeira daquelles montes, assim como o Rio corria; e outros pelas cumiadas delles, athè que de alguma, descobrissem parte por onde a pudessem atravessar: e como sobre isto se não concertássem, e cada hum protestando por sua vida, tivesse licença de hir por onde lhes parecesse que teria melhor parada; o Mestre da Nao, com obra de vinte homens, tomou por bayxo, e o Capitaõ, com a mais companhia, por riba; e assim andâmos huns, e outros, athè que junto da noite nos tornâmos a ajuntar sobre humas grandes barrocas e quebradas, em parte que o Rio esprayava muito, e por ser menos alcantilado dava esperança de melhor passagem; e como continuamente trouxessemos a vista espalhada por aquelles outeiros a ver se descobriamos alguma gente ou povoação; estando neste lugar, que tenho dito, vimos da outra banda hum fumo, e por elle viemos a enxergar huma Aldea, que era entaõ a cousa de nòs mais dezejada, por haver quatro dias, que chovendo sempre, não cessavamos de andar, sem caminho, nem carreira, pelos altos e baixos daquelles matos; e alli esperavamos achar quem nos guiásse; e com este alvoroço fomos dormir à borda do Rio.

Ao outro dia tanto que amanheceo, começâmos de tentar o vão por onde nos pareceo que seria menos trabalhoso, e com quanto a agoa hia por alli muito espalhada, era a altura, poço e corrente della, de sorte, que todo o entulho que lhe lançavamos levava; pelo que nos foy forçado cortar as mayores arvores, que pudèmos achar, e por alguns ramos dellas, que ficavaõ ao decima da agoa, atando outros, fizemos huma bastida, que chegou ao meyo do Rio, onde estavaõ huns penedos grandes, e descubertos, que apartavaõ o Rio em dous braços; mas como o mayor, e mais furioso fosse o que ficava da nossa parte, tanto que chegâmos a elles; armâmos milhoteiras de huns a outros, pelas quaes, não sem muito risco, passâmos à outra banda, e com o dezcjo que tinhamos de chegar a povoado, posto que era tarde, quando isto acabâmos indreitâmos logo para a Aldea que tinhamos visto, a qual seria de obra de vinte choupanas, armadas sobre varas, e cubertas de feno, da feiçaõ e tamanho de hum forno de paõ, das quaes usa e se serve toda a gente daquella Còsta, mudandoas com as tempestades de humas partes para as outras, segundo a bastança, ou esterilidade q̃ daõ de si os matos, de cujos frutos elles principalmente se mantèm; e porque recevamos dos Cafres se escandalizarem, ou

fogirem, não quizemos entrar dentro, mas apozentâmonos perto della, e lhes mandâmos recado, com o qual logo vieraõ alguns delles ter comnosco, aos quaes dêmos dos panos, e pedaços de ferro, com que ficãraõ contentes; e assentâmos com elles por acenos, que ao outro dia hum nos guiasse para certa povoação grande, e abastada, que diziaõ estar d'alli perto, e com este concerto nos recolhemos huns e outros a nossos gazalhados.

Ao outro dia tornâmos a caminhar prolongando pela Aldea, na qual o Tancoiro, e Calafate da Nao quizerãõ ficar, por não poderem (hum de velho, outro de ferido) aturar mais a companhia, e depois que o Capitaõ os encomendou, o mais intelligivelmente que pode aos Cafres, despedindonos delles, e levando a guia comnosco, andâmos por riba daquelles cabeços tres dias, atravessando quantas serras, valles e barrancos topavamos diante: mas como a gente daquella terra não se afuste muito dos limites onde nasce, (bema-venturada, se tivesse fé!) e ao redor daquellas choupanas se crie e morra, quando veyo o terceiro dia, tinha o Cafre tanta necessidade de quem o guiãsse, como nós; pelo que perdendo o tino do caminho, foy dar comnosco sobre huns outeiros, pelo pè dos quaes corria, e nos atravessava o caminho o Rio de S. Christovaõ, cuja agoa vimos coalhada de cavallos marinhos; e porque logo nos pareceo que não havia de haver vão em tanta altura, receando de tornar a sobir a ladeira que era grande, pelo trabalho que na outra levâramos, não quizemos descer abaixo; mas mandou o Capitaõ por alguns homens despojados apalpar o rio, os quaes não achando por onde o pudessemos atravessar, se tornãraõ. Pelo que enfadados de tantas impossibilidades, como achâmos, e forçados de fome que nos hia já rijamente apertando, assentâmos tornar ao mar, e provar se porventura achariamos ao longo delle mais remedio, que no Sertaõ; e rogando ao Cafre que nos guiãsse, tornâmos a desandar, naquelle dia e outro, tudo o que andarâmos em tres. Neste caminho o Licenciado Christovaõ Fernandes, que na India fora Chanceler e Provedor mór dos defũtos, não podendo por sua velhice soportar mais o trabalho delle, assentando-se sobre huma pedra, nos disse, que athè alli fizera o que pudera por viver, mas pois suas forças a mais não abrangiaõ: nos fossemos muito embora, e que elle alli havia de acabar; e que sómente nos encomendava hum filho seo de idade de tres annos, que para mayor magoa sua a fortuna ordenãra, que consigo o trouxesse, o qual salvandose milagrosamente da Nao, hia no cõllo de huma



Ama que o criava, sendo em taõ tenra idade companheiro dos trabalhos, e desterro de seo Pay; cujo remedio como naõ estivesse em aguardarmos por elle, antes com qualquer detença corressemos risco de perder o nosso, consolando-o os seos amigos com a Payxaõ de Nosso Senhor, e despedindonos delle com outras taõ tristes palavras, fomos dormir à paragem da Aldea do guia, o qual sentindo nosso descontentamento, por sua mã pilotagem, e apertado do dezejo de sua casa, nos fogio aquella noite.

Quando ao outro dia achamos menos o Cafre, pondo os rostos no mar, quanto as serras, e valles consentiaõ, fomos indireitando com elle, e naõ tivemos andado muito, quando nos achamos outra vez sobre o Rio de S. Christovaõ, que nos fizera tornar atràs; o qual fazendo hum largo rodeyo por entre aquellas rochas, vinha atravessando o nosso caminho athè se hir lançar no mar, com tanta furia e altura por todas as partes, que para hum Exercito bem apercebido era assás difficultoso passo, quanto mais para nòs, em quem tudo hia ao contrario: e sómente ao pè do Cabeço em que estavamos, quebrava em huma penedia, que o atravessava de huma parte a outra, e espalhandose alli a agoa em muitos canaes, dava esperança, que podendose atravessar arvores de huns penedos a outros o passariamos; mas para cometter por aqui esta passagem tinhamos dous inconvenientes muito grandes: hum era o mato ingreme e espesso que estava na ladeira d'alem; o qual, fóra outras impossibilidades, era por riba atravessado de huma ròcha viva, taõ talhada a pique, que se pòde dizer, para aves parecia trabalhosa sobida; e outro ser a descida, onde nòs estavamos, ao Rio, cercada de outra tal ròcha como a d'alem, e que só com olhar para ella punha receyo. Pelo que desconfiando de por alli podermos descer, estivemos hum pedaço altercando o que fariamos; mas como andassemos já todos enfadados do trabalho, que sobre a passagem deste Rio tinhamos levado; vendo que tudo o que descobriamos com a vista, assim do Rio, como da descida a elle, naõ mostrava mais apparelho para nosso proposito, receando, se o comettessemos por outra parte, de achar outras impossibilidades mayores, (se mayores se podiaõ achar) determinamos provar por alli nossa ventura; mas como no acomettimento disto houvesse tanto risco, disseraõ alguns que naõ queriaõ perder as vidas por suas vontades, pois descer por aquella parte, mais parecia tentar a Deos, que esperar remedio, e estes tomaraõ outra vez o caminho por riba daquellas serras, cuidando achar outra descida mais facil.

O Capitão, e os que o seguíamos, endireitámos com a rocha, e fazendo o sinal da Cruz começámos de nos arriscar por ella abaixo com o mayor tento e resguardo que podíamos, dependurandonos algumas vezes dos ramos de alguma moita, que nella havia; e outros ficando as lanças nas pedras, e deixandonos escorregar por ellas, de modo que à rastros, de costas, e de braços segundo o perigo e disposiçaõ do lugar davaõ de si: prouve a Nosso Senhor pornos salvos na borda do Rio, onde cortando as mayores arvores que alli perto estavaõ, e atravessandoas de huns penedos a outros, ajudados dos dezejos, que todos traziamos por nos ver desembaraçados daquelle trabalho, muito mais azinha, do que a difficuldade da obra consentia, acabámos de fazer as milhoteiras necessarias, por onde com muito medo pela altura e corrente dos canaes, que a agoa fazia, logo começámos de passar. E tanto que o Mestre da Nao, e quinze, ou vinte homens que o seguiraõ se viraõ da outra banda, havendo por impossivel atravessar o mato e rocha que atràs contey, tomáraõ pela banda do Rio abaixo buscando alguma outra parte por donde d'alli pudessem sahir com menos risco. O Capitão esteve (segundo costumava) na borda do Rio, esperando que acabasse toda a gente de passar; e quando isto foy feito, era já noite fechada: mas por ser alli tudo lameiro, e cheyo de agoa por baixo, foy forçado entrarmos pelo mato athè chegarmos ao enxuto: e como elle fosse muito basto, e cheyo por dentro de penedos: e a altura e assombramento das arvores, além da escuridaõ da noite, fizesse ainda o caminho mais escuro, não podiamos atinar huns por onde fossem os outros; pelo que, apupando todos por diversas partes, e fazendo hum corpo com as vozes, ao som dellas nos tornámos a ajuntar perto do pè da rocha, em lugar taõ escuro, e coalhado de arvores, que nenhum de nós foy poderoso para se deitar, nem mudar do lugar onde parou: e assim estivemos arrimados às arvores em pè sem dormir em toda a noite, a qual passámos espalhados em tres magotes; a saber: o do Capitão, o do Mestre, e o dos que se não atreviaõ a descer ao Rio: os quaes posto que toda a tarde andáraõ por riba daquellas serras, tentando de humas partes a outras, não podendo achar por onde com menos perigo atravessassem a banda d'alem, se agazalháraõ aquella noite como puderaõ: e tanto que a manhã esclareceo, tornáraõ em nossa busca, e vendo a trilha que levàramos, e as milhoteiras atravessadas, perdendo com tudo no Rio a hum mancebo, que resvalou, chegàraõ a nós a tempo, que por

humas ingremes gretas, e arriscadas aberturas, que a ròcha fazia, dando huns a outros de maõ em maõ as armas, e alforges acabavamos de sobir ao alto della : e naõ passáraõ muitas horas, que o Mestre, e seos companheiros vieraõ tambem ter conosco : e despois que assim fomos juntos tornâmos a caminhar para o mar, hindo todos grandemente atormentados da fõme, por ser jã gastado, a poder das chuvas passadas, esse pouco mantimento com que partimos, e naõ bastarem aservas conhecidas, que pelo campo achavamos, a remediar nossas necessidades. Neste dia cortando por cima daquellas cumiadas chegâmos a hum Cabeço, donde descobrimos o mar, e com o alvoroço que levavamos delle, fazendo a jornada mais comprida do que costumavamos, fomos dormir a huma Aldea que estava despovoada, na qual achâmos pedaços de porçolanas, e de outras muitas cousas de nossos usos, que affirmâmos ficarem do Naufragio de Manoel de Sousa Sepulveda.

Ao outro dia, que era o trezeno de nosso caminho, chegâmos ao mar, e no proprio lugar em que o Galeaõ deo à Costa, do qual ainda achâmos o prepãro, e outros pedaços de taboas, lançados sobre hum arrecife de penedia, que occupa muitas legoas daquella praya, e despois que alli estivemos cahimos no erro, que fizemos em deixar a fralda do mar, porque além de nos parecer que elle proprio se mostrava mais domestico, e conversavel para nossas necessidades, que as asperezas do Sertaõ, achâmos tambem pelos penedos (de que toda a Cõsta da terra, que se chama do Natal he chea) muitas ostras, e mixilhoens, com que na baixamar, ou espaço do dia que tomâmos algum repouso, em parte nos remediavamos; e a fóra isto o caminho era chaõ, limpo, e disposto para andar : e os mais dos Rios, que naquella terra saõ muitos, e no Sertaõ sem passagem, quando aqui chegavaõ, ou sumidos por baixo da arca na borda do mar, ou se descubertamente entravaõ nelle, era por causa dos bancos que faziaõ com vãõ arrezoad, e pouca corrente: o que tudo pela terra dentro achavamos ao contrario.

Por aqui caminhâmos cinco dias, leyando sempre Cafres apoz de nõs, que sem ouzarem acometternos, hiaõ esperando alguns cançados, ou desmandados; e no fim deste tempo em altura de trinta grãos topâmos hum Rio que naõ està posto nas Cartas; o qual com quanto naõ tem muita largura, he dos mais alcantilados daquella Cõsta, e por que mayores Navios pòdem entrar, e o

faziaõ nos Invernos. Com pouco trabalho fizemos duas jangadas, mas bem se descontou isto no muito que despois tivemos, assim com a corrente do Rio, como com os Cafres que estavaõ esperando para saltarem os que ficassem derradeiros; e com tudo desembaraçandonos delles com algumas remeteduras, e trochadas, que se naõ pudèraõ escusar, passámos à outra banda; e tornando a continuar nosso caminho, andâmos quatro dias, no fim dos quaes repousámos à borda de outro Rio esperando a baixamar do dia seguinte, por nos parecer que pela borda da agoa salgada, onde fazia hum banco, lhe acharíamos vão, e escuzaríamos o trabalho e risco das jangadas; e sendo ja perto da noite apparecêraõ da outra banda certos Cafres: e nos mostrâraõ huns bolos feitos de Nacharre, que he huma semente como mostarda, dizendo que os venderiaõ, se lhe dessemos ferro; e como sobre as cousas de comer nossa necessidade naõ consentisse desavença, às rebatinhas lhos acabâmos de comprar; e este foy o primeiro lugar onde fizemos resgate, havendo já vinte e dous dias que caminhavamos.

Isto acabado, cada hum se recolheo a seo gazalhado, esperando com grande alvoroço a tornada da manhã, com a qual passámos o Rio por onde atrás contey, e logo tornâraõ os mesmos Cafres, e nos disseraõ por acenos intelligiveis, que aguardassemos alli, e nos trariaõ mantimentos; e como esta fosse a cousa de que mais necessidade tinhamos, houve pouco trabalho em lhes fazer a vontade, a qual nova tanto que por elles foy publicada em duas ou tres povoaçoens, que alli perto estavaõ, naõ ficou nellas pessoa que nos naõ viesse ver, cantando e tangendo as palmas com mostras de muita alegria, trazendo alguns bolos, raizes, ou qualquer outro modo de seo mantimento para nos vender; e entre elles vinha hum moço de Bengala, que ficâra da outra perdiçaõ, o qual em sendo por nòs conhecido, foy logo arrebatado, e com grandes abraços, e alvoroços levado ao Capitaõ: e assentandonos todos ao redòr, lhe perguntâmos muitas cousas das que nos eraõ necessarias; mas elle, ou por haver pouco que viera da sua terra, quando o embarcâraõ, ou por ter já perdida a nossa falla com o descostume, quasi que nos naõ entendia; mas assim a troncos soubemos ser aquella terra muito povoada de gente, e abastada de criaçoens; e posto que lhe rogâmos por muitas vezes ficasse comnosco, promettendolhe muitas peitas pela necessidade que tinhamos de guia, nunca o quiz fazer, antes tanto que foraõ horas, se tornou a recolher com sua companhia, sem nos querer ver outra

viz; e ao outro dia tornãraõ os Cafres com huma vaca, e algumas cabras, e bolos, que lhes resgatãmos por hum astrolabio, e outros pedaços de ferro; e isto acabado, tornãmos ao nosso caminho, ficando aqui com tudo hum Jorge da Barca, e outro homem, que por cansados se naõ atreviaõ a passar mais àvante, e com elles perto de trinta Escravos, que consumidos do trabalho, que athè alli tinhaõ passado, e induzidos pelos proprios da terra, naõ quizeraõ hir em nossa companhia.

Partidos d'alli, como dito tenho, caminhãmos tres dias, no derradeiro dos quaes chegãmos a outro Rio, o qual com quanto naõ tinha muita largura, era alto em demazia: e como estivessemos hum pedaço consultando donde trariamõs madeira para as jangadas, o Contra-Mestre, que como já disse, levava a dianteira, começou de andar com sua companhia pela borda delle acima athè obra de meya legoa da barra, onde topou com certos Cafres, que lhe mostrãraõ o vão, e passando por elle à outra banda, se assentou em hum Cabeço a esperar pelo Capitaõ, o qual vendo sua tardança, e sospeitando o que era, abalou com os que com elle estayamos, seguindo a mesma trilha dos outros; e ao passar de hum mato achãmos hum cesto de Nachami, que os Cafres alli tinhaõ escondido com receyo de lhe saltearnos a povoação: e como para nossa necessidade aquella fosse huma rica pèça; e os que a guardavaõ a quizessem defender, accendeose a cousa de modo, que escandalizados de algumas trochadas que tiveraõ, apellidando huns a outros, em pouco espaço se ajuntãraõ muitos; e porque cuidãraõ que erãmos mais, em quanto fomos por dentro do mato nos tiveraõ medo, mas despois que chegãmos a hum escampado onde se tomava o vão do Rio, vendo quaõ poucos hiamos, arremetãraõ a dous mancebos que algum tanto estavaõ apartados, e tomãraõlhe os alforges que levavaõ, e com o levantamento disto começãraõse de chegar a nòs mais afoutamente, ameaçando com a azagaya, que nos matariaõ se lhes resistissemos; e juntamente com isto nos tomãraõ o caminho para que naõ passassemos ao Rio: e por naõ haver entre os que alli hiamos, mais de cinco homens que levassemos armas, ajuntandonos tivemos com elles huma arriscada briga, a qual em obra de huma hora que durou, foy por muitas vezes assás duvidosa a cada huma das partes; mas por derradeiro nos fez Nosso Senhor mercè, que arrancando-os de todo, os fizemos recolher a hum outeiro, onde pela fortaleza do sitio, e nosso cansaço os deixãmos, tornandonos

para o Capitão que na borda do Rio com a outra companhia estava esperando; e assim juntos entrámos pela agoa, com muito risco dos Cafres; porque como o vão se tomasse pelo pé daquelle Cabeço, a que se elles recolherão, em quanto hiamos a tiro, nos serviraõ à mão-tente de tantas e taõ furiosas pedradas, que nos convinha ter grande vigia, para que não acertassem em descuberto: mas com todo este tento, não pude eu escuzar huma, que quebrandome a rodèla em que a primeira tomei, me fez estar hum pedaço bem atordoado.

Passando com estes receyos à outra banda, tornámonos a ajuntar com o Contra-Mestre, em cuja companhia achámos hum moço, chamado Gaspar, que ficára de destruição de Manoel de Sousa, e sabendo nossa hida, veyo alli esperar, desejoso de tornarse à terra de Christãos; e porque a cousa de que mais necessitados estavamos, era de lingoa, dêmos todos muitas graças a Deos, por nos socorrer em tal tempo, inspirando tanta fé em hum mancebo, e Mouro de nação, que d'entre aquelles matos, e gente quasi salvage, de que já tinha tomado a natureza, se movesse a querer hir connosco, e passar tantos trabalhos, como tinha experimentado, sem obrigação alguma, que a isso o movesse. Este nos contou, entre outras cousas, como Manoel de Sousa tambem pelejára com os Cafres destoutra banda, e lhes matára hum à espingarda.

Partidos d'alli, caminhámos athè que foraõ horas de repousar; e esta noite se moveo pratica entre nós, que seria bom mandar diante tres ou quatro homens despejados, para que chegassem primeiro ao Rio de Lourenço Marques, junto do Cabo das correntes, onde esperavamos de o achar; porque quando partimos da India, ficava elle aviado para aquella viagem, (como de feito a fez, e na Costa se perdeo antes que se pudesse recolher ao Rio) a lhe dizer em como hiamos atrás, e nos esperasse, porque sua partida, segundo a navegação ordinaria, havia de ser com a Lua de Junho; e nós pelas jornadas que faziamos, não podiamos já chegar menos de Julho; e como ao Capitão, e aos mais parecesse bem este conselho, cuidando que toda a terra adiante fosse como aquella do Natal, em que por ser de penedias ao longo do Rio mar havia marisco, com que se poderia remediar os que assim fossem; logo se offerecêraõ para esta empreza quatro Marinheiros, aos quaes se tiráraõ por entre algumas pessoas quatro centos pardãos para satisfação de seos trabalhos: e desta maneira aviados se partiraõ ao outro dia, levando huma carta do Capitão, e outros muitos

recados, que todos desarmãraõ em vaõ, segundo ao diante serã relatado.

Depois disto caminhãmos dous dias, no fim dos quaes chegãmos à barra da Pescaria, que està em 28 grãos e tres quartos, a qual entra perto de duas legoas pela terra dentro, e terã outro tanto de largo, e alli achãmos dous Escravos que foraõ de Manoel de Sousa, e nos vieraõ receber ao caminho, e fizeraõ com os da terra, que aquella noite nos trouxessem a vender peixe que alli hà em muita abundancia, e algum milho zaburro; e ao outro dia, antes que nõs partissemos, se tornãraõ a despedir de nõs, e com quanto lhe rogãmos deixassem aquella gentildade, e tornassem a viver entre Christãos, naõ quizeraõ, dizendo, que elles passãraõ com seo senhor sette ou oito jornadas adiante, e por naõ poderem suportar o trabalho do caminho, e a esterilidade da terra, se tornãraõ para aquella, que era abastada, onde se encomendavaõ a Nosso Senhor, que por quem era haveria delles misericordia; e obstinados neste proposito, tanto que nos ensinãraõ por onde rodeariamos a bahia, salvando alguns regatos, e esteiros que a ella vem ter, se tornãraõ; e em começando nõs a caminhar, vimos sahir de hum mato para onde estavamos hum ajuntamento de Cafres, que traziaõ entre si a hum homem nu, com hum molho de zagayas às cõstas, (segũdo seo costume) o qual se naõ differençava de nenhũ delles; e nesta conta o tivemos, athè que pela falla, o cabello conhecemos ser Portuguez, chamado Rodrigo Tristaõ, que tambem ficãra da outra perdiçao, e por haver tres annos que andava despido às calmas e frios daquella Comarca, estava taõ mudado na cor e parecer, que nenhuma differença tinha dos naturaes della.

Assim que recolhido mais este homem, e satisfazendonos, o melhor que pudẽmos, dos da terra, que por ser muita gente, quizera tentar saltearnos à outra banda da bahia, onde achãmos hum moço Malavar, que nos encaminhou para huma povoaçãõ, junto da qual disse, que repouzassemos aquella noite, e nos faria trazer mantimentos; e assim foy, porque naõ passou muito espaço, que vieraõ os Cafres carregados de cabras, leite, milho, peixe, e isto tudo em muito bom preço: de modo que esta foy a mais abastada e barata estalagem, que em todo o caminho tivemos; e aqui fornecemos os alforges de quanto pudemos levar, por nos dizer este moço, que d'ahi athè hum Rio, que estava àvante quatro ou cinco jornadas naõ achariamos outro resgate; mas com quanto elle encarecia isto muito, se soubera o que d'alem do Rio havia,

bem nos pudera afirmar, que aquella era a derradeira hora de alivio, que em todo o caminho haviamos de ter; porque dahi por diante tudo foy trabalho, e dor, e bater de dentes.

Ao outro dia fomos dormir jũto de outra povoaçãõ onde comprãmos huma vaca, e sem fazermos mais resgate caminhãmos por aquelles matos cinco dias seguindo sempre para o mar, ao qual chegãmos junto do Rio de Santa Luzia, que està em altura de 28 grãos e meyo, e he assás grande: e por ser da boca para dentro muito largo, e demasiadamente arrojado, e corrente no encher e vazar das marès, em chegando a elle, fizemos duas jangadas, pelas quaes ainda neste dia, em quanto a marè deo lugar, passou huma grande parte da gente; mas tanto que ella empeçou, começãraõ de entrar os que estavaõ de huma e outra parte, e se recolhẽraõ ao enxuto; e porque todos vinhamos perdidos à sede por não acharmos agoa doce despois que partimos da bahia da Pescaria, que havia cinco dias, e o tempo que restou destes, gastãmos em a buscar: e como a necessidade e trabalho vença tudo, tanto andãmos, athè que descobrimos certas pẽgadas de Elefantes, que tinhaõ hum pouco de polme, em que nos satisfizẽmos.

E porque porventura dezejãrã saber algum de Fernãõ D'alvares Cabral particularmente, pois se vem chegando o tempo de sua morte, pareceo me necessario dizer aqui em summa parte dos trabalhos e afflicçoens que passou na vida, posto que do vivo ao pintado, da sombra ao verdadeiro, não pòde haver mais differença do que hà do que eu assim delle, como dos que o seguiamos, pòsso dizer, ao que na verdade passou: mas jã que me arrisquey a descobrir minhas faltas, tenho quem mas desculpe, que he a grandeza do caso, de quem confio, sem que o diga, que os que entendem, crerãõ tanto, que serã melhor o pouco que delle saberey contar, pois ficarã aproveitado para que se possa acabar de ler este Summario com menos lastima: e para que às pessoas, que nesta dor tem parte, não caiba tanta, vendo o por que passãraõ os que foraõ causa della; que por este respeito deixey de escrever as desaventuras particulares de cada hum, que he a principal substancia do lastimoso, afastandome, o mais que pude, do pezado e miseravel; mas sem embargo de ser este meo intento, como a Historia em si seja triste, não sofre a verdade della poderse de todo fugir a palavras, que huma hora por outra saibaõ à tristeza.

Mas tornando a Fernãõ D'alvares, e pondo à parte o muito trabalho, que passou no tempo da tormenta, por cumprir em todas



as cousas com sua obrigaçãõ: nem trattando do sentimento, que com muita rasaõ o trazia traspassado, por ver a destruiçãõ de huma tal Nao, tantos homens, e riquezas, como tinha a seo cargo: e por ver que de tantas esperanças de descanço, tanta abastança de criados, parentes, e amigos, como ao redõr de si vira havia poucos dias, se achava, por taõ desestrada sórte, assim arrebatadamente em tal mingoa de tudo, que escassamente pode haver à maõ hum pobre vestido com que cobrisse humas anciaãs e honradas carnes: e huma pessoa, de que em tempo taõ necessario fiasse a communicaçãõ de suas affligidas cousas. Assim que nao saltando nisto tudo, porque seo espaçoso animo de tal modo encobria todas as mostras de taõ certa e justa dor, que se naõ enxergava por fóra o que dentro jazia; elle esforçando a todos, e mostrando em seo rosto e palavras muito mais esperança de salvaçãõ da que entendia que podia caber nas muitas desaventuras que estavaõ certas em taõ incerta jornada, começou de caminhar os primeiros dias com muito espirito e alento; mas como as asperezas e contrastes do caminho, que pelo Sertaõ tivemos, fossem as q̄ dito tenho, fizeraõ nelle tanto abalo, por sua velhice, e pouco costume, que ao tempo de tornarmos em busca do mar, vinha taõ fraco, cançado, e despresado, que trazia determinado ficar no primeiro lugar que topassemos; porèm como neste comenos chegassemos à praya por onde o caminho era chaõ, e sem os altibaixos e estorvos q̄ no outro havia, elle se esforçou de modo, q̄ ainda que dos derradeiros, sempre aturava com a companhia, e igualmente hia com ella sojeito à sua ventura.

Mas como a fortuna nunca comece por pouco, a todas estas obras suas accrescentou outra, que com quanto já nelle naõ pudesse ser mais negra, naõ careceo com tudo de muito sentimento por serem della executores hũs homẽs q̄ taõ obrigados lhe estavaõ por beneficios recebidos: e foy que como a mayor parte que alli hiamos fosse gente do mar, de cujos primores athègora poucos Authores escrevèraõ; estes começando de dia em dia a perder o medo e a vergonha, fazendo todos hum corpo, cuja Cabeça (posto que nao nestes mãos ensinos) era o Contra-Mestre, vieraõ a tanta desenvoltura, que totalmente naõ tinhaõ conta com Fernãõ D'alvares: antes todas as vezes que os elle reprehendia de suas desordens (que naõ eraõ poucas) lhe diziaõ, que naõ ouzasse de os emendar, porque naõ era já seo Capitaõ, nem lhe deviaõ obediencia, ajuntando a isto outras muitas palavras soltas, que a

miseria daquelle tempo fazia ser muito mais escandalosas: de modo que nenhuma conta tinhaõ com o que lhes elle mandava. Pelo que vendo o Mestre da Nao, que hia deste Reyno, e lhe levàra odio particular, taõ bom aparelho para sua tençaõ, em taõ danadas vontades, naõ se movendo pela obediencia que lhe devia, nem por nenhuma fidalguia taõ antiga, virtudes taõ illustres, descripçaõ taõ viva, cavallaria taõ inteira, velhice taõ honrada, assim perseguido da fortuna, desterrado de sua patria, mulher, e filhos, e lançado com tanta mingoa e necessidade pelos desertos de Africa: nem abastando o castigo dos passos presentes, para o mudar de seo mau zelo, se determinou em commetter sua obra diabolica, e de todo inhumana, que foy induzir aos de sua parcialidade a dizerem que em nenhum modo se podião salvar hindo com o Capitaõ, pois por se naõ apartarem delle, faziaõ as jornadas pequenas, e que a sempre hirem daquelle maneira, primeiro gastariaõ o ferro, que levavaõ para o resgate, e as forças para caminhar, que pudessem chegar ao Rio de Lourenço Marques, onde esperavamos achar Navio; e que o bom seria, pois lhe dava Deos dispoziçoes, ajudarem-se do tempo, e naõ se quererem perder por amor de outrem.

E como esta gente, onde quer que està, se tenha huma por opiniaõ da outra, naõ foraõ necessarias muitas destas prègaçoens, para ser havido o que o Mestre dizia, por muito bom conselho, e quasi divinalmente revelado; pelo que induzindose huns aos outros, começãraõ a tentar o Contra-Mestre que athè entãõ naõ entrava nesta consulta, o qual se defendeo alguns dias, dizendo-lhes as razoens que havia para se tal naõ fazer; e com tudo, tanto e por tantas vezes porfiãraõ com elle, que o trouxeraõ a seo proposito; e como isto foy concluido, para que naõ sobreviesse algum estorvo, assentãraõ partir o mais calladamente que pudessem logo na noite seguinte, e amanhecer ao outro dia tres ou quatro legoas àvante, deixando ao Capitaõ, e a esses que o seguimos, naquella praya herma, entregues aos Cafres, em quem achariamos menos piedade, que em todos os Tigres de Hircania.

Mas como o Capitaõ já pelas mostras de sua pouca fé, andasse sobre aviso, naõ se pode este negocio fazer entre taõ desaconselhada gente, com tanto segredo, que elle o naõ sentisse: pelo que logo aquella noyte, que o soube, nos mandou chamar aos passageryros que alli hiamos, e deo conta do que lhe fora descuberto, e do proposito com que aquelles homens estavaõ, rogandonos que

lhe aconselhassemos o que faria; e todos assentamos que havia de mandar chamar ao Contra-Mestre, que era bom homem, e sempre se mostrava seo amigo, e lhe dissesse o que sabia, e lhe rogasse naõ consentisse poder-se dizer de Portuguezes, que por salvarem vidas taõ incertas, cobravaõ huma infamia taõ certa, como era deixarem o seo Capitaõ em tal parte; e que se elle a este homem pudesse induzir a seo proposito, dos outros naõ reccasse, porque era tanta a obediencia, que lhe todos tinhaõ, que no que fizesse ou dissesse, naõ acharia contradicãõ: e quando se nisto mostrasse pertinãas, soubesse que alli estavamos perto de vinte homens, que onde ficasse ficaríamos, e em quanto tivessemos vidas, elle naõ perderia a sua, sendolhe companheiros em todo o mal ou bem que succedesse; o qual satisfeito com este conselho, e offercimento nos despedio. E mandando chamar ao Contra-Mestre, se lhe queixou de quaõ mal lhe pagava quanto seo amigo sempre fora, e dandolhe outras muitas razoens, que o tempo de entaõ faziaõ necessarias, elle lhe naõ negou a verdade, dizendo como o Mestre e homens do mar o tirãraõ de seo sentido, mas que lhe dava sua palavra, que mais tal lhe naõ viria ao pensamento: e posto que todos se quizessem hir, elle só o naõ faria; e assim o cumprio, porque dalli por diante o servio sempre com muy desenganada vontade, e com tanta obediencia, ou para melhor dizer medo (que he o com que com ella mais pòde) que a gente do mar tinha a este homem, que vendo sua determinaçaõ, por seo respeito quizeraõ ficar todos; tendo com tudo conta sómente com o que lhes elle mandava, que do Capitaõ naõ curavaõ: o qual aos outros lhes fez sobre este caso huma pratica reprehensoria, que os bem pouco emmendou.

E desta maneira pairando o melhor que podia com seos infortunios, caminhou athè o Rio de Santa Luzia, de que já deixey passada huma boa parte da gente ao principio desta digressaõ: e quando veyo o outro dia, que segundo minha lembrança foraõ dous de Junho, tanto que amanheceo, elle se tornou à borda do Rio para fazer dar aviamento à passagem com a mayor diligencia que ser podia, pelo pouco tempo q̄ o sodamento da marè deixava durar este bom enceyo; e posto que quando veyo sobre a tarde eraõ já quasi todos passados, parece que adivinhandolhe o coraçãõ o que havia de ser, elle receava esta passagem, o que naõ fizera em algumas das outras que atràs deixamos; pelo que disse ao Contra-Mestre, que sua vontade era naõ passar na jangada, mas

rodear tanto pelo Sertaõ athè que achasse vão: que lhe dissesse se o queria acompanhar? o qual lhe respondeo, que bem via ser já quasi toda a gente passada à outra banda, sem athè entaõ perigar ninguem, e assim esperava em Deos succederia aos que ficavaõ; e que rodear o Rio lhe parecia grande trabalho, por ser muito alto, largo, e correr por terra chãa, onde se presumia lhe não poderiaõ achar vão senaõ muito longe: e que se todavia determinasse rodeallo, elle o esperaria alli todo o tempo que mandasse, mas que não podia hir em sua companhia, que por onde os outros passáraõ havia de passar.

Ouvido isto pelo Capitaõ, algum tanto apaixonado determinou meterse na primeira jangada que a elle chegou, e com quanto lhe disseraõ todos, que não passasse aquella vez, porque descia ainda muito a marè, e que para a outra barcada seria estofa de todo, e menos perigosa: parece que seguindo já o conselho da fortuna, elle nao quiz tomar o nosso, e entrando pela agoa, se poz em hum canto da jangada, e Antonio Pires, e Joaõ da Rocha, seos criados, e Gaspar o lingoa nos outros tres: e estando assim a jangada muito direita, brãdou aos da outra banda, que atassem pelas linhas, o que foy feito com todo o tento, e resguardo possivel: e hindo desta maneira, tanto que começaraõ a entrar no alto, Joaõ da Rocha houve medo, e tornou-se a nado para terra, o que fez ficar a jangada taõ fóra do compasso, que começou logo de meter demasiadamente os cantos carregados por debaixo da agoa: e assim adornados chegãrao ao meyo do Rio, onde hia a corrente, a qual como descia furiosa, levantando o canto que estava em pezo, o fez tombar sobre os que o tinhaõ, levando debaixo ao Capitaõ, e a Antonio Pires: os quaes, posto que trabalhãraõ quanto nelles foy possivel, por se não desaferrãrem, não podendo mais resistir à chegada hora, levantando as mãs ao Ceo em sinal da fé, (que lhes a agoa com as bocas não deixava confessar,) se foraõ ao fundo, e o moço lingoa se salvou, porque hia despido, e sabia bem nadar.

Acontecido tamanho desastre, os que delle nos doiamos, e estavamos de huma e outra parte do Rio, levantando hum pranto, que atroava as concavidades daquella Ribeira, com muita tristeza, e lacrymosos soluços, nos espalhãmos pela praya a ver se tornaria o Mar a deitar nella os corpos para lhes darmos sepulturas; e tanto que a marè começou a repontar, sahio o de Antonio Pires, que logo foy enterrado, e logo d'ahi a duas horas achãmos o de

Fernaõ D'alvares entre huns penedos arredado do Rio para a banda d'alêm hum bom pedaço, ao qual despois de tirado ao enxuto, e amortalhado tomâmos às côstas, e levâmos ao pè de hum outeiro, onde o mar não chegava, e fazendolhe alli huma cova, a cuja cabeceira puzemos huma Cruz de pão nella, mais acompanhado de lagrimas, que de outras pompas funeraes, o deixâmos repousando athè o dia que elle e todos nos tornemos a levantar, para dar conta de nossas bem ou mal gastadas vidas.

Esta foy a morte de Fernaõ D'alvares Cabral; e este he o fim de seos trabalhos. E verdadeiramente, que passando bem os corporaes, e espirituaes que vinha suportando, e a paciencia com que os tomava, e graças que com tudo dava a Nosso Senhor, que sabemos ser misericordioso, se pôde crer que foy servido levallo naquelle estado e martyrio; para que ainda que seo corpo fosse lançado naquella pobre sepultura, a sua alma esteja com elle rica de Gloria, e Bemaventurança, que não deve de ser pequena consolação aos que câ bem lhe quizerão.

Em quanto nos detivemos neste enterramento e tornâmos à bórda do Rio, os que ainda ficavaõ da outra banda o acabãraõ de passar: e despois que assim estivemos juntos, vendo como para nossa salvação era necessario que fossemos sempre unidos em hum corpo, regidos por huma só pessoa, e esta jurada aos Santos Evangelhos, para que não houvesse os reboliços que dantes havia, puzemos logo isto em obra; e como de noventa e dous homens que àquelle tempo eramos por todos, settenta fossem dos do mar todos estes jurãraõ que Francisco Pires o Contra-Mestre era muito para aquillo, e que se o fizessem Capitaõ, a elle obedeceriaõ; e posto que havia duas ou tres pessoas, a quem com mais razaõ isto competia, como tantos fossem d'outro parecer, já os que ficavaõ não eraõ parte para desfazer seos vòtos; pelo que considerando tambem ser o Contra-Mestre bom homem, e grande sofredor de trabalhos, como para aquillo se requeria; e que os da sua jurisdição levavaõ as linhas e machado para se fazerem e sahirem as jangadas nas passagens dos Rios, e o fuzil e pederneira com que faziamos fogo para nos valermos nos frios das noites; e que a se mover nisto alguma divisaõ, segundo já em vida de Fernaõ D'alvares andavaõ amotinados, à mesma hora se haviaõ de apartar, e deixarnos aos de contrario parecer sem alguma destas cousas para remedio de nossas necessidades, não respeitando quanta tambem tinhaõ de nòs para as suas no tempo de pelejar, que

todo carregava à nossa conta: assentâmos que forçosamente nos convinha approvar a tal eleição; pelo que foy declarado de todos por Capitão; e isto acabado, elle se obrigou tambem pelo proprio juramento, que bem e verdadeiramente nos ajudaria, e seria fiel companheiro na paz e na guerra, fazendo o que lhe aconselhassemos, segundo alcançasse ser mais serviço de Deos, e salvação de nossas vidas.

Elegido assim o novo Capitão, pareceo bem a todos repousarmos alli hum dia, para enxugarmos os corpos e fato, que tudo estava molhado da passagem do Rio; e quando veyo o outro dia, tornâmos a caminhar ao longo da praya, pela qual andâmos quatro dias sem topar gente, nem cousa de comer; e no fim delles houvemos vista de huma povoação, junto da qual nos aposentâmos, cuidando achar algum resgate; mas sabendo do lingoa que os moradores della viviaõ taõ necessitados como nós; perdendo estas esperanças, sómente assentâmos com elles, que ao outro dia nos ensinassem a passagem de hum Rio que tínhamos diante; e como aquella noite, e ao outro dia todo em pezo naõ deixasse de chover, ou por mais certo de nevar (segundo a frialdade da agoa que cahia) os Cafres naõ ouzaraõ sahir fóra das choupanas; e porque nossa fome e frio apertava, desejoscs de deixar taõ roim aposento, mandâmos ao Lugar Rodrigo Tristaõ, o que atrás achâmos, e a hum Marinheiro, para que trouxessem quem nos guiasse, os quaes achando-se já melhor remediados, por o mancebo saber a lingoa da terra, descuidaraõ-se tanto do que nos cumpria, que nem com recado nem sem elle nunca mais tornaraõ; e estando nós assim atribulados, sendo já o Sol quasi posto, cessou a chuva algum tanto; e logo veyo ter comosco hum Cafre, que satisfazendo-se com o ferro que lhe davamos nos mostrou o vão do Rio por hum passo, onde a agoa dava aos de marca mayor pelas barbas, e a outros, a lugarres, pelas coroas; e como sahissemos à outra banda molhados, e a chuva naõ cessasse, trespassou-nos o frio de sorte, que encambulhandosenos os pès e maõs naõ podiamos dar passada àvante; e porque d'alli a muito espaço naõ havia mato onde nos valessemos daquella perseguição, foy forçado assim meyo a tombos, e o mais depressa que podiamos, hir por huma ladeira arriba para com a quentura deste trabalho cobrarmos o vigor e alento, de que já hiamos quasi desamparados; mas porque naõ menos nos atormentava nossa fraqueza andando assim de pressa, que o frio, estando quedos, tomâmos por remedio

recolhermos a hum brejo, que com tanto por baixo era todo cheyo de agoa, este houvemos por menor mal, por ser abastado de lenha; e posto que fizemos alguns fogos, era a frialdade do tempo taõ demasiada, que nem isto nos valeo, para que em toda a noite deixassemos de bater o dente.

Ao outro dia, tanto que amanheceo, tornâmos a nosso caminho, hindo naõ menos atormentados da fome e frio que o dia passado; e quando veyo sobre a tarde topâmos duas povoaçoens, onde posto que muito caro, resgatâmos tres Cabras, com que se alguns remediãraõ: alli nos mostrãraõ os Cafres hum dente de marfim, dizendo, que o haviaõ hir vender a hum Rio, que àvante achariamos, onde vinhaõ homens brancos como nòs; com que ficâmos todos alvoraçados, cuidando fosse mais perto: e porque se a noite aparelhava de frio e chuva, como as passadas, desesperando valer nos no campo, se nelle ficassemos, alugâmos aos Cafres algumas choupanas, nas quaes metidos huns por cima dos outros, e o fogo no meyo passâmos aquella noite, a qual foy de tanta tempestade, que della achâmos ao outro dia mortos dous ou tres Escravos, que por naõ acharem onde se recolher dormiraõ fóra; e o mesmo acontecêra a nòs, se nos Nosso Senhor naõ socorrêra com aquelles gazalhados.

Partindo d'alli, tornâmos a caminhar ao longo de hum brejo, que corria assim como a praya, com proposito de atravessar a ella, tanto que achassemos por onde; mas o caminho era de maneira, que com quanto acomettemos isto por tres ou quatro vezes, nunca o pudemos fazer, e sómente dez ou doze homens dos que hiaõ diante descobrindo a passagem, cuidando que a outra companhia os seguia, foraõ rompendo tanto pelas impossibilidades della athè que ao tempo que sentiraõ hir sòs, houveraõ por menos trabalhoso cortar àvante, que tornar atrás: de modo que passando à outra banda foraõ ter a huma povoação que estava junto da praya, onde se livrãraõ dos Cafres que os queriaõ matar, metendo-lhes medo com que hia outra companhia muito perto; e sendo-lhes por este respeito catada alguma cortezia, se desembaraçãraõ delles, e foraõ ter ao mar, por cuja bòrda caminhãraõ o mais que pudẽraõ, por naõ ficarem atrás de nòs.

Em quanto estes seguiraõ seo caminho, Francisco Pires o Capitaõ, que hia na trazeira, quando comettiaõ atravessar o brejo, ouvindo dizer aos dianteiros que naõ havia passagem, mandou tornar a gente, e achandose menos os que passãraõ à outra banda,

naõ cuidando que elles tal pudessem fazer, segundo as novas que davaõ os que de lá vinhaõ, quiz esperar hum pedaço; mas despois que vimos sua demasiada tardança, sospeitando o que era, tornâmos a prolongar o brejo, e quando veyo sobre a tarde encontrâmos huns poucos de Cafres do Lugar a que os nossos foraõ ter, e vinhaõ saber se hiamos atràs, como lhes elles disseraõ, para os seguirem se assim naõ fosse; mas tanto que nos viraõ, dissimulando seo proposito nos mostrâraõ o passo do brejo, e encaminhâraõ para hum mato onde dormimos aquella noite, e resgastâmos hum pouco de Nachani.

Ao outro dia tornâmos a caminhar, prolongando pela povoaçãõ destes Cafres, para sabermos novas dos nossos que faltavaõ, as quaes negavaõ, dizendo que os naõ viraõ; mas a verdade foy, que se as espias naõ topâraõ taõ cedo comnosco, elles lhes naõ escapâraõ; porque além da gente ser muita, segundo despois fomos informados, vivem alli naquella Lugar, como alevantados, sem recochecerem Rey, nem Superior, senaõ o que elles entre si ordenaõ, sustentandose de roubos que pela terra fazem a outros que menos pòdem, e bem se enxergava nelles seo officio, pela ventagem que levavaõ a todos os daquella Comarca na abastança das armas, manilhas, e outras joyas suas, e pelo desavergonhamento com que começâraõ a lançar maõ do ferro a alguns dos nossos: afóra isto quizeraõ ter comnosco outras soberbas taõ desarrezoadas, que estivemos perto de ter com elles huma teza e duvidosa contenda; mas despedindonos d'alli com a mais honra que pudemos, indireitando com a praya quanto o caminho dava lugar, chegâmos a ella, pela qual caminhâmos athè a tarde: e como hiamos necessitados de agoa, foy forçado metermonos outra vez pela terra dentro a buscalla; e topando neste caminho tres povoaçõens, os Cafres dellas nos mostrâraõ huma alagoa a cuja bõrda fomos dormir aquella noite.

Tanto que amanheceo, tornâmos a caminhar com proposito de atravessar logo ao mar, entre o qual e nõs naõ havia mais que huns outeiros de area, e muito mato, que vaõ correndo ao longo delle; e vendonos os Cafres pòstos em caminho, ajuntandose toda aquella Comarca, e fazendo hum grande esquadraõ, e a seo uso bem armado, foraõ ter onde estavamos, e hindo quietamente fallando comnosco, começâraõ de furtar algumas cousas aos que achavaõ descuidados: e o que isto fazia, recolhiase aos outros, e como que naõ tivera feito mal algum tornava a hir praticando



muito seguro; e entendendo nòs seo mào proposito, e receando sua multidaõ, levavamos mais desejos de chegar à praya, porque alli, se houvessemos de peleijar, pondo as còstas no mar, naõ podiamos ser cercados, e com esta determinaçãõ quizeramos logo atravessar a ella: mas tanto que os Cafres isto entendèraõ, puzeraõse diante com as azagayas pòstas em tiro, dizendonos, que naõ fossemos senaõ por onde nos elles guiassem: nòs, assim porque o caminho que topavamos, era por hum Cabeço muito fragoso, como por ver se nos podiamos çafar delles sem peleija por hirmos todos muito fracos, e entre nòs naõ haver jã mais de quinze ou vinte lanças, e sinco ou seis espadas, que todas as mais armas erao resgatadas à falta d'outro ferro; naõ porfiãmos muito na passagem, e tornãmos a caminhar por onde elles queriao; os quaes tanto que isto viraõ, julgando por medo, levantãraõ huma grande grita, como quem fazia escarneo de nossa cobardia, e d'alli por diante, cheyos de confiança, começando desembaraçadamente a hir repartindo entre si as armas e despojo que de nòs esperavaõ, e entendendo o lingoa todas estas suas praticas nos avizou do que passava, dizendo, como determinavaõ de peleijar comnosco tanto que se ajuntassem com outros, que adiante os estavaõ esperando para os ajudar; pelo que vendo nòs se nos naõ escuzava a briga, e quanto melhor nos convinha fazella em quanto fossemos menos, e ainda com estes na praya (pelo favor do sitio, que jã disse) indireitãmos com hum Cabeço, por onde (ainda que fragoso) nos ficava o caminho mais curto: e vendo elles nossa determinaçãõ, começãraõ como da outra vez a porse-nos diante com suas armas prestes, dizendo, que fossemos por onde elles hiaõ; e como nòs estivessemos pòstos em naõ lhes fazer a vontade, apercebendonos para o que esperavamos, ordenou o Capitaõ, dos que tinhamos armas, huns para a trazeira, e outros para a dianteira, e a gente sem ellas no meyo; e mandou ao que trazia a espingarda, que a disparasse, e tornasse a carregar de novo, receando que assim naõ tomasse fogo, por haver jã dias que vinha carregada, e molhada das chuvas passadas; e começando o que a levava de se fazer prestes com ferir fogo, os que delles estavaõ do mato fóra, começãraõ tambem com grande espanto de avizar aos de dentro, que se vigiassem, porque jã tinhamos lume, e naõ sabiaõ donde o houveramos; e isto os meteo a todos em tanto espanto, pasmo, e sobresalto, que logo enxergãmos nelles muita parte da fraqueza, que despois mostrãraõ; mas tudo foy nada,

para quando ouviraõ o estouro da espingarda ; porque entãõ, como se saltãraõ os diabos com elles, assim se espalhãraõ, e fogiraõ de modo, que em hum momento desaparecãraõ todos, nem sey por onde se sumiraõ em taõ pouco espaço, sendo tantos ; e vendo nõs o medo que haviaõ da espingarda, fizemos d'alli por diante mais conta della para nossa defenõsaõ.

Desembaraçada desta maneira a passagem, sobimos pela ladeira, que jã disse, athè chegarmos ao alto do Cabeço, onde estava huma povoaçãõ, da qual todos os que puderaõ, eraõ fogidos ; e sómente ficãraõ quatro ou cinco velhos, e taõ velhos, que se naõ atrevãraõ a seguir os outros, com quanto esperavaõ de nõs o pago do que tinhaõ merecido ; mas posto que hiamos escandalizados, com dô de suas velhices nenhum mal lhes quizemos fazer ; antes deixando-os em paz, seguimos nosso caminho athè chegar à praya, na qual achãmos levantada huma tempestade e tormenta de vento taõ terrivel, que este dia aos que d'alli escapãmos, nos serã sempre lembrado, por ser hum dos mais trabalhosos, que em todo o caminho tivemos : porque como toda aquella Cõsta seja de area solta, andava tanta, movida com a força do vento, que da grande carraça que fazia, nos naõ enxergãvamos huns aos outros : e assim se levantavaõ subitamente grandes outeiros della ; e em parte onde tudo estava raso, havia muito pouco espaço, que em quanto descancãmos obra de hum quarto de hora, quasi houveramos de ficar cubertos ; pelo que reccando que nos acontecesse, como a Lambisses, deixãmos o repouso, de que hiamos taõ necessitados, e tornãmos a caminhar, hindo vento à popa, e se se põde dizer, quasi voando : e veyo a continuaçaõ desta area com a furia do vento a disciplinarnos de sorte as pernas, e lugares que levãmos descubertos, que tudo hia lavado em sangue ; mas por aquella Cõsta ser toda escalvada, sem arvores, nem abrigo a que nos recolhessemos, foy forçado aturar este trabalho mais espaço, do que nossas disposiçoens podiaõ soportar ; e hindo desta maneira, topãmos com outros companheiros, que se apartãraõ de nõs no passo do brejo, que atrã contey, e com quanto levãmos em vontade naõ parar senãõ em algum mato, a cujo abrigo nos valessemos, por naõ haver jã quem pudesse dar hum passo mais àvante, e hir de nõs correndo o sangue em fio ; tomãmos por remedio humas moitas, que ao pè de hum comaro estavaõ, onde passãmos aquella noite com tanta sobegidaõ de dores, e frialdades nas chagas, que

levavamos, como falta de todos os outros remedios, que nos taõ necessarios eraõ.

Ao outro dia em amanhecendo cessou aquella tempestade, e nõs tanto que a claridade deo lugar tornámos a continuar nossa jornada, e neste dia topámos ao longo do mar hum pedaço de Nao, que affirmáraõ todos os que disso entendiaõ, ser do Galeaõ S. Joaõ, de alcunha o Biscainho, em que vinha Lopo de Sousa, e desapareceo tambem no anno de 551 que da India partio para este Reyno: e despois que sobre elle estivemos hum pedaço descansando, avivando a mágoa de nossos males com ver cousa desta terra; levantandonos fomos dormir aquella noite à boca do Rio dos Medos do ouro, que está em altura de 27 grãos e dous terços; o qual he hum dos mayores de toda aquella Cõsta; porque recolhe em si a agoa de quatro Rios muito grandes, que de muito pelo Sertaõ dentro se ajuntaõ em huma bahia, que elle faz, obra de meya legoa de praya, a qual terá a lugares mais de duas legoas de largo, e perto de vinte de comprido, ficando entre o comprimento della e a Cõsta huns outeiros de area, que a dividem do mar, e afóra estes Rios, se ajuntaõ nesta bahia as agoas de tantos brejos e regatos, que despois de feita toda em hum corpo, entra nelle com tanta furia, que mais de duas legoas se enxerga a corrente da agoa doce hir cortando por cima da salgada; pelo que vendo nõs quaõ perdido trabalho era o que se tomasse em buscar váo a tanta altura, começámos de rodear ao longo do Rio, athè que chegámos ao primeiro braço delle, e por onde nos pareceo menor a corrente, ordenámos jangadas, que nos foraõ assás trabalhosas de fazer, pelo muito espaço que havia d'alli donde trouxemos a madeira para ellas; e em quanto o dia deo lugar, naõ cessou a gente de passar: mas quando veyo sobre a tarde foraõ tantos os cavallo marinhos, que atravessavaõ o Rio, que com receyo de nos fazerem algum danno, os que estavamos de huma e outra parte nos agazalhámos o melhor que pudemos, deixando a passagem para outro dia.

Esta noite porque fazia luar, foraõ tres Marinheiros correr a praya com esperanza da tormenta passada, e acháraõ na boca do Rio hum Tubaraõ lançado à Cõsta, o qual repartiraõ entre si, o cada dous dedos de posta nos vendèraõ por quinze e vinte cruzados; e a falta doutros mantimentos fazia tanta sobegidaõ de compradores, que despois do corpo ser todo levado a este preço,

naõ faltava quem dæsse pela ametade da cabeça vinte mil reis; de modo que bem se pudera comprar nesta terra muito arresoada quinta com o que aquelle peixe rendeo.

Ao outro dia tornâmos às jangadas, e em acabarmos de passar, nos detivemos athè a noite; pelo que dormimos logo na banda d'alem entre huns caniçãos e lamaraõ q̄ foy o melhor lugar que pudemos descobrir; e tornando, tanto q̄ amanheceo a nosso caminho, andâmos athè hora de vespera que chegâmos ao outro braço do Rio, ao qual, posto que era largo, achâmos vâo; e vendo como ao perto da bahia tudo estava paulado, e cheyo de agoa, arredandonos della, e andando rodeando de humas partes para as outras, topâmos huma certa trilhada, e suppondo que havia de hir ter a povoado, caminhâmos por ella athè a tarde, que houemos vista de duas ou tres povoaçoens: nas quaes resgatâmos tres Cabras: e desembaraçandonos da gente dellas, que juntamente com a d'outras comettia peleijar comnosco, fomos aquella noite dormir junto d'outras povoaçoens, cujos moradores, por naõ serem tantos, que se atrevessem a acometternos descubertamente, se hiaõ ao outro dia caminhando juntamente comnosco, e esperando em nòs alguma desordem, onde descobrissem suas tençoens; e como neste comenos chegassemos a hum Rio, cujo vâo nos chegava aos pescoços, vendo elles que pelo resguardo com que passavamos, naõ podiaõ fazer em nòs preza, arremetèraõ a quatro ou cinco Escravos que ainda ficavaõ da sua parte, e os despiraõ sem lhes podermos valer, por estarem os mais jâ da outra banda, e os que ainda ficavaõ no Rio, terem tanto que fazer com a vaza em que estavaõ atolados, que naõ foraõ poderosos de lhes obedecer.

Desembaraçados deste Rio, caminhâmos athè a tarde, em que topâmos outra povoação, onde os Cafres nos mostraraõ huma certa parte por onde diziaõ, que achariamos vâo à bahia, e poderiamos atravessar a praya como desejavamos; e estando nòs para abalar (naõ por confiança que tivéssemos em suas palavras) mas pela necessidade que nos constringia, chegou hum moço Guzarate bem conhecido na India por alguns da companhia, e nos avizou que naõ fossemos por onde nos encaminhavaõ, que era tudo vaza, e determinavaõ matarnos tanto que fossemos atolados nella, mas que elle se queria hir comnosco, e mostrarnos por onde Manoel de Sousa passou; e havendose este por mais seguro conselho, o seguimos dous dias sempre ao longo da bahia; no fim dos quaes

topámos outro Rio, e como todos fossemos alvoroçados, cuidando chegar ao mar, segundo as esperanças que o guia nos dava, em achando este embaraço houve alguns tanto contra elle, dizendo, que havia mister enforcado, pois àcinte nos trazia por alli a morrer; do que havendo o moço medo, se tornou para os Cafres sem nossa licença, e despois que o achámos menos, vendo que não havia quem nos guiasse por outra parte, apalpámos o Rio a ver se poderíamos escusar fazer jangadas, por não haver madeira para ellas senão d'alli a grande espaço; mas despois que vimos serem necessarias, fizemos duas em que ainda aquella tarde passou boa parte da gente.

Ao outro dia, tanto que todos fomos da banda d'alem, tornámos a rodear à bahia, e como toda a terra por alli seja despovoada, e em extremo esteril de arvores e hervas: e nos lugares que atrás deixámos, não resgataramos cousa alguma, cresceu tanto a necessidade entre nós, que nos constrangeo a comer os sapatos, e embraçamentos das rodèlas que levavamos: e o que alcançava achar algum osso de alimaria, que já de velho estava tão branco como a neve, o comião feito em carvão, como se fora hum abastado banquete; com a qual esterilidade veyo a gente a enfraquecer de modo, que d'alli por diante começou a ficar sem ordem pelos pés das moitas, cahindo pelo caminho a cada passo; e andavaõ todos tão sem sentido, e transportados com esta mingoa, que nem os que ficavaõ sentiaõ que haviaõ de morrer d'alli a poucas horas naquelle desamparo; nem os que hiaõ por diante, esperando a cada momento ver o mesmo em si, levavaõ já màgoa de cousa tanto para a ter; e assim passavaõ huns pelos outros, sem nelles se enxergar sinal algum de sentimento, como que todos foraõ alimarias irrationaes que por alli andavaõ pascendo; trazendo sómente o intento, e olhos pasmados pelo campo a ver se poderiaõ descobrir herva, osso, ou bicho (a que não valia ser peçonhento) de que pudessem lançar mão; e em apparecendo qualquer destas cousas corriaõ logo todos a quem mais podia para a tomar primeiro; e muitas vezes chegavaõ a ter paixaõ parentes com parentes, amigos com amigos, sobre hum gafanhoto, bisouro, ou lagartixa; tanta era a necessidade, e tanta a lastima, q̄ fazia estimar cousas tão torpes; e caminhando com este trabalho tres dias, no fim delles chegámos a hum outeiro, em que havia muitas cebolas albarrãs, as quaes não pode defender a sospeita que tinhamos de serem peçonha que bastava a matar, para que deixassemos

de fazer dellas a cea; e prouve a Nosso Senhor, que por entaõ nenhum mal nos fizeraõ.

Alto, immenso, justo, e todo poderoso Deos, verdadeiro esquadrinhador do coração humano! Vòs Senhor, que de vosso sydereo throno estais vendo na terra a afflicãõ e angustia com que o meo agora litiga, por ser chegada a triste hora, em que para verdadeira continuação deste processo, me he necessario escrever a intempestiva, e lastimosa morte de Antonio Sobrinho de Mesquita meo Irmaõ: e sabeis como por sua causa sou posto em perpetua magoa, e qual já fuy com elle vivo, e qual sou tornado com elle morto. Socorreime Senhor em tempo taõ necessario, e avivay meos espiritos debilitados com a lembrança desta dor, para que a força della não afogue de todo as palavras, e eu possa continuar com a generalidade desta Historia, deixando o sentimento de meos proprios males, para lamentado sò de mim, no grão em que foy estimada a causa delle.

Assim que tornando ao caso, hindo nõs na paragem, onde quebrey o fio a este meo começado trabalho; veyo meo Irmaõ a enfraquecer de maneira que não podendo aturar com a companhia, havia cinco ou seis dias, que elle e eu ficavamos atràs de todos, e chegavamos os derradeiros aos lugares onde às noites repouzavamos; e posto que o Capitaõ esperava por nõs muitas vezes, e por nosso respeito se agazalhava às tardes mais cedo do costumado, nem isto bastava para podermos aturar com elle, autes como esta fraqueza com a mingoa fosse cada vez em mais crescimento, nõs tambem hiamos crescendo na tardança; pelo que vendo o Capitaõ, que em começando na manhã seguinte de caminhar, ficavamos atràs hum grande espaço, aguardou que chegassemos a elle; e entaõ nos disse, que bem viamos a desventura a que nossos peccados nos traziaõ, e que todos aquelles homes se queixavaõ delle hir esperando por nõs, dizendo que em quanto lhes durava o alento, deviaõ trabalhar por sahir daquella mã terra, e que por pouco tempo que se gastasse naquellas detenças, segundo já todos andavaõ, se acabariaõ alli de consumir; por tanto nos determinassemos no que haviamos de fazer, que se podiamos, não ficassemos atràs; e se tambem as forças de Antonio Sobrinho não abrangiaõ, e eu estava posto em ficar com elle, assim lho dissesse, porque não gastasse mais o tempo em cousas com que a nõs não podia remediar, e aos outros punha em manifesta perdiçaõ: e que sabia Deos com quanta dor aquillo

dizia; mas que pelo cargo que trazia daquella gente, lhe era assim necessario.

E como Antonio Sobrinho a isto dissesse, que muitos dias havia que elle ficara, se eu não fora; mas que já então se não atrevia a dar hum só passo mais àvante; respondi eu ao Capitão, que bem via ter elle muita razão no que dizia, e pois Nosso Senhor era servido, que de pays, filhos, e familia, que naquella Nao vinhamos, nenhum escapasse, vendo huns as desestradas mortes dos outros, eu lhe dava muitas graças, e tomava em penitencia de meos peccados, e estava determinado a ficar com meo Irmaão, e serlhe companheiro na morte, como fora na vida; e pois estava certo sua fraqueza ser cada vez mayor, por proceder de fôme, a que elles não podiaõ dar remedio, lhes rogava a todos não fizessem mais detença; e se prouvesse a Nosso Senhor lembrarse delles, e levалlos a terra de Christãos, esta só cousa lhes pedia, que não dissessem como acabaramos, mas que nos afogaramos ao desembarcar da Nao, por não lastimar mais a huma triste e desconsolada May, que trespassada com taes mortes de marido e filhos, nos neste Reyno ficava.

Tanto que isto foy ouvido por Antonio Sobrinho, agastandose sobejamente, me disse, que em tal cousa não fallasse, nem elle a havia de consentir: mas que me requeria da parte de Deos, de S. Pedro e S. Paulo, que me fosse, e o deixasse; e da parte dos mesmos requereo ao Capitão, e a todos os mais que me não consentissem ficar; dizendo, que se elle sentira em si alguma esperanza de vida, nenhuma cousa o pudera tanto consolar, como a minha companhia; mas que ao presente estava em termos, que tudo o que ao redòr de si via, era morte, e sinaes della; por tanto eu não curasse mais delle, nem elle queria mais de mim senao que o encomendasse a N. Senhor, a quem me elle tambem encomendava; e me pedia que seo fallecimento fosse de mim recebido por tamanha mercè da mão Divina, como elle o tomava; e que assim mesmo, Deos sabia, que se lhe alguma dor ficava, era em cuidar quanta parte o sentimento de sua morte seria para me fazer mais cedo vir a outro tanto. E com quanto o Capitão, e outras pessoas com muitas razoens trabalhasse de me persuadir que não ficasse, queixandome eu de quaõ mal julgado era delles, pois cuidavaõ que bastariaõ suas porfias em me tirar de meo dever, persisti na minha tençaõ. Pelo que elles, não com pequenas mostras de sentimento, se despediraõ de nõs, e tornaraõ

a caminhar, ficando sómente comigo hum moço, que deste Reyno levàra, e hum escravo, os quaes me não quizerão deixar, posto que muitas vezes lho roguey; e vendo eu como sua companhia não servia de mais, que de me magoar na vida, e desenquietar na morte, foi-me necessario pagarlhe sua boa tenção com tao mà obra, como tomar huma lança que levava, e às trochadas os fazer apartar de mim; dos quaes quiz aqui fazer esta lembrança, porque sua fé mo mereceo.

Ficando assim sós meo Irmaõ, e eu, depois que elle descansou, lhe roguey se levantasse, e em quanto era dia, e lhe Nosso Senhor dava vida se esforçasse a andar por diante o mais que pudesse, porque prazeria a elle depararnos alguma povoação onde achassemos remedio: e quando não, melhor seria acabar em poder de homens, que de alimarias, que naquella terra deviaõ ser muitas, segundo o infinito e diverso genero de pègadas com que toda estava cuberta; com a qual amoestação se elle afrontou tanto, que por hum grande espaço me não quiz responder; mas depois vendo que eu não cessava de o importunar, rompendo aquelle silencio disse, que elle me rogava nao ficasse alli, e o deixasse por respeito de minha vida, como de sua morte; e pois o eu não quizera fazer, soubèsse, que aquelle que alli estava, nao era já meo Irmaõ, nem eu por tal o nomeasse, mas hum corpo morto, e huma pouca de terra, como veria muy cedo; e pois assim havia de ser, me pedia, esse pouco espaço de vida, que lhe ficava, lho não gastasse em buscar remedios della, que já os não havia mister, mas o deixasse encomendarse a Nosso Senhor, e abraçarse com a sua Sagrada Payxao, para que lhe valesse naquella hora, e que a isto o ajudasse eu; porque aquella era a cousa de que sómente tinha necessidade, e a derradeira que me havia de pedir. E como nestas, e em outras taõ tristes e saudosas praticas gastassemos algum espaço, commovido elle emfim por minha lastima, se esforçou a levantar-se, e tornar ao caminho, pelo qual não teve andado muito, quando se tornou a deitar; e assim às vezes andando, e às vezes cahindo, pouco e pouco hiamos seguindo os da outra companhia; os quaes depois que se apartãraõ, andãraõ athè horas de vespèras, que topãraõ hum brejo, que lhes atravessava o caminho, pelo meyo do qual corria hum Rio; e estando em duvida do que no passo delle fariaõ, apparecêraõ da outra banda certos Cafres, a que rogãraõ lhes mostrassem por onde passariaõ; os quaes lhes respondêraõ, que não podiaõ entãõ, mas que ao



outro dia o fariaõ; pelo que vendo os nossos, como lhes era necessario esperar guia, recolheraõse a hum mato, que ali perto estava, gastando todo o resto daquelle dia em buscar algum modo de mantimento: e porque a jornada que fizeraõ, com o embaraço do Rio foy pequena, hindo meo Irmaõ e eu com nossas detenças pela sua trilha, sendo já bem fechada a noite, houemos vista dos fogos que faziaõ, e nos tornâmos a ajuntar com elles, achando-os mais contentes do que estiveraõ as outras noites passadas; e assim pela esperanza de ao outro dia chegarem a povoado, como por toparem aquella tarde na borda do brejo huns golfos destes que nascem nas alagoas, a quem a necessidade acreditou por huma excellente iguaria, posto que meo Irmaõ e eu não houemos delles quinhaõ, por chegarmos tarde, mas fizemos a cea de humas alparcas que eu levava calçadas, a quem tambem a nossa não menor mingoa fez que não menos gostosas as achassemos.

Ao outro dia pela manhãa apparecêraõ da outra banda do Rio os Catres porque esperavamos, os quaes, segundo despois succedeo, parece que toda aquella tarde gastâraõ em se ajuntar, e tanto que chegâraõ defronte de nõs, mostrâraõ huma certa parte por onde disseraõ que tinhamos passagem; mas foy tanta a lama que achâmos em atravessar do lugar, onde dormiramos, ao Rio, que ajuntando isto com alguns sinaes de mão proposito que nelles vimos, receavamos entrar na agua: e sentindo elles nossa desconfiança, fizeraõ a cousa leve, dizendo que não houessemos medo, porque já por alli foraõ outros homens da nossa terra; de modo que assim por suas exhortaçoes, como pela necessidade que tinhamos da outra banda, começâmos a passar o Rio, porèm quasi juntos em hum tropel, para que em qualquer parte que nos acomettessem, lhes pudessemos resistir; e não tivemos dados muitos passos, quando todos ficâmos atolados na vaza athè a cintura, não havendo mais de dous palmos de agoa sobre ella; de modo que tudo junto nos ficava chegando aos hombros; em o qual trabalho cadalhum começou de mostrar o extremo a que suas forças abrangiaõ, e era a vaza taõ alta, e viscosa, que estavamos às vezes por muito espaço prezos em hum lugar trabalhando sempre por nos arrancar, sem poder dar hum passo àvante: e quando já alcançavamos tirar huma perna, e estribar nella para a outra, tornavamos a soterralla, de sorte que nenhuma dellas podiaõ despois sahir tóra; e como nossas disposiçoens já não fossem para tanto trabalho, houve alguns, que desconfiando de

poderem d'alli sahir, cançados e descorçoados já de todo, determinavao deixarse ficar assim pregados naquelle atoleiro; e sem duvida o fizeraõ, acabando em hum taõ novo e cruel genero de morte, senaõ foraõ outros, que amando-os neste extremo os esforçaraõ por tantas vezes, que os fizeraõ passar à outra banda.

Nesta passagem falleceo Antonio Sobrinho meo Irmaõ, que como nella houvesse o trabalho que tenho contado, e sua disposiçaõ fosse já taõ chegada ao cabo, arrancando-o eu daquelle atoleiro, quando elle naõ podia, com o trabalho, e agonia, que só Deos sabe, chegamos à corrente do Rio, que hia ao longo da riba da outra banda, na qual a lama era pouca, mas a agoa tanta, que nos cobria de modo, que os que por alli passavaõ davaõ cinco ou seis passos de entuviada, sem tocar com os pès no chaõ, athè afferrarem terra da outra parte. E como nòs pela detença de sua fraqueza fossemos os derradeiros que ficassemos no Rio, e naõ soubessemos nadar, tanto que alli chegamos, passey eu à outra banda pondome o mais chegado ao alto que pude, para o ajudar, quando a mim chegasse; mas sua fraqueza foy tal, que ao tempo que se lançou, lhe levantou a agoa os pès, e o levou atravessado pelo Rio abaixo; e com quanto trabalhey, athè que o afferrey por hum braço, mas naõ mereci a Nosso Senhor podello indireitar sobre a agoa, sem que primeiro lhe dèsse o espirito; e porque passando eu huma vez o Rio com os primeiros para ajudar a defender a passagem, se fosse necessario, e quando naõ, despojarme das armas, pois com ellas era impossivel darlhe ajuda; e emquanto eu torney por elle, e passamos o que està dito, os outros companheiros com receyo dos Cafres, se afastaraõ hum pedaço donde os eu deixara, por ser alli tudo lamarãõ, e naõ tendo quem me ajudasso em taõ lastimoso acontecimento, senaõ hum fraco Gurumete que alli ficava cançado, o tirey ao enxuto, e cobri com humas poucas de cannas, que foy o mais pio officio, que segundo minha fraqueza, e dor naquella hora lhe pude fazer; e isto acabado, porq̃ havia algum tempo que o Capitaõ me estava chamando para pelejarmos com os Cafres, que lhe tinhaõ tomado o caminho; venho eu naõ haver alli mais que fazer, por o tempo naõ ser de lagrimas, nem q̃ o fora, se poderem achar bastantes a tanta màgoa, despedindome para sempre daquelle corpo, que de mim nesta vida fora taõ querido, e entaõ na falta de espirito o mais penetrante e desestrado golpe de desventura mo arrebatava dos olhos, e fazia deixar naquelles desertos, me parti. O como, naõ direy; porque àlem

de estar entendido, confesso, que se proseguir mais a lembrança de taõ triste passo, nenhuma cousa bastará a me dar soffrimento, para que em lugar de escrever Historia geral abreviada, deixe de mudar a penna em elegia muy prolixa.

Assim que, chegando eu aos outros companheiros, achey-os prestes para pelejarem, e confusos se o fariaõ, pela multidaõ dos Cafres, que lhe tinhaõ tomado o caminho, e estavaõ entre si em grandes altercaçoens, se nos accometteriaõ ou naõ; mas por derradeiro, podendo mais com elles o medo da espingarda, que suas proprias vontades, concluiraõ em dissimularem por entaõ, e ensinarnos o caminho de tres ou quatro povoaçoens, que alli perto tinhaõ, onde determinavaõ fazer mayor corpo de gente, e tornar a seo proposito; e posto que logo o lingua nos avizou do que passava, pela falta de mantimentos em que estavamos, dissimulamos tambem, athè vermos se poderiamos haver delles algum, e agazalhandonos onde elles quizeraõ, nos trouxeraõ a vender alguns taçalhos de Bufanos, e outras caças, de que toda aquella terra he bem abastada.

Estes Cafres nos deraõ novas, como os quatro homens, que mandãramos diante com recado a Lourenço Marques, eraõ mórtoes, e os matãraõ d'alli perto, porque elles constrangidos da fôme, tomãraõ hum Cafre que topãraõ ao longo do mar, e metendo-se com elle em hum mato, o espostejaõ e assãraõ para fornecer os alforges: mas como os vizinhos deste o achassem menos, e a terra seja toda de area, vieraõ pela trilla a dar com o negocio; e entaõ levando os nossos à praya, e naõ se havendo por bom o que delles naõ tomava vingança, fizeraõ nos coitados huma crua carniçaria.

Ao outro dia partindo d'alli fomos prolongando por outras povoaçoens, os Cafres das quaes hiaõ ao longo de nòs incorporandose com os das onde dormiram; e como seo proposito fosse o que já disse, despois que se viraõ muitos quizeraõ começar de o pôr em obra, pelo que hum delles arremeteo a outro nosso, que algum tanto hia descuidado, e arrancandolhe a espada da cinta, fugio com ella; e vendo que por este seo primeiro desavergonhamento passavamos, com naõ fazer mais que amoestellos que se fossem, cobrou outro ouzadia de querer tomar o machado ao que o levava; mas como elle já fosse àlerta, naõ lho pode tirar das maõs, antes carregando nòs todos sobre elle, e sobre os que acodiraõ a querello defender, tivemos hum pedaço de briga bem suada, na qual o

ladraõ foy derrubado aos botes das lanças; mas vinhaõ nossas disposiçoens tanto para aquelle officio, que com quanto esteve hum bom pedaço deitado, e lhe deraõ perto de vinte lançadas, de nenhuma ficou ferido, naõ trazendo mais armas defensivas, que a pelle com que nascèra, e assim se tornou a hir, levando sómente huma maõ cortada de hum golpe de espada, que o Capitaõ lhe deo; e posto que seos companheiros trabalhàraõ quanto nelles foy possível por o vingarem, vendo emfim como nos naõ podiaõ romper, e quaõ trabalhosamente escapava o que se mais afoutava, poucos e poucos se começàraõ de hir recolhendo, athè que nos vieraõ a largar de todo.

Desembaraçados desta gente, tornàmos a seguir nossa jornada por huma charneca abaixo, na qual vimos andar grande bando de Bufanos mecenos, Zevaras, e Cavallos; os quaes aqui sómente em todo este caminho topàmos; e passando d'alli chegàmos a hum brejo, pelo meyo do qual corria hum rio, que por nenhuma parte se podia vadear, senaõ por certa vereda de Elefantes, que o atravessava de huma parte a outra; e este receavamos nòs em extremo, assim por nella ser ainda a agoa alta, como pelos muitos Cavallos marinhos, de que toda estava cuberta, e vendonos, se ajuntavaõ em grandes bandos, e levantando meyos corpos sobre a agoa, arremetiaõ para onde estavamos com tanta furia e rinchos, que nenhum ouzava de ser o primeiro que comettesse a passagem; mas por derradeiro, vendo que naõ tinhamos outro remedio, hindo batendo diante com as lanças, e dando grandes apupadas, por os sentirmos com isto algum tanto amedrontados, passàmos à outra banda. E querendo d'alli atravessar ao mar, achàmos que toda a longura do brejo, que serà meya legua, era cheya de humas arvores em extremo altas, e mal assombradas, por entre as quaes o Sol em nenhum tempo tem entrada a vizitar a agoa, que por baixo està encharcada, e daqui procede ser ella taõ fria, e de mão cheiro, que ajuntando isto com sua altura, e o lamarão que tem, fazem a passagem em tal maneira difficultosa, que com quanto este dia, e outros seis, que ao longo delle caminhàmos, comettemos por muitas vezes passar à outra banda, e nunca o pudemos fazer.

E como em todo aquelle tempo, que prolongavamos esta infernal alagoa, naõ achassemos brejos, raizes,ervas, frutas, nem outro algum modo de mantimento com que nos sustentassemos; veyo a necessidade a ser tanta, que nos forçava a comer humas favas,

que foy a mayor e mais arrebatada peçonha de quantas neste caminho comemos; porque em acabando de as engolir, davaõ com quem tal fazia no chaõ com todos os accidentes mortaes: de modo que se lhe logo não acodiaõ com pedra Bazar, não podiaõ mais dar passo àvante, e ficavaõ fazendo torceduras e geitos com a dor, e afrontamentos que pareciaõ endemoninhados; de maneira que huns por padecerem tanto com esta comida, e outros, q̄ por verem a estes, não usavaõ della, nem achavaõ outra couza, viemos todos a enfraquecer de sorte, que em cada hum daquelles dias nos hiaõ ficando muitos homens com tanta mingoa, e desamparo, que se se pòde dizer, a Tigres, e a Ussos moveriaõ a piedade; e posto que nõs nesta parte hiamos de peyor condiçaõ que elles, porque o particular receyo, que cada hum de si mesmo levava, trazia a todos taõ fóra de sentido, que se lhe algum ficava, o occupava sómente em se hir queixando de sua mà fortuna e peccados, que a tanta desventura o trouxeraõ: e certo que qualquer pessoa, que de cima daquelles montes nos estivera olhando, posto que barbaro, e criado nas concavidades daquellas deshabitadas serras fora, vendonos hir assim nus, descalços, carregados, e estrangeiros, perdidos, e necessitados, pascendo as hervas cruas, de que ainda não eramos abastados, pelos valles e outeiros daquelles desertos, alcançára sermos homens, que gravemente tinhamos errado contra Deos, porque a nossos delictos serem daqui para baixo, sua costumada clemencia não consentira taõ àspero castigo em corpos taõ miseraveis.

E como esta afflicçaõ fosse em crescimento cada dia, vendo nõs como quanto hiamos descobrindo era cheyo deste brejo; e com muy certas mostras de chegarmos primeiro ao cabo das vodas, que delle; desconfiando poder d'alli sahir por deligencia humana, determinãmos recorrer à Divina; peloque, pondonos todos de joelhos em oraçaõ, pedindo a Nossa Senhora pela sua Santa Conceiçaõ, nos alcançasse de seo Glorioso Filho outro novo milagre semelhante ao que fizera com os filhos de Israel na sahida do Egypto, e passagem do Mar Roxo, mostrandonos caminho por onde d'alli sahissemos, e achassemos algum modo de mantimento, com que reformassemos nossos já quasi perdidos espiritos, e não percessemos em tal mingoa. E como seo officio seja rogar sempre por peccadores, prouve a ella, que naquelle mesmo dia accomettessemos o brejo por parte, que parecia impossivel passallo; e por alli com sua guia (que sem ella não pudéramos) achãmos

maneira com que atravessassemos à outra banda. Pelo que vendo taõ evidente milagre, nos puzemos outra vez em oraçaõ, dando (naõ com olhos enxutos) graças a nosso Senhor por tamanha mercè; e afóra os votos particulares, promettemos, em nome de todos, huma romaria a Nossa Senhora de Guadalupe com huma Missa officiada solemnemente, e outra tal na primeira Casa da Virgem, a que fossemos ter; porque vendo o que ella Madre de Deos por nòs fizera naquelle dia, d'alli por diante começamos, mediante sua ajuda, de cobrar alguma esperanza de salvaçaõ, e confiar mais no remedio de nossos desconfiados trabalhos; e neste mesmo dia, para que claramente conhecessemos de cuja mã tal obra sahira, e nos naõ faltasse o Manà do Deserto, achamos muitos cocos de palmeiras bravas, e aquella noite fomos dormir junto de huma alagoa que estava perto do mar, onde achamos certas frutas, quasi como peras, de muito arrezoadado sabor, e vieraõ Cafres ter comnosco.

Passando alli aquella noite com muito mais repouzo, que as passadas, ao dia, que era do Bemaventurado S. Joaõ Bautista, tornaraõ os Cafres com hum pouco de milho que lhes resgatamos; e isto acabado, como nossos dezejões naõ descansassem, senaõ quando nos viamos na praya, determinamos hir dormir a ella; e porque havia ainda outro brejo neste caminho, rogamos aos Cafres nos mostrassem o passo delle: os quaes como a este tempo para o fim da malicia que tinhaõ ordenado, estivessem muitos juntos, e esperassem ainda por mais, detinhaõ-nos com palavras; mas depois que viraõ que lhe davamos pressa, começaraõ dissimuladamente a baralharse comnosco, com proposito de nos tomar às mãos: e sem duvida o puderaõ facilmente fazer, segundo suas forças, e nossas fraquezas, se nos o lingoa naõ avizara do que lhes ouvira; pelo que naõ consentimos chegarem a nòs; e vendo elles como eraõ entendidos, e que por manha naõ podiaõ acabar o que queriaõ, começaraõ d'alli por diante a mostrar suas tençoens mais descubertamente, e fallar soberbos, cuidando, que por esta via nos abrandariaõ mais azinha a lhe fazermos as vontades; assim que vendo nòs quaõ certa estava com elles a contenda, começamos de nos fazer prestes: e ordenados todos em hum corpo, levando aos desarmados no meyo, nos puzemos em caminho, sem esperar por elles: os quaes tanto que nos viraõ desta maneira, disseraõ que nos queriaõ guiar; e assim juntos andamos athè chegar ao cume de hum Cabeço, donde se descobria o mar; e querendo

elles que tomassemos por hum carreiro, que hia ter ao brejo, que já disse, onde despois de atolados, determinavaõ peleijar comnosco; e nõs fossemos enfadados de semelhantes passos, e entendessemos seo proposito, naõ quizemos mudar o nosso, que era tomar por onde viamos o caminho mais desembaraçado; e conhecendo elles nossa tençaõ, aparelharaõ-se para peleijar, pondose huns pelas veredas, a que lhes pareceo que nos acolheriamos, e outros cercand nos ao redõr, e tanto que estiveraõ repartidos, e apercebidos, começaraõ de escaramuçar huns com os outros a modo de homens que se ensayavaõ; e isto feito, com grandes gritos e apupadas arremeteraõ a nõs, atirando tantas azagayas, que todo o ar era cuberto de huma nuvem dellas, sem parecer que mingoavaõ mais huma hora que outra; e deste primeiro impeto nos feriraõ o Capitaõ e outro homem de duas grandes feridas: mas como a este tempo naõ fossemos descuidados nem (despois de Deos) tivessesmos melhor remedio, que a esperança pouca delle, determinãmos em naõ ficar sem vingança, se houvessemos de perder as vidas, que tanto trabalho nos tinhaõ custado. Começãmos a resistirlhe com algumas poucas de lanças, e espadas que ainda entre nõs havia, e com outros diversos generos de armas, que entaõ a ira, e necessidade facilmente ministrãraõ; mas como fossemos poucos, e desbaratados da fraqueza, e elles muitos e rijos: vendonos taõ maltratados, naõ cessavaõ de nos apertar por todas as partes, entrando comnosco à vontade a despedir as azagayas, que elles já por costume atiraõ com incrível força e destreza; e quando hiamos para os offender, como nossas armas naõ eraõ de arremesso, arredavaõ-se com tanta ligeireza, que lhes naõ podiamos fazer nojo; e posto que nos detivemos com elles mais de duas horas peleijando sempre rijamente, e bandeando a vitoria, hora a huma parte, hora a outra, andavamos já taõ cançados, que nenhum remedio tiveramos, se nos nosso Senhor naõ ajudãra com a espingarda, porque naõ fazendo neste tempo o que a levava, senaõ carregar, e disparar, metendolhe além do pelouro muita soma de moniçaõ, como na multidaõ dos inimigos naõ houvesse que errar, cahiraõ logo dous, e foraõ tantos os feridos, que escarmentados disto, começãraõ a peleijar com menos furia, athè que pouco e pouco nos vieraõ a largar de todo; e tanto que nos vimos desembaraçados delles, (dando a Nosso Senhor as graças por tamanha vitoria) endireitãmos com o mar, e chegãmos a elle, havendo quatorze dias que o deixãramos, e começãramos

de rodear aquelle Rio, no fim dos quaes teriamos andado passante de sessenta leguoas, e não avantejariamos em nosso caminho mais de cinco, que poderia haver deste lugar, onde chegamos, à boca do Rio, donde partimos. Neste rodeyo, entre mortos e cançados, nos ficarião vinte pessoas.

Despois que estivemos hum pedaço descansando naquella area tão desejada, e fomos curados com huma talhada de toucinho, que por ditta se achou na companhia, e não foy pequeno remedio, segundo careciamos de todos; por ser ainda cedo tornamos a caminhar a ver se topariamos alguma agoa, a cuja beira repouzásemos; mas como esta terra seja toda muito falta della, andamos athè a tarde sem a podermos achar; e assim nos recolhemos à bõrda de hum mato, passando aquella noite bem atormentados da sede, pelo trabalho, que com os Cafres levamos; e não foy esta a primeira, nem a derradeira, porque despois que sahimos da Terra do Natal, e entrámos na que se chama dos Fumos, que he dos 26 grãos e dous terços para baixo, por ser toda de area, muitas vezes caminhavamos seis e sete dias sem beber, que não foy dos menores males, que nesta jornada passámos.

Ao outro dia tornamos a caminhar, com proposito de nos não afastar da praya senão com extrema necessidade; mas como esta era tão continua entre nós, principalmente por agoa, quasi todas as tardes nos metiamos pela terra dentro a buscar algumas pègadas de Elefantes, onde às vezes achavamos; (que estas saõ as fontes cristalinas daquella comarca;) e caminhando com esta esterilidade cinco dias, no fim delles nos soccorreo Nosso Senhor com hum porco montez, que achamos em humas moitas, que ao longo do mar estavaõ; o qual como se houvesse descuidado, primeiro que se puzesse em fogida foy cercado, e morto às pancadas, e igualmente entre todos repartido.

Este dia à tarde, hindo guinando pela terra dentro, segundo costumavamos, passámos ao longo de tres ou quatro povoaçoens grandes, em nenhuma das quaes nos quizeraõ mostrar donde bebiaõ; e sendo já perto da noite, chegamos a outra, em que estavaõ obra de vinte ou trinta vacas, e alguns carneiros de cinco quartos, e della nos mostraraõ hum brejo, que estava ainda d'alli hum pedaço, mas por não serem já horas para hirmos dormir junto delle, mandámos lá quatro ou cinco moços, que por falta de vazilhas suppriraõ bem pouco a nossa muita necessidade.

E porque os Cafres de todos aquelles lugares, que atrás



deixáramos, vieraõ toda aquella tarde acoçandonos, e lançando maõ de alguns descuidados, e ajuntando-se de cada vez mais athè nos deixarem agazalhados, fazendo elles tambem o mesmo ahi perto; havendo nõs este seo ajuntamento por sospeitoso, tanto que se cerrou a noite, mandámos o lingoa fosse secretamente espiar o que fallavaõ; e como fazia escuro, pode-o elle fazer de modo, que tornando nos contou como tinhaõ lá despido e ferido em dez ou doze partes a hum Marinheiro, que constrangido da sede lhe fora pedir agoa, vendo que estava mais incerto o perigo em taõ certos inimigos, que na necessidade que passava; e que a pratica toda era em tratar da maneira em que ao outro dia pelejariaõ comnosco, para que nenhum escapàsse.

Tanto que isto foy sabido, porque entre nõs e o mar havia hum outro e hum valle de muito mato, e trabalhoso de caminhar, por onde esperavamos hir pelejando com elles à muita ventagem sua, e risco nosso, pareceo bem a todos levantarmonos à meya noite, e hir ter ao mar primeiro que fosse dia, onde pelas razoens já dittas, esperavamos melhor partido; e seguindo este parecer, tanto que a hora foy chegada, puzemonos em caminho, deixando alguns fõgos feitos para mais dissimulaçaõ; e como o escuro fosse grande, e nõs pouco sabedores da terra, não tinhamos conta com mais, que com cortar ao direito; pelo que acertámos de romper pelo mais ingreme, e fragoso do mato, onde havia muitos espinheiros, e outras arvores, que a antiguidade do tempo tinha derribadas no chaõ, por cima ou por baixo das quaes hiamos muitas vezes de gatinhas, e às apalpadelas, segundo melhor nos parecia, porque a claridade era taõ pouca, que os olhos não serviaõ de mais, que de hirem pondo sempre a seos donos em receyo de encontrarem com algum estrepe em que os quebrassem: e desta maneira seguindo huns a outros pelo som dos ays, que hiaõ dando com dor das marradas, ou espinhos que topavaõ, em começando já de romper a alva, chegámos ao mar, ficandonos nesta passagem tres homens, afõra os que os Cafres feriraõ, pelos quaes esperámos hum bom pedaço; mas vendo emfim como sua tardança devia ser por mais não poderem, tornámos a caminhar, e esta noite fomos dormir a hum mato, onde houve alguns, que forçados da sede se satisfizeraõ com a agoa de huma alagoa, taõ salgada como a do mar, e esta comprada ainda a pezo de ouro às pessoas que a foraõ buscar; porque pela grande jornada, que aquella noite e dia fizemos, quando alli chegámos já não havia quem se pudesse

bulir; e depois de assim estarmos agazalhados, chegãraõ tres ou quatro Cafres pela nossa trilha, que eraõ espias dos outros, que atràs deixãramos, e tanto que houveraõ vista onde ficãmos, se tornãraõ.

E como a vinda destes descobridores nos naõ deixasse ainda repousar seguros, pela muita gente que viramos junta; tanto que luzio a alva tornãmos ao caminho, e às nove ou dez horas do dia topãmos hum Rio, a que por ser baixamar achãmos vãõ; e sendo já quasi todos passados à outra banda, chegãraõ huns poucos de Cafres apressados em nosso alcance, que eraõ corredores dos mais que atràs ficavaõ, e achando ainda da parte porque elles vinhaõ a dous ou tres mancebos os despiraõ, sem lhes fazerem outro mal, com o intento de arremetterem a outras pessoas que ainda hiaõ passando o Rio, aos quaes tambem fizeraõ o mesmo, se os que já estavaõ da outra banda, lhes naõ socorressem, tornando a entrar pela agoa, e defendendo-os, athè que se puzeraõ em salvo.

Tanto que assim fomos todos juntos, quizeramos tornar a caminhar; mas estes Cafres vendo nossa tençaõ, passãraõ o Rio, e começãraõ de amotinar a outros que estavaõ da nossa banda incitando-os a que peleijassem comnosco, ou ao menos nos detivessem athè que chegãsse a outra gente, que hia atràs; peloque, dando seos apupos, e appellidos, neste caso costumados, em pouco tempo foy feito hum grande ajuntamento delles; e assim se vieraõ chegando a nòs, havendo a preza por taõ certa, que naõ quizerãõ esperar mais companhia; mas como o lingoa nos avizasse de sua tençaõ, mandou o Capitaõ ao que trazia a espingarda, que a disparãsse no primeiro que viesse a tiro, o qual o fez taõ bem com hum que vinha diante dos outros, que acertandolhe pelo meyo dos peitos o varou à outra parte: e arremetendo nòs a elles neste mesmo tempo, posto que ao principio se tiverãõ em pezo por derradeiro os fizemos recolher a hum mato que alli perto estava, e o ferido correo ao longo do Rio tanto espaço, primeiro que cahisse, que naõ havendo os outros o mal por tamanho, acodiraõ muitos a querello defender dos que o seguiaõ; mas como neste comenos elle viesse ao chaõ, e no mesmo instante fosse todo ataçalhado, escarmentados os que o socorriaõ, se tornãraõ por onde vieraõ.

E porque havia tantos dias, que naõ fizemos resgate, nem meteramos nas bocas couza que nome tivesse, constrangeo a necessidade a muitos serem de parecer que comessemos a este

Cafre; e segundo se já soava, não era esta a primeira vez que a desventura daquella jornada chegára a alguns a gostarem carne humana; mas o Capitão não quiz consentir em tal, dizendo, que se cobrassemos fama que comíamos gente, d'alli athè o cabo do mundo fogiriaõ de nós, e trabalhariaõ de nos perseguir com muito mais odio.

E porque receavamos, se alli fizessemos detença, de chegar a outra gente que hia em nosso alcance, como sez, segundo despois soubemos, e nos metesse em trabalho ajuntandose com estoutra, recolhendonos tornámos a caminhar; e sendo o Sol já quasi posto, encontrâmos certos Cafres, que com quanto se não quizeraõ fiar de nós, disseraõ, que nos venderiaõ agoa, que por a calma ser grande, isto foy o que lhe pedimos, e mandandolhes vazilhas, nos trouxeraõ algumas cheyas della, mas porque se enfadâraõ de nos fazer aquella boa obra, foy forçado, pela muita necessidade que tinhamos, meternos pela terra dentro a buscalla, e achando huma alagoa em que nos satisfizemos, posto que era já tarde, com receyo de termos de noite algum rebate e sobresalto dos inimigos, não quizemos alli ficar, mas tornámos a dormir ainda à bõrda do mar.

E porque aquelles dias atrás passados, eraõ de grandes calmas, pareceo bem a todos caminharmos aquella antemanhãa hum pedaço, para que como o dia aquecesse, pudessemos repouzar sem quebra da jornada; pelo que vindo a hora necessaria, nos puzemos em caminho; e despois que tivemos andado obra de huma legoa, topâmos huma ròcha de pedra viva, em que o mar batia: cousa bem desacostumada naquella paragem, por ser toda de area; e como os que hiaõ diante, com o escuro da noite não vissem o certo do que era, cuidando achar passagem por entre o pè della, e agoa, entrâraõ sem receyo, mas não tiveraõ dado muitos passos quando vieraõ algumas ondas desmandadas, e sorvendo-os para dentro, os trouxeraõ taõ atropellados, que com quanto foraõ soccorridos dos que o puderaõ fazer, com muito risco se salvâraõ; e por este embaraço nos foy forçado esperar a manhãa; com a qual vendo como pelo pè da ròcha não tinhamos caminho, o fizemos por riba della com assás difficuldade pelas asperezas dos penedos, que eraõ todos feitos em bicos agudissimos: e como hiamos descalços, foraõ tantas, e taes as feridas que alli recebemos, que alguns ficârão pelo caminho, e os que passârão àvante, soffrêrão dores sem medida; e assim fomos cortando por nós, e por este trabalho athè horas de vespas, que tornámos a achar

praya de area limpa; e em quanto estivemos hum pouco descansando, os Cafres que continuamente hiaõ atràs de nòs esperando os cançados, matàraõ hum Escravo, que estava arredado da outra companhia; e partindo d'alli fomos dormir aquella noite à bõrda de huma alagoa, que por ser doce, era a melhor estalagem que podiamos achar.

Pela mesma ordem do passado caminhâmos o dia seguinte, e quando veyo às nove ou dez horas delle, topâmos hum Cafre com obra de outros quarenta consigo, o qual nos disse ser mandado a nòs por hum Rey, chamado Inheca, amigo dos homens brancos, e que este sabia de nossos trabalhos, e por isso nos mandava rogar fossemos ter com elle, e nos teria muy bem tratados, como jã fizera a outros homens, que pela sua terra passáraõ havia poucos tempos, e se embarcàraõ em hum Navio, que vinha muitas vezes a hum Rio do seo Reyno; e naõ havendo nòs este recado por fiel, nem crendo q̃ o nome Portuguez estivesse taõ divulgado e acreditado em regioens assim remotas de nossa communicacão, que de bom zelo lhe sahisse tal offerecimento; antes julgando tudo à malicia e traiçãõ, naõ sabendo quaõ perto estava o Rio que hiamos dezejando, respondemos secamente, que naõ podiamos fazer o que pedia; por quanto nosso caminho era ao longo da praya athè toparmos com outros companheiros, que buscavamos; com a qual repõsta elles se despediraõ, levando consigo a Luis Pedroso, e ao Mestre da Nao, a quem Nosso Senhor quiz chegar a tempo, que conhecesse o mal de Fernão D'alvares, e pagasse na mesma moeda o que elle ordenava fazer; e assim levàraõ mais tres ou quatro homens, que por naõ poderem aturar, quizerao ficar com elles, posto que mais forçados da fraqueza, que confiados nos offerecimentos que lhes faziaõ, e bem pouco cumpriraõ; porque tanto que nos viraõ arredados, os despiraõ, e deixàraõ assim nus, e se tornàraõ por onde vieraõ, e nòs seguimos o caminho este dia e o seguinte, sempre ao longo da praya, achando nella grandes cardumes de caranguejos brancos, que andavaõ no rolo do mar, e quando a onda se recolhia, ficavaõ descubertos; dos quaes matâmos alguns em quanto o dia deo lugar; e como o tempo naõ era de muitos tempèros, havia nisto tanta pressa, que muitas vezes quando os metiamos nas bocas, pegavaõ elles com as suas nos beiços, e ficandolhe alli a perna afferrada, o resto mal mastigado, hia bolindo pelo papo abaixo; e posto que a alguns houvera esta pescaria de custar caro, porque com o acomodamento

della, descuidavaõ-se das ondas, que por algumas vezes os trouxeraõ atropellados, naõ deixâmos de os perseguir athè a noite, com a qual nos recolhemos a humas moitas, que ahi perto estavaõ.

Tanto que ao outro dia amanheceo, tornâmos a caminhar, ficandonos alli quatro homens cançados, entre os quaes foy hum filho de Garcia de Caceres Lapidairo, que comnosco hia; o qual, posto que sentio este apartamento como de filho a que queria muito, vendo que sua ficada com elle nenhuma couza podia aproveitar, deitandolhe a bençaõ, o deixou; e quando veyo às nove ou dez horas deste dia, que eraõ tres de Julho, chegâmos á boca da bahia do Rio Santo Espirito, que na carta que levavamos estava nomeado por seo nome antigo, de Rio d'Alagoa, a qual serà de quinze ou viute legoas de cumprido, e a lugares pouco menos de largo; entra o mar nella por duas bocas, huma da parte do Suduèste, que naõ he muito grande; e outra da do Noroèste, que serà de sete ou oito legoas, e entre huma e outra jâz huma Ilha, que terà tres legoas em redondo.

Nesta Bahia se recolhe a agoa de tres Rios assás grandes, que de muito pelo Sertaõ dentro vem alli acabar; por cada hum dos quaes entra a marè dez e doze legoas, àlem do que a Bahia alcança. O primeiro delles para a parte do Sul, se chama mar do Zembe, que divide as terras de hum Rey assim chamado, das d'outro, que he o Inheca com quem nòs ao despois estivemos. O segundo se chama Santo Espirito, ou de Lourenço Marques, que primeiro descobrio o resgate do marfim, que alli vem ter, por cuja causa he frequentada a navegaçaõ delle de alguns annos a esta parte, que d'antes muitos passáraõ, que alli ninguem foy; este aparta as terras do Zembe das d'outros dous senhores, cujos nomes saõ o Rumo, e Mena Lobombo. O terceiro, e ultimo Rio para o Nòrte, se chama Domanhica, por outro Cafre assim chamado, que alli reyna, com o qual vizinhaõ outros muitos senhores; ao longo deste foy o desbarato de Manoel de Sousa Sepulveda, onde elle, sua mulher, e filhos acabâraõ com quazi toda a gente que o seguia, salvandose sómente sete ou oito pessoas, que deraõ testemunho de suas desaventuras.

E como a carta porque nos hiamos regendo, chamâsse erradamente Rio de Santo Espirito ao da Augoada de Boa Paz, que està em 24 grãos e meyo, e àvante destoutro dezouto legoas, posto que este em cuja fòz estavamos, assim pelo nome que jà disse de Bahia d'Alagoa, como pela altura dos 25 grãos e hum quarto em

que jazia, nos mostrasse ser o proprio de Lourenço Marques, que hiamos desejando, o nome de Santo Espirito, que claramente estava posto no outro, nos fez a todos cahir em erro de cuidar que elle era, onde levavamos proposito de parar, e esperavamos achar Navio. Mas sem embargo de estarmos neste engano, e confórmes no dezejo de passar àvante, quando nos alli achamos, vendo tão grande Bahia, e tão fracas disposições para suprir o trabalho do rodeyo della, de que nos atemorizava ainda mais o que passáramos no Rio dos Medos do Ouro, houve diversos pareceres sobre o que fariamos, mas a derradeira resolução de tudo foy que visto como já não levavamos ferro para o resgate, nem armas para nos defendermos da gente da terra, que de cada vez achavamos mais grossa, e peyor inclinada, nem disposições para caminhar, por todos hirem já tão desbaratados da fraqueza, que em cada hum daquelles dias nos ficavaõ cinco e seis pessoas, por onde estava certo, se dahi quizessemos passar, ficarmos prezos, primeiro que nos comessem; assentamos, que forçadamente nos convinha não hir mais pordiante, mas entregarnos ao Rey daquella Comarca, que por ser perto donde o Navio vinha, presumiamos ter algum conhecimento de Portuguezes; porque ouvimos dizer aos que escaparaõ da outra perdição, que de vinte e trinta legoas pela terra dentro trouxeraõ ao Navio esses poucos que ainda eraõ vivos, pelo interesse do resgate que por elles esperavaõ, o que confiavamos (pois mais não podiamos) tambem fariaõ a nós.

Tanto que nisto fomos concòrdes, pòstos de joelhos dissémos huma Salve Rainha, e outras oraçoens dando graças a Nosso Senhor por tamanha mercè, como fora chegarmos alli, pedindolhe, mediante sua Sacratissima Madre, lhe prouesse tomar o passado por castigo de nossos erros, e espritar nos coraçõens daquelles Senhores, novos e differentes em ley e costumes, que entaõ esperavamos topar, que nos não perseguissem mais do que por nossos peccados athè alli tinhaõ feito; e acabado isto, tornamos a caminhar ao longo da Bahia, por ver se topariamos alguma gente que nos guiasse a ElRey, ou desse informação da noticia que tinhaõ de nós; e não tinhamos andado muito quando vimos em hum Cabeço os moradores de huma povoação, que ao pè d'elle estava despejada, por medo de lha saltarmos; alguns dos quaes depois de muitas duvidas, que com o lingua tiveraõ, foraõ ter comnosco, e nos disséraõ que o seo Rey se chamava o Inheca, e era irmaõ dos homens brancos, que àquella Bahia vinhaõ muitas

vezes em hum Navio, aos quaes ElRey vendia muito marfim a troco de contas, de que elles todos andavaõ bem ajaezados.

Ouvido isto por nõs, vendo como confirmavaõ com o recado, que este Cafre nos mandàra ao caminho, e que não discrepavaõ huns dos outros, posto que foraõ perguntados separadamente, ficãmos muito satisfeitos, e com grandes dezejõs de hir ter com ElRey; e porque estes mesmos homens se offerecèraõ a nos levar ao outro dia onde elle estava, repousãmos alli aquella noite; e tanto que foy manhã mandãmos o lingoa ao Lugar, para que trouxesse quem nos guiãsse, como deixãramos concertado; mas os Cafres, não sey porque movidos, não quizeraõ vir com elle, por mais rõgos e promessas que lhe fez; pelo que vendo sua contumacia, começãmos de caminhar ao longo da Bahia, bem desconfiados das boas novas, que o dia d'antes ouvimos; e depois que tivemos andado obra de meya legoa, vimos andar hum pescador em huma Gamboa, que saõ certos azeiros, que elles fazem dentro na agoa, onde tomaõ o peixe; e chegandonos a elle o mais quietamente que pudemos, porque não fugisse, o chamãmos, e acertãmos de ser hum velho bem acondicionado, que veyo logo, e perguntandolhe se nos queria levar onde ElRey estava, disse que sim; e em abalando nõs com este proposito, chegou outro Cafre com hum recado d'ElRey, em que nos mandava dizer, que aquella Bahia era grande, e a não podiamos rodear sem seo consentimento; e que a gente da outra banda era muito mã, e inimiga dos homens da nossa terra; porque matãraõ muitos que lá forao ter; e elle era amigo delles; por tanto fossemos para onde elle estava, e nos sustentaria athé a vinda do Navio, que para isso nos mandàra jã outra vez chamar. E como nõs não dezejassemos outra couza, com este recado seguimos ao mensageiro, e fomos aquella noite dormir a huma Aldea, onde os Cafres tinhaõ morto hum Cavallo marinho, e nos vendèraõ a carne delle por dinheiro, e este foy o primeiro lugar onde o quizeraõ aceitar.

Partindo d'alli, caminhãmos tres dias, no derradeiro dos quaes, sabendo ElRey como hiamos jã perto, nos sahio a receber hum pedaço fóra do Lugar em que vivia, com obra de trinta homens comsigo, e tanto que chegãmos huns a outros, mostrando muito contentamento, e gazalhado, nos fez assentar junto de si, e depois que comeo com o nosso Capitaõ humas poucas de papas feitas de frutas que trazia (por ser entre elles sinal de amizade) nos perguntou como vinhamos? e tornou a confirmar o que lhe

mandara dizer ao caminho acerca de quanto nosso amigo era, esforçandonos com promessas, que d'alli por diante nenhum trabalho havíamos de passar, porque elle nos sustentaria, e daria de comer athè a vinda do Navio, que já pelo costume dos outros tempos, não devia de tardar muito; e com isto se levantou tomando o caminho para a povoação; a qual posto que não estava cercada de cava chapada com muros de batume, e ladrilho: nem houvesse nella outros lustrosos edificios de columnas, e cantarias, que sustentassem o pezo de altas torres, e soberbos passadiços; não deixava com tudo de representar naquella sua natural e antiga pobreza, huma certa policia, e ordem de governo, que para seos poucos tráfegos bastava; porque he grande, e de muita gente, com seos pátéos, e ruas não muito desconcertadas, rodeada de bastidaõ de pinheiros muito ásperos, que naquella terra se criaõ, assás alta, e bem tapada com tres ou quatro serventias nos lugares necessarios; e em quanto descanzamos em hum pátéo, que ElRey tinha diante daquelles seos rusticos e montanhezes Paços, elle mandou despejar certas choupanas, onde dormimos aquella noite.

Assim chegamos cincoenta e seis Portuguezes sómente, e mais seis Escravos, aos sette dias de Julho, havendo settenta e dous, que caminhavamos, em que andamos passante de trezentas legoas pelos rodeyos que fizemos; e bem se enxergavaõ em nossas figuras e disposiçoens os refrescos e abastanças que pelo caminho tiveramos; porque não trazendo cada hum mais que a pelle enfermada sobre os ossos, representava a imagem da morte muito mais propriamente que cousa viva; e porque esta magreza junta com o pouco ornamento de nossos enfarrapados atavios, e im-mundicia, de que o trabalho e mingoa nos fazia vir cubertos, causava tamanho nojo ra gente da terra, que alli onde estavamos nos vinhaõ perseguir com mil maneiras e escarneos, pedimos a ElRey nos mandasse aposentar em humas choupanas, que estavaõ separadas das outras para hum recanto do lugar; o que elle logo fez, dizendonos que não andassemos pela povoação, porque não fossemos maltratados, e que alli nos trariaõ a vender tudo o que nella houvesse.

E como o proposito, com que este Rey alli nos dezejava, não fosse todo fundado em virtude, mas parte em interesse, como peste geralmente criada nas mais das pessoas (por rusticas que sejam) e este fosse haver de nós algum ouro ou joyas delle, não porque lhe sejaõ necessarias para seos usos, mas por saberem



que os Portuguezes do Navio que alli foraõ os annos passados comprãõ estas cousas aos que roubãõ a Manoel de Sousa Sepulveda a troco de contas, que elles tem por taõ precioso thesouro, como nõs a pedraria ou seo semelhante; como discreto e sagãs que era, quiz haver isto à mãõ, com o menos escandalo nosso, que ser pudesse; e para isso buscou huma tal maneira, que depois de estarmos, como tenho dito, tres ou quatro dias mandou chamar o nosso Capitaõ, e lhe disse, que por sermos muitos se naõ atrevia a sustentarnos todos, e pois lhe era necessario comprar mantimentos à sua gente para nos dar, o ajudassemos nõs com algum ouro ou peças delle; e que a isto naõ puzessemos escuza, porque bem sabia serem todos os homens brancos muito ricos, e que olhassemos, que o que pedia era para proveito nosso, sem lhe ficar a elle mais que o trabalho de o andar ajuntando; e que se todos isto naõ quizessem, aos que o fizessem daria de comer, e aos outros naõ; e tambem se nos este partido naõ contentãsse nos fossemos para onde quizessemos; mas que elle nos naõ segurava da sua gente: à qual demanda lhe respondeo o Capitaõ o melhor que pode para o tirar daquella cobiça; e por conclusaõ, que o deixasse fallar comnosco, e que ao outro dia lhe daria a repõsta.

Despedido o Capitaõ com este recado, nos deo conta do que passava, pedindo conselho, e determinaçaõ do que faria, e praticando isto entre nõs, a conclusaõ que se tomou, foy, que pois estavamos taõ desbaratados das dispoziçoens, armas, e reagãte, e naõ podiamos hir para parte onde nos naõ fizessem outro tanto, ou por ventura peyor, que forçadamente nos convinha soffrer esta, e toda outra mais tirannia que nos quizessem fazer, pois quando por vontade naõ dõssemos a ElRey o q̄ pedia, ninguem lhe tolhia tomarnolo por força, sem sermos parte para mais, que para morrer defendendonos, pela muita gente que alli estava junta esperando a determinaçaõ que elle tomãsse sobre nossa repõsta: e àlem disto, que todos traziaõ geralmente taõ pouco, que segundo alli o estavamos gastando, naõ podia durar muito mais que athè a vinda do Navio, como elle promettia: com o qual recado o Capitaõ lhe tornou ao outro dia, e sabendo elle nossa vontade, por mais nos confirmar nella, mandou que a tarde seguinte fossemos à sua porta, e lá nos deo a cada pessoa obra de hum celamim d'alpiste, que he o melhor mantimento da terra, e que elles tem como reliquias, dizendo que aquillo era para dous dias, e no fim

delles, fossemos d'alli por diante buscar sempre aquella reçaõ; com a qual isca nos enganou de sôrte, que havendo o partido por muito bom, ao outro dia nos aparelhâmos para lhe dar o que pedia; e sabendo elle como estavamos prèstes, chamando dous ou tres dos seos mais privados, e ao nosso Capitaõ, e Lingoa se assentou a receber o que lhe levassem, e alli lhe apresentava cada hum o que trazia, dizendo quantas pessoas entravaõ naquella conta, e haviaõ participar da reçaõ que por aquillo lhe desse: o qual elle tomava, e depois de bem olhado, e aconselhado com os seos, se se contentava, recolhia-o, e quando naõ tornava-o a dar, dizendo, que buscassem mais, de modo que por huma ou outra via lhe haviaõ de levar com que ficasse satisfeito, ajudando tambem a isto o Capitaõ com dizer que eramos pobres por se nos quebrar a Nao no mar, e sahirnos nus a nado, e que os outros Portuguezes com quem elle allegava, desembarcãraõ com a Nao inteira, e porisso salvãraõ muitas cousas: e tanto que isto foy acabado, e ElRey recolhido, o Capitaõ nos rogou a todos, que nenhum comprasse mantimento, por mais necessidade que passásse athè ver se continuava ElRey com o que promettèra, porque estava certo, se soubesse nos ficava ainda alguma couza, isto só lhe bastaria para açcaõ de escuza, e quando cuidassemos que o tinhamos satisfeito, estaria mais acezo em cobiça.

E como a gente de todas aquellas partes se crie por entre matos, nua sem ley, sem costume, sem atavios, nem outras necessidades a incitem a pôr industria em ajuntar, e guardar para o tempo da falta os sobejos que lhe algumas horas a ventura ministra, mantendose sómente de frutas de arvores sylvestres, e de outras raizes e hervas, que lhe o campo por si mesmo cria, e algumas vezes de caças de Elefantes e Cavallos marinhos, sem ter noticia de lavrar a terra, de que procede viverem todos, assim Senhores, como Vassallos, em commua e natural necessidade; vendo ElRey como por nenhuma via podia cumprir o que ficãra comnosco, dezejando achar algum meyo honesto para sahir desta obrigaçaõ, e abrir caminho a saber se nos ficava ainda alguma couza das que de nòs pretendia, ordenou sagàsmente mandarnos tentar por alguns dos seos naquelles dias seguintes com couzas de comer, sabendo que a necessidade dellas (mais que outra couza) nos faria descobrirlhe o que tanto dezejava; e posto que seis ou sete dias soportássemos nossa mingoa, como elle em todo este tempo naõ acodisse com a reçaõ, começãraõ

alguns de comprar o que lhe alli traziaõ a vender, o que logo ElRey soube, e como naõ estivesse esperando outra couza, mandou chamar ao nosso Capitaõ, e mostrandose muito aggravado, lhe disse, que o enganàramos, porque todos tinhamos mais do que lhe dèramos, e pois podiamos comprar o necessario, naõ esperassemos delle ajuda; ao que o Capitaõ naõ teve que responder, senaõ que quanto traziamos lhe tinhamos dado; mas com tudo elle nos tornaria a buscar, e achando alguma couza lha levaria.

Despedido o Capitaõ com isto, foy-nos contar o que passava, e quanto mais metido na cobiça ElRey entaõ estava que d'antes, queixandose de quaõ mal olhavamoos o que era necessario, e nos tanto encomendàra; porèm vendo por cima de tudo, como nossas necessidades naõ soffriaõ sogeiçoens de leys, naõ teve nisto mais que fazer, senaõ tornarse a ElRey, e dizerlhe, que elle nos buscàra a todos, e naõ achàra couza que lhe pudesse levar, porque os que aquillo compràraõ, eraõ os moços, a que já naõ ficava mais, e que bem castigados ficavaõ pelo erro que fizeraõ em guardar aquella pouquidade; mas que soubesse tambem que nõs nos queixavamoos delle, que depois que lhe dèramos quanto traziamos, nos naõ acodia com comer, como tinha promettido, pelo que morriamos à fome; por tanto houvesse dô de nõs, e cumprisse como Rey o que ficàra; ao que elle respondeo, descobrindo o pouco que podia, e dizendo, que o alpiste nos naõ havia de dar, por naõ o ter, e que ainda o que nos dera os dias passados o andàra ajuntando por entre todos os seos; mas que quando morresse algum Elefante ou Cavallo marinho, elle repartiria comnosco: e a verdade era esta; porque posto que isto de principio nos escandalizou sospeitando que para nos acabar à fome tomava aquella escuza, depois que vimos a esterilidade da terra, e a boa inclinaçaõ sua para nõs, cremos que o que dizia, era o mais que podia fazer.

Tanto que o Capitaõ nos desenganou desta repõsta, perdendo cada hum a esperança de algum pouco de mais repouzo, que athè alli tivera, começou a entender em outros cuidados de novo, e buscar com que comprassem algum mantimento, e este ainda naõ descubertamente com medo delRey, senaõ a Cafres, que tambem folgavaõ de vender escondido, por lho naõ tomarem as espias que sobre isso andavaõ; e depois que passámos alguns dias assim attribuladamente, matàraõ os Cafres dous Elefantes em huma noite; e logo ElRey mandou dizer ao nosso Capitaõ, que ao outro dia fossemos ao mato com elle, e lá nos mandou dar hum quarto

de Elefante, que foy repartido entre todos igualmente : e desta maneira o fazia todas as vezes que se matava alguma destas rezes ; e certo, pôsta à parte a sede que elle tinha de dipheiro, em todas as outras couzas nos não podiamos queixar senaõ de sua pouca pôsse, porque assim se mostrava pezaroso de ver nossas necessidades, amesquinhandose e justificandose quando não tinha com que nos soccorrer, e assim vinha presenteiro e contente a darnos nova, quando matavaõ alguma destas caças, como que trazia sempre nossas mingos ante os olhos, e folgava mais de haver aquella abastança pelo nosso, que pelo seo proveito.

Mas sem embargo destes seos dezejos, e de elle repartir conosco quando podia, he taõ pouca a industria que os Cafres tem em caçar estas Alimarias, que passaõ às vezes muitos dias sem as caçarem, mas como sejaõ habituados a se socorrerem (quando lhes isto falta) de algumas raizes e hervas, que já por natureza, e costume os põdem sustentar ; e nõs como estrangeiros não soubessemos buscar aquelles remedios, viemos a tanta necessidade, que morreraõ alguns à pura fome, acabando huns nos matos, outros nas fontes, e outros por diversos lugares e caminhos, onde os forçava a hir sua extrema necessidade.

E como os que ainda ficavaõ vivos trouxessem os espiritos e cõrpos taõ cançados e debilitados, que o mais a que suas forças e caridades entaõ abrangiaõ, era tomar estes, que assim falleciaõ, e fazerlhes em estacas huma pequena cova onde os deixavaõ mal cubertos, se veyo daqui a principiar outra desaventura não menos que a da fome ; e foy, que por este lugar em que ElRey, e nõs viviamos, estar situado em huma mata antiga, e grande, onde havia muitos Tigres, Leoens, e todo o outro genero de Alimarias nocivas ; e estes encarniçandose de principio em comer os que assim ficavaõ mal sotterrados, vieraõ a tanto denodamento que entraraõ à boca da noite dentro na povoação pela parte onde nõs moravamos, que era hum recanto mais escuzo, como já contey, e se achavaõ alguém fóra da choupana o matavaõ, e taõ levemente tornavaõ a saltar com elle na boca por cima da cerca, com quanto era alta e bem tapada, que parecia nenhuma cousa levarem ; e assim andavaõ taõ diligentes em fazer estes saltos, que levariaõ cinco homens primeiro que puzessem cobro em nõs : e depois que viraõ não nos poderem tomar fóra das choupanas, desavergonharaõse a entrar dentro, e com quanto estavamos seis e sete juntos, não deixavaõ porisso de ferrar no que mais a seo lanço

achavaõ, de modo que acodindo nõs todos a isto trabalhosamente lho tiravamos das mãos; e com estes acometimentos, que elles cada noite faziaõ muitas vezes, nos ferirao muito mal outros cinco homens, e por naõ haver já entre nõs armas (como està dito) com que nos pudessemos vingar, outro nenhum remedio tivemos, senaõ vingarnos de sòrte que naõ sahiamos das choupanas menos das oito e nove horas do dia, e com huma de Sol nos recolhiamos; e ainda neste meyo tempo se algum havia de hir ao mato ou fonte ou qualquer outra parte, posto que fosse perto da povoação, aguardava que se juntassem cinco ou seis, que tivessem a mesma vontade, com medo delles, que d'outra maneira naõ ousavaõ de hir.

E como com este recato lhes faltasse o cevo de nossas carnes, que elles deviaõ achar gostosas, segundo o muito que trabalhavaõ polo haver; andavaõ taõ indiabrados com o sentimento desta falta, que de noite nos naõ podiamos ouvir com os bérros que davaõ pelas ruas, e muitas vezes chegavaõ a acometter nossas portas com taes pancadas e empuxoens, quaes de sua braveza e força se pòde crer; e quando as achavaõ bem tapadas, (como tinhamos a cargo) roncando e huivando se deixavaõ alli estar por hum grande espaço sem se quererem mudar, e todo o tal tempo naõ gozavaõ nossos coraçãoes de tanto repouzo, que lhes faltasse receyo de elles derribarem a choupana, e ficarmos entregues à sua pouca piedade, porque sem duvida, que se nisto entendèraõ, nem forças, nem vontades lhes faltavaõ para o poderem fazer.

E porque os Cafres nestes dias andavaõ mais confiados, e com menos resguardo em suas pessoas, vendo estas Fèras melhor aparelho nelles para suas prezas, começáraõ a fazerlhe outro tanto como a nõs; de modo, que em espaço de quatro mezes levàraõ passante de cincoenta, e muitos delles de dia, e dentro no Lugar; porque era tamanho o medo, que lhes cobrãraõ, que ainda que o pay visse levar ao filho, naõ ouzava soccorrello, mais que com brados (de que elles faziaõ bem pouca conta) e ainda estes de muito longe; de sorte que sem terem estorvo algum estes Tigres, entravaõ assim seguros a tomar homens dentro em huma povoação taõ grande, como o puderaõ fazer a qualquer outra caça em huma mata muito deshabitada, e taõ viçosos viviaõ, q̃ dos que matavaõ, naõ aproveitavaõ mais q̃ o sangue ou alguma couza pouca em quãto estava fresca; e assim achavamos muitas vezes estes troncos por alli lançados, sómente abocanhados, ou quãdo muito com

huma perna ou braço menos; e de quantos a estes assaltos andavaõ, hum só foy morto; porque naõ podendo caçar de noite, se deixou ficar o dia dentro em huma moita, que no Lugar estava, e como fosse sentido, vendo os Cafres o cachorraõ atreveraõse a caçallo, e atirarlhe às zagayadas, o qual sentindose ferido, arremeteo a hum que mais a seo lanço achou, e deo-lhe duas grandes feridas por baixo das goelas, afóra outras muitas, naõ taõ perigosas por diversas partes; mas como o Cafre fosse homem valeroso, embrulhando no braço huma pelle que tinha, e levando da espada com muito acordo, o matou às estocadas.

A esta perseguição dos Tigres se ajuntou outra de piolhos, a qual posto que parecia leve, foy tal que a alguns tirou as vidas, e a todos geralmente pôs em risco de as perderem; porque em quanto andavamos quasi nus, trazendo sómente vestidos huns farrapos porque nos appareciao as carnes em muitos lugares, alli se criavaõ tantos, que visivelmente nos comiaõ sem lhe podermos valer, e com quanto escaldavamos o fato muito a miudo, e o catavamos cada dia tres e quatro vezes por ordenança; mas como era praga dada por castigo de nossos erros, nenhuma couza aproveitava, antes parecia que quanto mais trabalhavamos por os apoquentar, entaõ cresciaõ em mayor quantidade; porque quando cuidavamos que os tinhamos todos mortos, d'alli a pouco espaço eraõ outra vez tantos, que com hum cavaco os ajuntavamos pelo fato, e os levavamos a queimar ou soterrar, por se naõ poder matar tanta soma de outra maneira, mas com todos estes remedios, a hum Duarte Tristao, e outros dous ou tres homens fizeraõ taes gaivas pelas còstas e cabeças, que disso claramente fallecèrao.

E como a gente de todas aquellas partes, pelos poucos tráfegos e inquietaçoens de suas vidas, tenhaõ pouca noticia da fortuna, e seos revezes, naõ lhe parecendo que hiamos perseguidos della, antes cuidando que por proprias vontades sahiramos de nossas terras a roubar as alheyas, esta mà opiniaõ que nos tinhaõ nos fazia geralmente taõ aborrecidos de todos, que d'alli se principiou outra afflicção, naõ menor que as já contadas; e foy, que como nossas necessidades nos forçassem a sahir pelo Lugar em busca de alguns ossos ou espinhas, ou outra qualquer semelhante, e desaventurada couza, que pelas ruas achavamos, com que nos remediássemos, ora fosse por esta mà sospeita que de nòs tinhaõ, ora para quererem tomar a tal acção para escuza de sua ladroisse, logo eramos despídos, e espancados: e se disso faziamos queixume

a ElRey, diziaõ que nos achavaõ roubando as casas, para o que lhe naõ faltavaõ outros taes que fossem testemunhas, de modo que se naõ fartavaõ de nos maltratar, nem nos sabiaõ outro nome senaõ o de ladroens, andando todas taõ soltos em nos perseguir, que totalmente naõ tinhamos vida com elles, se sahiamos fóra das choupanas, nem nossas necessidades as soffriaõ, se as queriamos passar dentro.

E como nossos peccados ainda merecessem a Nosso Senhor mayores castigos, às desaventuras, e trabalhos que tenho contado, se ajuntou outra muito mayor, e cheya de mayor medo, e miseria; e foy q̃ como por ainda naõ sabermos a lingoagẽ da terra, naõ tivessesmos outro moço em nossas couzas, assim para com ElRey, como para com os seos, que queriaõ muitas vezes ser comnosco sobejamente desarrezoados, senaõ a Gaspar o Lingoa que levavamos; este fundado sobre esta nossa necessidade, se veyo a entregar ao diabo, e cobiça, de sorte que absolutamente se quiz fazer senhor de nõs, e assim o levou àvante, porque vendo que ElRey era seo amigo, abertamente nos dizia que naõ viviamos, senaõ porque elle queria, pois trabalhava com ElRey, que nos naõ repartisse pelos outros seos Lugares, como já tinha assentado, onde sabiamos que logo haviamos de ser despidos, e mörto, segundo se fizera aos da companhia de Manoel de Sousa Sepulveda; e por tanto quem quizesse viver o peitasse, que d'outra maneira naõ intercederia por elle: pelcõne cada hum com este receyo, fazia de si mil partidos, dandolhe quanto tinha, e podia haver, e isto ainda o aceitava taõ carregadamente, que parecia fazer muita mercê em o querer tomar, dizendo, que bem barato compravamos nossa salvaçaõ, que em sua maõ estava; e gostando destas peitas, ou por mais certo dizer, vidas, que assim nos levava; veyo sua cobiça a andar tanto mais encarniçada em nõs que os Tigres, que todos os outros males nos parecèraõ pequenos, a respeito das soberbas, e desarrezoadas afflicçoens que delle recebiamos, assim em nos tomar algum bocado, que com tanto suor ganhavamos, como em querer que forçadamente lhe dèssemos o que naõ podiamos, nem tinhamos; porque algumas pessoas houve, a quem elle ouzou dizer, que se cada huma lhe naõ dèsse mil cruzados justos, se puzesse à paciencia, e olhásse por si: e dous mancebos havia entre nõs a quem elle disse, andandolhes ElRey cavando a choupana, lhe descobrissem a que parte tinhaõ escondido alguma couza, para se assentar sobre ella, e lha naõ acharem; e como os

pobres se confiassem delle, logo ElRey o soube, e lhes tomou passante de mil cruzados em dinheiro e peças que lhe deixara o Mestre da Nao, quando ficara com os Cafres, como já contey: e afóra isto induzia a ElRey que nos perseguisse, e buscásse cada dia os corpos, e casas; porque de quanto assim descobria, despois havia delle toda a parte que queria; de modo que entre o peitado, e roubado ajuntou tanto, que daqui se lhe causou com que não chegásse a lograr a parte que tinha bem ganhada; e tão arreigado estava nelle o demonio, que com quanto lhe andavamos sempre à vontade, se alguma hora o havíamos mister para fazer a ElRey queixume dos aggravos que os seos nos faziaõ, não tão sómente nos não queria ajudar, mas ainda os favorecia, dizendo, que o fizessem sem temor, porque elle sabia que muito mais merecíamos. Peloque vendonos attribulados, e perseguidos por tantas partes, que nenhum remedio tinhamos, para que em muitos poucos dias deixassemos de fazer aos Tigres sepulturas de nossos corpos, determinámos experimentar antes a derradeira sorte lá por fóra, que acabar entre tantas desaventuras; e com este proposito tres ou quatro homens pediraõ a ElRey os mandásse para hum Lugar, que dahi perto estava, o que elle fez de muito boa vontade; e mandando chamar ao mayoral delles (porque em cada povoação está hum Cafre, que da sua mão tem cuidado de governar aos outros, e apaziguar suas desavenças) lhos entregou muito encarregados; após estes entrey eu no mesmo requerimento com outros seis ou sete, que me quizerão seguir, e ElRey nos mandou para aquella Ilha, que disse estar na boca da Bahia, dizendo, que por haver nella fruitas, nos remediariamos melhor; e tanto trazia o tento em nossas necessidades e afflicçoens, que vendo ficar descontentes ao Capitaõ, e outros meos amigos, por minha partida ser para doze ou quinze legoas, donde elles ficavaõ, e pela má inclinação que via na gente da terra, lhes disse, que se não agastassem, nem tivessem receyo; porque lá nos não seria feito mal algum, antes seríamos tratados de sorte, que em muitos poucos dias tornassemos em nossas forças; e para comprimento disto mandou connosco dous parentes seos, que nos entregaraõ ao Capitaõ do Lugar para onde hiamos com muitas palavras de obrigação, encomendandolhe não consentisse sernos feito aggravo pelos seos, e nos ajudásse com o que pudésse, assim, e da maneira que o fizera, se fomos seos filhos, porque elle nessa conta nos tinha.



Depois de eu ser partido, estiveraõ os que ainda ficavaõ com ElRey assim juntos alguns dias porque como cressem pouco as promessas, que elle lhes fazia de nosso bom tratamento, antes tivessem por certo, que aquillo era manha para poucos e poucos nos mandar matar lá por fóra, sem sabermos lá huns dos outros; posto que alli onde estavaõ, nenhuma couza viaõ de que se pudesse esperar vida, havendo por menor mal acabar entre os seos naturaes, naõ ouzavaõ a sahir para outra parte, mas tanto que tiveraõ novas de mim, e dos que comigo foraõ, em como passavamos lá melhor, por ser a gente menos, e os pastos mais largos, começaraõ huns e outros de haver licença de modo que em espaço de hum mez, naõ ficaraõ com ElRey, mais que o Capitaõ, e outros quatro homens, que com o favor do Lingoa se podiaõ alli bem sustentar, e todos os mais foraõ espalhados pelos lugares de que tinhaõ informaçaõ, que eraõ mais abastados.

A vida que neste tempo passavamos, era escolher cada hum no lugar onde estava, o Cafre, que melhor acondicionado lhe parecia, e servillo da agoa e lenha que lhe era necessaria, para que lhe ficasse valedor contra os que o quizessem maltratar; porque como nos elles tivessem na conta que já disse, e nossa necessidade naõ escuzasse sermos desmandados, sobejos, e importunos, e de qualquer couza, por leve que fosse, faziaõ acçaõ para mostrarem suas vontades: e quando vinhaõ as horas de cea, que he o seo principal comer, nos hiamos assentar às portas destes, a que chamavamos amos, e entaõ partiaõ connosco do que queraõ ou podiaõ; e porque tudo isto era taõ pouco, que naõ abastava, o tempo que remanecia deste serviço obrigatorio, gastava-o cada hum em hir ao mato buscar alguma couza que comesse, naõ perdoando a cobra ou lagarto, nem a outro qualquer genero de bicho, por mão e venenoso que fosse; e prouve a Nosso Senhor, que de quantos estas peçonhas comèraõ, sómente hum Marinheiro amanheceo morto de hum peixe que à noite ceou, de que logo os Cafres o avizaraõ; mas podendo com elle mais a necessidade que o temor, naõ quiz ter conta com o que lhe diziaõ, e disto acabou.

E posto que em quanto estivemos por estes lugares, acontecèraõ particularmente a cada hum muitos casos miseraveis e desestrados, que deixo por me naõ afastar da generalidade de meo intento; aos que Nosso Senhor dava saude, posto que com trabalho, sempre lhes ministrava com que se remediassem; mas tanto que adoeciaõ, e lhes faltava este pobre e limitado sustento, que por suas mãõs

haviaõ juntamente com o soccorro dos companheiros, enfraqueciaõ e pereciaõ à mingoa, athè que acabavaõ de espirar, e o peyor de tudo era haverem os Cafres tamanho nojo de nossa magreza, immundicia, e miseria, que se a doença acertava a ser prolongada, lhes abreviavaõ as vidas com diversos generos de mòrtes, como fizeraõ ao Capellaõ da Nao, que foy arrastado por hum mato athè que acabou, e a hum criado de Fernaõ D'alvares Cabral, que vivo foy lançado no mar, e a outros alguns, que com estes e outros taes tormentos tiràraõ deste mundo; de modo que nos era necessario, tanto que sentiamos nelles este proposito, tomar aos que adoeciaõ, e levalllos ao mato, e alli escondidos pelas moitas, os soccorriamos com o que podiamos, athè que as chuvas, frios, e calmas, segundo o tempo dava lugar, juntamente com suas proprias necessidades os tiravaõ assim lastimosamente daquelles trabalhos.

E desta sorte, e com estas miserias e faltas morrendo huns, esperando os outros pelo mesmo cada dia, passámos cinco mezes, em o qual tempo por humas trovoadas grandes que vieraõ, e derribàraõ toda a fruita que havia, naõ tinhamos que meter nas bocas, nem pelos demaziados frios, e nossa pouca roupa, ouzavamos a sahir fóra das choupanas; de modo que estavamos (esses que vivos eramos) havia muitos dias em extrema e final necessidade. Mas como N. Senhor por quem he, se naõ esqueça de soccorrer nas mayores pressas aos que elle he servido, quando mais desconfiados estavamos do remedio, nos valeo sua Misericordia; e foy assim, que estando eu a quem a sòrte coube de viver em huma aldea, que està na ponta da Ilha sobre a Barra, por onde entraõ os Navios, hum dia que eraõ tres de Novembro, assás descuidado de tanto bem, metido em huma choupana, e fazendo conta com o fim de minha vida, que esperava ser cedo, por serem já mortos cinco dos companheiros que alli tinha, e os dous que ficavamos, nos podermos tambem contar por taes, segundo o extremo em que estavamos, chegou hum Cafre a mim dizendo, que vinha o Navio, e porque posto que ElRey nos fallásse muitas vezes na vinda delle, nunca disto cremos couza alguma, havendo o que dizia por nos esforçar, e naõ porque assim fosse; perseverando ainda no engano da Carta, em cuidar que o Rio aonde elle hia, estava àvante deste dezoito legoas, como està dito; quando isto ouvi ao Cafre (por me já a necessidade ter ensinado a sua lingoagem) lhe respondi, se fosse, que o naõ cria: e tornandomo elle a affirmar por muitas vezes, me sahi fóra, e

o segui athè hum Cabeço, donde se descobria muita parte do mar, e d'alli vi hum Navio, que arredado donde eu estava obra de huma legoa, começou entã a demandar a Barra: que abalo entã esta vista fizesse em mim, deixo na contemplaçã dos que cuidarem as couzas porque tinha passado, e a miseria em que naquelle tempo vivia, vendome assim improvisamente soccorrido pela alta bondade de Nosso Senhor; e por tanto disto não direy mais. Assim que, depois que por algumas experiencias que em mim fiz, me certifiquy ser verdade o que via, e não sonho, como de principio cuidey: entã posto de joelhos, lhe dey as graças devidas a tanta mercê; e em quanto me detive nestas dũvidas, o Navio entrou pela Bahia dentro, quatro ou cinco legoas, athè que por hum cotovello, que a Ilha fazia, o deixey de ver. E porque taõ boa nova não carecesse de communicaçã com os que nella tinhaõ parte, pareceome bem levalla aos da terra firme; peloque prolongando por outra Aldea da Ilha, e tomando nella hum companheiro para onde ElRey e nosso Capitaõ estavaõ, e contandolhes o que vira, d'alli o soubèraõ logo todos os nossos, que pelos outros lugares do Sertã estavaõ espalhados.

E porque a pouca noticia, que ainda àquelle tempo tinhamos dos Rios daquella Bahia, e do resgãte, que nelles se fazia, nos não segurava de todo, receando que se poderia o Navio tornar a sahir, sem saberem de nõs; quando veyo ao outro dia, pedimos a ElRey nos dêsse quem levãsse huma carta, para que soubessem os que nelle vinhaõ, como estavamos alli, ao que elle respondeo, que nos não agastassemos, que quando viessem as agoas vivas, o Capitaõ havia de vir às suas terras buscar marfim, que assim estava em costume, e entã o saberia; e foy assim, porque d'alli a nove dias veyo ter a hum porto seo Bastiaõ de Lemos Piloto do Navio, mandado por D. Diogo de Sousa Capitaõ de Sofála e Moçambique a buscar marfim para ElRey Nosso Senhor; e sabendo Inheca de sua vinda, mandou aos Capitaõs dos lugares em que estavamos, que nos levassem àquelle porto: de modo que em tres dias nos ajũtãmos todos, onde elle, e Bastiaõ de Lemos estavaõ. E sem embargo de tamanho alvoroço ser bastante para dar vida e espiritos novos a quem os não tivesse, neste caminho fallecèraõ dous homens; tanto na derradeira os tomou jã este soccorro; e depois de passados com os nossos os abraços e alvoroços, que em semelhantes casos estaõ certos, dando Bastiaõ de Lemos a ElRey as contas que lhe por cada hum de nõs pedio

(que todas valiaõ bem pouco) porque juntos naõ cabiamos na almadia, levando huns, e tornando pelos outros, de dous caminhos nos pôs a todos no Navio.

Aqui nos ajuntâmos vinte Portuguezes e tres Escravos sómente de trezentas e vinte e duas almas que partimos donde a Nao deo à cõsta: todos os mais ficãraõ pelo caminho, e nos lugares em que estivemos delle, mórto de diversas mortes, e desastres, e delles cançados, delles no povoado, e delles no deserto, segundo nosso Senhor era servido; e os que entre estes tinhaõ nome, foraõ Fernãõ D'alvares Cabral, Lopo Vaz Coutinho, Balthazar Lopes da Costa, Bertholameo Alvares, Antonio Pires da Arruda, Luis Pedrozo, Jorge da Barca, Bastiaõ Gonçalves, Belchior de Meirelles, Antonio Ledo Mestre da Nao, e Gaspar o Lingoa, que naõ foy Nosso Senhor servido, pois elle matãra a tantos, levandolhe o que com tanto suor ajuntavaõ para seo sustento, que chegãsse à terra de Christãos, e logrãsse o que tinha taõ mal ganhado; e por certo que naõ falta quem diga, que se elle naõ tivera dous ou tres mil cruzados adquiridos, como já disse, ainda agora fora vivo: os que com elle ficãraõ, dizem que andando muito gordo, e bem disposto, desapareceo huma tarde da povoaçãõ, e tardando dous ou tres dias, o mandou ElRey buscar por todas as partes com muita diligencia, e nunca mais souberãõ novas delle; de maneira ora que fosse por algum Tigre taõ encarniçado em sangue humano, como elle andava no nosso, ora (o que he mais certo) a herança, que por sua morte algum esperava, o trouxe a tal fim e castigo, qual suas obras mereciaõ.

Neste Navio estivemos cinco mezes, por cursarem os Levantes, e naõ podermos fazer viagem: em o qual tempo quasi todas fomos doentes, e sangrados muitas vezes, tendo bem poucos remedios para estas necessidades, assim por o Navio ser pequeno, e de mãos gazalhados, como por estar Moçambique muito falto de mantimentos, quando elle de lá partira; e em quanto assim estavamos esperando a monçaõ, sahia Bastiaõ de Lemos algumas vezes em terra a fazer o resgãte, e andavaõ os Cafres da bõrda daquelle Rio do meyo onde estavamos ancorados, taõ amotinados contra elle, que quasi todos os dias o faziaõ embarcar às pancadas, com assás pressa; e posto que nõs de principio dissimulavamos com isto, por naõ alevantar a terra, despois que vimos hir esta sua soltura em tanto crescimento, determinãmos castigallos; peloque havendo de Bastiaõ de Lemos as armas, e licença, fomonos

lançar huma noite sobre hum Lugar grande que não estava muito afastado da bórda da agoa, onde o dia passado espancàraõ, e roubàraõ a hum homem nosso, com proposito de fazermos assalto tanto que a manhã esclarecesse; e como as horas se fossem chegando, e nos começassemos de fazer prestes por estarmos perto, fomos sentidos de huma mulher, que a caso veyo ter conosco, aos gritos da qual foraõ logo apellidos e juntos os da povoação; peloque nos foy forçado dar algum tanto mais cedo do que o caso requeria.

E posto que os inimigos logo de principio fizeraõ rosto, defendose rijamente hum bom pedaço, despois que sentiraõ o dano que recebiaõ, viràraõ as còstas, e por ser ainda taõ escuro, que quazi nos não conheciamos huns aos outros, com receyo de acontecer algum desastre, lhes dèmos occasiaõ a se salvarem, de modo que não ficàraõ mortos mais de cinco, entre os quaes foy o seo Capitaõ, chamado Maçamana, a quem tambem cativàmos duas filhas, com outras tres ou quatro mulheres, e deixandolhe o Lugar todo abrazado, nos recolhemos, trazendo os Cativos, os quaes por reformação de pazes, restituimos despois ao Zembe, que daquella terra era Rey, e a este rebate acodio; o qual sabendo as demazias que os seos nos faziaõ, houve tudo por bem feito, e ficou nosso amigo.

No fim deste tempo que dito tenho, tornou Bastiaõ de Lemos ao Inheca, sobre seo resgate, como costumava, o qual lhe disse, que se não partisse sem fallar com elle, porque tinha nova q̄ pelo caminho por onde nòs fomos, hiaõ outros homens da nossa terra; e fazendo-o elle assim, dous ou tres dias antes da partida de ElRey, lhe entregou a Rodrigo Tristaõ, que atràs ficàra, como tenho dito, e a hum Escravo, que fora de Dom Alvaro de Noronha, que també se apartàra de nòs àlem do Rio dos Medos do Ouro, os quaes trazidos ao Navio, não acabavaõ de contar o gazalhado que os Cafres lhe fizeraõ pelo caminho, andando às rebatinhas sobre quem os guiaria, despois que souberaõ que estavamos com o Inheca, e eraõ os mais domesticos e arrezoados do que elles d'antes cuidavaõ.

Recolhidos mais estes dous homens, como todos estavamos confórmes nos dezejos de deixar aquella mà terra, com os primeiros l'onentes que vieraõ aos vinte de Março, botámos pela barra fóra; e porque não passassemos ainda este caminho sem sobresaltos, confórme a nossos merecimentos, ao terceiro dia de nossa viagem

amanhecemos na ponta do Cabo das Correntes, bem no rolo do mar com vento travessaõ e temporal desfeito, acompanhado de mãres muy grossos; de modo, que por nenhuma via podiamos escuzar perdernos outra vez; e isto já com outro receyo, aparelhando armas e alforges para caminhar d'alli a Sofála. Mas foy Nosso Senhor servido largar o vento algum tanto, com o qual forçando o Navio da vèla muito mais do que a arte de marear concede, a bolinas agarruchadas dobrámos o Cabo cozidos com os penedos delle.

D'alli fomos haver vista das Ilhas primeiras, e por longo dellas, e pela d'Angoxa estavamos já onde chamaõ os Curraes, que he muito perto de Moçambique, quando nos disse o Mestre do Navio, que d'alli por diante não tinhamos baixo que arrecear, que elle sabia muito bem aquelle caminho, por haver trinta annos que o trilhava; e descuidandose os da vigia algum tanto, com esta confiança, parendolhes que estavaõ já com todos os receyos passados, não se procurarão; senão quando o Piloto que hia à cadeira ouviu quebrar o mar no costado do Navio, o qual estava todo em seco sobre huma coroa de areya, e mareando o mais prestes que pudemos, prouve a N. Senhor por intercessão da Santa Virgem a quem chamámos, livrarnos tambem desta, hindo tanto roçando com o baixo, que qualquer pessoa pudera deitar huma lança em seco; e assim com estes sobresaltos e trabalhos foy Nosso Senhor servido que chegassemos a Moçambique em dous dias do mez de Abril de 1555.

Tanto que desembarcámos, fomos assim juntos fazer oraçaõ à Igreja de Santo Espirito, onde a nosso rogo veyo ter o Vigario com os Sacerdotes, e gente toda da Fortaleza, e d'alli fomos com solemne procissão, e romaria a N. Senhora do Baluarte; e dormindo alli aquella noite mandámos ao outro dia cantar a Missa, que tinhamos promettida, fazendo juntamente celebrar outros Santos Sacrificios, em louvor e graças de N. Senhor por sua immensa misericordia nos escolher d'entre tantos, e trazer àquella Santa Casa, depois de haver hum anno que partiramos donde nos perderamos; e termos andado tanta parte da estranha, esteril, e quazi não conhecida Costa da Ethiopia; e atravessado com taõ pouca, fraca, e mal apercebida gente, por entre tantas barbaras Naçoens, taõ confórmes nos dezejões de nossa destruiçaõ, e passando por tantas brigas, por tantas fômes, calmas, frios, e sedes, nas serras, valles, e barrancos; e finalmente, por tudo aquillo que

se pôde imaginar contrario, medonho, pezado, triste, perigoso, grande, mão, desditoso, imagem da morte, e cruel, onde tantos homens, mancebos rijos e robustos acabàraõ seos dias, deixando os ossos insepultos pelos campos, e as carnes sepultadas em alimarias, e aves peregrinas: e com suas mortes a tantos pays, e irmãos, a tantos parentes, a tantas mulheres e filhos cubertos de luto neste Reyno. Praza a N. Senhor, por cuja alta bondade destas couzas escapàmos, tomarnos o passado por penitencia de nossas culpas, e allumiarnos da sua graça, para que ao diante vivamos de maneira, que lhe mereçamos despois dos dias da vida que elle for servido, darnos para a alma parte em sua Gloria.

FINIS LAUS DEO.

[*English translation of the foregoing.*]

NARRATIVE

OF THE

WRECK OF THE SHIP ST. BENEDICT.

BY MANUEL DE MESQUITA PERESTRELLO.

But as the time did not admit of any choice, every one concealing his apprehension as much as he could, we steered for the nearest land, which was a wide expanse of sandy shore in latitude thirty-two degrees and a third, at the mouth of the river Infante, but the sea receding quickly from it with the ebb of the tide, and the ship not obeying the helm but only steered by the sails, she drifted upon a rocky islet which lies within gunshot of the mouth of the river, on the side towards the Cape. This was another great mercy of our Lord, for if we had gone ashore where we intended, the sea being now almost at low tide, there was left a band of rocky shore, over which the sea burst in foam all along the coast, so that none could have escaped; but the shore of the rocky island was so steep that we were within a crossbow shot of it in seven fathoms of water. Then the ship struck the bottom, and split immediately, that is to say the lower part stuck fast and the upper parts were washed ashore, leaving the hulk level with the water, and only the castles and projecting parts visible,

over which the sea broke so frequently and heavily that those who had taken refuge there were as much under water as those in the other parts of the ship, and thus each one clinging as best he could to the place where he chanced to find himself, the waves drove us ashore, while on all sides there arose a loud confusion of mournful cries, by which with one voice we called on our Lord for mercy.

And as most of the people had planks or barrels near them, or something similar by the help of which they hoped to swim ashore, as soon as the ship was under water those who trusted to that art began to throw themselves into the sea; but those who were not skilled in it and still remained in the ship, seeing that the mast drew them over and under water many times by the force of the heavy seas, determined to cut it away, for which purpose they cut the shrouds on the side of the sea and sent the mast overboard towards the land, to which they were so close that it almost touched the dry ground. As each one was watching for the best opportunity to save himself, and the mast had the appearance of a bridge on which it seemed possible to reach the shore almost dry shod, thinking themselves saved, all those that could flung themselves upon it, covering it from end to end. But at that moment three or four heavy waves struck it and lifted it with such force that it shook off all those who were clinging to it, who were drawn under by the backward wash of the waves, till they struck the sail which was set upon the yard and spread out like a net, in which they were entangled, so that of all those who made the attempt, not one, alive or dead, reached land, except Manuel de Castro, brother of Diogo de Castro, merchant, who escaped once before from the shipwreck of Manuel de Sousa. His leg was jammed between the foot of the mast and the side of the ship, and was broken and shattered from the thigh downward, the flesh was torn off in pieces, so that a large portion of the bone was left exposed, and this was so splintered that the marrow was dropping out of it in many places; but with all this he had such courage that the fury of the sea which had drowned so many who were sound could not prevent him from reaching land and dragging himself over the rocks till he was out of reach of the waves. But in spite of all, he died the following night.

The sea was now covered with boxes, lances, barrels, and many



other things which appeared in this mournful hour of shipwreck, floating in confusion with the people, most of whom were swimming ashore. It was a frightful thing to see and to relate the different sorts of torture which the fury of the sea inflicted on all, for everywhere there appeared some who could swim no farther in the last painful struggles with the water which was choking them; others, feeling their strength decrease, who, commending themselves to the will of God, let themselves go to the bottom for the last time; others who were wounded by the débris, or were stunned and let go their hold, were finished by the waves which dashed them upon the rocks; others were wounded by the lances and nails in floating timbers, so that in many parts the colour of the water was red with blood from the wounds of those who thus ended their days.

Meanwhile what remained of the ship parted in two pieces, the castles on one side and the poop on the other, upon which those who could not swim had taken refuge, not daring to commit themselves to the mast or the sea, seeing the disastrous fate of those who had attempted to reach the shore in either way. As soon as the ship was in two pieces, the sea could get a better hold of it, and the waves began to carry them ashore, tossing them from side to side, and thus now under, now above water, we drifted till it pleased our Lord that two or three large waves should cast the two pieces ashore, out of reach of the receding surf which had sucked them back several times, by means of which most of those who were left alive were saved. Those who it pleased our Lord should escape spent some time in returning due thanks for so much mercy, each one then began to call from the summit of the rocks to those for whom they were most anxious, who, hurrying from the spot where they had been thrown by chance, and their eyes expressing the overwhelming joy of such an unexpected sight, embraced each other anew. Then we questioned each other about those who were missing, and thus discovered that some were lying disabled by the difficulties and perils of their landing, and could not rise from the place where they lay. These were carefully sought and found, until all the living were assembled, and we assured ourselves of those that were not dead.

As these rocks were separated from the mainland by a fathom of sea which made them an island, and the tide was now coming in, in case it should prevent us we waded to the other side, the

soundest carrying those who were badly wounded on their shoulders, for all were wounded more or less, some in the sea, and some by the sharp rocks on which they had landed, which were so rugged and pointed that none could save themselves without being wounded by them.

As soon as we reached the mainland, the captain commanded it to be ascertained who were missing, and the number was found to be less than a hundred and fifty, namely more than a hundred slaves and forty-four Portuguese, among whom was Dom Alvaro de Noronha, who in this disaster plainly showed that if human effort could have averted it, his heroic efforts and unwearied care and vigilance would have sufficed to do so, and the esteem merited by his past deeds and his behaviour in this and other adversities was so rooted in the hearts of all, that his death was unanimously mourned as that of a man in whose company none would fear to expose themselves to all the perils and misfortunes which might occur in such a dangerous journey; but his deeds being worthy of a higher reward, our Lord was not pleased to preserve him for the many evils which were certain to ensue if he then escaped; a careless, deaf, and furious wave dashed him from the mast on which he was and drew him under the sail from which he never rose again.

Nicolão de Sousa Pereira, Gaspar de Sousa, Alvaro Barreto, Gaspar Luiz, brother of Father André da Insoa, Rodrigo de Niza, the ship's secretary, Vicente Dias, Fernão Velozo, Father Antonio Gomes, of the Company of Jesus, Duarte Gonçalves, archdeacon of the see of Goa, and others, seamen and passengers, were also among the dead.

The best dressed among us had on nothing but a shirt without sleeves and drawers to his knees, for every one prepared himself when the ship grounded to be able to swim more easily, so that we were all wet and benumbed with cold. While the sun was hot, we stopped on the shore to dry ourselves, talking of the many different and disastrous modes of death by which we had seen those overtaken who were missing from among us; but when the sun was going down we retired into a wood which was close by, through which there ran a river of water, with which we washed the salt from our mouths and quenched our thirst, this being the first and last refreshment we had that day.

In the darkness of the night we took refuge at the foot of the

trees which were there, each one lost in thought of his own fate, and occupied in grieving for those things by which he was most afflicted. But even this small relief could not be enjoyed in quiet, for it rained so heavily that night that our ill-clothed bodies could not endure the cold of it, and we arose and walked up and down in the darkness, enduring this hardship to remedy those caused by want of sleep, cold, and our own imaginations, and all these things made us long for the morning. As soon as day broke we returned to the shore to seek for some clothes with which to cover ourselves, and found it strewn with dead bodies disfigured by hideous wounds and deformities, which gave evidence of the painful death they had suffered. Some lay above and some underneath the rocks, and of many nothing was visible but heads, arms, or legs, and their faces were covered with sand, boxes, and other things. No small space was occupied with the property cast up from the wreck, for as far as our eyes could reach both sides of the shore were covered with scented drugs and an infinite diversity of goods and precious things, many of them strewn round their owners, to whom they were not only worthless in their present necessity, but many by their weight had caused the death of those who had been excessively attached to them in life. And truly it was a strange conclusion by which misfortune brought these things to pass, and the memory of it might suffice to prevent poverty from being considered so great an evil, to fly from which we forsake God, our neighbour, country, parents, brethren, friends, wives, and children, exchanging peace and pleasure for such hardships as we suffered here. And so long as we live the fear of poverty induces us to brave seas, fires, wars, and all other perils and hardships which cost us so dear; but not to oppose on every point the just excuses of those who are tormented by necessity, I will cut short the thread of my discourse in the Catholic style, for I was carried away by the memory and dread of what is here represented, and return to my purpose, which is to write only the true facts concerning the events of this narrative.

From the surplus of things thus cast away we soon provided ourselves with what was necessary, and having somewhat restored our feeble strength with a little wet biscuit which we found, we returned to the spot where we had slept the previous night, to make some sort of shelter in which to take refuge during the

days we were to remain in this place. Every one lent a hand for the purpose, and in a few hours there might be seen a superb lodging made of rich carpets, pieces of gold cloth, and silk, put to a very different use from that for which they were made, and for which they were intended by their owners, who had earned them with the pains by which such things are acquired.

This being finished, the captain thought fit to command the country to be reconnoitred from the top of some high mountains which appeared towards the interior, both to discover if it were inhabited—because so far from the signs and desolation which we saw it seemed quite uninhabited—and also to see if we could discover some passage to the river Infante, where we might cross it with less risk from its current than could be expected close to the sea. The captain asked me to take charge of this undertaking, naming to go with me one João Gomes, a sailor, and other ten or twelve of the most healthy men among us. For this purpose, having provided ourselves with the necessary arms, we travelled the greater part of the day from hill to hill and from mountain to mountain, without discovering any people or any living thing, only about two leagues up the river, where the current is still very powerful and both banks are covered with sharp rocks, we saw on the other bank an animal larger than a horse under cover of some rocks, and from the place where we were the parts of it which were visible, being the head, neck, and part of the shoulder, differed in no wise from those of a camel, and if there is such a thing as a marine camel, this was certainly one. I wished to set this down, for in no part of our journey did we afterwards see an animal of the sort.

When it was time to return, I went back to the captain with no further tidings than the above mentioned, from whom I learnt that on that day, while I was absent, there appeared upon a headland close by seven or eight men, who were the first we had seen in that country, to whom he sent some of our people prepared for peace or war to see what manner of men they were and if possible to learn from them any of those things it was so necessary for us to know; but they were afraid and took to flight, and would not speak to our people, so that we could learn nothing but that they were Kaffirs, very black in colour, with woolly hair, and went naked, having more the appearance of savages than of rational men. Night being come, and it raining as the night before,

each one returned to his place of shelter and busied himself in building fires that we might not suffer so much from the cold. Though the counsel of the wise man is that marvellous and surprising things should rather be passed over in silence than related at the risk of being disbelieved, I will venture to relate one, on account of the many witnesses I can bring forward to vouch for it; which is that that night when we were all sheltered in that spot, and darkness had closed in, we clearly heard a loud clamour from the place where the ship went to pieces, and frequent cries of to starboard, to larboard, aloft, and other confused words which we could not understand, such as were heard when the ship was already swamped and the force of the tempest drove us on shore. The cause of this could never be fully and certainly explained, but we suppose that this was presented to our ears because they were still ringing with the cries we heard at that time, or else it was due to certain evil spirits rejoicing over those who had fallen into their power (a thing which may our Lord in his pity avert). But to whatever cause it was due, it is certain that it occurred, or at least it seemed so to all, for though at first each one thought himself the only one to whom the dreadful sound was audible, and from the strangeness of it scarcely held it to be true, yet as time went on one questioned the other as to whether he could hear it, and everyone answered in the affirmative, and from the hour, darkness, and stormy weather of the night, we concluded that it was due to one of the causes aforesaid.

The next day at dawn on the other bank of the river Infante there appeared certain Kaffirs, who went along the shore burning some pieces of the ship which the sea had cast up, in order to get out the nails, and on our calling to them some of them came to the edge of the river opposite to where we were and became bolder on seeing us unarmed, for then purposely we did not carry weapons with us. They swam across the river and came to speak to us, and Fernão d'Alvarez gave them the best welcome he could, giving them such poor provisions as we had, and caps, pieces of cloth, and iron, with which they were as delighted as if they had been made lords of the earth. Though they said many things in a language not so badly pronounced as we always heard and was customary on that coast, there being none among us who could understand them, we learnt nothing further in the

end but that the river could be forded far inland, and that they lived beside it on the other bank ; and upon this they returned.

On the afternoon of the same day there appeared upon a headland close to us about a hundred Kaffirs with many wooden pikes with their points hardened in the fire in their hands, for these are their principal arms, and some assagais with iron points ; and as the misery of our state made us fear every possible evil, on seeing these men together we took our arms and went to attack them, thinking such was their intention ; but it proved otherwise, for on our approach they offered no violence, but showed themselves peaceable as before, and therefore seeing their design we changed our own and began to speak to them. Among them was one of whom the rest seemed to make the most account, and he it was who answered our questions, which he understood as little as we did his, and though there was no pomp or dignity about his person, being naked like the rest, yet he was distinguished from them by wearing a few beads red in colour, round, and about the same size as coriander seeds, which we rejoiced to see, it seeming to us that these beads being in his possession proved that we were near some river frequented by trading vessels, for they are only made in the kingdom of Cambaya, and are brought by the hands of our people to this coast. After spending the best part of the day in these confusions and delays, we learnt nothing from them except that from their peaceable and assured demeanour they were men who had come to see us as a novelty to which they were unaccustomed, showing their surprise at our colour, arms, dress, and disposition. In time they rose and dispersed themselves in the wood, eating certain roots which they found, like wild animals, and thus little by little they moved on until we lost sight of them.

We passed that night with as little rest as before ; the day was welcome to all, on which we intended to seek some means of subsistence, of which we stood greatly in need, for since we had been in that place we had eaten nothing but cocoa-nuts. So little was cast on shore, it being neap-tides, that we could only secure a barrel of biscuit, about forty-two pounds of rice, and a few pieces of meat, all so wet that it could not last ; but it was equally divided among all. The captain seeing that we had been there five days, during which it had not ceased raining, from which he concluded that it was now full winter on that coast, and

being so ill provided we could not remain there, and seeing also our small amount of provisions and that even those were nearly exhausted, wished to consult with us what course it would be best to pursue. Having called us together for the purpose, he proposed his plan to us ; and though some were of opinion that we should make our way to the Cape of Good Hope and remain at the Watering Place of Saldanha till it should please our Lord to send some ship to rescue us ; and others that we should fortify ourselves where we were until we could make some sort of craft in which to send a message to Sofala ; we finally agreed that though we might overcome the difficulty of the great rivers and mountains which lay between us and the Cape, and could hold our own against the natives of the country until we reached the Watering Place of Saldanha, that part had been little frequented for years, and we might all perish there before any ship came to take us off. Besides this, before long we should have no more iron with which to trade, and then necessity would drive us to trust ourselves to the natives, whose evil disposition and want of faith the disastrous death of Dom Francisco de Almeida still taught us to distrust. And moreover should we fortify ourselves in the place where we were, we could only remain there so long as the provisions from the ship lasted, for the earth was so sterile that it could not sustain the few natives, who were forced to live on roots and berries of the wood, as we had seen the day before ; nor was it possible to build any sort of craft, nothing having been saved but a small axe, and no nails, gimlet, pitch, tar, or anything necessary for the purpose, neither could we send a messenger by land, for we could not make ourselves understood, and before this could be accomplished we should nearly all be dead. All these opinions having been discussed, which I wished to set down, having heard some reprehension on the subject, the conclusion and end of all was that we should prepare ourselves to take the route formerly followed by Manuel de Sousa, and endeavour to reach Sofala. That there might be no further delay, seeing that the thing was unavoidable and that the wounded were sufficiently recovered to start, the captain determined that we should carry the hogsheads of the ship to the edge of the river to use them in crossing next day, and this being done, each one filled his wallet with what provisions he could and as much nails and iron as he could carry to trade with, for at that time these things

were esteemed as the most precious jewels. And in this way we spent that afternoon and the following night.

Each one being prepared as aforesaid, the next day, which was the 27th of April, at daybreak we sought the captain's quarters and found him already waiting for us. There reviewing our number we found that we were 322 persons, namely 224 slaves and 98 Portuguese, most of them armed with lances or swords and shields, and one musket which alone was saved, with ten or twelve charges of powder damaged by water. With this company the captain set out for the river, leaving the shelter where we had established ourselves as it was, and in it a young ship's boy and a female slave, both with a broken leg and not likely to live, much less to travel. We spent this day crossing the river on two rafts which we made of the hogsheads, and here a slave was drowned who was swimming to hold the lines by which the rafts were drawn. We slept that night on the bank of the river, and at daybreak prepared to set out.

Inasmuch as we were all deceived, thinking that the interior would be more populated than the sea-shore, because of the small commerce these people have with the sea, we determined to wait for the Kaffirs who swam over to us every day, that they might point out some road which led to the populated parts; but when they came and saw that we had crossed over to their side, they would not trust us or speak to us, in spite of our calling to them. Therefore counting any further time wasted upon them, we put ourselves in marching order, carrying a crucifix raised upon a lance, and a blessed banner which was entrusted to Francisco Pires, the boatswain, with the other seamen who followed him (for they chose him for their leader), and a picture of Mercy in the rear, where was the captain with the passengers and the slaves; and those who were unarmed in the middle carrying the wounded among them, for nearly a fourth of our number commenced the journey with sticks and crutches. We arranged ourselves in single file, one behind the other, the width of the road not admitting of more, and set our faces towards the interior by a path made by elephants, directing ourselves towards a height where it seemed to us we might discover some settlement or signs of it. While we climbed the hill, each one capable of understanding it was thinking in himself how blindly we were setting out upon this long, uncertain, and perilous journey,



during which we must certainly die of want and privation if we escaped other dangers, thus without speaking a word, our hearts heavy with these forebodings and with our eyes filled with tears, we could not refrain from looking back many times at the ruin of that beautiful and unfortunate ship, for though not two timbers of it held together, but all was shattered on the rocks, still while we could see the wreck it seemed to us a relic and a certain portion of our desired country, from whose shelter and company (being the last service we expected of it) we could not separate ourselves without deep feeling. In this manner, after many pauses, we reached the top of the height, but found a very different prospect from what we expected, for not only did we see no signs of habitation, but as far as our eyes could reach we were surrounded by valleys so low and mountains so high that the latter seemed to reach to the stars and the former to the abyss. But the worst of all was that the path by which we came was lost to sight, and we remained without knowing where to direct ourselves. After some confusion as to what was to be done, we decided to make direct for the north-east, thinking thus to shorten the journey to Sofala, and with this intent we set out again and travelled till the afternoon, when on account of the rain and our being weary with the bad road and our unaccustomed burdens, we took shelter in a wood, where we passed that night.

The next day we set out in the same order as before, and pursued our journey, and likewise on the third day, upon which we came to some hills, at the foot of which a river ran, crossing our path, so that we directed ourselves to that part where we thought it might most easily be passed. Then we found all the country to which we were descending was so steep and full of rocks, grass, and undergrowth that we could not see where to set our feet, and at every step we fell upon our faces, but after we had spent the best part of the day in this descent, each one suffering from many falls, we reached the bank of the river, which was examined in different parts without finding any place where it could be forded, for which reason we would not venture to cross to the other bank there. It being late, and raining as it did every day, we took shelter among some shrubs close by.

The next day at dawn we retraced the distance we had travelled the day before, in which we met with so much difficulty on

account of the ruggedness of the way that thereafter we counted this as one of those days in which we endured the greatest hardship and received most injury, for the ascent was so steep that it could with difficulty be accomplished by an unburdened person, but to those encumbered with arms and other hindrances it was so impossible that we were forced to abandon most of the iron we had with us, and afterwards our want of it was so great that we knew full well that what we left there was not iron but lives. After this the difficulties of the way were so terrible that the strength of many being unable to endure them, they lay down between the rocks along the track we were following so weary and hopeless of ever extricating themselves, that calling on our Lord to forgive their sins, they did not cease from bidding farewell to the rest who passed them by. These, seeing their friends lying thus, dropped out of their rank in the single file and sat down beside them, forcibly urging them to continue on their way, saying that they would by no means leave the spot without them, and adding many other things which clearly showed their excessive grief at seeing them brought to such a pass, by which those who lay upon the ground were encouraged to exert their feeble strength once more, and resumed their march as well as they could. Thus after many pauses and delays we struggled on until we were all assembled on the highest point of the hill. After we had rested here awhile, there arose some difference of opinion as to what course we should pursue, for some wished to take the middle path on the side of the mountains following the course of the river, and others the way along the summits from which they might discover some part where it could be crossed, and as they could not agree upon this and each one argued for his life, all were given liberty to take the path which in their opinion offered the best chance of safety. The ship's master with about twenty men took the lower, and the captain with the rest of the company took the higher path, and thus we all journeyed on until we joined company again at night by some great clefts and fissures, where the river overflowed a good deal, and the ground not being so steep gave hopes of a better crossing. As our eyes strayed continually over these hills in search of some living beings or signs of habitation, while we were on the aforesaid spot we saw smoke upon the other bank, and by this we discovered a village, which was then our greatest object of desire, for we had

now travelled continually during four days of unceasing rain, without road or path, among the hills and vales of these thickets, and we hoped that there we might find a guide. With this anticipation we went and slept on the bank of the river.

The next day, as soon as it was dawn, we attempted to cross where it offered the least difficulty, and as the water was very broad in that part the depth was not great, but the current carried away everything we placed in it. So we were obliged to cut down the largest trees we could find, and some of the branches appearing above the water we tied others to these, and in this way we made a heap which reached the middle of the river, where some large uncovered rocks separated it into two arms; but as the largest and strongest was on our side, as soon as we reached them we placed a connection across by which, not without great risk, we reached the other bank. And though it was late when this was accomplished, so great was our desire to reach the village we had seen that we immediately proceeded towards it. It consisted of about twenty huts built with poles and thatched with dry grass, in form and size like a baker's oven, such as is usual among all the people of this coast. They move them from place to place with the seasons, according to the abundance or barrenness of the ground, upon the wild fruit of which they principally subsist. As we feared the Kaffirs might take offence or run away, we did not enter the village, but camped close to it, and sent them a messenger, with whom some of them returned to speak to us. To these we gave pieces of cloth and iron, with which they were very pleased, and we agreed with them by signs that the next day one of them should guide us to a large and well provided village which they said was close by. With this understanding we withdrew to our respective shelters.

The next day we resumed our journey, passing through the village, in which the ship's caulker and cooper chose to remain (one being old and the other wounded), because they could not keep up with the company. After the captain had recommended them to the Kaffirs as intelligibly as he could, we took leave of them and set out with our guide. We travelled for three days over the said hills, crossing such mountains, valleys, and ravines as we came upon, and as the people of these lands never venture beyond the limits of the place where they were born (happy they, if they had the faith!), but live and die in the vicinity of their

huts, on the third day the Kaffir was as much in need of a guide as ourselves. Losing his way, he led us to some hills at the foot of which runs the river of Saint Christopher, which lay right across our path, and the water was swarming with sea-horses. It seemed to us that it could not be forded there, and fearing to ascend the mountain which was high, because of the hardships we had before experienced, we determined to travel downwards. The captain first sent some unburdened men to sound the river, but finding no part where it might be forded, they returned. Then, impatient of the difficulties we encountered and forced by the pangs of hunger from which we were suffering severely, we determined to return to the coast, to see if we by chance could find more succour along the seashore than in the interior. Begging the Kaffir to guide us, we retraced in that day and the next the whole distance we had travelled in three. During this journey, the Licentiate Christovão Fernandes, who in India was chancellor and chief guardian of orphans, sat down upon a rock, his age being unable to endure such hardship any further, and said that he had done all he could so far to preserve his life, but now his strength could hold out no longer. He bade us go on our way and leave him there to die, only commending to our care his little son three years of age, whom fortune had ordained for his greater anguish he should bring with him, after being miraculously saved from the ship, and who was now carried in the arms of a nurse who had reared him, being thus at such a tender age the companion of his father's hardships and exile. As we could render him no assistance by remaining there, but rather by delay risked our own chances of safety, we bade him farewell with many mournful words, his friends consoling him with thoughts of the passion of our Lord. We went to sleep in the neighbourhood of the village to which our guide belonged, who, seeing our dissatisfaction at his bad guidance, and moved by a desire for his own home, fled during the night.

The next day, finding ourselves without a guide, we turned our faces to the sea, and directed our steps towards it as far as the mountains and valleys would permit. We had not travelled far before we again came to the river of St. Christopher, from which we had turned back before, which making a large circuit among the rocks again crossed our path until it flowed into the sea with such impetus and at such a depth in every part that it would have

been difficult for a well-equipped army to cross it, and how much more so for us who were destitute of everything. No farther than the foot of the height on which we were it broke upon a chain of rocks which crossed it from bank to bank, and the water being thus dispersed into many different channels, there was some hope that we might be able to cross it by laying trees from rock to rock; but there were two great obstacles to our attempting that passage. One was the steepness and impenetrable thicket on the other bank, which besides other difficulties was crossed above by a perpendicular bank of rock full of sharp points, so that one might almost say the ascent would have been difficult for birds; and the other obstacle was the descent from the place where we were to the river, which was crossed by a similar ridge of rock to that on the opposite bank, the sight of which was enough to inspire dread. For these reasons, losing hope of being able to descend there, we paused awhile, discussing what was best to be done. But we were all impatient at the difficulties we had met with in passing this river, and seeing that as far as our eyes could reach, neither the river nor the descent showed any better hope of carrying out our design, and fearing, if we should attempt it in some other part, to meet with worse difficulties (if worse were possible), we determined to try our fortune in that place. As the attempt was attended with great risk, some said that they would not throw away their lives wilfully, for to try to descend there was more like tempting God than seeking safety, and these again took the road over the top of the mountains, hoping to find a more easy descent.

The captain and we his followers proceeded towards the rock, and making the sign of the cross began our perilous descent with the greatest care and caution that we could, sometimes clinging to the branches of the shrubs which grew upon its face, sometimes fixing our lances in the stones and sliding downwards, so that on hands and knees, on our backs, or lying full length, according to the peril and nature of the ground before us, our Lord willed that we should all arrive in safety on the bank of the river. Here we cut down the largest trees which were at hand, and laid them from rock to rock. From the desire we all had of finishing this task, in less time than the difficulty of the work demanded we had completed the necessary staging, upon which, in great fear on account of the depth and current of the channels

formed by the water, we began our passage across. When the ship's master and about fifteen or twenty men who followed him had reached the opposite bank, finding it impossible to penetrate the rocks and thicket beyond them, they proceeded down the river, seeking some other place where they could leave it with less risk. The captain was upon the bank (according to his custom) waiting till all the company had crossed, and when this was done, it was already night; but that place being all wet and full of puddles, we were forced to enter the thicket until we reached dry ground. The bank was thickly wooded and full of rocks, and the height and shadows of the trees, together with the darkness of the night, made our way still more obscure, so that none of us could tell where the others were. We called out therefore from different places, and by the sound of our voices formed ourselves into a body at the foot of the rock, in a spot which was so dark and thickly set with trees that no one was able to move from the spot where he halted, nor to lie down; and thus we remained on our feet without sleeping, leaning against the trees all that night. We were broken up into three parties, namely that of the captain, that of the ship's master, and that of those who did not dare attempt the descent to the river. These latter, after they had travelled all the afternoon on the top of the mountains, trying first one place and then another where they might with less danger reach the opposite bank, took shelter that night as best they could, and as soon as morning broke returned to seek us. Seeing the path we had taken and the staging across the river, they passed over, losing one young man, who missed his footing; and they came up with us. By some steep fissures and dangerous clefts in the rock, passing the arms and wallets from hand to hand, we succeeded in reaching the summit, where before many hours had passed we were rejoined by the master and his companions. When we were thus reunited we resumed our journey towards the sea, all suffering greatly from hunger, the little provision we had with us being now spoilt by the rain, and the herbs which were known to us which we found on our way were not sufficient for our necessity. That day, crossing the top of these summits, we came to a headland from which we could perceive the sea, and in our joy at the sight we made our day's journey longer than usual, and slept in a deserted village, where we found pieces of china and many other things in use among us,

which we felt certain had remained from the shipwreck of Manuel de Sousa Sepulveda.

The next day, which was the thirteenth of our journey, we reached the sea at the very spot where the galleon came ashore, where we found the capstan and other pieces of timber thrown upon a rocky reef which stretches for many leagues along the coast. Here we acknowledged our error in having left the seashore, which proved gentler and offered more resources to our necessities than the wildness of the interior; and among the rocks (of which all the coast of the country called Natal is full) we found many oysters and mussels, which at low tide, or that part of the day when we rested, afforded us some refreshment. Besides this the ground was smooth, clear, and proper for walking, and most of the rivers, which are numerous in that country and impassable in the interior, when they reached the seashore were either blocked up by sand, or, if they entered the sea openly, by reason of the many sand banks which they formed the current was shallow and they were easily forded, while in the interior the contrary was always the case.

We here pursued our journey for five days, constantly followed by Kaffirs who did not dare to attack us, but lay in wait for loiterers or those who were too weary to proceed. At the end of that time in the latitude of thirty degrees we came upon a river which is not marked upon the maps, but is one of the most considerable on that coast, and which the largest ships can enter in the winter. We had little trouble in making two rafts, but the ease with which we accomplished it was far outweighed by the difficulty of the current and the Kaffirs who lay in wait to attack those who were left the last. However, in spite of all we succeeded in disembarking on the other bank, after some delays and blows which could not be avoided. Continuing on our way, we travelled four days, at the end of which we rested on the bank of another river, awaiting the low tide on the following day, because we thought we should then be able to ford it at the edge of the salt water where it formed a bank, and thus avoid the trouble and risk of rafts. It being now almost night, certain Kaffirs appeared on the opposite bank and showed us some cakes made of a seed called nacharre, which resembles mustard, saying that they would sell them in exchange for iron; and as where food was concerned our necessity admitted of no debate, we ended by

buying it, allowing them to scramble for pieces of iron; and this was the first place where we made any barter, having already journeyed for twenty-two days.

After this each one withdrew to his shelter, awaiting with pleasant anticipation the return of day, when we might cross the river at the place aforesaid. The same Kaffirs then returned and made known to us by intelligible signs that we should remain there, and they would bring us provisions, and as the want of these was our greatest necessity, we made no difficulty in acceding to their wishes. The news of this was no sooner spread by them among the two or three villages close by, than every soul in them came out to see us, singing and clapping their hands with many joyful demonstrations, bringing cakes, roots, and other things upon which they live, to sell to us. Among them was a young man from Bengal who remained after the other shipwreck, who being recognised by us was immediately seized and embraced, and carried to the captain with great rejoicing. Seating ourselves round him, we put many questions to him concerning things it was necessary for us to know, but he, either because but few of his country were embarked with him, or because he had lost the knowledge of our tongue from disuse, could scarcely understand us. By a few words, however, we learnt that the country was thickly populated and provided with cattle, and though we begged him many times to remain with us, offering him many bribes because of the need we had of a guide, he would not consent, but in due time returned to sleep with his companions, and would not see us again. The next day the Kaffirs returned with a cow and some goats and cakes, which we bought from them in exchange for an astrolabe and other pieces of iron. After this we resumed our journey, Jorge da Barca and another man remaining there, being so weary that they dared not attempt to go farther, and with them remained about thirty slaves, who overcome with the hardships they had endured and persuaded by the natives of the country, refused to continue in our company.

Leaving that place, as I have said, we travelled for three days, on the last of which we reached another river, which though not very wide was very deep. As we were consulting for a while where we could get wood for rafts, the boatswain, who as I have said, led the van, walked on with his company up the river about half a league from the mouth, where he met with certain Kaffirs



who showed him a ford. He passed to the other side, and sat upon a hill to wait for the captain, who, seeing his delay and suspecting its cause, set out with those who were with him, following the same track as the others. On passing a wood we found a large basket of millet which the Kaffirs had hidden there in case we should attack their village, and this being a rich prize in our necessity and those who were guarding it wishing to defend it, the strife increased, and offended at some blows which they received, they called to each other. In a short time a large number assembled, but thinking we were more numerous they were afraid of us so long as we were in the wood, but when we reached a clearing in the place where the river was to be forded, seeing how few we were, they attacked two young men who were a little apart, and took the wallets which they carried. Then they began to approach us more boldly, threatening to kill us with their assagais if we resisted, at the same time placing themselves in our path to prevent us from fording the river. There not being five armed men among us, we gathered ourselves together and had a perilous fight with them, which lasted for an hour, during which it was very often doubtful which side would triumph, but at last our Lord had mercy on us and we forced them to retire to a hill, where we left them, both on account of our fatigue and the strength of the site, and went to rejoin the captain who was waiting for us on the other side with the other company. Then we entered the water all together, at great risk from the Kaffirs, for the ford passed near the foot of the hill where they had taken refuge; and while we were within reach they attacked us within a short distance with a furious shower of stones, so that we were obliged to use great vigilance in keeping ourselves covered, but in spite of all caution I could not escape one blow, which broke my shield on which it first struck, and left me stunned for a while.

Reaching the other bank in the midst of these dangers, we rejoined the boatswain, in whose company we found a young man called Gaspar, who survived from the company of Manuel de Sousa, and hearing of our arrival had come thither to await us, being desirous of returning to a Christian country. As what we needed most was an interpreter, we gave many thanks to God for having succoured us at such a time, by inspiring so much faith in a young man, a Moor by birth, that in these wilds and among

these savages whose nature he had acquired he should desire to go with us and endure such hardships as he had already experienced, having no obligation to do so. He related to us, among other things, that Manuel de Sousa also fought with the Kaffirs on the other bank and killed one of them with a musket.

Leaving that place, we journeyed on until it was time to rest, and that night it was discussed among us whether it would not be well to send three or four unburdened men ahead, that they might first reach the river of Lourenço Marques, near Cape Correntes, where we hoped to find him, for when we left India he was equipped for that voyage (which he actually made, but was wrecked on the coast before he could reach the river), and tell him that we were following, that he might wait for us, for his departure according to the ordinary navigation would be about the June moon, and we, at the rate we travelled every day, could not arrive before July. The captain and the majority of the company approved of this plan, thinking that the whole country before them was like that of Natal, having rocks all along the shore, so that there would be shell-fish for the subsistence of those who were sent on in advance. Four sailors then offered themselves for that service, to whom were given four hundred florins, which were collected from several persons, in payment of their labour, and thus provided they set out the next day, carrying a letter from the captain and many other messages, which all proved in vain, as will be hereafter related.

After this we journeyed for two days, at the end of which we reached the mouth of the Pescaria, which is in latitude  $28\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, and penetrates two leagues into the interior, and is about the same distance in width. Here we found two slaves of Manuel de Sousa, who came to meet us on the way, and they remained with the natives of the country who brought us fish for sale that night, for it is very abundant there, and some large millet. The next day they returned to take leave of us before we set out, and for all we begged them to abandon those heathens and return to live among Christians, they refused, saying that they had travelled seven or eight days' journey farther on with their master, and being unable to endure the hardships of the journey and the barrenness of the land, they returned here, where there were sufficient provisions; and here they commended themselves to our Lord, who would have pity on them wherever they were.

They were so firm in their purpose that having shown us how to get round the bay, avoiding several streams and creeks which flow into it, they returned. As we were setting out, we saw a group of Kaffirs emerge from a wood, and among them a naked man with a bundle of assagais upon his back, (according to their custom), who was in no way different from the rest of them, and we considered him as one of them until by his hair and speech we found him to be a Portuguese named Rodrigo Tristaõ, who also survived from the other wreck. Having been for three years exposed to the cold and heat of those parts, he had so altered in colour and appearance that there was no difference between him and the natives.

Having received this man, we satisfied as best we could the natives, who being very numerous wished to attack us on the other side of the bay. Here we found a young man of Malabar, who directed us to a village near which he said that if we rested there that night he would cause provisions to be brought to us. And so it proved, for in a short time the Kaffirs appeared laden with goats, milk, millet, and fish, and all this at a very moderate price, so that this proved the most plentiful and cheapest halting place which we found in the whole of our journey. Here we furnished our wallets with as much as we could carry, for this young man told us that from this place to a river which was four or five days' journey farther on we should find no more provisions to buy, and though he dwelt strongly upon this, if he knew what lay beyond the river he might have affirmed that it was the last hour of relief we should find on our whole journey, for thenceforward all was hardship, sorrow, and gnashing of teeth.

The next day we slept near another village, where we bought a cow, and without trading any further, we travelled through the thickets five days, always in the direction of the sea, which we reached near the river Santa Lucia, in latitude  $28\frac{1}{2}$  degrees, which is moderately large, and very wide from the mouth inland, extremely rapid, and rises and falls with the sea. On reaching it we made two rafts, upon which most of the people passed over that day while the tide permitted, but when it turned, those on either bank withdrew to the dry land. And because we were all perishing with thirst, having found no fresh water since we left the bay of Pescaria, which was five days before, we spent the rest

of this day seeking water, and as diligence and necessity overcome everything, we walked so far that at last we found a little muddy water in the footprints of some elephants, with which we satisfied ourselves.

And since some may desire to know more particulars concerning Fernão d'Alvares Cabral, for now the time of his death is drawing near, it seems to me necessary to sum up here part of the hardships and afflictions which he suffered in his life. Between the painting and the living thing, and between the shadow and the substance, there cannot be more difference than there is between what I can relate concerning him and those who followed him and what really occurred, yet though I thus display my shortcomings, I have an excuse, which is the greatness of the subject. I trust that those who hear it will believe so much in addition that the little I can relate will be an advantage, enabling them to read this summary with less affliction; and that those persons who have a part in this sorrow may not feel so keenly what was suffered by those for whom they mourn, I shall not set down the disasters which befell each one in particular, which is the most afflicting part, but avoid as far as possible what is sad and painful; nevertheless, in spite of this my purpose, this being in itself a sad story, truth will not permit me to avoid all words savouring of sadness.

But to return to Fernão d'Alvares, putting aside the hardships which he endured at the time of the storm to fulfil his duty in all things, and the sorrow which he had good reason to feel at seeing the destruction of such a ship, and so many men and such great riches as were under his care, and that out of so many hopes of rest, so many servants, relations, and friends as surrounded him a few days before, he now remained by this disastrous fate so destitute of everything that he had scarcely one poor suit with which to cover his aged and honourable flesh, and one person in time of such necessity to share in his afflictions, he was not found wanting, for his great soul concealed all signs of this just and unavoidable sorrow so well that nothing appeared outwardly of the pain within, but encouraging all, his countenance and words expressing more hope of salvation than was compatible with the many disasters which were certain on this unknown journey, he set out upon his way during the first days with great spirit and energy, but the ruggedness and difficulties of the road in the

interior being such as I have described, proved so fatiguing to his age and want of custom that when we returned to seek the sea he was so weak, weary, and broken down that he was determined to remain in the first village we came to. Nevertheless when we reached the sea-shore, and found the ground so level and without the inequalities and other obstacles which we met with on the other road, he made another effort, and though among the last, he managed to keep up with the rest of the company in order to share its fortunes.

But as fortune never begins with little, to all these disasters another was added, which, though it could not make things blacker than they were, was still a source of much grief, coming as it did from men who were bound to him for benefits bestowed upon them; and this was that the greater part of the company were seamen, of whose good qualities few authors had then written, and these from day to day gradually lost all sense of fear and shame, and being gathered in one body headed by the boatswain (although he had no hand in their ill-doing), they grew so undisciplined that they made absolutely no account of Fernão d'Alvares, but rather each time he reprehended their disorders (which were not few) they answered that he should not dare to reprove them, for he was no longer their captain, and they owed him no obedience, adding many other insolent words, which the misery of that time rendered the more scandalous, so that they took no notice of his orders. Seeing this, the ship's master, who came from this kingdom and bore him a special hatred, finding in their perverted wills so good an opportunity to tempt them, was moved neither by the obedience which he owed him nor by his ancient nobility, illustrious virtues, lively discretion, unblemished chivalry, and honourable age, thus persecuted by fortune and cast with such want and necessity into the deserts of Africa; nor was he moved by the present hardships from his evil zeal, but determined to attempt his diabolical and inhuman act, which was to induce those of his party to say that they could not possibly be saved in the companionship of their captain, because the day's journey was always shortened that he might not be separated from them, and, travelling in this manner, their iron for barter and their strength for travelling would give out before they could reach the river of Lourenço Marques, where they hoped to find a ship, and that it would be well, God having given

them strength, to make the most of their time, and not lose their lives through love of others.

And as these people, wherever they may be, follow each others' opinions, not many such discourses were needed before what the master said was accepted as good advice and almost as if divinely revealed, upon which one inducing the other, they began to tempt the boatswain, who hitherto had not been included in their councils. He held out against them for some days, urging the reasons against such conduct, but with all this they persuaded him so strongly and so often that they brought him to their opinion; and having concluded this, that no obstacle might arise, they arranged to set out the next night as silently as they could and get three or four leagues ahead before the next day broke, leaving the captain and those who followed him on that lonely shore at the mercy of the Kaffirs, in whom we would find less pity than in all the tigers of Hircania.

But as the captain by the evident signs of their want of faith was upon his guard, and as nothing could be done among such ill-advised men so secretly that he was not aware of it, as soon as it was known to him that very night he commanded us to call the passengers who were of the company, and made known what he had discovered and the purpose of these men, begging us to advise him what was best to be done. All agreed that it would be well to summon the boatswain, who was a good man and always showed himself his friend, and tell him what he knew, and beg him not to let it be said of Portuguese that to save such uncertain lives they had done a deed of such certain infamy as to abandon their captain in such a spot; and that if he could bring that man to his way of thinking he need not fear the others, who showed him such obedience that he would meet with no contradiction from them whatever he might say or do. But should the boatswain prove obdurate, he was to know that here were we, nearly twenty men, who would remain wherever he remained, and as long as we had life he should not lose his, but we would be his comrades in whatever good or evil might befall. Satisfied with our advice and offer, he dismissed us. Calling the boatswain, he complained to him of the ill return he was making for the friendship he had always shown him, urging many other reasons which the occasion called for, and the other did not deny the truth, saying that the master and seamen had persuaded him against

his own judgment, but that he gave his word he would never entertain such a thought again, and should all the rest abandon him he would remain alone. And he kept his word, and from that time he served him loyally and with good will, and such was the obedience or rather fear (which is most powerful with them) with which he was regarded by the seamen, that seeing his determination they all chose to remain, taking no account of anything but what he ordered, and caring nothing for the captain, who on this occasion made them a speech blaming their conduct, which had little effect upon them.

In this way, bearing up as well as he could under his misfortunes, he reached the river of Santa Lucia, over which I left most of the people already passed before I began this digression. When the next day dawned, which to the best of my recollection was the 2nd of June, as soon as it was light he went to the bank of the river to hasten the passage with all possible diligence, because of the short time that the good opportunity lasted, on account of the rising of the sea. And though by the time the afternoon was drawing near almost all the company had crossed over, it would seem that he had a presentiment in his heart of what was to happen, for he dreaded the passage, though he had not feared those we had attempted before. For this reason he said to the boatswain that he was determined not to cross on the raft, but to travel inland till he found a ford, and bade him say if he was ready to accompany him. The boatswain replied that he saw that nearly all the company had crossed the river without any having been lost, and so he hoped to God might those who remained; and he thought that to go round the river would be very laborious, it being so great and wide and running on such even ground, and therefore it would be impossible to ford it except at a great distance; but if he was determined to make the round he would wait for him there as long as he liked, for he could not accompany him, but must cross in the same place as the others.

Hearing this, the captain was somewhat appeased, and determined to place himself on the first raft which returned to him; and though everyone endeavoured to persuade him to wait for the next raft, because the tide was running very strong and the next passage would be smoother, he listened to the dictates of his fate rather than to our advice, and entering the water placed

himself on one corner of the raft with Antonio Pires and João da Rocha, his servants, and Gaspar the interpreter on the other three. The raft being thus well balanced, they called to those on the opposite bank to draw the ropes, which was done with all possible care and caution. In this way, as soon as they reached the deepest part João da Rocha became afraid and swam back to the shore, which so destroyed the balance of the raft that the other corners began to be under water, and thus they reached the middle of the river where the current ran so furiously that it tilted the unbalanced corner of the raft, sending the captain and Antonio Pires overboard, who though they did their utmost to keep their hold, could not escape their destined hour, and raising their hands to heaven in confession of faith, which the water prevented them from confessing with their lips, they sank, and the young interpreter saved himself, being unencumbered and a skilful swimmer.

At such a disaster which afflicted us all, we on either side of the river raised a mournful cry which echoed among the caves of the shore, and with heavy sadness and tearful sobs we dispersed upon the shore to watch if the sea would cast up the bodies, that we might give them burial. As soon as the tide began to rise the body of Antonio Pires was cast up, and immediately buried, and two hours afterwards we found that of Fernão d'Alvares among the rocks at some distance from the river upon the opposite shore, which when it had been carried to the dry land and wrapped in a shroud, we bore upon our shoulders to the foot of a hill out of reach of the sea, and there making him a grave we placed a wooden cross at his head, and with more tears than other funeral pomps we left him to his rest until the day when we shall all rise again to give an account of our well or ill-spent lives.

Such was the death of Fernão d'Alvares Cabral, and this was the end of his labours. And truly having borne so well the corporal and spiritual sufferings he was called upon to endure, with such patience, and in all things rendering thanks to our Lord whom we know to be merciful, it may be supposed that he was pleased to remove him from this state of martyrdom, that though his body was thrown into so poor a grave, his soul might be with Him in glory and happiness, which should be no small consolation to those who loved him here.



While we were occupied in this burial, those who had remained upon the other side finished crossing the river, and when we were all thus reunited, seeing how necessary it was for our salvation that we should be formed into one body under the command of one person, to whom obedience should be sworn upon the Holy Gospels, to avoid the rebellions which had previously occurred, we immediately set about it. As out of the ninety-two persons who composed our company, seventy were seamen, all these swore that Francisco Pires the boatswain was most fitted for this, and if he were named captain they would obey him. Though there were two or three persons who had a better claim, as most were of a contrary opinion those who remained were not numerous enough to oppose them, for which reason and considering that the boatswain was a good man and had great endurance under suffering, as was required for that post, and those under him had the ropes and tools with which to make the rafts and cross the rivers, and the steel and flint with which to make the fires to protect us from the cold at night, and should any division arise in this matter as in the time of Fernão d'Alvares and they were to rebel, that same hour we should be obliged to separate, and we who held the contrary opinion would be left without any of these things with which to remedy our necessities, to say nothing of the importance of their numbers to us in case of fighting, all of which had weight with us, we agreed that it was necessary for us to approve that election, for which reason he was acknowledged by all as their captain. This being concluded, he also bound himself by an oath to help us truly and well, and to be our faithful comrade both in peace and war, acting according to our advice as far as it might be for the better service of God and the saving of our lives.

The new captain having been thus elected, it seemed well to all that we should rest there for one day to dry ourselves and our property which was wet with the passage of the river. The next day we resumed our journey along the shore, without finding any people or anything to eat; and thus we proceeded for four days, at the end of which we came in sight of a village and encamped near it, hoping to be able to trade with the people. Hearing, however, from our interpreter that the inhabitants were as poor as ourselves, we lost this hope, and only arranged with them that on the following day they should show us the ford

over the river which was before us. And as all that night and the next day it never ceased raining, or rather almost snowing (from the coldness of the water which fell), the Kaffirs would not venture out of their huts, and moved by hunger and cold and a desire to leave such an evil halting-place, we sent Rodrigo Tristão (him whom we found before) and a sailor into the village to procure us a guide, but they finding themselves better off because the young man knew the language of the country, were so neglectful of our state that they never returned with a message or without. Being in this trouble, when it was almost sunset the rain ceased somewhat, and a Kaffir came to us, who, being satisfied with the iron which we gave him, showed us the ford of the river at a place where the water reached to the chin of the tallest and in some parts to the top of the heads of the others. When we reached the other bank, wet through and the rain not ceasing, we were so benumbed with cold that our hands and feet were powerless and we could not take a step forward. And as there was no thicket within a great distance wherein we could take shelter, we were forced as quickly as we could, and half tumbling along, to climb up the side of a hill, that the warmth of this exercise might restore our animation and life which was almost extinct. But as this exertion was as painful to our weakness as was the cold when we kept still, we endeavoured to find a remedy by taking refuge in a marshy place which lay so low that it was full of water, but we chose it as the lesser evil, because there was an abundance of wood, and though we made some fires the cold was so excessive that this was not sufficient to prevent our teeth from chattering all night.

The next day as soon as it was light we resumed our journey, no less tormented by cold and hunger than on the previous day, and towards the afternoon we came upon two villages where we bought three goats, though at a high price, which afforded us some relief. Here the Kaffirs showed us an ivory tusk which they said they were going to sell at a river which was farther on, where there came white men like ourselves, at which we were overjoyed, thinking it was nearer. And as that night it was cold and rainy as the nights before, despairing of saving ourselves in the open air we hired some huts from the Kaffirs in which crowded together, with a fire in the middle, we passed that night, which was so stormy that the next day we found two or three

slaves dead, who being unable to find shelter had slept in the open air, and such would have been our fate if our Lord had not succoured us with these shelters.

Leaving this place, we journeyed along a marsh which ran in the same direction as the coast, with the intention of crossing it to reach the shore as soon as we could find a spot where it was possible, but the road was such that, though we attempted it three or four times, we could never succeed. Ten or twelve men only who were in front attempting the passage, thinking that the rest were following them, pushed forward, overcoming the difficulties of the way, until finding that they were alone they deemed it easier to go forward than to turn back, and reaching the other side they discovered a village near the shore, where they saved themselves from the Kaffirs who endeavoured to kill them by frightening them with the news that another company was close at hand, and for this reason they showed them a certain amount of courtesy, and having got rid of them, they made for the sea, and journeyed along the shore as far as they could, that we might not get ahead of them.

While these were following this road, Francisco Pires, the captain, who was in the rear when the passage of the marsh was attempted, hearing those in front say that there was no ford, ordered the company to turn back, and finding those who had reached the other side missing, not thinking it possible that they should have succeeded, from the account given by those who returned, wished to wait for them for some time; but seeing their great delay and suspecting its cause, we resumed our journey along the marsh. In the afternoon we met a few Kaffirs from the village where our people had been, who had come to see if we were following, as they had been told we would do, in order to pursue them if it was not so; but as soon as they perceived us they concealed their purpose and showed us the passage of the marsh, and directed us to a wood where we slept that night and bought a little nachani from them.

The next day we resumed our journey, extending it to the village of these Kaffirs in search of news of our missing comrades, of whom they denied any knowledge, saying they had not seen them; but the truth was that if their spies had not come up with us so soon they would not have escaped them, because being very numerous, as we afterwards learnt, they lived as rebels in that

village, recognising no king or superior except such as they appointed among themselves, subsisting by robbing those of the country who were less powerful. Their calling was easily perceived by the advantage they had over the other Kaffirs of that district in arms, bracelets, and various ornaments, and by the shameless manner in which they began to lay hands on the iron of some among us. Besides these, others came to us who were so lawless that we were almost forced into a severe and uncertain fight with them, but leaving the place with as much honour as we could we made for the sea-shore as well as the road would permit, and travelled till the afternoon. Being in want of water, we were obliged to go inland again in search of it; and on our way we found three villages, the Kaffirs of which showed us a lake, on the borders of which we slept that night.

As soon as it was light we resumed our journey, with the intention of returning to the sea-shore, there being nothing between it and us but some sand-hills and a good deal of thicket which runs along it. The Kaffirs seeing us set out, all those in the district having assembled in a large army well armed according to their custom, came to the place where we were, and while talking peaceably to us, began to steal different things from those who were not upon their guard, and those who did this mingled with the rest and went on talking securely as if they had done no harm. We, understanding their evil designs and fearing their numbers, were still more desirous of reaching the shore, because if it came to fighting there we could put our backs to the sea and avoid being surrounded. With this purpose, we were making towards it, but as soon as the Kaffirs were aware of our intention they placed themselves before us with their assagais prepared, saying that we should not go except where they chose to guide us. We, both because the way lay over a thickly wooded hill, and because we wished to get rid of them without a fight, being very weak and not having more than fifteen or twenty lances and five or six swords among us, all the other arms having been bartered away for want of other iron, did not dispute the point, but took the road they pointed out. As soon as they saw this, thinking we were afraid, they raised a loud shout as if in scorn of our cowardice, and thenceforward full of confidence they began openly to divide the arms and spoils which they hoped to win from us. The interpreter, hearing what they were saying, gave

us warning of it, telling us that they were resolved to fight us as soon as they were joined by some others who were waiting farther on to assist them. Finding from this that we could not avoid a fight and considering how much better it would be for us while they were fewer, we again made for the shore (on account of the favourable position it offered us, as aforesaid), directing our march towards a hill over which, though thickly wooded, the way was shorter. They, seeing our intention, again placed themselves before us with their arms prepared, saying that we must go with them, and as we were determined not to do their will, we prepared ourselves for the battle we expected, the captain commanding those who had arms to place themselves in the front and rear, and those who were unarmed in the middle, and he who carried the musket to fire and reload it, fearing it would hang fire as it had been loaded for some days and was wet with the rain. He who bore the musket began to obey these orders by striking a light with the flint and steel, and those who were out of the thicket began to warn those who were in it with great amazement to be on their guard, for we had a light and they did not know how we procured it. This plunged them all into such surprise, fear, and amazement that we partly perceived the weakness they afterwards showed ; but all this was nothing compared to the effect of the report of the musket upon them, for then they turned and fled as if they were pursued by devils, and dispersed so that in a moment every one of them had disappeared. I know not where they hid themselves in such a short time, being so numerous. Seeing the fear they had of the musket, in the future we made more account of it for our defence.

Our way being thus clear, we climbed the hill aforesaid till we reached the summit, where there was a village from which all had fled who could do so, and there remained only four or five old men, so old that they dared not follow the rest, and who expected from us the fate they had deserved ; but in spite of our just cause of offence, in pity for their age we would do them no harm, but rather left them in peace, and went on our way until we reached the shore. There we met with such a terrible tempest and storm of wind that that day will ever be remembered by us who escaped as one of the most painful of the journey, for the whole of that coast was composed of dry loose sand, which was blown by the wind in such clouds that we could not see each other, and great

hills of sand were raised suddenly in places where the ground was quite smooth before. We could not remain still so much as a quarter of an hour, or we should have been buried; therefore fearing to share the fate of Cambyses we gave up all thought of the rest of which we stood so much in need, and with our backs to the wind we resumed our journey (if it can be thus called) almost flying. By the fury of the wind the sand beat continually on our legs and such parts of our persons as were exposed, until we were covered with blood; but the coast being barren with no trees or shelter where we might take refuge, we were obliged to endure this hardship longer than our strength could support it. Proceeding in this way, we came upon our companions who had separated from us in crossing the marsh, as before related, and though we were unwilling to stop except in some wood which would afford us shelter, as not one of us could take a step farther and the blood was trickling from us, we took refuge among some shrubs which were at the foot of a hill, where we passed that night in excessive suffering, both from the cold in our wounds and the want of all other relief which was so necessary to us.

The next day the tempest ceased, and as soon as it was light enough we continued our journey. That day we found upon the sea shore a piece of a ship which all declared to be of the galleon *St. John* of Biscay, in which Lopo de Sousa disappeared in the year 1551, having sailed from India for this kingdom. After we had rested upon it for a while, our grief at our misfortunes revived by the sight of something from this land. We then arose, and slept that night at the mouth of the river Medaos do Ouro, which is situated in latitude  $27\frac{2}{3}$  degrees, one of the largest estuaries on that coast, receiving as it does the waters of four large rivers from the interior, and which enters a bay about half a league from the shore. In some parts it is more than two leagues in width during nearly twenty in length. Some sand hills lying between its course and the coast separate it from the sea, and besides these rivers the waters of so many marshes and streams flow into it that, when they are joined into one body of water, it enters the sea with such force that the fresh water can be perceived above the salt at a distance of two leagues. For which reason, seeing that it was a waste of time to endeavour to find a ford at such a depth, we began to travel along the river until we reached the first arm of it, where the current seemed less, and there we made

rafts, which was a sufficiently laborious task, because of the distance which we had to carry the wood. As long as the day lasted the people continued crossing the river, but when it was growing late so many hippopotami appeared that for fear they might attack us those on both banks found shelter for the night as best they could, leaving the passage for the next day.

The night being moonlit, three sailors searched along the coast in hope of finding something cast up by the storm, and at the mouth of the river they found a shark thrown on the shore, which they divided between them and sold to us at fifteen and twenty cruzados a slice two fingers thick. The want of other provisions caused such a number of bidders that when all the body had been disposed of at the aforesaid rate, some one was found willing to pay twenty thousand reis for half the head, so that a good sized farm might have been bought in this country for the price of that fish.

The next day we finished crossing the river, which delayed us till dusk, so that we slept that night on the opposite bank in a swamp among the reeds, which was the best place we could find. In the morning as soon as it was light we resumed our journey, and walked until the hour of vespers, when we reached the other branch of the river, which we were able to ford, though it was wide. Seeing that near the bay the ground was marshy and covered with water, we went round it, and going about from one place to another we found a path. Supposing that it would lead to some village, we followed it till the afternoon, when we came in sight of two or three villages, where we traded for three goats. Having got rid of some people who endeavoured to attack us, we slept that night near other villages, whose residents not being so numerous and not daring to attack us openly, travelled with us the next day, waiting for some disorder among us that they might carry out their intentions. When we reached a river, which came up to our necks at the place where we forded it, they, seeing with what caution we proceeded and that they could not make any attempt against us, seized upon four or five slaves who were still on their bank, and stripped them without our being able to assist them, as most of us were on the other side, and those who were in the river had so much to do in struggling with the mud in which they were sinking that they could not succour them.

Having crossed this river, we travelled till the afternoon, when we came upon another village. The Kaffirs pointed out a certain place where they said it was possible to cross, and reach the shore as we desired. As we were setting out (not from any faith in their words, but constrained by necessity) there came to us a young man of Guzerat well known in India to some of our company, who advised us not to go in the direction pointed out, because it was all mud, and the Kaffirs intended to kill us when we were stuck fast in it, but said that he would go with us and show us the way which Manuel de Sousa followed. Thinking this the better counsel, we travelled for two days along the bay, at the end of which time we came upon a river, and as we were all expecting to reach the sea, according to the hopes our guide held out to us, on encountering this obstacle many were enraged against him, saying that he should be hanged, having purposely brought us there to die. Fearing this, the young man returned to the Kaffirs without our leave, and when we found him missing, seeing there was no one to guide us by a different way, we sounded the river to ascertain if we could avoid the necessity of making rafts, there being no wood within a great distance, but finding that they would be necessary, we made two, on which a good number of the people crossed that afternoon.

The next day, when we had all reached the opposite side, we continued our journey round the bay, and as all the land there was uninhabited and extremely barren of trees and herbs, and as in the villages we had left behind we had not traded for anything, our want was so extreme that we were forced to eat our shoes and the straps of the shields which we carried. Any one who found the bone of an animal bleached with age till it was white as snow ate it reduced to charcoal as if it was a plentiful banquet. Through this want of food the people became so weak that thenceforward they fell into disorder, loitering at the foot of shrubs and falling on the road at every step. All were reduced to such insensibility, and were so affected by their suffering that even those who remained behind did not realise that they must die in a few hours in abandonment, and those who went forward, expecting the same fate themselves at every moment, showed no sorrow at a sight so fitted to call it forth. Thus they passed over each other without showing any sign of feeling, as if they had been a herd of irrational animals grazing in that place, their eyes and



attention fixed upon the surrounding country to see if they could discover herb, bone, or insect on which they might lay hands (even though it might be poisonous), and if any of these things appeared all rushed to seize it first; and there were often disputes between relations and friends over a locust, beetle, or lizard, so great was the want and suffering which made such base things of value. After travelling in this misery for three days, at length we came to a hill where there were many wild onions, and our suspicion that they were deadly poison was not sufficient to prevent our supping upon them, and our Lord was pleased that they should do us no harm.

Most high, great, just, and all powerful God, true searcher of the human heart! Thou Lord who from thy resplendent throne seest the affliction and anguish in which I am plunged, the mournful hour being now come in which in the course of this narrative I must set down the untimely and lamentable death of Antonio Sobrinho de Mesquita, my brother, and knowest how I went forth with him alive and have returned without him, by which I am plunged in perpetual sorrow, succour me Lord in this my necessity, and revive my spirits bowed down with the remembrance of such grief, that I may not thereby be bereft of words and may continue this history, putting aside my private sorrow to be lamented by me alone according to the love I bore the cause of it.

To return to the subject, while we were travelling through that part where I broke off the thread of my narrative, I saw my brother growing weaker, so that he was unable to keep up with the rest, and for five or six days he and I remained behind, reaching the places where they camped at night the last of the company; and though the captain waited for us very often and for our sake halted at night earlier than usual, even this was not sufficient to enable us to keep up with him, for as the weakness of privation increased so also did our delay. Thereupon the captain, seeing that when they set out the next morning we were still a long way behind, waited till we came up, and then said that we saw to what misfortune our sins had brought us, and all these people were complaining of him because he constantly waited for us, exclaiming that while they had breath they must struggle to get out of this evil country, that ever so little time wasted in these delays would be enough to cause them all to

perish, and therefore we should make up our mind what we intended to do, and not linger behind, or if the strength of Antonio Sobrinho would not suffice and I was determined to remain with him, we should declare as much, that no further time might be wasted in delay which could not save us and was a manifest danger to the others; that God knew with what sorrow he said this, but that his duty to those under his care made it necessary.

And as Antonio Sobrinho replied to this that he would have been left behind many days ago had it not been for me and that now he could not take another step forward, I said to the captain that I saw there was good reason for what he stated, and since our Lord was pleased that of father, sons, and family who came in that ship not one should escape, each seeing the disastrous death of the others, I gave him many thanks, and accepted this fate in penance for my sins, being determined to remain with my brother and be his companion in death as I had been in life; and since it was certain that his weakness increased each day, proceeding as it did from hunger in which they could render no assistance, I begged them all to delay no longer, but should our Lord be pleased to remember them and bring them to a Christian land, I only asked one thing of them, that they should not tell the true facts of our death, but say that we were drowned on leaving the ship, not to increase the affliction of a sad and disconsolate mother, who remained in this kingdom, prostrated by the death of her husband and sons.

Hearing this, Antonio Sobrinho passionately declared that I must not speak of such a thing, nor would he consent to it, but required me in the name of God and Saints Peter and Paul to go away and leave him, calling on the captain and the rest of the company in the same way not to consent to leave me, saying that if he felt in himself any hope of life, nothing could console him so much as my company, but now he was at his last hour and all around him was death and the signs of death; therefore I should take no further heed of him, for he required nothing further of me but that I should commend him to God, to whom he commended me in like manner; and he begged me that his death might be regarded by me as a great mercy from the divine hands, for so he himself esteemed it, adding that God knew if any sentiment of sorrow remained in him, it was the thought that

grief for his death might be the cause of bringing me sooner to the like pass. As the captain and other persons endeavoured with much reasoning to persuade me not to remain, I, complaining that they should judge me so ill as to think that their entreaties could turn me from my duty, persisted in my purpose. Whereupon with no small show of grief they bade us farewell and proceeded on their way, and only a young man whom I took from this kingdom and a slave remained with me, refusing to leave me, though I begged them many times to do so. Seeing that their company could only serve to increase my sorrow in life and disturb me in death, I was forced to repay their good intentions with such an ill return as to take up the lance I carried with me and drive them from me with blows; and I wish to make this remembrance of them here, because their loyalty to me deserved no less.

Remaining thus alone with my brother, after he had rested I begged him to rise while it was yet day and God gave him life, and go forward as well as he could, for it might please Him to bring us by chance to some village where we might find relief, or if not, it would be better to die in the power of men than of animals, which must be very numerous in that country judging from the many different kinds of footprints with which the ground was covered. At this he was much offended, and would not answer me for some time, but at length seeing that I did not cease to importune him, he broke the silence and said that he entreated me not to remain there, but to leave him both in respect for my own life and his death; but since I would not do so, I must know that what I saw before me was no longer my brother, nor should I regard him as such, being only a dead body and a little earth, as I would soon see; and since it must be so, he begged me not to waste the short space of life which remained to him in seeking relief which he no longer required, but to let him commend himself to our Lord and meditate upon His sacred passion, that He might assist him in this hour, and that I should aid him to do this, for this was all that he required and the last request he had to make of me. In this and other equally sad and salutary discourses we passed some time, till at length, moved by my sorrow, he made an effort to rise, and journeyed on, but he had not gone far when he again lay down, and thus sometimes going forward, sometimes falling, little by little we followed the

rest of the company. These, after they had separated from us, went forward till the hour of vespers, when they came upon a marsh which lay across their path, with a river running in the middle, and as they stood in doubt as to where they might cross it, some Kaffirs appeared upon the opposite bank, whom they begged to show them the ford, and they replied that they could not do so then, but would show them the next day. Our people, seeing that it was necessary to wait for a guide, retired to a wood close by, and spent the rest of that day in seeking some means of subsistence. As their day's journey was short, on account of the obstacle of this river, my brother and I, following on their track with the aforesaid delays, when the night had closed in came in sight of the fires which they made and rejoined them, finding them more contented than on previous nights, both from the hope of reaching a village next day and because that afternoon on the borders of the marsh they found some water-lilies such as grow in lakes, which to their necessity seemed an excellent dish. Though my brother and I had no share of these, because we arrived too late, yet we supped upon the sandals which I had on, and our equal necessity made us find them no less delicious.

In the morning the Kaffirs whom we were expecting showed themselves on the opposite bank of the river. As appeared from after events, they had spent all the afternoon of the previous day in assembling. As soon as they were opposite us they pointed out a certain spot where they said we might cross over; but we found so much mud in passing from the place where we slept to the river, that, together with signs of evil intentions which we perceived in them, we were afraid to enter the water. They, seeing our distrust, made light of the matter, telling us not to be afraid, for others of our countrymen had passed there before us; so that moved by their persuasions as well as by the necessity of reaching the other bank we began to cross the river all in a body, that we might be able to resist them wherever they attacked us. We had not taken many steps before we all sank in the ooze up to the waist, for there were not two spans of water above it, so that it soon reached to our shoulders. In these straits each one showed signs of the extremity to which his strength had been reduced, and the mud was so deep and sticky that we were sometimes stuck in one spot for a long while, struggling to free ourselves, without being able to move a step forward. When we

had succeeded in freeing one leg and rested on it to free the other, it sank in again, and we were unable to extricate either, as we were not then in a fit state for such struggles. Some lost hope of ever emerging, and weary and disheartened with everything, determined to remain there stuck fast, and would doubtless have done so and have perished by such a novel and cruel mode of death, if those who loved them had not encouraged them many times to renewed efforts, and made them cross to the other bank.

My brother Antonio Sobrinho died during the passage which presented the aforesaid difficulties, his strength being already reduced to the last extremity. I dragging him out of the mud when he could not free himself, with such pain and agony as is known to God alone, we reached the current of the river, which ran by the opposite bank. Here there was very little mud, but so much water that it covered us, so that those who crossed had to get over several lengths of paces without their feet touching the ground until they reached land on the opposite side. And as we were delayed by his weakness we were left the last in the river, and not knowing how to swim, as soon as we reached the deep part I crossed over and placed myself as near it as I could to help him when he should reach me, but his weakness was such that when he let himself go the water carried him off his feet and he was swept down the river. Though I managed by an effort to seize him by the arm, I did not deserve so much favour from our Lord as to be able to raise him above the water before he rendered up his spirit to Him. As I had crossed the river once before among the first, to help defend the passage if necessary, and if not, to ease myself of my arms, because with them it was impossible to help him, when I returned for him and we were enduring what I have related, the rest of the company, in fear of the Kaffirs, withdrew a short distance from the place where I left them, because it was marshy. There was no one to help me at the time of this sad event, except a feeble ship's boy who remained there overcome with fatigue. I drew him to the dry shore, and covered him with a few reeds, which was the most pious office that in my weakness and sorrow I could render him in that hour. And this being done, as the captain had been calling me for some time to assist in the fight against the Kaffirs who had posted themselves in his path, seeing that I could do no more in that place, and it being no time for tears,

nor if it were, could sufficient be found for such a grief, bidding farewell to that body which was so beloved by me in life and now wanting the animating spirit was torn from my eyes by the most piercing and unhappy stroke of fate and left in those deserts, I went my way. How, I will not say, not only because it is understood, but because I must needs confess that if I were further to pursue the remembrance of this sad event, nothing could induce me to desist from employing my pen in writing a lengthy elegy rather than a brief and general history.

Having reached the rest of the company, I found them ready to fight, but doubtful of doing so because of the multitude of Kaffirs who had stationed themselves in our path and were disputing among themselves whether to attack us or not; but at length the fear of the musket being more powerful than their will, they dissimulated their purpose for the time being, and showed us the way to two or three villages close by, where they determined to collect a larger body of men to accomplish their design. Though the interpreter informed us of what was going on, our want of provisions forced us to dissimulate also until we saw whether we could procure any from them, and camping in the place they pointed out, they brought us for sale some pieces of buffalo meat and other produce of the chase, which is very plentiful in all that country.

These Kaffirs told us that the four men whom we sent on before with a message to Lourenço Marques were dead, and they killed them close to that spot because, constrained by hunger, they seized a Kaffir whom they found on the sea-shore, and carrying him into a wood they cut him up and roasted him to furnish their wallets; but the inhabitants of that place found that he was missing, and the ground being dry and sandy, they followed their track and came upon them in the act; and then carrying our men to the shore, and thinking it proper to be revenged upon them, they slew the poor wretches with cruel butchery.

The next day, leaving that place, we passed by other Kaffir villages, the inhabitants of which joined with those of the place where we had slept, and their purpose being such as I have stated, they endeavoured to carry it out when they saw how their numbers had increased. One of them therefore attacked one of our people who was not upon his guard, and snatching the sword from his side, fled with it. Seeing that we passed over this first

offence without doing more than pressing them to leave us, another was bold enough to try to take the axe from him who carried it, but he was on the alert, and the Kaffir could not get it out of his hands, but rather we all fell upon him and upon those who rushed to defend him, and had a lively skirmish, in which the robber was knocked down with thrusts from our lances, but we were so little inclined for such an office that though he lay on the ground for some time and we gave him nearly twenty thrusts with our lances, he was not wounded by any, though he had no other means of defence than the skin in which he was born. He withdrew with one hand cut off by a sword-blow from the captain, and though his companions did their best to revenge him, seeing at last that they could not break our ranks and how badly those came off who attempted more, they withdrew little by little until we were free from them all.

Being rid of these people, we resumed our journey along a sandy path where we saw a large herd of buffaloes, zebras, and horses, which we only saw in this place during the whole of our journey. Passing on, we came to a marsh through which ran a river that could not be forded except by a certain elephant track which crossed it from side to side, and this we feared very much to attempt, both because the water was so deep and because it was full of sea-horses, which observing us, gathered in large herds and raising their bodies half out of the water, made for the spot where we were with such fury and neighing that no one dared to be the first to attempt the passage; but at last, seeing there was no help for it, beating the water before us with our lances and making a loud outcry because we perceived that they were somewhat frightened by it, we crossed to the other side. Then, wishing to reach the sea, we found that the whole width of the marsh, which was about half a league, was covered with extremely tall trees with thick foliage, through which the sun could never penetrate to the stagnant water at the bottom, causing it to be so cold and evil smelling that this, joined to its depth and the quantity of mud, made the passage so difficult that though we journeyed along it all that day and six others and attempted many times to reach the opposite side, we were never able to do so.

As all the time we were travelling along this infernal lake, we found no springs, roots, herbs, fruit, or any other means of subsistence, our necessity grew to such a pitch that we were obliged

to eat a species of bean, which was the worst and most deadly poison of any which we ate during our journey, for as soon as they were swallowed, those who ate them fell upon the ground with all the outward signs of death, so that if they were not at once assisted with bezoar, they could not go a step farther, but remained there writhing and struggling with pain and frenzy as if they were possessed. Those therefore who had suffered so much from this food as well as those who would not partake of it, having seen what the others endured, as nothing else was to be found, were all so weakened that every day many were left behind in such want and abandonment that, if one may say so, it would have moved bears and tigers to pity, though in these parts we proved more merciless than they, for each one was so taken up with fear of his own fate that all were beside themselves, and if any feeling remained to them, they employed it only in bewailing their evil fortune and the sins which had brought them to such a pass. Truly if any person had been watching us from the summit of the mountains, although he were a savage reared in the caves of those desert ranges, seeing us thus, naked, bare-foot, burdened, strangers lost and destitute, eating wild herbs, of which we could not find sufficient, he would have understood that we were men who had sinned grievously against God, or otherwise His accustomed clemency would not have suffered such severe punishment to fall upon such miserable bodies.

As our affliction increased daily, seeing that the marsh was always in our way and there were certain signs that we would get to the end of our strength rather than the end of it, hopeless of extricating ourselves by human efforts we determined to have recourse to divine, therefore we all went upon our knees in prayer, begging our Lady by her holy conception to obtain for us from her Glorious Son such another miracle as was wrought for the children of Israel in their going out of Egypt and their passage of the Red sea, by showing us a road by which we might leave that place, and that we might find some means of subsistence to strengthen our almost failing spirits, and might not perish in such want. And as her office is to intercede for sinners, she was pleased that, on that very day, attempting to cross the marsh in a spot where it seemed impossible, by her guidance (for without it we could not have done so) we found a means of reaching the other side. At this evident miracle, we again knelt



in prayer and (not with dry eyes) rendered thanks to our Lord for such a favour, and besides private vows we promised in the name of all a pilgrimage to our Lady of Guadalupe and a solemn High Mass, and the same in the first house dedicated to the Virgin which we reached; for seeing what she, the Mother of God, had done for us that day, we began by her aid to recover some hopes of safety and to have more faith in our disconsolate labour. And that same day, that we might clearly see from whose hand these things proceeded and that the manna of the desert should not fail us, we found many wild palm-trees; and that night we slept near a lake by the sea, where we found some fruit almost like pears, with a very pleasant taste, and some Kaffirs came to speak to us.

Having passed that night with more repose than those before, the next day, which was the feast of the Blessed St. John the Baptist, the Kaffirs returned with a little millet which we bought from them, and this being concluded, having no wish to rest until we found ourselves upon the shore, we determined to sleep at the sea side, and because there was another marsh in the way, we begged the Kaffirs to show us the road thither. Many of them being then assembled for the evil purpose which they had in view, and awaiting others, they detained us with talking; but seeing that we made haste, they began to mingle slyly among us with the intention of seizing us, which they might easily have done, seeing their strength and our weakness, if the interpreter had not warned us of what he had overheard, so that we did not allow them to come near us. They, seeing their intention was discovered and that they could not compass their designs by trickery, began thenceforward to show their purpose openly, speaking proudly, thinking by these means to bend us more easily to their will. We, seeing that it must certainly come to a fight with them, began to prepare ourselves, and forming ourselves into a body with those who were unarmed in the middle, we set out upon our way without waiting for them. As soon as they saw this, they said that they wished to guide us, and thus we set out altogether until we reached the summit of a hill from which the sea was visible, and they wishing us to take a path which led to the marsh aforesaid, in which they purposed to attack us when we were all stuck fast, we, knowing their design and enraged at such attempts, refused to alter our route, which lay

where we could see that the road was more free from obstacles. They, seeing our purpose, prepared to fight, some placing themselves in the paths where they thought we might take refuge and others surrounding us; and as soon as they had divided and prepared themselves, they began to skirmish among themselves as men who are exercising, and then with shouts and a loud outcry they attacked us, throwing so many assagais that the air was darkened by a cloud of them, though they seemed afterwards to be as well provided with them as before. In this first attack they wounded our captain and another man with two great cuts, but as at that time we were not unprepared and (after God) had no other resource than our small hope of safety, we determined not to be unavenged, although we should lose the lives it had cost us so much to preserve. We began to resist them with the few lances and swords which still remained among us, and other different kinds of arms of which anger and necessity easily made use; but as we were few and overcome with weakness, and they were numerous and strong; seeing us in this state they did not cease drawing near us on every side, coming among us at will to throw their assagais which from habit they do with incredible force and dexterity, and as our weapons were not such as can be thrown and they withdrew with great agility, we could not hurt them. Though we remained there two hours fighting hard with them, the victory inclining now to one side and then to the other, we were already so weary that we had no further resource, if our Lord had not aided us with the musket, for during all that time he who carried it did nothing but load and discharge it, loading it with a heavy charge of ammunition besides the ball, for it was impossible to miss among such a multitude of enemies. Two fell immediately, and so many were wounded that they were frightened and began to fight with less fury, until little by little they withdrew from us. As soon as we were rid of them, (rendering thanks to our Lord for such a victory) we made for the sea, and at length reached it, it being fourteen days since we left it to get round the river, during which time we must have travelled more than sixty leagues, not having advanced on our journey more than about five leagues, which lay between the spot where we now reached the shore and the mouth of the river where we left it. In this round our loss, between the dead and those who fell with fatigue, amounted to twenty persons.

After we had rested a short time on that dry sand and had restored our strength with a little piece of meat which by good fortune was found among the company, and was no small relief, as we were in want of everything, it being still early, we resumed our journey, to see if we might come upon some water upon the bank of which we might rest; but as it is very scarce in that land we travelled till the afternoon without finding any, and took shelter on the border of a wood, where we passed the night tormented by thirst, from our exertions with the Kaffirs. Nor was this the first or last in which we endured the like, for since we left the land of Natal and entered that called the land of Fumos (Smokes), the southern limit of which is in latitude  $26\frac{2}{3}$  degrees, it being all sand, we often travelled six or seven days without drinking, and this was not one of the least evils which we had to endure upon our journey.

The next day we resumed our march, with the intention of not leaving the shore except in case of great necessity, but this was so constantly our case, especially for want of water, that nearly every afternoon we were obliged to travel inland in search of some foot-prints of elephants, in which it may sometimes be found (for these are the crystalline springs of that country). After travelling for five days through these sterile parts, at the end of that time our Lord relieved us with a wild pig that we found among some shrubs on the sea-shore, which, being taken by surprise, was surrounded and killed with blows before it could escape, and was equally divided among all.

That day, in the afternoon, as we were wandering inland according to our custom, we passed three or four villages, in none of which would they show us where they found their drinking water. When it was almost night we reached another, in which there were about twenty or thirty cows and some sheep with five quarters, and here the people showed us a marsh which was a little way off, but as it was not yet time to go and sleep beside it, we sent four or five young men there for water, though for want of vessels they could but little relieve our great necessity.

As the Kaffirs of all these villages aforesaid came that afternoon molesting us and laying hands on those who were not on their guard, and as they assembled in still greater numbers until they left us encamped for the night, they doing the same close by, we, thinking their assembling suspicious, as soon as night

closed in sent the interpreter secretly to spy them and overhear their conversation. As it was dark, he was able to do so, and on his return he told us that they had a sailor in their power, stripped and wounded in ten or twelve places, because constrained by thirst he went and asked them for water. We then saw that the danger we suffered from our want was not so certain as that of these enemies, whose sole conversation was of the manner in which they could fight with us next day, that not one of us might escape.

As soon as this was known, as there was a hill and a thickly wooded valley very difficult to pass through between us and the sea, where we knew we should fight them to their great advantage and our risk, we all thought it would be better to rise in the middle of the night and reach the shore before it was day, where for the reasons aforesaid we hoped for a better chance. Acting upon this opinion, as soon as the hour was come we set out, leaving fires alight to conceal our purpose. As the darkness was very dense, and we were little acquainted with the country, we could follow no other plan than to keep to the right, by which we reached the worst and most thickly wooded part of the thicket, where there were many thorns and other trees which time and age had cast upon the ground, over and under which we crawled and groped as we best could, for there was so little light that our eyes only served to keep their owners in constant fear of having them blinded by some branch. In this way, keeping together by the sound of the exclamations drawn from us by the thorns and knocks we met with, when day was breaking we reached the sea, three men being left upon the way besides those who were wounded by the Kaffirs, for whom we waited a good while. Seeing at last that their delay must arise from their not being able to proceed farther, we resumed our journey, and slept that night in a wood where some were so tormented by thirst that they satisfied it with water from a lake, which was as salt as the sea. This they bought almost for its weight in gold from those who went to fetch it, because of the long distance we had come during that night and day, when we reached that spot no one was able to move. After we had taken shelter there, three or four Kaffirs came up with us, who were the spies of the rest whom we had left behind, and as soon as they saw where we were they returned.

As the coming of these spies would not allow us to rest securely, because of the large number we had seen assembled, as soon as dawn appeared we resumed our journey, and at about nine or ten o'clock in the morning we came upon a river which, the tide being low, we were able to ford. When nearly all had reached the other bank, there came a few Kaffirs hurrying to overtake us, who were the forerunners of those who remained behind, and finding several youths still on the bank, they stripped them, doing them no further harm, with the intention of attacking those who were still crossing the river, whom they would have treated in the same way if those on the other bank had not gone to their assistance, re-entering the water and defending them till they reached a place of safety.

When we were all reunited we attempted to resume our journey, but these Kaffirs, seeing our intention, crossed the river and began to stir up those who were on our bank, inciting them to fight with us or at least to detain us till the arrival of the rest of their people who were behind, for which purpose they began their usual shouts and war cries in such cases. In a short time a large body of them had assembled, and thus they came towards us so certain of their prize that they would not wait for a larger force; but as the interpreter warned us of their purpose, the captain commanded him who carried the musket to fire it at the first who came within range, which he did to such good purpose that the ball hit one who was in advance of the others in the middle of the breast and went right through him, and we attacking them at the same time, though they stood their ground at first, we drove them back to a wood which was close by. The wounded man ran so far along the river before he fell that many of the others, not thinking his injury could be so severe, rushed to defend him from those who were following him; but in the meanwhile they saw him fall to the ground and discovered at the same instant how he was wounded, so that those who had come to assist him were terrified and returned whence they came.

As for so many days we had not bought any provisions, nor had anything worth mentioning passed our lips, necessity forced some to the opinion that we should eat the dead Kaffir. It was already reported that this would not be the first time on this hapless journey that some had been driven to taste human flesh, but the captain would not consent to it, saying that if it was

noised about that we ate human beings they would flee from us to the ends of the earth, and would endeavour to persecute us with still greater hatred.

Fearing if we delayed in that place that the other people who were pursuing us would arrive (which they did, as we afterwards learnt) and molest us, joining with the first assailants, uniting again we resumed our journey, and when the sun was almost set we met with certain Kaffirs, who, though they would not trust us, said that they would sell us water, for on account of the great heat that was what we asked of them. Sending them vessels, they returned some of them full of water, but as they grew tired of rendering us this good service, we were forced by our great necessity to journey inland in search of it. Having found a lake, with which we satisfied ourselves, though it was already late, fearing an attack or surprise from our enemies in the night, we would not remain there, but returned to sleep upon the sea-shore.

During the last days the heat had been great, so that it seemed well to all of us to travel some distance before dawn, that we might rest a little during the hottest hours without shortening the journey. Therefore when the proper hour had come we set out, and when we had walked about a league we came to a steep rock, upon which the sea was beating, a very unusual thing in those parts, where everything is sand. As those who were in front, from the darkness of the night could not see clearly what it was, thinking to find a passage between the foot of the rock and the water, they entered without fear, but they had not taken many steps when several overwhelming waves engulfed them and flung them back in disorder, so that though they were immediately succoured by those who were able to do so, they were saved with great danger. This obstacle therefore obliged us to wait for morning, when we found that there was no passage at its foot, so that we were forced to seek one over it, which we did with great difficulty, on account of the ruggedness of the rock, which was all sharp points. As we were bare-footed, the wounds we received were so many and so severe that some remained upon the road, and those that went on suffered immeasurable pain. Thus overcoming this hardship at our own cost until the hour of vespers, we came at length to smooth sand on the shore. While we were resting a little, the Kaffirs, who were constantly on our track on the look-out for stragglers, killed a slave who had separated from

the rest of the company. Leaving that spot, we slept that night upon the border of a lake, which, being fresh water, was the best halting place we could find.

The next day we were travelling in the same order, when at about nine or ten o'clock we came upon a Kaffir and about forty others with him, who said he had been sent to us by a king called Inhaca, a friend of white men, who had heard of our sufferings and therefore sent to beg us to come and see him, and we would be very well treated, as he had treated some other men who had passed through his country a short time back and had embarked in a ship which often came to a river of his kingdom. But, not trusting the loyalty of this message, nor believing that the name of the Portuguese was so well known and esteemed in regions so remote from any dealings with us, nor that such an offer could be due to friendly zeal, but judging it rather to be prompted by malice and treason, not knowing how close was the river we were in search of, we briefly replied that we could not do as they asked, as our road lay along the shore until we should come up with some other comrades whom we were seeking. With this answer they left us, taking with them Luis Pedroso and the ship's master, for whom the time had come, by our Lord's will, that he should feel the sufferings of Fernão d'Alvares and be paid in the same coin for what he had contrived against him. They also took with them three or four other men, who could not keep up with us and desired to remain with them, moved rather by their own weakness than by faith in the offers made to them, which indeed met with small fulfilment, for we were no sooner out of the way than they stripped them and returned to the place they came from, leaving them naked. We proceeded on our way that day and the next, always along the shore, where we found large shoals of white crabs in the surf, which were left uncovered when the waves receded. We killed some while the daylight permitted, and as it was not a time for daintiness, this was done in such a hurry that often when we put them in our mouths they held on to our lips with their claws and stuck fast, while the rest of them half-masticated was wriggling down our throats. Though this fish was to cost some of the party dear, because in collecting them they took no heed of the waves which sometimes swept them back in confusion, we continued catching them till night, when we took shelter among some shrubs which were close by.

The next day as soon as it was light we resumed our journey, four men remaining overcome with fatigue, among whom was a son of Garcia de Caceres Lapidairo, who was in our company, who, though he grieved at this separation from his son whom he loved very much, seeing that he could do him no good by remaining there, gave him his blessing and left him. At nine or ten o'clock that day we came to the shore of the bay of the river Santo Espirito, which upon the chart we had with us was called by its ancient name of Rio da Lagoa, which is about fifteen or twenty leagues long and in parts little less in width; the sea enters it by two passages, one to the south-west which is not very large, and the other to the north-west, which is about seven or eight leagues wide, and between the two lies an island about three leagues in circumference.

This bay receives the water of three moderately large rivers, which rise far in the interior and end here, into each of which the tide penetrates ten or twelve leagues, besides what is comprised in the bay. The first of these towards the south is called the river of Tembe,\* because it divides the lands of a king so-called from those of Inhaca, with whom we afterwards remained. The second is called the river Santo Espirito, or of Lourenço Marques, who first opened up the ivory trade carried on there, which has caused this part to be frequently visited by vessels for some years past, though previously it was unfrequented, as it was not known to produce anything for commerce. This river divides the territory of Tembe from those of two other chiefs whose names are Rumo and Mena Lobombo. The third and last river to the north is called the Manisa, after another Kaffir of that name who reigns there, who has many other chiefs for neighbours. Along this river was the scene of the disaster of Manuel de Sousa Sepulveda, where himself and his wife and children perished, with nearly all his followers, only seven or eight persons escaping, who bore witness to his misfortunes.

As on the chart by which we were guided, the watering place of Boa Paz was erroneously termed the river Santo Espirito, which watering place is in  $24\frac{1}{2}$  degrees and eighteen leagues farther on, and though that at the embouchure of which we were was clearly shown, both by the name aforesaid of Da Lagoa Bay

\* Now known as the Maputa, the present Tembe being a tributary of the Espirito Santo.—G. M. T.



and by the latitude of  $25\frac{1}{4}$  degrees in which it lies to be that of Lourenço Marques, of which we were in search, the name of Santo Espirito which was clearly marked upon the other caused us all to fall into the error of thinking it was the one where we had resolved to stop and wait for a ship. But in spite of our mistake and our desire to push forward when we found ourselves in that place, seeing that great bay and the feeble strength we had to endure the toil of journeying round it, which we dreaded the more because of what we suffered in getting round the river of Medaos do Ouro, there arose a difference of opinion as to what was best to be done. The final resolution of all, however, was that seeing we had no more iron for trading, nor arms with which to defend ourselves from the natives whom we found more savage and more evilly inclined at each encounter, nor strength to proceed, for all were so broken down with weakness that every day five or six persons were left behind, so that it was certain if we went forward we would be first captured and then eaten, therefore we would go no farther, but trust ourselves to the king of that district, because it being so near to the place where the ship came, we presumed that he would have some knowledge of the Portuguese, for we had heard it said by those who escaped from the other wreck that the few survivors were brought twenty or thirty leagues from the interior to the ship, in view of the ransom expected for them, which we trusted (since we could go no farther) they would do in our case.

As soon as this had been decided, we knelt down and recited the Salve Regina and other prayers, giving thanks to our Lord for the great favour He had shown us in our reaching this place, begging Him through the intercession of His Blessed Mother to be pleased to accept the past as penance for our sins, and to inspire new and different laws and customs into the hearts of the chiefs we hoped to meet with, that they might no longer persecute us as they had done hitherto for our sins. This being done, we resumed our journey along the bay, to see if we could meet with any people who would guide us to the king or give him information concerning us. We had not gone far before we saw upon a hill the inhabitants of a village which was deserted at the foot, in case we might attack it, some of whom after much doubtful conversation with the interpreter came to speak to us and said that their king was called Inhaca and was the brother of the

white men who came to that bay very often in a ship, to whom the king sold much ivory in exchange for beads, with which they were all well adorned.

Hearing this confirmation of the message which this Kaffir sent us on the way, and finding no discrepancy in their statements when questioned separately, we were very glad and very anxious to speak to the king. As these same men offered to guide us to him the next day, we rested there that night, and as soon as it was morning we sent the interpreter to the village to bring some one to guide us as we had agreed; but the Kaffirs, I know not for what reason, refused to go with him in spite of all his prayers and promises, so that seeing their obstinacy we resumed our journey along the bay, very distrustful of the good news we had heard the day before. When we had gone about half a league we saw a fisherman in a gamboa, which is a sort of snare that they place in the water to catch fish, and drawing near to him as quietly as possible that he might not take flight, we called to him and found him to be a well-disposed old man, who came to us at once. When we asked if he would lead us to the king he assented, and as we were setting out with this intention there came another Kaffir with a message from the king, telling us that the bay was large and we could not get round it without his leave, that the natives on the other side of it were very wicked and enemies of our countrymen, for they had killed many who went there, but he was their friend, and if we would go to the place where he was, he would maintain us until the arrival of the ship, for which purpose he again sent for us. As we desired nothing else, on receiving this invitation we followed the messenger, and slept that night in a village where the Kaffirs had killed a sea-horse. They sold us the flesh for money, and this was the first place where they would accept it.

Leaving that place we travelled for three days, on the last of which the king, hearing of our approach, came out to receive us at a little distance from the town where he lived, with about thirty men accompanying him. As soon as we came up to each other, with many signs of pleasure and welcome he made us sit beside him, and when he and our captain had eaten a little of some kind of paste made of fruit which he brought with him (this being a sign of friendship among them), he asked us where we came from, and confirmed the message he had sent concerning

his friendship for us, encouraging us with promises that thenceforth we should suffer no further hardship, for he would maintain us and give us food until the arrival of the ship, which according to its custom on other occasions would not be long delayed. Then he rose and took the road to the town, which, though it was not surrounded by a trench and fortified with walls of stone and brick, and though it did not boast of splendid edifices with columns and masonry sustaining the weight of high towers and grand corridors, nevertheless in its natural and ancient poverty did not fail to show a certain policy and order of government, sufficient for its limited traffic. It was large and with many inhabitants, with its court-yards and paths in a not very disorderly state, and was surrounded by a kind of prickly pine trees which grow in that country, thickly set, with three or four entrances where they were necessary. While we rested in the court-yard before the king's rustic mountain palace, he commanded certain huts to be cleared, in which we slept that night.

Thus we arrived, only fifty-six Portuguese and six slaves on the 7th of July, having been seventy-two days on the road, during which we journeyed more than three hundred leagues on account of the rounds which we made. It was easily seen in our state and appearance how we had fared upon the road, for everyone had his skin clinging to his bones and looked more like an image of death than a living being, and our thinness, together with the poverty of our rags and the filth with which we were covered through labour and want, so disgusted the natives that they came to the huts where we were and assailed us with all manner of scorn. We therefore asked the king to lodge us in some huts which stood apart from the rest in a corner of the town, which he immediately did, telling us not to walk about the town in order that we might not be ill-treated, and that everything we needed would be brought to us for sale.

As the purpose of that king in desiring to have us there was not all founded in virtue, but partly in interest, a plague which generally infects most people (however rustic they may be), his hope was to get some gold or jewels by it, not because such things were necessary for his use, but because he knew that the Portuguese of the ship which came there in the past years bought these things from those who robbed Manuel de Sousa Sepulveda, giving beads in exchange, which they consider as great a treasure

as are gold and jewellery with us. But being as discreet and sagacious as he was, he wished to possess himself of these with as little offence to us as possible, and sought for some means of so doing. After we had been there three or four days he sent for our captain, and said to him that we were so numerous that he was unable to maintain us all, as he was obliged to buy provisions from his people to give to us, and therefore we should assist him with gold or gold pieces, and that we could not excuse ourselves from it, because he well knew that all white men were rich; that we should consider what he asked was for our good, from which nothing came to him but the trouble of collecting it, and if all were not willing to do this he would give food to those who did and not to the others; and if this plan did not suit us we might go where we pleased, but he could not promise us security from his people. To this demand the captain replied as best he could to turn him from this covetousness, and in conclusion asked leave to consult with us, saying that he would bring the answer the next day.

The captain being dismissed with this message related to us what had passed, and asked our advice as to what was best to be done. Discussing the matter among us, it was agreed that as we had no strength, arms, or means of barter, and as we could not go to any other place where the same thing or worse might befall us, we must necessarily endure this and any other tyranny he chose to show us, since if we did not give him what he asked for of our own will there was nothing to prevent him taking it from us by force, when nothing would remain for us but to die defending ourselves, because of the many people who were assembled there waiting to see what resolution he would take upon our answer, besides which most of us had very little, and if we spent it gradually it could not possibly last much longer than the time of the arrival of the ship of which he informed us. The captain therefore returned the next day with our answer; and on hearing it, the king, the better to confirm us in our resolution, ordered us all to be at his door the next afternoon. There he gave to each person about a peck of grain like canary seed, which is the best provision in the country, and is esteemed by them like relics, saying that this was for two days, at the end of which time we should thenceforward always come for the same allowance. With this bait he so deceived us that, thinking it a good

bargain, the next day we prepared to give him what he demanded; and hearing that we were ready, he summoned two or three of his most confidential subjects, together with our captain and the interpreter, and seated himself to receive what we should bring him. Each one presented to him what he had brought, stating how many persons had contributed towards the gift and were to share in the allowance he was to make in return. He took each gift and examined it carefully, consulting with his attendants, and if he was satisfied with it he accepted it, and if not he returned it, saying that we must find more, so that in one way or another we were obliged to give him enough to satisfy him. The captain assisted in this by telling him that our ship went to pieces in the sea and we swam naked ashore, but the other Portuguese of whom he spoke disembarked while their ship was whole, and thus were able to save many things. When this was over and the king withdrew the captain begged us all not to buy any provisions, whatever might be our necessity, until we saw whether the king would keep his promise, because it was certain that if he knew anything remained to us, this would be sufficient excuse to him, and when we thought we had satisfied him he would be more inflamed with covetousness.

As the people of all these parts are bred in the wilds, naked, without law or custom, without ornament or other necessities to incite them to industry in collecting and keeping for a day of want the surplus which fortune at times bestows, living only upon the fruit of wild trees and other roots and herbs which the land produces of itself, and sometimes on the hunting of elephants and sea-horses, having no notion of cultivating the earth, from whence it follows that both lords and vassals dwell together in their common and native poverty, the king, finding that he could by no means fulfil his agreement with us and wishing to find some creditable way of ridding himself of this obligation and of discovering if we had anything remaining of the things he demanded of us, sagaciously ordered his people to tempt us during the following days with things to eat, knowing that the need of these (more than anything else) would move us to display what he so much desired. And though we endured our want for six or seven days, as he made us no allowance during that time, some began to buy what was brought to us for sale, of which the king was immediately informed, and as he was waiting for nothing

else, he sent for our captain, and showing himself much offended, he said we had deceived him, for we had more than what we had given him, and since we could buy what was necessary, we must expect no further help from him. To this the captain could answer nothing but that we had given him all we had, nevertheless he would return to us, and if he found anything else he would bring it to him.

Thereupon being dismissed, the captain came and made known to us what had passed, and how the king was now more covetous than before, complaining of how little we had considered the necessity of the case and what he had so strongly recommended to us, nevertheless seeing above all that our need could suffer no law, there was nothing to be done but to return to the king and tell him he had searched us all and found nothing he could bring him, because those who made the purchases were youths, and had nothing left, and had been well punished for their fault in reserving those trifles; but that he must also know we had cause of complaint against him, for after we had given him all we possessed he did not supply us with food according to his promise, so that we were dying of hunger, and therefore he should have pity upon us and fulfil his obligation like a king. To this he replied by making known how little he was able to do, saying he could not give us any grain because he had none, for even what he gave us before he had collected among all his people, but when any elephant or sea-horse was killed he would share it with us. And this proved to be the truth, for though at first we were angry, suspecting he made this excuse that we might die of hunger, when we became aware of the barrenness of the land and of his good will towards us, we found this was really all he could do.

Undeceived by this reply given to the captain, we all lost the hope of a little ease which we had cherished so far, and again occupied ourselves with our former cares and in seeking means to buy provisions. Even this could not be done openly, for fear of the king, thus we could only obtain food from Kaffirs who rejoiced to deal with us in secret, that they might not be deprived of their gain by the spies who were always on the watch for this purpose. After we had thus spent a few troubled days, the Kaffirs killed two elephants in one night, and the king sent word to our captain that we should go into the wood with him

next day, and there he commanded the quarter of an elephant to be given to us, which was equally divided among all. This he did whenever one of those animals was killed. Certainly, putting aside his greed of money, we had no other cause of complaint against him than his want of power, for he always showed himself grieved at our necessities, abasing and justifying himself when he had nothing with which to relieve us, and coming with open satisfaction to inform us when their hunting had been successful, as one who always had our want before his eyes and rejoiced more at having this provision for our advantage than for his own.

But in spite of his desires, and that he shared with us when he could, the Kaffirs have so little energy in hunting these animals that sometimes many days passed without their doing so, and as they have accustomed themselves (when this is wanting) to subsist upon certain roots and herbs which from their nature and habits are sufficient to sustain them, we, being strangers and not knowing where to find these things, were reduced to such necessity that several died of pure hunger, some in the woods, others near the springs, and others in different paths and places whither they were driven by their extreme want.

Those who were still alive were so weak and weary in mind and body that the most their strength and charity could compass was to place the dead bodies in a shallow grave fenced with stakes, wherein we left them badly covered. This gave rise to another misfortune not less than that of hunger, which was that as the place where we dwelt with the king was in the midst of a large and ancient thicket where there were many tigers, lions, and other wild animals, these, becoming fierce in the first place by eating the flesh of those who were thus badly buried, became at last so bold that they entered the town at nightfall, in the place where we dwelt, which was in an isolated corner as I have said, and if they found anyone outside the huts, they killed him and sprang with their prey as lightly through the surrounding circle of trees, though they were high and closely set, as if they carried nothing. They made these attacks so carefully that they carried off five men before we were on our guard against them. And when they found that they could not seize us outside the huts, they grew bolder and came into them, and even when five or six were assembled it did not prevent them from wounding any who were within their reach, so that we were all obliged to go to the

rescue and save them from their clutches with great difficulty. By these attacks, which occurred often every night, five other men were badly wounded, and as now we had no arms (as has been said) with which to revenge ourselves upon them, our only resource was never to leave our huts till eight or nine in the day and retire to them again at one. Even during that time, if any had to go to the wood or spring, or anywhere else, they waited till five or six were assembled for the same purpose, as they did not dare to go otherwise, for fear of the wild animals.

As by these precautions they missed the taste of our flesh, which they must have greatly relished seeing how eagerly they sought it, they were furious for want of it, so that at night we could not hear ourselves speak for the roaring they made, and very often they attacked our doors with such blows and pushes as from their strength and ferocity may easily be conceived. When they found them firmly closed (of which we took good care) they would not go away, but remained there roaring and growling for a long time, during which we were not so secure but that our hearts misgave us lest they should bring down the hut and leave us exposed to their scant pity, for without doubt if they had known how to do so neither strength nor will would have been wanting.

As the Kaffirs at that time were more confident and took less precautions for their own safety, these wild beasts, finding them an easier prey, began to treat them as they had treated us, so that within four months they carried off more than fifty, and many of them in the daytime and inside the town, because they were held in such fear that when a father saw his son carried off he dared not succour him except with cries (of which they took small notice), and even these from afar off. Thus meeting with no check whatever, these tigers came as securely into such a large town to carry off men as they might have hunted other prey in an uninhabited forest, and they grew so dainty that they only cared for the blood of those they killed, or a little of the flesh while it was untainted; and so we often found the mutilated bodies cast aside, simply bitten, or at most with a leg or an arm missing. And while they made these attacks only one of them was killed, which, not being able to hunt during the night, remained among some shrubs in the town during the day, and being perceived, the Kaffirs ventured to attack it, and hurled



their assagais at it. Feeling itself wounded, it attacked the Kaffir who was best within reach and inflicted two severe wounds below his knees, besides many others in different parts which were not so dangerous; but the Kaffir, being a brave man, rolled a skin which he had round his arm, and seizing a stabbing weapon thrust at the wild beast intrepidly until he killed it.

To this persecution by the tigers was added another of lice, which, though it may appear a small thing, was such that some lost their lives by it; for though we were almost naked, being clad only in rags through which our flesh appeared in many places, they multiplied upon us in such numbers that they were visibly devouring us, without our being able to prevent it, although we scalded our clothes very carefully and rid ourselves of them three or four times a day; but as they were a plague sent in punishment for our sins, everything appeared in vain, and it seemed that the more we endeavoured to exterminate them the more they increased, so that in a little while they were again so numerous that we scraped them off our things with a piece of wood to burn or bury them, which was the only means of killing such a number, but in spite of all this they made such sores on the head and shoulders of Duarte Tristão and of two or three other men that it was clearly the cause of their death.

As the people of all those parts from the few troubles and anxieties of their lives have no idea of fortune and its reverses, they did not understand that we were suffering its persecutions, but rather supposed that we had left our country of our own free will to rob that of others; and this bad opinion which they had of us caused us to be so generally hated that it gave rise to another affliction not less considerable than those aforesaid. This was that when our necessity forced us to go about the town seeking bones, thorns, or some similar wretched trifle which we might pick up in the paths and which might afford us some relief, either because of their evil suspicion aforesaid, or because they wished to make that action an excuse for their brutality, we were immediately stripped and beaten, and if we complained of this to the king, they declared that we were found robbing their houses, and witnesses to this never failed them, so that they were never weary of ill-treating us, nor were we known by any name but that of the thieves, and they were all so unchecked in their persecution of us that at last our lives were not safe from them if

we left our huts, and our necessity would not suffer us to remain within.

And as our sins merited from our Lord still greater punishments than the misfortunes and hardships which I have related, another was added to these, full of greater fear and misery. This was that we did not yet know the language of the country, and we had no other to transact our business with the king and his subjects, who in their extreme unreasonableness often wished to speak to us, than the interpreter Gaspar, whom we brought with us, and he, trading upon our necessity, gave himself up to the devil and covetousness, so that he wished to be absolute lord over us all, and he persevered in his intention. Seeing that the king was his friend, he openly informed us that we only lived because he willed it, since he persuaded the king not to divide us among his other villages as he had arranged, where we knew that we should immediately be stripped and killed, as was done to those of Manuel de Sousa Sepulveda's company, and therefore whoever wished to live must bribe him, or he would not intercede for him; in fear of which each one exerted himself to the utmost, giving him whatever he had or could procure, and even this he accepted grudgingly, as if he were doing us a great favour in taking it, saying that we bought our safety cheaply, which was in his hands. Delighted with these bribes, or rather lives, which he thus took from us, his covetousness grew more ferocious towards us than that of the tigers, so that all other evils seemed small to us compared with the haughty and unreasonable demands we endured from him, both in taking from us any mouthful which we gained with such pains and in exacting from us what we could not possibly give and had not got; for he dared to tell some among us that if we did not give him a thousand cruzados each he who refused must have patience and look to himself. And to two youths among us, when the king was digging in the hut, he said that if they would tell him where they had hidden anything he would sit upon it that it might not be found, and as the poor wretches trusted him they confided in him, and it was at once made known to the king, who took from them more than a thousand cruzados in money and gold work, which was left to them by the shipmaster when he remained with the Kaffirs, as I have related. Besides this he induced the king to persecute us and to search our persons and houses every day, because of

whatever was thus found he afterwards had what share he liked. Thus between bribes and robbery he amassed so much that this afterwards proved the cause of his never coming to enjoy what he had well earned. The devil was so implanted in him that, though we did whatever he commanded, when we needed him to complain to the king of the injuries done us by his people, not only would he not assist us, but he even favoured them, saying they might do so without fear, for he knew we deserved much worse. Therefore, seeing ourselves persecuted on every side, so that no resource was left us and in a few days our bodies would find a sepulchre in the tigers, we determined to try our last chance outside that place rather than perish in such misfortunes. To this end three or four men asked the king to let them go to a village close by, which he willingly did, and sending for the chief (for in each village there is a Kaffir to whom he has given the charge of governing the rest and settling their dissensions) he entrusted them to him with many recommendations. After this I made the same request with six or seven others who chose to follow me, and the king sent us to that island which I have mentioned as being at the mouth of the bay, saying that there was fruit there which would afford us better relief. He was so careful of our necessity and affliction, that seeing the dissatisfaction of the captain and other of my friends that my destination should be twelve or fifteen leagues from the place where they remained and at the ill-will they perceived in the natives, he bade them not to trouble themselves and to have no fear, for no harm would be done us there, but rather we would be treated in such a way that in a few days we would regain our strength. In proof of this he sent two of his relations with us to deliver us to the captain of that place with many strict recommendations, charging him not to allow his people to do us any injury, and to assist us as far as he could, even as if we were his own sons, for so he esteemed us.

After my departure the rest remained there all together with the king for some days, because they had little faith in the promises made to them of our good treatment, but rather held it for certain that this was only a device to order us all to be killed away from that place, that we might not hear of each other's fate; and though where they were they saw no hope of life, they dared not leave it for some other locality, holding it a lesser evil

to die among those natives; but when they had intelligence of me and my companions, that we were better off where we were, there being fewer people and more provisions, they all began to make the same request, so that in the space of a month none remained with the king but the captain and four other men, who by the favour of the interpreter were able to subsist well there. All the rest were scattered among the villages which they were told were the best provided.

Our mode of life at this time was for each one to choose the Kaffir in the village where he was who appeared to him best disposed, and to carry him such wood and water as he required, in return for his protection against those who would have ill-treated us; for holding the aforesaid opinion of us, our necessity did not prevent them considering us disorderly, too numerous, and too importunate, and of the least thing, however trifling, they made an excuse for showing their ill-will. At supper time, which is their principal meal, we went and sat at the doors of those we called our masters, and they shared with us what they would or could. As this was so little that it could not suffice, the time which remained from obligatory service was spent by all in seeking food in the thickets, not sparing the snake, or the lizard, or any other reptile, however noxious or poisonous. Our Lord was pleased that of all those who ate these poisons only one sailor was found dead in the morning from a fish upon which he had supped, against which the Kaffirs warned him, but want being more powerful than fear, he would not listen to them, and this was the cause of his death.

While we were in these villages each one met with many particular miseries and disasters which I pass over in order to keep to the general narrative. Those to whom our Lord gave health could always find some means of subsistence, although with labour, but those who fell ill and lost this poor and limited maintenance, which they earned with their hands and the assistance of their comrades, grew weak and helpless with want before they finally expired. The worst of all was that the Kaffirs had such a horror of our thinness, filth, and misery, that if the illness was likely to be prolonged they cut short the lives of the sufferers by different modes of death, as they did to the ship's chaplain, who was dragged through a wood till he died, to a servant of Fernão d'Alvares Cabral, who was thrown into the sea alive, and

to others whom they thrust out of the world by these and other tortures. Thus it was necessary for us, when we perceived that such was their intention, to carry the sick into a thicket, and there, hidden among the shrubs, to relieve them as best we could, until rains, cold, and heat, according to the season, together with their own necessity, put a painful end to these hardships.

In this way and amid such want and suffering, some dying and the rest expecting the same fate daily, we spent five months, at the end of which time, because of heavy thunderstorms which destroyed all the fruit there was, we had nothing to put into our mouths, nor from the intense cold and our want of covering did we dare to leave our huts, so that we had been for many days (such of us as were left alive) in the last extremity of want. But as our Lord does not forget to succour those He pleases in the direst straits, wherever they may be, when we were least hopeful of relief His mercy aided us. Thus it was that I, whose fate it was to live in a village which is at the end of the island, upon the mouth where the ships enter, one day, being the 3rd of November, little thinking of such good fortune, was in a hut pondering upon the end of my life which I hoped was near, five of my companions there being already dead and I and the two who remained might count ourselves as such, considering the extremity in which we were, a Kaffir came to me and said that the ship was coming, and though the king had often spoken of its coming we never believed a word of it, thinking that he said this to encourage us and not because it was a fact, persevering, because of the mistake on the chart, in thinking that the river to which the ship came was eighteen leagues farther on, as I have said. When I heard this from the Kaffir (necessity having already taught me his language) I bade him be gone, saying I did not believe it, and he having repeated it many times, I went out and followed him to a headland from which a great expanse of sea was visible, and thence I saw a ship about a league from the place where I was, in the entrance of the bay. What effect this sight had upon me I can leave to the imagination of those who will consider what I had gone through, the misery in which I was then living, and how I now saw myself thus succoured unexpectedly by the high goodness of our Lord; therefore I will say no more about it. After I had put some tests upon myself and assured myself that what I saw was the truth and no dream,

as I at first conceived, I fell upon my knees and rendered due thanks for such a mercy. While I had been standing thus in doubt, the ship had entered four or five leagues into the bay, until a turn in the island hid it from me. That such good news should not be unknown to those whom it concerned, it seemed proper to me to carry it to those on the mainland; therefore passing through another village of the island, where I was joined by a companion, I went on to the place where our captain remained with the king and told him what I had seen, and thence it was made known to all our people who were scattered among the other villages of the interior.

Owing to the little information we had of the rivers of that bay and of the trade carried on there, we did not feel quite safe, fearing that the ship might put to sea again without being aware of our presence, therefore the next day we asked the king to let us have a messenger to carry a letter, that those in the ship might know of our being there. To this he replied that we need not trouble ourselves, because at the spring-tides the captain would come to his lands for ivory, for such was his custom, and then he would hear of us. And so it proved, for nine days afterwards there came into one of his ports Bastião de Lemos, pilot of the ship sent by Dom Diogo de Sousa, captain of Sofala and Mozambique, to procure ivory for our lord the king. Inhaca, hearing of his arrival, sent word to the chiefs of the villages in which we were to bring us all to that port, so that in three days we were all assembled where he was with Bastião de Lemos. Though such joy was sufficient to give new life and spirit to those who had none, two men died upon the road, so much did this relief find us in the last extremity. After our countrymen had greeted us with the embraces and rejoicing usual in such cases, Bastião de Lemos, having given the king the quantity of beads he demanded for each one of us (which altogether was worth very little), in two journeys, because the boat could not contain us all, he carried us to the ship.

There were assembled only twenty Portuguese and three slaves, of the three hundred and twenty-two souls who set out from the spot where the ship ran ashore. All the rest remained upon the road and in the places where we halted, meeting with different deaths and disasters, some from fatigue, some in inhabited parts,

some in the desert, as it pleased our Lord. Among them, those who were of repute were Fernão d'Alvares Cabral, Lopo Vaz Coutinho, Balthazar Lopes da Costa, Bertholameo Alvares, Antonio Pires da Arruda, Luis Pedrozo, Jorge da Barca, Bastião Gonçalves, Belchior de Meirelles, Antonio Ledo, master of the ship, and Gaspar, the interpreter, for our Lord was not pleased, since he caused the death of so many by depriving them of what they had acquired with such labour for their subsistence, that he should reach a Christian land and enjoy such ill-gotten gains; and certainly there are not wanting some who say that if he had not amassed two or three thousand cruzados, as aforesaid, he would be alive still. Those who remained with him say that being very stout and in good condition, he disappeared from the town one night, and being absent two or three days, the king ordered a diligent search to be made in every direction, but he was never heard of again, so that whether he fell a victim to some tiger as thirsty after human blood as he was for ours, or whether (which is more likely) his death was due to the profit some one hoped to reap by it, he came to the end and punishment which his deeds deserved.

We were five months in this ship without being able to proceed on our voyage, because of the continual east winds which blew unceasingly; during which time we were nearly all of us ill and were bled many times, having very few remedies for these emergencies, both because the ship was small and its accommodation bad, and because there was a great scarcity of provisions in Mozambique when she left that place. While we were there awaiting the monsoon Bastião de Lemos landed many times to trade, and the Kaffirs on the banks of the central river, where we were anchored, were so hostile to him that nearly every day they drove him hastily back to the ship with blows. Though we overlooked this at first in order not to raise the whole country, when we saw how their boldness increased we determined to chastise them, and having obtained arms and permission from Bastião de Lemos, we went one night to a large village not far from the water's edge, where they had beaten and robbed one of our men the day before, intending to attack it as soon as morning broke. When the appointed hour was drawing nigh, and we were beginning to prepare ourselves, being near, we were per-

ceived by a woman who came upon us by chance, and the inhabitants were immediately summoned and assembled by her cries, so that we were obliged to use more haste than the case demanded.

Though the enemies at first made front against us and defended themselves vigorously for a good while, when they saw the damage they were receiving they turned their backs, and it being so dark still that we could scarcely recognise each other, for fear of some mischance we allowed them to escape. Their dead only numbered five, among whom was their chief, called Masamana, two of whose daughters and three or four other women we took captive, and leaving the place in flames, we withdrew, taking our prisoners with us. For the re-establishment of peace we afterwards restored these to Tembe, the king of that country, who came to that place upon this alarm, and hearing of the excesses we had endured from his people, approved of our conduct and remained our friend.

At the end of the time aforesaid Bastião de Lemos returned to Inhaca according to his custom, he having told him not to go without speaking to him, because he had information that there were others of our countrymen upon the road by which we had travelled. Two or three days afterwards there were brought to him from the king Rodrigo Tristão, who remained behind as aforesaid, and a slave of Dom Alvaro de Noronha, who also separated from us beyond the river Medaos do Ouro, who on being brought to the ship did not cease relating the good treatment they had received from the Kaffirs on the way. These disputed who should be their guide, as soon as they knew we were with Inhaca and were more civilised and reasonable than they at first imagined.

Having taken in these two men, as all were united in their desire to leave this evil land, with the first west winds on the 20th of March we sailed out of the bay. And that we might not even perform this voyage without mishaps, according to what we deserved, on the third day of our voyage we found ourselves at daybreak off the point of Cape Correntes in a cross wind and a heavy tempest, accompanied by huge waves, so that we could in no way escape being wrecked a second time, and in a new alarm we prepared arms and wallets to travel thence to Sofala. But our



Lord was pleased to change the wind a little, so that forcing more sail upon the ship than the art of navigation would allow, with the bowlines taut we doubled the Cape, coasting its rocks.

Here we had sight of the first islands, and passing along them and those of Angoxa we had already reached those called Curraes, which are very close to Mozambique, when the shipmaster told us that thenceforward we had no shoals to fear, for he knew the course very well, having travelled over it thirty years. In this confidence the watch was relaxed, and thinking there was no further cause for fear, no caution was used, until the pilot, who had retired from the deck, heard the sea breaking against the side of the ship, which was aground upon a sand-bank. Exerting ourselves as quickly as we could to free the ship, our Lord was pleased, by the intercession of the Blessed Virgin, on whom we called, to deliver us from this peril also, though we were so far upon the shoal that anyone could have thrown a lance to the dry land. And thus with these mishaps and labours our Lord was pleased that we should reach Mozambique on the 2nd of April 1555.

As soon as we had disembarked we went all together to pray in the church of the Holy Spirit, where at our request there came also the vicar with the priests and all the people of the fortress. Thence we went in solemn pilgrimage and procession to Our Lady of Succour (Baluarte), and sleeping there that night, the next day we ordered the Mass we had promised to be sung, causing other holy sacrifices to be also celebrated at the same time, in praise and thanks to our Lord for His immense mercy in choosing us from among so many to bring us to His holy house a year from the time when we set out from the place where we were wrecked, and after traversing so much of the strange, sterile, and almost unknown coast of Ethiopia, passing with so few, weak, and ill-equipped persons through many barbarous nations united in their desire to destroy us, and enduring such strife, hunger, cold, heat, and thirst in the mountains, valleys, and marshes, in fine everything which can be imagined as hostile, fearful, laborious, sad, perilous, great, evil, unfortunate, shadowing death, and cruel, where so many men, young, strong, and robust, ended their days, leaving their bones unburied in the plains and their flesh buried in animals and strange birds, and by their death plunging so

many parents, brethren, relations, wives, and children in this kingdom into mourning. May it please our Lord, by whose high bounty we escaped these things, to take what we have endured as penance for our sins, and to enlighten us by His grace, that henceforward we may so live that after such days of life as He shall please we may deserve that He give our souls a share in His glory.

FINIS. LAUS DEO.

## DESCRIPÇÃO

DA

## COSTA DA AFRICA MERIDIONAL.\*

POR MANOEL DE MESQUITA PERESTRELLO.

Ao muito alto e muyto poderosso Rey dom sebastião nosso sñor.

Parti de moçambique pera descobrir a costa do cabo de boa esperança como me vossa A. tinha mandado, aos vinte e dous dias do mes de nouembro de mil quinhentos setenta e cimquo años, e depois que chegey ao cabo das correntes onde se começauão os

\* This is a copy of an original manuscript in the Library of the British Museum. The manuscript was obtained by purchase from a bookseller some years ago, and nothing is known of the manner in which it came into his possession, or of its former proprietors. It is believed to be the original report to King Sebastian, and was very neatly prepared. The document is in perfect preservation, except that the name of the author has been erased. The writing is in a large bold hand, still it is not very easily read except by those acquainted with the style of the time. Frequently several words are written as one, no hyphens are used where parts of the same word are in different lines, the letters l and e and final o and e are often indistinguishable, and symbols long since antiquated occasionally occur. The almost total absence of punctuation and the sparing use of capital letters also add to the difficulty of accurately deciphering the text. It is, however, even with these drawbacks, more legible than any other document of the period I have ever seen. I give it here without any alteration whatever except the correct division of the words. It will be noticed that a capital R sometimes occurs in the middle of a word, a common practice in the sixteenth century instead of writing rr, just as ff was used in English at the beginning of proper names instead of F. A coloured map on vellum—of which a copy made by means of photography is given here—is attached to the document, and there are in the text coloured views of prominent landmarks at the various places mentioned. These, however, are very poorly executed, some, indeed, being almost grotesque. As far as I know, this document, which marks most accurately the highest knowledge of the South African coast attained by the Portuguese, has never before been printed in full, though in a condensed form it appeared in the *Arte de Navegar*, by the national cosmographer Manoel Pimentel, a folio volume of six hundred and three pages, published at Lisbon in 1762. Its value will be appreciated by the geographer and the historian.—G. M. T.

limitis desta empresa fuy correndo a costa tanto ao perto quanto era necessario pera cumprir com as obrigacoões da minha instruçam, com ordem de tomar as velas todas as noites que me o tempo consentisse, e posto que pello discurso da uiagem pasey tais trabalhos e pirigos que me poseram em estado de ficar sem gauias e sem mastos dellas, com hũa soo amarra, e com o nauio tam destroçado e falto de todos os adjutorios de quem se podesse valer, que se nisto não ynteruiera o mandado de v. A. muitos dias avia que a perseuerança daquela empresa me podera dar culpa de temerario ou descomfiado, cheguey em fim ao cabo de boa esperança aos vinte e oyto dias do Janeiro seginte com deixar descubertos muytos e boões portos e com me não ficar cousa por uer saluo hũa enseada que esta ao longo dele da parte de leste e isto porque estando a vista della me deu hũa tormenta do sudueste com q̄ estiuue de todo perdido por me tomar tam perto da terra que quando quis arribar jaa com muito trabalho. torney a dobrar o cabo das agulhas e foy tal, que em hũ dya e meyo que durou me lançou nos ilheos Chaaõs que estão mais de çento e dez legoas donde partira com a gente toda tam cansada do trabalho das bombas e de lancar fora os mares que per todas as partes entrauão que se mais durara ja não auia quem as podesse Repairar, mas em deixar esta emseada cuidoo que se não perdeo muito por quanto pera beneficio das naós da carreira posto que fosse de bom fundo e abrigo) eu tenho que serue ella pouco ou nada por estar tam perto do cabo que quando elas aly cheguão mais querem dobrallo e segurar a viagem que meter ce antre terras donde se lhes podê Recreer emfadamentos,

As particularidades do mar e da costa com as alturas e conhecenças dos portos e a ordem que se a de ter pera os tomar vera vossa A. nesse rotero e demonstração que de tudo fiz a que pode dar credito posto que são mal compostos e de mão ja tremula o que ouue por melhor que buscar lhe ornamento com os ver outrem primeiro que vossa A.

Da gente da terra sey dizer asim pello que vy aguora como quando me perdi na naó são bento ho año de mil quinhentos cimcoenta e quatro que se pode fiar neste principio com salua porem) de em quanto lhe nos não deremos occasião de queixa ou de atrevimento e que he com hũa simplicidade e boa condicção natural disposta pera se imprimir nella toda a doutrina do conhecimêto de deos e ley euangelica, pelo que espero que neste

bemaumenturado tempo de vossa A. se lhe ha inda de fazer hũ tamanho seruiço como sera chegar o som de sua palaura ha queles tam Remotos e derradeiros fis da Redondeza da terra pera saluação de tantas almas como puramente á mingoa aly viuem perdidas, Empresa que ele teue guardada pera vossa A. somente pois sendo tam neçessaria e ha tantos anos desejada e pedida de seus vasalos e tantas vezes determinaua pelo serenissimo Rey dom João vosso auo de gloriosa memoria nunca foy seruido que se effectuase senão per vossa A. a cujo inuenciuel animo e cristianissimo zelo parece que tem guardado os triumphos de nouas conquistas e rigioés onde o seu santo nome seja conhecido e louuado pera que vossa A. alem da amplificacão de seus Reinos e estados fiq̃ gozando por muitos e felizes annos aquela inmortal fama que a tam heroicis e catholicas obras he deuida

ROTEIRO DOS PORTOS, DERROTAS, ALTURAS, CABOS, CONHECENÇAS,  
RESGUARDOS E SONDAS QUE Á PER TODA A COSTA DESD O  
CABO DE BOA ESPERANÇA ATE O DAS CORRENTES.

*Do cabo de boa esperanza.*

O cabo de boa esperanza como he notorio esta em altura de trinta e quatro graos e meio corre se com o cabo das agulhas leste oeste e toma da quarta do noroeste sueste a vera na derrota vinte e oito ou trinta legoas das suas conhecenças me pareceo escusado tratar por serem muito sabidas e os mais dos anos vistas dos nossos pilotos mas por escreuer algũa cousa direj somente que quem ouuer vista dele da banda do ponente demorando lhe ao nordeste sete ou oytto legoas de mar em fora uera hũ morro grosso que parece ylha não o sendo e sobre elle da parte de leste hũa serra grossa que jaz norte e sul com muitos picos e hũa degolada no meio e adiante dela hũ monte comprido e asentado per cima como mesa e dele pera o cabo vay a terra mais delgada com quatro ou cimco piquos hũs maiores que outres da feicão dos palheros do campo de santarem,

Ao longo deste cabo da banda de leste esta hũa enseada em que não pude entrar por respeito da tromenta que me aly deo e dos destroços do nauio em que hia de que ja tratey tera de boca cimquo legoas e da parte do ponente mostra dous morros que parecem ylheos dentro descobre hũas quebradas que dau

aparencia de sair nella algũ rio que os mestres das cartas pintam muito grande e que naçendo de hũas lagoas onde fazem as fontes de nillo Rega muita parte daquell sertam o que heu duuido por nam darem autor de vista nem de escritura antes cuidou que asi este como todos os outros desde cabo das serras ate aly sam piquenos e presumo que deve isto proceder de todo aquelo costado de terra em que ha quasy cento e dez legoas ser atrauersado pelo sertão de serranias e montanhas tam continuas altas e debradas que nam parece possiuel que as agoas da outra banda as possam atrauessar e como os rios que aly saem nam venham emcorporados com outros nem de mais longe que das vertentes destas serras pera o mar de quem estam perto fiquã pequenos e eles asy o mostram) ao menos pera Recochimento de nauios de alto bordo, Contudo naõ deixo de confessar auer em algũas partes do mundo Rios q̃ atrauessam grandes serras e outros que sam istreitos das entradas e dentro muyto nauegaueis por onde a uerdade destes não pode ser bem sabida Senão com embarcacoẽs que Se rremem o que eu não leuaua,

He esta emseada toda cerquada pela praya de Rochedo grosso e talhado a pique e acaba da banda de leste em hũa ponta da mesma feição e daly pera o leuante esta outra pequena e desabrigada e alem dela o cabo falso que tem no Rostro hũ morro grosso com hũ sombreiro em cima e da parte de leste outra emseada sem abrigo como a de atras e daly pera ho cabo das agulhas vay a terra pelo longo do mar delgada e feita em montinhos deles agudos e deles usentados per cima e compridos per costa com degoladas entre hũs e outros,

*Do cabo das agulhas.*

O cabo das agulhas esta em altura de trinta e cimco graos escassos corre se com o do Jffante ao nordeste e quarta de leste oeste auera na derrota quatorze legoas tem por conheçença ser hũ rostro de terra parda q̃ esgota em duas pontas delgadas posto que a da parte de leste o he muito mais auera de hũa a outra quatro legoas corre se quasy leste oeste e a costa de entre elas sobre o mar e feita em lombadas e tem hũa malha branca e por cima hũa Rodelada de aruoredo e pelo sertão serras altas e grosas que fazem seis ou sete degoladas, Ao longo deste cabo da parte do ponente se pintam nas cartas hũ ylheo chamado das serras de

que eu não dou fe posto que pasey por aly bem perto da terra verdade seja que com hũa neuoa delgada e ornalhenta que era ja sinal da tormenta do ponente que me aquele dia deu e pode bem ser que por este Respeito ou por ele estar muito a sombra da terra o nam uise e por yso ho deixej asy ficar na demonstraçam da ponta de leste deste cabo pera a mesma banda torna a costa ao nornordeste fazendo hũa emseada de terra delgada ao longo da praia que no acabamentoo tem hum morro grosso e haly he o cabo do Jffante de modo que quem estiuer ao mar uera estes dous cabos e não a terra da Rribeira de entre eles na qual esta hũa malha grande de area e pelo sertão vay hũa lombada desta feição

(Ha aqui um desenho.)

*Do cabo do Jffante e baia de sam sebastiam,*

O cabo do Jffante esta em altura de trinta e quatro grãos e meio corre se com o das vacas a leste e toma da quarta do nordeste sudueste a vera na derrota quinze legoas sua conheçença he ser hũa terra alta e Redonda asentada per cima com hum focinho no mar que de longe parece ylha não ho sendo e esta metida entre dous morros que tambem parecem ylheos e tem ao pe duas outres pedras cercadas da agoa e indo do ponente he a primeira terra grossa que se ve passando ho cabo das agulhas, quem estiuer norte e sul com ela vera no sertam hũa serra asentada com alguãs falhas que fazem hūs montes compridos e pera o ponente tem cimquo ou seis mamoas da feição abaixo pintada e entre esta serra e o cabo esta hũ monte não muito alto comprido e asentado per cima que jaz quasi norte e sul, por esta paragem nas sete e oito legoas ao mar a fundo de sesenta e oitenta bracas de area miuda,

(Ha aqui um desenho.)

Ao longo deste cabo da parte de leste esta hũa bahya a quem pus nome de sam sebastião tera de seo tres legoas abriga desde sueste pelo ponente ate quasy lesnordeste e dentro a parcelada de oito e noue braças mas limpa e de boa tença pera as amcoras ha nela muito pescado e agoa em hũ vale o mais chegado ao cabo de tres que tem daquela parte posto que o desembarquadero pera

a tomar com leuantes Rijos como eu tiue quando nela emtrey he trabalho so por causa da Rocha e corrente mas com ponêtes deue ser muito quieto, desta bahia pera dentro vay outra abriguada de todos os ventos. que sera de meia legoa em comprido com capacidade pera Recolher qualquer grande armada na qual não pude entrar com ho batel por Rebentar entre elas o mar muito com o levante que ventaua mas de fora me pareceo alta e limpa no seio tem hũ Rio que segumdo me disseram os por quem o mandey descubrir per terra he tamanho como o tejo de fronte de santarem, A entrada de entre estas baias Sera de hũ quarto de legoa em larguo com hũs medaões de area da parte do leuante e hũa ponta de terra delgada dado ponente a qual debaixo mar descobre arrecife de pedra que peja hũ pedaço dela mas ynda fica lugar que pode dar passagem a naos da carreira de hũa bahia pera a outra como presumo que ha principalmente no tempo dos ponentes que por ser ymuerno eles e as agoas dos montes que sairem do Rio que acima dis e doutros Regatos qu então estauão sequos deuem abrir todo ho canal que os leuantes com o fundo e aparcelamento da bahia tiuerem entopido e ja pode ser que lho achara eu tambem se o mar não Rebentara tanto porque pegado com a quebrãca dele achey duas bracas e meia,

Quem quiser entrar na bahia primeira não tem a chegar se a ponta do cabo posto que dele como hũ tiro de falcão esta hũa baixa que não Rebenta mas conhece se por empolar aly o mar de quando em quando e entre ela e a terra he alto que podera passar qualquer Naó, e dara Resguardo a outra ponta que vera diante por que tem hũ arrecife que sae hũ tiro de besta q ajuda a fazer abrigo pela força que nele as ondas perdem, tem mais esta bahia e todas as outras daquella costa Hũ bem não pequeno pera quem nelas estiuer amcora do que he ha corrente das agoas que vay do leuante pera o ponente a qual saindo pera fora ajuda a sustentar a naó de modo que fica por tanto pouco pelas amaRas posto que ho vento e ja leuante e Rijo,

tratey da entrada desta bahia e asy o detremino fazer de todas as outras pela banda dos ponêtes posto que eu emtrey e say em alguãs delas pela dos leuantes e meio canal e achey alto e limpo por quanto como pela maior parte se ham de yr demandar com estes ventos pelas Rezoês que ao diante darey daly he necessario buscar lhe as entradas e o abrigo que por este respeito espreuo desta costa do ponente pera o leuãte posto que ha descubri ao contrario



por q̄ asy todas as mostras e conheçenças dos portos ficam mais apelo pera o piloto que hos for demandar se se não emganar no conhecimento deles pois delas se ha de ajudar mais que das alturas por ser a paragem onde eles estam correr leste oeste ou quasy e ficar a riscado se pelo sol somente se rreger) a pouco erro do astrolabio lhe causar nas distancias, Desta bahia pera leste se faz hũa terra grossa e talhada a pique no mar que tem cinco ou seis legoas de comprido com bareiras bramcas e Ruiuas huãs deitadas da praya pera ho alto e outras asy como se a costa corre e ha diante esta outra terra não tam grossa com barreiras da mesma feição mas sam todas bramcas a qual vay adelgacando cada vez mais ate o cabo das Vacas e antes de chegar a ele hũa legoa esta ho Rio fremosso ou dos Vaqueros que da banda de leste faz hua ponta delgada que sae mais ao mar que ha de oeste com hua malha bramca pequena ao longo dagoa, A este Rio chamão muitas correntes posto que de fora parece pequeno pera embarcacoës grandes e per vezes estando calmaria me obrigarem a surgir,

*Do cabo das vacas e da sua bahia,*

O cabo das Vacas esta em altura de trinta e quatro graos e hũ terço corre se com ho de sam bras ao nordeste e quarta de leste oeste ha na de Rota cinco legoas sua conheçença yndo correndo a costa he ser hũa ponta delgada que esgota no mar em huma môte com hũs aRecifes ao pe o qual ate estar muito perto parece ylheo não o sendo e dele hua legoa pera ho ponente esta ho Rio fermoso ou dos Vaqueros de que ja tratey e emtre ele e ho cabo ha hũas bareiras grandes e no sertão esta hum monte partido na ponta da feição que se mostra no capitolo que trata da agoa de sam bras Per aquela paragem sete e oito legoas ao mar ha quarenta e cinquenta bracas e pera a costa he mais alta mas todo ho fundo de area limpa miuda ou misturada com burgao e tem algũs lugares vaza,

Ao longo deste cabo da parte de leste esta a bahia das vacas tera hua legoa de seo e bom porto de ponentes abrigua desde sul pela parte deles ate o nordeste quem nela ouuer de entrar guardar-se-a somente de que vir e surgira nas oito e nove bracas, Ali estiueram ja naós no principio da nauegação da ymdia e foy onde matarão a João de queiros com quasi toda a sua companhia no

ano de mill e quinhentos e cimquo na armada de pero da nhaya por se meter pela terra dentro a tomar gado por forca. A ponta de leste desta bahia tem huãs baixas ao pe e saindo dela vay a costa metendo pera o norte muito delgada ao lōgo do mar e fazendo ara ate onde estão hūas bareiras Ruiuas e dali emgrossa cada vez mais ja ho cabo de são bras,

*Do cabo de são bras e da sua bahia,*

O cabo de são bras esta em altura de trinta e quatro graós e hum quarto escaces corre sse com ho cabo talhado a leste e quarta de nordeste sudueste auera na deRota dezoito legoas sua conheçença yndo do mar em fora he ser hū Rostro de tera asentada que esgota em duas pontas distantes hūa da outra cimquo legoas e da parte do ponente he muito delgada ao longo do mar e acaba na entrada da bahia das vacas de que ja tratej e ha do leuante he ho cabo de sam bras do qual se faz hū Rochedo grosso e talhado com hū sonbreiro em cima e hūas barreiras Ruiuas na ponta ao pe dele estam hūas baixas e hūa pedra cercada dagoa, quando este cabo demora ao nordeste faz sobre sy hūa chãa com algūas manchas bramcas e outras escuras que parecem terras lauradias e demorando a oesnoroeste da mostra de ilha Redonda, As serras do sertão são altas e espinhosas mas ha nelas tres piques que has fazem muito conhecidas o de que atras fiz mencão que esta defrôte do cabo das uacas e outro quasi ao noroeste deste de sam bras que parece pauelhão armado e pela o nordeste outro mais alto que tem a ponta derribada pera a parte de leste e entre hūs e outros ha montes agudos da mesma altura que aqui não ponhe por euitar confusão,

(Ha aqui um desenho.)

Ao longo deste cabo da banda de leste esta a bahia ou agoada de sam bras tres legoas ou mais de seo he aparcelada de seis e oito braças ate junto da terra e do fundo muito limpo abrigua desde sueste e quarta de leste pelo ponente ate o nordeste da ponta do cabo pera dentro hū tiro de falcão tem duas calhetas e em hum alto que ha terra faz entre elas estam inda leuantadas sobre ho chão altura de cimco ou seis palmos as paredes de hua hermidia que no descubrimento de navegacão da ymdia ali foi feita ao bem aventurado sam bras e hao pe dela esta hua agoada

na borda do mar e mais pera ho saquo da bahia hũ ylheo meia legoa da terra entre o qual dela achei cimquo e seis braças de fundo limpo ha nile hua inumeravel multidão de lobos marinhos algũs deles de increiuel grandura e hũs pasares de tamanho e feição de patos a que chamão sotilicairos os quaes não tem penas mas aas com que hiam e somente com hos cotos delas cubertos de hua penugem muito miuda mergulhão de maneira que pescadja manterem a sy e a seus filhos que crião em ninhos feitos das espinhas des pescades que eles e os lobos ali trazem, Deste ylheo pero o noroeste ha hũs medãos de area ao longo da praya e deles pera o norte esta huũ Rio pequeno e dali duas legoas perto com a boca da bahia se faz outra aberta de Ribeira e asy vay a costa saindo ao mar em hũa terra alta talhada a pique e asentada per cima com hũs corregos Ruiuos e pelo sertão he a terra feita em picos agudos como ja dise e emtre les os tres de que fiz mensão Nesta bahia sobre ho sombreiro que ha serra faz na pôta do cabo deixej posta hũa crus de pao en ella amarrado com fio de arame hũ canudo tapado com cortica e cera e dentro hũ escrito que dizia, A louvor de nosso sñor Jesu christo e exalcamento da sua santa fe e ã o seruico e ha creçentamento dos Reinos e estados de dom sebastião serenissimo Rey de portugal, Manoel da mizquita perestrello que por seu mandado ueo decobrir esta costa pos aqui esta cruz aos sete dias de janeiro de mill quinhentos setenta e seis anos,

Saindo daly pera o leuante faz a costa hua maneira de emseada com algũs medaões de area ao longo do mar e alen dela esta hũa terra não muito grossa asentada por sima e talhada a pique toda de barreiras vermelhas pela praya que durão te seis legoas da agoada e no acabamento faz hũ canto quadrado com hũa pedra ao pe cercada da agoa e ao longo dele corre hun Ryo piqueno, dali pera leste he ha terra muito delgada pola praya toda de bareiras bramcas com algũas poucas vermelhas pegado com a qual esta hun ylheo que se não conhece se naõ de muito perto e ella vay emgrossando cada vez mais ate hua ponta de area bramca que quando demora as norte faz tres medaões jũtos com corregos emtre eles que diuidem hũs dos outros e ho medaõ do meyo e mais grosso e tem no alto hũa sobancelha de mato que dece mais a praya que as dos outros dous, meia legoa deles esta hũa ponta delgada com mamoas a qual tem de fronte hũa baixa que sae ao mar hũ tiro de falquaõ e asy uay a costa duas legoas e no

acabamento estam dous morros grossos hũ junto do outro e emtre eles fica hua aberta ou emseada piquena que estara quatro ou cinco legoas do cabo talhado,

*Do cabo talhado e bahia de santa caterina,*

O cabo talhado esta em altura de trinta e quatro graos corre se com o cabo das baxas leste oeste auera na derrota sete legoas sua conheçença he ser hũa ponta não muito alto e quer a uejam do ponente quer do leuante sempre parece ylha por Razaõ que ha terra de entre ela e a costa he tam delgada comprimento de hũ tiro de espingarda que se não imxerga senão de muito perto, tem este cabo no Rostro hua barreira Ruiua e hua baixa que sae ao mar hun quarto de legoa e da banda do ponente pegado com ele esta hun ylho, O sertam nam tem cousa deferenceada de que se posa fazer mencaõ por que todo he de sertanias muito altas somente pera lesnordeste sete legoas esta hũ piquo entre outros que a quem estiuer deste cabo tres ou quatro legoas ao mar faz feição de palherodos do campo de santarem e he ho mais alto monte de toda aquela costa e sua mostra he ha seguinte.

(Ha aqui um desenho.)

Ao longo deste cabo da parte de leste esta hua bahia grande a que pus nome de santa caterina he bom porto de ponentes abriga desd o sul pela parte de oeste hate lesnordeste, não entrey nela porque posto que tomy as Velas na sua boca por ser ja tarde pera entrar aquele dia esperando de ho fazer ao outro creçeõ tanto ho vento leuante na noite seguinte e habateo me de modo que amanheici com ela escorrída mas ao que de fora pude julgar e halta e limpa com desposisaõ pera Recolher qualquer armada, lembranças tenho eu de hun homem antiguo e não desacreditado que hafirma estar ja surto nesta bahia em quimze e dezaseis braças de fundo limpo e que detras da ponta de ponente, esta hua legoa de agoa doce onde fes agoada, mas eu não vi mais do que dito tenho, per esta paragem nas quarenta e cincoenta bracas tudo he fundo de area miuda não muito Ruiua,

*Do cabo das baxas.*

O cabo das baxas esta em altura de trinta e quatro graõs corre so com a bahia fermossa a lesnordeste oessudoeste ha na derrota

oito legoas sua conheçença he ser hũa pôta grossa e preta talhada a pique no mar e a quem vay do leuante de longe parece ylha tem no rostro hua silua de terra bramca que sobe da praia pera o alto e huãs baxas ao Redor que saem ao mar meia legoa e da banda de leste esta huã enseada que faz mostra de ter colheita porem he pequena e de pouco abrigo a qual da mesma parte acaba em outra ponta de medaõs grandes de area, mas a melhor conheçença deste cabo he ho piquo de que atras fez mensaõ que esta quasi norte sul com ele e a quem estiuer quatro ou cinco legoas ao mar faz a mostra abaxo e dele pera o nordeste cinco legoas estam cimco mamoas muito bem feitas sobre a serra e daly vay emgrossando a costa com alguas barreiras brancas e vermelhas pela praya ate hun Rio que esta quatro legoas da ponta delgada,

(Ha aqui um desenho.)

*Da ponta delgada e bahia fermosa.*

A ponta delgada esta em altura de trinta e tres graõs e tres quartos largos corre se com o cabo das serras a lesnordeste oessudeste auera na derrota doze legoas sua conheçença indo do ponente he ser huã ponta mto delgada e por iso lhe pus este nome) que esgota no mar em hũ mamote com hũs arreciffes ao pe o qual ate chegar perto parece ylheo mas naõ ho he e dele pera a terra firme ha huã areal muito Raso sem verdura algũa que tera de comprido huã carreira de caualo e antes de chegar a ponta quatro legoas esta ho Rio q̃ atras dis e entre ele e ella se faz na praia huu medaõ de area que he no meio mais largo que nos cabos e dali vay a costa adelgacando, cada vez mais com huãs linguoas estreitas de terra branca metidas per entre o mato que parecem caminhos e estaõ deitadas ao quinete e naõ d alto abaxo e esta mesma ponta a quem for correndo a Ribeira da parte do leuãte faz mostra de dous ylheos mas as suas mais claras conheçenças sam as serras do sertam que se conhecem de muito longe asim por serem altas e espinhosas com os picos miudos e huã certa ygualdade neles que parecem naõ se leuantárem mais hũs que outros como por auer entre eles huã que se quer parecer com ha Roca de cintra o qual alem de ser conheçido por sua feicam e altura o he tambem por quelele tres legoas pera o ponente estam

as cinco mamoas bem feitas de que atras fiz mençam e suas mostras sam estas,

(Ha aqui um desenho.)

Ao longo desta ponta da parte de leste esta a bahia fermosa a qual tera cinco legoas de seo he bom porto de ponentes abrigua pela parte de leste desd o sul ate o nordeste ha melhor conheçença pera a demandar alem das da ponta delgada he ho piquo que atras dise parecer se com a Roca de cintra, quem quiser entrar nela poera este piquo ao norte e entam sera tanto abante como a bahia e hafastando sse da ponta delgada quasi hũ tiro de besta guardar-se-ha do que vir somente e ira surgir nas noue e dez braças nas quaês achara arca limpa que das quinze pera as vinte he çujo e dali pera fora torna a ser limpo e vay o fundo crescendo pera o mar de area miuda e não muito Ruiua, nesta bahia entrey pela parte do leuãte correndo a costa perto da terra e sahi pela do ponente, detras do surgidouro esta huã comcavidade entre as terras que todos julgamos ser lagoa mas eu não pude saber ha certeza por ventar tanto o leuante que não ouue por bom comselho apartar ho batel do nauio daly pera leste vay a costa com areas ate o cabo das serras e antes de chegar a ele quatro legoas esta hũ Rio

*Do cabo das serras e bahia de sam francisco.*

O cabo das serras esta em altura de trinta e tres graos e meo corre se com ho cabo do arreciffe lesnordeste oessudueste auera na derrota oito legoas sua conheçença he ser huã ponta delgada que esgota no mar em hũ mamote com huã baxa que sae mea legoa e antes de chegar a ela quatro legoas esta o rio que atras dise e entre ele e o cabo hũ medaõ de area na praia e dali pera a ponta vay a terra adelgaçando com huãs lingoas de terra branca metidas per entre o mato que parecem caminhos de modo que desta parte tem quasi as mesmas mostras que ha põta delgada somente lhe achey de differença que ho medaõ he todo ygoal e nam mais largo no meo como ho outro e que pela cūmiada do mato que corre dele pera o cabo estam a liguares outras manchas brancas ho que não tem a ponta delgada, pelo que a melhor conheçença he ha serra do sertam porque todas as montanhas e serranias que saem do cabo de boa esperanza vam continuas e pegadas huãs com as outras per toda a costa ate este cabo e ali

esgotam e fazem acabamento e por tanto lhe pus este nome, e posto que sobre o cabo do arreciffe seuejam algũs piquos ja estam soos e apartados d est routros por espaco de legoas,

Ao longo deste cabo da parte de leste esta huã bahia a que pus nome de sam francisco he bom porto de ponêtes abrigua desde mais do sul pela sua banda ate o nordeste a melhor conheçença que tem he a das serras que se acabam aly como ja dise e no acabamento sobre ha bahia fazem tres montes agudos dos quaês o do norte he mais alto que os outros dous. quem quizer entrar nela poera estes montes ao este e entam sera tanto abante como ha bahia e chegando se a ponta do cabo dara Resguardo ha baxa de que fiz menção e surgira nas quinze e dezaseis braças que he fundo limpo e de dentro do cabo onde esta hũ areal achara hua boa agoada, Nesta bahia não entrey por uentar muito o leuante e eu nam leuar ja mais que duas âcoras posto que estive dous dias atrauesado na sua boca esperando que habonamçase no fim dos quaês me achey com ela escorrida contudo eu tomo sobre mim ho que dela dexey de ver como que ho vira porque o diguo por boca e lembrança de dioguo botelho pereira que nela e na do saldanha esteue surto e fez agoada creio que no ano de mil e quinhentos e trinta e noue quando veo na fusta a este Reino com quem tiue particular amizade sendo meu capitam na nao sam bento a segumda vez que fui a yndia no ano 549 e por conformar tudo com ho que de fora vy acerca da altura acabamento das serras e areal creio que tambem he certo ou do sorgidouro e hagoada que somente me ficou por uer e ser as mostras Sam as abaxo, Saindo daly vay a terra delgada ao longo do mar com algũs medaõs de area mas emgrossando cada vez mais ate o cabo do arreciffe,

(Ha aqui um desenho.)

*Do cabo do arreciffe,*

O cabo do arreciffe esta em altura de trinta e tres graõs e hum terço corre sse com as pontas do padram quasi lesnordeste oessudeste ha na deRota quimze legoas sua conheçença he ser huã ponta grossa com huã Restinga de penedia e hũs ylheos pequenos ao Redor de sy e da agulha dele hũ tiro de besta estam huãs pedras em que quebra ho mar e da parte do ponente tem huã mesa de area e na Ribeira hũs penedos que pareçem ylheos

mas não ho sam e deles pera o cabo esta hum baxo perto da terra e pelo sertã vay hũ pedaço de serra alta e espingosa cõ mamoadas mas apartada da que fica atras sobre a bahia de sam francisco nem desta pera o leuante se uee outra porq̃ dali por diante toda ha terra do sertam he feita em lombadas e montes e se tem algũs pedaços de serra sam muito deferentes d est outros,

*Da bahia da lagoa e dos Ilheos da cruz e chaõs*

Ao longo deste cabo da parte de leste esta huã grãde emsea:la e desabrigada que se chama da lagoa posto que eu antes lhe chamara dos lobos pelos muitos que nela achey tera de boca dez e doze legoas quem estiuer dentro vera no sertam a serra que atras dise e pera o sul hum pico com quatro ou cimquo montes piquenos, da banda do ponente tem quatro ylheos que se chamam da cruz hũ deles maior que os tres ao Redor do qual se pode abriguar qualquer nao com todo ho tempo porque he limpo com doze e treze braças de fundo de area corre se leste oeste com outros dous que estam da parte do leuante chamados chaõs porq̃ sam tam Rasos que se não conhecem a mais de duas legoas os quaes fazem ao longo da costa e tem huã baxa apartada mea legoa pera o sudueste, toda a terra de entre estes ylheos e hos de atras he pela praia de medaõs grandes de area com manchas de mato e pelo sertam lombadas de terra preta com muitos montinhos e dali pera o nordeste sae huã ponta a leste e quarta de nordeste sudueste que esgota no mar m<sup>to</sup> delgada com grandes areaes pela Ribeira entre Sachados de nodvas pretas de mato e no acabamêto esta hũ monte que da banda do sertam he talhado a pique com huã degolada no meo e adiante dele mea legoa ha outro e no uale que jaz entre ambos estam huãs aruores que parecem pinheiros e sam as primeiras que vy ao longo do mar desd o cabo das agulhas ate ali, Pela paragem destes ylheos sete e oito legoas ao mar esta hũ prancel que tem de fundo trinta e trinta e cinco braças e dele pera a terra he mais alto e a duas e tres legoas della ha setenta e hoitenta braças com fundo de area miuda e em algũs lugares vaza,

*Das pontas do padrão.*

As pontas do padram estam quatro legoas dos Ilheos chaõs pera o leuante em altura de trinta e tres graos correm sse com a



primeira terra do natal nordeste sudueste auera na derrota vinte e cinco legoas sua conheçença he serem duas pontas de area talhadas a pique no mar com mato Raso por cima ao pe tem hũ ylheo da feiçãõ abaxo que sera do tamanho de huã carrauela e ali deue ser o luguar onde esteue o padram chamado sam gregorio q̃ pos bertolameu diaz quando foy descobrir aquela costa por mandado delRey dom joaõ ho segundo porque se escreve que ho deixou posto em hum ylheo entre os ylheos chaõs e ho Rio do Jffante na qual paragem naõ ha outro e por yso lhe pus este nome, huã legoa destas põtas pera o nordeste faz a costa outra tambem cuberta de mato e halem dela nas lombadas esta huã courela de verdura deferencia da outra que ha ao Redor ha qual dece do alto direito ao mar onde estam huãs baxas junto da terra e pasando daly aparece huã arbore soo grande e copada sobre a cumiada das lombadas do sertam e entre ela e o mar estam huãs malhas brãcas e pera o leuante toda a terra pela Ribeira he de medaõs de area e pelo sertam de lombadas asentadas cõ manchas verdes de pradarias e alguas aruores grandes que parecem emzinheiras e antes de chegar ao Rio do Jffante oito legoas se descobrem na praya alguas abertas de Ribeiros e adiante tres legoas estam huãs barreiras ao pe das quaes esta o penedo que se chama das fontes o qual he hua pedra com degolada no meo que parece ylheo mas naõ ho he e toda a terra per cima dele he muito verde com alguãs aruores espalhadas,

(Ha aqui um desenho.)

*Do rio do Jffante.*

O rio do jffante esta em altura de trinta e dous graõs e meo sua conheçença he fazer no sertam hum Rochedo alto talhado a pique d ambas as bandas e asi vê ter ao mar e per cima dele entre o outro mato ha alguãs aruores grandes, a barra he alta mas naõ pera naos da carreira corre se noroeste sueste da parte do sueste tem hũ aRecife de pedra que lança huãs baxas ao mar hũ tiro de besta e ali foy onde varamos com a nao sam bento o ano de mill quinhentos cimcuenta e quatro em que vinha fernam daluares cabral por capitam mor da armada da parte do nordeste e ha praia de area e ho sertão de montes com aruoredado adiante deste Rio oito legoas esta outro pequeno pera nauios que se chama de

sam cristouam e tambem vem ter ao mar per entre Rochedos altos, perto dela estam tres ylheos pegados com terra os dous agudos e juntos e o outro Raso e afastado na paragem dos quaês a quatro e ha cimquo legoas da terra não ha mais de quarenta pera cimquenta bracas com fundo de area grossa e Ruiua e em algûs lugares pedra

*Da terra do natal*

A primeira ponta da terra do natal esta em altura de trinta e dous graôs corre se com a derradeira ponta ao nordeste e toma de norte e sul auera na derrota quarenta e çinco legoas sua conheçença he ser huã ponta grossa de Rochedo e estando ao mar quatro ou cinco legoas aparece no sertam hua mata de aruores grandes e quando esta demorar ao nordeste descobre por çima tres montes pequenos e Redondos e daly huã legoa pera o nordeste esta outra mata que deçe ao mar e per cima faz lombada com hû escaluado e outros tres montes maiores que os de atras, todã esta terra que se chama do natal he grossa e ao longo do mar com manchas de area e ha mais da prua de Rochedos e ha Recifes nam tem portos, ha nela algûs Rios mas ninhû capaz de Recolger nauios grandes, o mar todo he alto e limpo somente tem hû ylheo piqueno pegado com a costa, ho sertam he de lombadas verdes feitas ç manchas com muitos aruoredos entre os quaês em alguãs partes ha tambem zambugeros e nos vales e Ribeiras agrioês e Rabaças e outras eruas deste Reino, ho caraõ da terra pela maior parte he grosso e disposto pera fruitificacoês e hasi he muito pouoada e de grandes criacoês de animaês mansos e monteses e desta maneira vai correndo toda a costa ate ha derradeira ponta que esta em altura de trinta graos corre se com ha da pescaria ao norte e quarta do nordeste sudueste auera na derrota doze legoas sua conheçença e ser huã ponta naõ muito grossa que da banda do ponente tem huãs barreiras e medaõs de area na Ribeira e ha quem vay ao longo dela sae a lesnordeste oessudueste porque esta terra do natal faz tres pontas comuem a saber as duas ja ditas e outra quasi no meio donde a costa vay fazendo emseadas pera os cabos,

*Da ponta da pescaria*

A ponta da pescaria esta em altura de vinte e noue graos e hû terço corre se com a de santa luzia ao norte de quarta do nordeste

sudueste auera na derrota quinze legoas sua conheçença he ser huã ponta nam muito alta com barreiras piquenas e no sertam faz outra mais grosa sobre a da praia com muitas manchas brancas e dela pera o nordeste vay a costa feita em barreiras, entre esta ponta e ha de santa luzia esta hua emseada pequena e de pouco abrigo,

*Da ponta de santa luzia,*

A ponta de santa luzia esta em altura de vinte e oito graos e meo corre se com a terra dos fumos ao nordeste e toma da quarta de leste oeste auera na derrota trinta legoas não tem conheçença de que se possa fazer menção somente ser huã ponta delgada cuberta de mato ate a praia que a quẽ a for correndo sae mais ao mar que a outra terra é entre ela e ha dos fumos estam os Rios de santa luzia e ho dos medaões do ouro na paragem do qual ha hũ praçel que ha hua legoa da terra não tem mais de quatorze e quinze bracas com fundo de cascabulho grosso e conchas quebradas e mais pera ho mar area preta miuda com algũs buzios entre sachados, ho Rio he de muita agoa porque se ajuntam em hua lagoa que ele faz dentro as de outros tres de bom tamanho e has de algus brejos alagadiços que duram muitas legoas, a barra não he alta corre se quasi leste oeste, da parte do sudueste tem huãs baxas que saem ao mar huu tiro de berço a costa he delgada e toda de medaões de area pela praia,

*Da ponta da terra dos fumos,*

A ponta da terra que se chama dos fumos esta em altura de vinte e sete graos e hũ terço corre se cõ ho rrio de santo sprito nornordeste sursudueste auera na derrota trinta legoas quanto ha conheçença não lhe vy cousa differente das outras de que posa fazer mençao porque toda a terra por ali he baixa e de medaões pela praia como tenho dito somente tem ser huã ponta de area com huã sobrançelha de mato per cima a qual sae mais ao mar que a outra terra mas ysto não he tanto que se emxerge senão yndo coseitos com ela nesta paragem perdy duas ancoras por amanhecer hũ dia pegado com a costa com vento trauesam e sobre arrecifes onde estiue tres dias bem emfadado, as quaês nam fizeram pouco abalo e temor de pasar avante a gente da minha companhia por me não ficarem mais de outras duas e ser logo no

principio da viagem por quanto como ja dise fiz este descobrimento do leuãte pera o ponente començando no cabo das correntes e acabando no de boa esperanca,

*Do Rio de santo espirito e da sua bahia*

O Rio de santo espirito esta em altura de vinte e cimco graõs e tres quartos corre se com ho cabo das correntes quasi lesnordeste oessudueste avera na derrota setenta legoas sua conheçença he ter da banda do sudueste hua lombada de terra grossa a qual e ylha que nam sae mais ao mar que a costa firme e tera de comprido legoa e meia com huã degolada pequena no meio em que esta huã malha branca, a sua entrada da banda do sudueste he alta mas pejada com penedos tera de largo pouco mais de hum tiro de espingarda, a do nordeste sera de seis ou sete legoas dentro faz huã grande bahia que descobre muito de baxa mar de agoas viuas contudo tem colheita pera naõs da carreira entram nela tres Rios grandes em que tambem podem surgir nauios pequenos, quem a for demandar chegar-se-a a ponta da ylha da parte do nordeste huã boa legoa e não menos porq̃ asim dali pero a ilha como da banda da terra firme he aparcelado e yra entrando ao longo de hũs ylheos ao som do prumo e do olho que logo emxerga onde he alto ou baxo achara no banco sete e oito braças de area limpa e quanto mais for entrando mais se ira chegando a ilha ate que acabe de ha pasar e despois voltara pera o sul tanto que descubra a sua entrada da parte do sudueste ou poco menos e surgira nas oito e noue braças perto da ilha na qual achara agoa doce onde quer que acabar e hamarrarhea do ponente por Respeito da corrente que sae dos Rios que he grande, A gente da ylha e hasy a da terra firme daquela parte he muito nossa amigua sogeita a hũ Rey chamado Inheca que inda agora he viuo de quem Reçebemos os que ali fomos perdidos da naõ sam bento muito gasalhado e hasim ho faz a todos os portugeses que per ordem dos capitaes de moçaõbique ali uam fazer Resgate de marfim, o que nam tem os que moram da outra banda que fazem todos os males que podem aos que com eles uam negocear e haqueles sam os que desbarataram a manael de sousa de sepulueda con toda ha companhia quando ali foy ter perdido do galeaõ sam joaõ o ano 1552,

*Do Rio do ouro*

Doze legoas do Rio de santo espirito pera o leuante esta outro pequeno a que chamão do ouro tem por sinaês da banda do sudueste hũa terra preta com medaões pretos e em direito deles hũa mancha branca na praya e da do nordeste hua terra alta com hũ escaluado em cima que parece estrada e da boca do Rio pera dentro esta hum morro de mato porem a sua entrada nam he de fronte donde se ele descobre que he tudo arrejiffe mas dali mea legoa pera ho sudueste onde logo o arrejiffe faz mostra de habramento a qual he ystreita comete se ao este pelo meo do canal tem no banco braca e mea qeñ ouuer de ir dentro depois que for entre o arrejiffe e ha terra voltara pera o Rio ate amparrelhar com a sua boca e pode entrar ao som do prumo dez o doze legoas a gente da terra he de nacão mocamga e nossa amiga,

*Da agoada de boa paz,*

Quatorze ou quinze legoas deste Rio pera o leuante esta outro que se chama a agoada de boa paz o qual he pequeno e incapaz pera nauios posto que sejam de remo por quebrar o mar muito nele tem huãs baxas ao longo da terra arredadas hua legoa pera o sudueste, quem quiser fazer agoada que somente pera esto efeito faço menção dele) ha de pasar com hos batês por cima de hũa arrejiffe que esta dele pera o nordeste hũ tiro de falcão e isto de mea mare pera Riba e não pera baxo e despois que desembarcar leuara os baris per terra ao Rio e da mesma maneira se tornara a embarcar, huã legoa desta agoada pera o nordeste esta hũ arrejiffe arredado da costa mea legoa e entre ele e ela he alto e limpo pera poderem estar naos abriguadas posto que eu não seria de parecer que ho fosse demandar senão com extrema necessidade pelo periguo que corre se o uento não for largo quando tornarem a suas viagês,

Toda aquela costa pera ly he de area ao longo da praia e de baxa mar descobre arrejiffes de pedra mas das quatro braças pera cima he alto e limpo com fundo de area miuda e a lugares preta, per esta paragem ha hũ praçel que ha mea legoa da terra tem noue e dez braças e a esta conta vay o fundo crescendo pera o mar que fora daqui he muito alcantilado mas limpo e pela borda dele ha montes e manchas de area branca e Ruiua, o sertam he feito

em lombadas huãs com aruores e outras cõ malhas brancas e hasim vay a terra adelgacando cada vez mais feita em montinhos agudos e farrapas de area per entre o mato que parecem caminhos sem auer nela mostra nem cousa de que fazer menção ate ho cabo das correntes que esta em altura de vinte e quatro graos escaços onde se acabaram os limites desta minha empresa e descubrimento de que tornei a mocambique em treze dias do mez de março de mil quinhentos setenta e seis,

Nam aja vossa A por imcomuiniente querendo se servir dos portos que acheu uer que são bahias e não Rios e as mais delas descubertas dos ventos leuantes, nem menos os periguos que pelo discurso pasey a vendo que por iso ficam inutiles ou que todas as pessoas que os forem demandar correram os mesmos Riscos porque quanto ao primeiro sem embargo que os Rios en toda a parte sejam mais abrigados que as bahias nesta nam ficam de tanta vtilidade pera ho que se pretende como elas porque pela mor parte tem as entradas estreitas e esta sinda embarcadas com voltas e canaés que se muitas vezes mudam e com bancos de area ou arrefiffes, e alem disto nam se podem demandar senam de dia e com comodidade de vento e de mare e sam em fim portos que pera os entrar ou sair tem necessidade de cerimonias e conjunções que se naquela paragem não sofrem por quanto os pode as uezes yr demandar hua naó apertada do vento e a desoras e sem tempo pera aguardar estes ensejos pelo que sam muito milhores as bahias que se entram e saem sem eles a todo o tempo e hora que he necessario,

E aparecerem descubertas dos leuantes asaz de cubertas ficam algumas pois de oito ventos que tem a agulha abrigam de mais do seis como ha bahia de sam sebastião que cobre desde sueste pelo ponente ate quasi lesnordeste e ha de sam bras pouco menos e ynda que não fora tanto não tam somente eu as não Reprouara mas afirmara como afirmo que ninhũa entrata mais acomodada pera o vso desta nauegação podiaõ ter os portos daquela costa que da parte dos leuantes pois as naos que por ali pasam numqua tem neçesidade de se meterem neles senaõ com ponentes donde eles sam mto abrigados e de fiel estância por quanto se as que deste Reino vam pera a india os querem tomar por chegarem ali tarde ou nesseçitadas pera não imuernarem em mocambique e per fora da ilha de sam lourenço pasarem co todo ho tempo a imdia, estas por çedo ou tarde de deste Reino partam segundo

a nauegação ordinaria sempre chegam aquella paragem na monção e forza dos ponentes, E pelo comsiguinte as que da india vem posto que chegem ali no despedimento da monção dos leuantes em quanto lhes cursaõ com elles fazem suas viagens e somente ham de ir demandar os portos quando lhes der o contraste dos ponentes pera que sem aguardarem no mar os pairos com que se perdem ou desaparellham e sem temor dos Riscos e inuernadas de moçambique Repairadas de agoa lenha pescado e carne que ali ha muita e barata) com qualquer bom tempo que lhes tornar por estarem perto) possam dobrar ho cabo e pasar a este Reino,

E ao segumdo dos pirigos que pasey Respondo que as viagens que as naós da carreira fazem sam muito deferentes da que eu fiz asi no tempo como na derrota por quanto eu hia a descobrir e era me forçado yr sempre pegado com a costa as somdas voltas e tortuosidades dela pera que me não ficase cousa algũa por uer e como não leuaua mais de duas amcoras por perder outras duas sobre a terra dos fumos logo no principio da viagem como ja dise que escasamente bastauam pera sustentar hũa nao em hum Rio quieto quanto mais ao longo da costa e na força dos ventos geraês que nela cursam e juntamente não sabia onde estava ho alto ou onde ho baxo, o cujo ou o limpo, ficaua me em periguo o que podia ver de dia e ho que nam viria com a noite e juntamente o que os ventos e correntes que ali sam grandes me poderian forçar principalmente do cabo das correntes ate as pontas do padram que se a costa corre nordeste sudueste e em lugares quasi norte e sul pelo que os leuantes pela mor parte ficam nela escasos e has agoas com eles tiram muito a henseadas e por yssso me achaua per vezes em lugares que nam podia dobrar as pontas da terra nem correr pera ninhuã parte nem menos surgir por causa do fundo ou do mao aparelho que leuaua ficando todo pendurado da misericordia de nosso snõr e dos muitos milagros que ele por sua immensa bondade e pela boa vintura de vossa A. cuja ha empresa era) fez por mi nesta viagẽ mas as naos da carreira se deste Reino vam passam sempre per aly com ventos ponentes a popa como tenho dito chegando se ou afastando sse da costa a vontade dos que as governam e as que da india vem posto que partam cedo naõ chegam aquella paragem senaõ pelo mes de fuireiro e dali por diante em que os leuantes cursam largos porque a mor parte do tempo sam nordestes e quando menos lestes e as agoas com eles correm mais de longo da costa nem vaõ demandar a uista









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dela senaõ das pontas do padram ou do cabo do arçeiffe por diante com que tudo lhes fica inda mais fauorauel por se correr lesnordeste oessudueste e em partes leste oeste e en tanto he isto asym que os pilotos modernos a quem naõ pode mostirar entemderem mais da naueguacam desta carreira que os antigos emsinados da espiriencia sem temor da costa posto que ategora nam tenham conhecimento das particularidades dela costumam despois que ha vem irem sempre a sua vista ou quasi a vendo que asim ficam mais fauorecidos das agoas e dos ventos o que daqui por diante poderam inda fazer mais afoutos pois vam ja alumiados dos sinaes e conhecenças dos portos e lugares onde se podram Recolher ou chegar sendo necessario, e tambem dos donde lhe cumpre fugir e haRedar se pera fazerem suas viagens siguras e liures dos rriscos e sobresaltos em que me eu hachaua a cada momento.

[*English translation of the foregoing.*]

## DESCRIPTION

OF

## THE COAST OF SOUTH AFRICA.

BY MANUEL DE MESQUITA PERESTRELLO.

To the most high and most powerful king Dom Sebastian, our lord.

I left Mozambique to explore the coast from the Cape of Good Hope, as Your Highness had commanded me, on the 22nd of November 1575. After I reached Cape Correntes, where the limits of this undertaking commenced, I ran along the coast as close as was necessary to carry out the requirements of my instructions, making a practice of taking in the sails every night that the weather would permit of it. Although in the course of my voyage I went through such difficulties and dangers as put me in the condition of being left without look-out tops and without masts for them, with only one cable, and with the ship so damaged and deficient of all the aids which could be of value, that if it had not been for the command of Your Highness, many days passed that the persevering in that enterprise could lay the fault on me of being a rash or desperate man, I arrived at last at the

Cape of Good Hope on the 28th day of the following January, after having discovered many and good ports, and without having left anything to be explored except an open bay which lies along it (*i.e.* the Cape of Good Hope) on the eastern side. This I did not explore, because when I was in sight of it I encountered a storm from the south-west in which I was in danger of being lost, as I was so near the land that when I wished to bring the ship before the wind I could only do so with great difficulty. I doubled Cape Agulhas again, and the gale was such that in a day and a half that it lasted it drove me to the islets Chaos, which are more than a hundred and ten leagues distant from the place I left, with all the crew so tired out with working the pumps and with throwing out the seas which entered at all parts, that if it had lasted longer there would have been no one able to provide a remedy. But by leaving this open bay I think not much was lost, because for the service of passing ships, although it may be deep and sheltered, I am sure that it would be of little or no use, in consequence of its being so near the Cape that when they arrive there they want rather to double it and to proceed on the voyage than to run into lands from which annoyances might happen to them.

The particulars of the sea and of the coast, with the latitudes, landmarks of the ports, and the order that one has to follow to put into them, Your Highness will see in the journal and relation of all that I did, to which credit can be given, although they are badly composed and by a trembling hand, which is better than having them adorned by someone else before Your Highness sees them.

Of the people of the country I am able to speak as well from what I have seen now as when I was wrecked in the ship *St. Benedict* in the year 1554, so that you may trust my account, with reserve, however, that we should not give them cause for complaint or resentment. They have simplicity and a natural disposition to receive the doctrine of the knowledge of God and the evangelical law, owing to which I hope that in this fortunate reign of Your Highness such service will be performed that the sound of its word will reach those so distant and extreme ends of the round world, for the salvation of so many souls that are there quite lost, an undertaking which God has reserved for Your Highness only, which is so much needed, and which had been

for so many years desired and prayed for by your vassals, and so often determined upon by the most serene king Dom John your grandfather of glorious memory, an undertaking that was destined for Your Highness to carry out, to whose unconquerable spirit and most Christian zeal, it seems, were reserved the triumphs of new conquests and regions where His holy name may be known and praised, in order that Your Highness, besides the extension of your kingdoms and states, may enjoy for many and happy years that undying fame which is due to those so heroic and Catholic exertions.

ACCOUNT OF THE PORTS, ROUTES, LATITUDES, CAPES, MARKS OF RECOGNITION, SHELTERS, AND SOUNDINGS ALONG THE WHOLE COAST FROM THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE TO CAPE CORRENTES.

*Of the Cape of Good Hope.*

The Cape of Good Hope, as is well known, is in latitude thirty-four degrees and a half. Cape Agulhas is to the eastward, in a line nearly west by north and east by south, the distance between them being twenty-eight or thirty leagues. Its marks of recognition it seems to me unnecessary to describe, as they are very well known, and are seen by our pilots nearly every year; but in order to write something, I shall merely say that when it is seen at sea from the western side, it being to the northeast at a distance of seven or eight leagues, a huge rock is observable, which appears to be an island, but is not, and beyond it on the eastern side a great chain of mountains running north and south, with many peaks and a break in the middle. In the foreground is a long mountain flat on the top like a table, and from it towards the Cape the land is lower, with four or five peaks, some larger than others, in form like the stacks of straw in the fields of Santarem.

Along this Cape on the eastern side is an open bay, which I could not enter on account of the storm that I encountered there and the damage sustained by my ship, of which I have already written. The mouth is five leagues across. From the western side two large rocks are seen, which appear to be islets. Within I observed some openings, apparently the course of a river that the chartmakers depicture as very large, as flowing from some

lakes at the sources of the Nile, and as watering a great part of the interior country; but this I doubt, as no one has either seen it or an early description of it. I believe that it is like all the others from Cape Serras to this place, which are small, and I suppose that it must issue from the back part of the country which is crossed for nearly a hundred and ten leagues by a chain of mountains so continuous, high, and running in double ranges, that it does not seem possible for the waters of the other side to pass through it, and as the rivers that are there have no tributaries longer than those flowing from these mountains to the sea, which is close by, they remain small and are seen as such, at least from the look-out stations of lofty ships. With all this I admit that there are in some parts of the world rivers that run through great chains of mountains, and others that are narrow at the entrance while navigable higher up, wherefore the truth concerning these cannot be properly ascertained except by means of boats that can be rowed, which I had not with me.

This open bay is entirely enclosed by a high and steep rocky shore, and terminates on the eastern side in a point of the same kind. From it towards the east is a small and shelterless bay, and beyond that is Cape False, which stands out as a great rock with a dark patch on it. On the eastern side is another open bay without shelter, like that behind. Thence towards Cape Agulhas the land along the sea is low, and forms hillocks, some of which are peaked, others flat on top and long, with openings between them.

#### *Of Cape Agulhas.*

Cape Agulhas (Needles) is in latitude a little short of thirty-five degrees. Cape Infante lies from it northeast by east, at a distance of fourteen leagues. Its mark of recognition is a bank of grey land which terminates in two sharp points, of which the one to the eastward is much the sharper. The distance from one to the other is four leagues, almost east and west, and the coast between them is formed in round-topped ridges with a white spot, beyond which is a band of bushes. In the interior are high and large ranges of mountains, with six or seven breaks. To the westward of this Cape a little island, called Das Serras, is placed on the charts, but I doubt its existence. Although I passed there very close to the land, in truth it may be that with

the fine and damp mist that was the forerunner of the storm from the west which I encountered that day, or through its being deep in the shadow of the land, I did not see it, and therefore I leave this question to be determined hereafter. From the eastern point of this cape in the same direction the coast turns to the north-northeast, making a bight, with low land along the coast, and having as its extremity a great rock. There is Cape Infante. From the sea these two capes can be seen, and not the low coast land between them, on which there is a great patch of sand, and in the interior there is a hillock like this :

(Here in the original is a coloured view).

*Of Cape Infante and St. Sebastian's Bay.*

Cape Infante is in latitude thirty-four degrees and a half. It lies in a line with Cape Vacas to the eastward nearly east by north, the distance between them being fifteen leagues. Its mark of recognition is a high and circular mass of ground, flat on top, with a face to the sea which at a distance looks like an island, but is not one. It is situated between two rocks, which also look like islets, and it has near it two other rocks encircled with water. There is the first lofty land which is seen from the westward when passing Cape Agulhas. Any one who is in a line north and south with it will see inland a flat range with some breaks in it making long mountains, and to the westward five or six round hills as depicted below. Between this range and the cape there is a long flat-topped mountain, not very high, which lies almost north and south. At this place, seven and eight leagues from the shore, the bottom at sixty and eighty fathoms is of fine sand.

(Here in the original is a coloured view.)

Along this Cape on the eastern side is a bay, to which I gave the name St. Sebastian. It is some three leagues in extent, and is sheltered from the southeast round by the west nearly to the east-northeast. In it there are places eight and nine fathoms deep, but with a clean\* bottom and good holding ground for

\* Clean, meaning not foul for anchors.



anchors. It is well provided with fish, and there is water in a valley the nearest to the cape of three that are seen here, although landing to obtain it is difficult during strong easterly winds, such as I had when I entered, owing to the rocky shore and the current, but with westerly winds it should be very smooth. Inside of this bay there is another sheltered from all winds, which is about half a league in length, and large enough to contain any great fleet. I did not enter this bay with the boat, because the sea was breaking heavily between them with the east wind which was blowing, but from outside it appeared to me deep and clear. A river flows into it, which, according to what was told me by those whom I sent to examine it by land, is as large as the Tagus in front of Santarem. The passage between these bays is about a quarter of a league wide, with some banks of sand on the eastern side and a sharp point of land on the western, where at low tide is seen a reef of rock that obstructs a portion of it, but sufficient space is left to give entrance to ships from one bay to the other, as I suppose that it is principally in the season of the west winds that they will need it to winter in. The waters from the mountains which run from the river of which I have spoken above and from other rivulets then in existence should in that season open the whole channel that the east winds have blocked up with sand from the bottom and other parts of the bay, and I might also have found an entrance if the sea had not broken so heavily, for close to the bar I found two fathoms and a half of water.

Any one wishing to enter the first bay should not approach the point of the Cape, although from it about a cannon shot distant is a shoal upon which the sea does not break, but it can be known by the foaming there now and then, and between it and the land the water is so deep that any ship can pass. Shelter is to be had behind the other point which is seen beyond, because there is a reef which runs out a crossbow shot, and helps to give protection by breaking the force of the waves. No small advantage for those who anchor in this bay and all the others on that part of the coast is the current that runs from the east towards the west, which by setting outward helps to support the ship in such a way that there is much less strain on the cables, although the wind is from the east and strong.

I have treated of the entrance of this bay, as coming from the

western side, and thus I resolve to do of all the others, although I entered and departed from some of them on the eastern side and in their centres, and I found them for the most part deep and clean if they are approached with these winds, for reasons which I shall give farther on. Thence it is necessary to look for the entrances and the shelter on this coast, which I thus describe, from the west towards the east, although I explored it from the opposite direction, so that all the tokens and marks of recognition may be more easily recognised by the pilot who approaches these ports, if he makes no mistake in his knowledge of them, because by these he will be assisted more than by the latitudes, on account of its being a locality where the course is east and west, or nearly so, and it is dangerous to depend solely upon the sun, as a small error of the astrolabe produces incorrect distances. From this bay towards the east the land rises high and steep from the sea for a distance of five or six leagues, with white and reddish walls of rock,\* some of them high up from the shore, and others running along the coast. Beyond this the land is not so elevated: it has walls of rock of the same kind, but they are all white. The land becomes continually lower until Cape Vacas is reached, a league before coming to which is the river Feroso or Dos Vaqueiros, that has on the eastern side a sharp point which runs farther into the sea than the one on the west, with a small white patch along the water. Many currents run towards this river, although from outside it appears to be small for large boats, and as it was calm at times, they obliged me to come to an anchor.

*Of Cape Vacas and its Bay.*

Cape Vacas (Cows) is in latitude thirty-four degrees and a third. Cape St. Bras lies northeast by east, at a distance of five leagues. Its mark of recognition running along the coast is a sharp point which ends in the sea in a mountain with some reefs at its base, which, until very close, one would take to be an islet, but it is not one. From it a league to the westward is the river Feroso or Dos Vaqueiros, of which I have already treated. Between it and the cape are some large walls of rock,

\* Barreiras means *barriers*, and walls of rock may not be what the writer meant, but I cannot imagine anything else. The document is a difficult one to translate in places, owing to its author's use of odd expressions.—G. M. T.

and in the interior is a mountain divided at the top in a way that will be described in the chapter treating of the bay of St. Bras. In this locality seven or eight leagues at sea there are forty and fifty fathoms of water, and closer to the coast it is deeper, but the whole bottom is of clean fine sand or mixed with small shells, and there is mud in some places.

Along this cape on the eastern side is the bay of Vacas, about a league in extent. It is a good port, sheltered from the south round by the west to the northeast. Any one entering it must take care only to come to an anchor in eight or nine fathoms. In the beginning of the navigation to India ships touched there, and it was at this place that Joam de Queiros and almost all his people were killed in the year 1505 in the fleet of Pedro d'Anaya, because they went inland to take cattle by force. Close to the eastern point of this bay there are some shoals, and proceeding onward the coast runs northward with a narrow sandy beach along the sea until some reddish rocky walls are reached, and thence they become larger and larger to Cape St. Bras.

#### *Of Cape St. Bras and its Bay.*

Cape St. Bras is in latitude a little short of thirty-four degrees and a quarter. Cape Talhado lies east by north, at a distance of eighteen leagues. Its mark of recognition from the sea is a flat mountain which ends in two points distant five leagues from each other, and on the western side it is very low along the sea, terminating at the entrance to the bay Das Vacas, of which I have already treated. The eastern point is Cape St. Bras, which is formed by a great rock shaped above like a hat, and with some reddish walls of rock at its base. There are some shoals and a rock surrounded with water. When this cape lies to the northeast there is upon it a flat piece of ground, with some white spots and others dark which look like ploughed lands, and when it lies to the west-northwest it appears like a round island. The mountains in the interior are high and serrated, but there are in them three peaks which make them easily distinguishable, one, of which mention has before been made, which is over and against Cape Vacas, another almost northwest of Cape St. Bras, which looks like a pitched tent with high sides, and towards the northeast another still higher which has its top hanging over to the

eastward, and between them are pointed mountains that I do not depict here in order to avoid confusion.

(Here in the original is a coloured view.)

Along this cape, on the eastern side, is the bay or watering-place of St. Bras, three leagues or more in extent. It is in places six and eight fathoms deep close to the shore, and the bottom is very clean (*i.e.* not rocky or otherwise foul). It is sheltered from southeast by east round by the west to the northeast. Inland from the point of the cape a cannon shot there are two coves, and on the elevated ground between them are still standing to the height of five or six spans the walls of a hermitage which at the time of the discovery of the sea route to India was built there and dedicated to the blessed Saint Bras. Near to it is a watering-place on the shore of the sea. Deeper in the bay is an islet half a league from the mainland, and in the channel between I found five and six fathoms of water with a clean bottom. There are in it innumerable sea wolves, some of which are of incredible size, and some birds as large as and shaped like geese, which are called penguins. These have no feathers, but wings with which they make their way, and with only those stumps of wings covered with a very fine down they go under water in such a manner that with fish they feed themselves and their young that they rear in nests made of fish bones which they and the wolves bring there. From this islet towards the northwest there are some banks of sand along the shore, and north of these is a little river. Thence two leagues, near to the entrance of the bay, there is another low opening, from which the coast rises along the sea in a high land, steep and flat on top, with some reddish ravines in it. Inland the country is formed in sharp peaks, as I have stated, among which are the three of which mention has been made. At this bay, upon the top of the point of the cape, I left fixed a wooden cross, and fastened to it with brass wire a tube closed with cork and wax, within which was a document as follows: "In praise of our Lord Jesus Christ and exaltation of his holy faith, and for the service and enlargement of the kingdoms and states of Dom Sebastian the most serene king of Portugal, Manuel de Mesquita Perestrello, who by his command came to explore this coast, placed here this cross on the 7th day of January 1576."

Proceeding thence towards the east, the coast forms a kind of open bay, with some banks of sand along the sea, and thence onward the land is not very high, flat on top and steep, with red banks of rock along the shore, which continue for six leagues from the watering place. It terminates in a right angle, with a rock close by surrounded with water, and along it runs a little river. Thence towards the east the land is very low along the coast, with mostly white banks of rock, though a few are red. Close to it is an islet, which is not seen unless very near it. The coast then rises constantly until a point of white sand is reached, which, when it lies to the north, has three ridges with ravines between them, and the central ridge is the largest, and has its upper slope covered with bushes, which descend nearer to the shore than on the two others. Half a league from these is a sharp point with round hillocks on it, that has in front a shoal which runs into the sea a cannon shot, and thus the coast continues for two leagues, at the end of which are two great rocks not far from each other, and between them is an opening or little bay, which may be four or five leagues from Cape Talhado.

*Of Cape Talhado and the Bay of St. Catherine.*

Cape Talhado is in latitude thirty-four degrees, and has Cape Baxas to the east at a distance of seven leagues. Its mark of recognition is a point not very high, and whether seen from the west or from the east it always appears to be an island, on account of the land between it and the coast being so low for the distance of a musket shot that it does not come in sight unless one is very close to it. This cape has on its face a red ledge of rock, and there is a shoal running out from it in the sea a quarter of a league, west of which and near to it is an islet. The interior has nothing of which special mention can be made, as it consists of very high lands, except that towards the east-northeast at a distance of seven leagues there is one peak among others which when seen from three or four leagues at sea off this cape has the appearance of the strawstacks in the fields of Santarem. It is the highest mountain of all that coast, and its appearance is as follows :

(Here in the original is a coloured view.)

Along this cape on the eastern side is a great bay, to which I

gave the name of Saint Catherine. It is a good port from the westerly winds, sheltered from the south round by the west to east-northeast. I did not enter it, because although I took in sail in its mouth, as it was too late to go in that day, hoping to do so on the next, the east wind increased so greatly during the following night that it took from me the power to do so, as when day dawned I had been driven by it far off; but by what I could judge from outside, it is deep and clean, with a capacity for containing any fleet. I remember an old and not untrustworthy man, who affirmed that he had lain at anchor in this bay in fifteen and sixteen fathoms, with a clean bottom, and that behind the western point there is a pond, where he took in fresh water; but I did not see more than I have stated. In this locality, in forty and fifty fathoms, all the bottom is of fine sand, not very reddish.

*Of Cape Baxas.*

Cape Baxas is in latitude thirty-four degrees. Fermosa Bay is to the east-northeast, at a distance of eight leagues. Its mark of recognition is a large black point rising steeply from the sea, and to any one coming along the coast from the eastward it looks like an island. It has on its face a strip of white land which extends from the shore to the top, and there are some shoals around it which run into the sea half a league. On the eastern side is an open bay that has the appearance of being curved inward, but it is small, and offers little shelter. It ends in that direction in another point of great sandbanks, but the better mark of recognition of this cape is the peak of which mention has before been made, which is almost due north of it, and to any one four or five leagues at sea it looks low, and from it five leagues to the northeast are five very well formed domes with high sides (like the letter U reversed) upon the mountain. Thence the coast rises with some white and red walls of rock along the shore as far as a river which is four leagues from Point Delgada.

(Here in the original is a coloured view.)

*Of Point Delgada and Fermosa Bay.*

Point Delgada is in latitude thirty-three degrees and rather over three-quarters. It has Cape Serras to the east-northeast at

a distance of twelve leagues. Its mark of recognition, coming from the west, is a very narrow point, and on that account I gave it this name. It ends in the sea, in a small round hillock with some reefs near it, which until close by looks like an islet but it is not one. From it towards the mainland is a tract of sand very flat, without any verdure, which may have the length of a race-course. Four leagues before coming to the point is the river which I mentioned above, and between them there is a bank of sand on the shore, which is larger in the middle than at the ends. Thence the coast becomes lower and lower, with some narrow tongues of white land running through the bush-covered soil, that look like roads, and they are in a slanting direction, not up and down. This same point, to any one running along the low coast to the eastward, has the appearance of two islets, but its clearest marks of recognition are the mountains of the interior, which appear from a great distance not only to be high and serrated with the peaks in them small and of about an equal size, but to have among them one that resembles the Rock of Cintra, which, besides being recognisable by its shape and height, may also be known by the five well formed domes, of which mention has before been made, being three leagues to the westward of it; and they look like this:

(Here in the original is a coloured view.)

Along this point on the eastern side is Ferosa Bay, which may be five leagues in extent. It is a good port from the west winds, sheltered towards the eastern side from the south to the northeast. The better mark of recognition in approaching it is, besides that of Point Delgada, the peak that I spoke of before as resembling the Rock of Cintra. Any one wishing to enter it should bring this peak to bear to the north, when he will be as far forward as the bay, and approaching Point Delgada to a distance of nearly a crossbow shot, he must only take care to come to anchor in nine and ten fathoms, where he will find clean sand. In from fifteen to twenty fathoms it is foul, and thence outward it becomes clean again, the bottom, as the depth increases, consisting of fine sand, not very reddish. I entered this bay on the eastern side, running close along the coast, and I went out of it on the western side. Behind the anchoring place is a

valley between higher lands, which all judged to be a lake, but I could not ascertain the certainty of this, because the wind blew so strong from the east that it was not regarded as prudent to send the boat away from the ship. Thence eastward stretches a sandy coast to Cape Serras, four leagues before reaching which there is a river.

*Of Cape Serras and the Bay of Saint Francis.*

Cape Serras is in latitude thirty-three degrees and a half. Cape Recife lies east-northeast at a distance of eight leagues. Its mark of recognition is a sharp point which ends in the sea in a small round hillock, with a shoal that runs out half a league. Four leagues before coming to it is the river of which I have just spoken, and between it and the cape is a bank of sand on the shore. Thence towards the point the land becomes lower, with some white tongues intersecting the bush-covered soil, that look like roads, so that this part presents the same appearance as Point Delgada. The only difference I found is that the sandbank is the same size throughout and not larger in the middle as the other is, and that towards the top of the bushy ground which runs from it towards the cape there are in places white spots such as are not seen at Point Delgada. On this account the better mark of recognition is the mountain of the interior, as all the ranges which are continuous from the Cape of Good Hope, and near to each other along the whole coast to this cape, terminate here, for which reason I gave it this name; and although at Cape Recife there are some peaks, they are isolated and separated from each other by a space of leagues.

On the eastern side of this cape is a bay to which I gave the name of Saint Francis. It is a good port from the west winds, sheltered from the south round to the northeast. Its better mark of recognition is that of the mountains which terminate there, as I have already said, and in ending at the bay form three sharp peaks, of which that on the north is higher than the other two. Any one who wishes to enter must bring these mountains to bear on the east, when he will be abreast of the bay, and approaching the point of the cape he must take care of the shoal of which mention has been made and anchor in fifteen and sixteen fathoms, where the bottom is clean. Within the cape,



where there is a sandflat, he will find a good watering place. I did not enter this bay, as the wind was blowing strong from the east, and I had only two anchors, although I was for two days standing off and on in its mouth, hoping that the weather would moderate, at the end of which I found myself at a distance from it. However, I take upon me to state what I have said as if I had seen it, because I speak through the mouth and memory of Diogo Botelho Pereira, who lay here and in the bay of Saldanha at anchor, and took in water, I think in the year 1539, when he came in the pinnace to this kingdom, with whom I was in close friendship, as he was my captain in the ship *Saint Benedict* the second time that I went to India, in the year 1549. And as his account agrees with all that I saw from outside concerning the latitude, termination of the mountains, and sandflat, I believe that it is also correct as regards the anchorage and the watering place, which was all that remained for me to inspect. The appearances are as under. Proceeding thence, the land continues low along the sea with some banks of sand, but constantly becomes higher until Cape Recife is reached.

(Here in the original is a coloured view.)

#### *Of Cape Recife.*

Cape Recife is in latitude thirty-three degrees and a third. The Points of the Pillar lie almost east-northeast, at a distance of fifteen leagues. Its mark of recognition is a large point with a flat shelf of rock, and some little islets around it; at a crossbow shot from its end are some rocks on which the sea breaks. On the western side there is a flat bank of sand, and on the low coast some rocks that look like islets, but are not. Between them and the cape there is a shoal near the land, and towards the interior runs an isolated high mountain covered with domes, but it is at a distance from the one at the bay of Saint Francis, nor is another to be seen to the eastward of it, because all the land thence towards the interior is formed in round-topped ridges and chains, and if there are any isolated mountains they are very different from these others.

*Of the Bay of Lagoa and the Islets of the Cross and Chaos.*

Along this cape on the eastern side is a great open unsheltered bay, which is called da Lagoa, although I had named it before the Bay of the Wolves (*i.e.* Seals) owing to the great number I found in it. It may have a mouth ten or twelve leagues across. Any one who is in it will see in the interior the mountain that I have spoken of before, and south of it a peak with four or five hills. On the western side there are four islets which are called of the Cross, one of them larger than the three around it, where any ship can find shelter at all times, for the bottom is clean sand with twelve and thirteen fathoms of water. In the eastern side of the bay in the same latitude lie other two, that are called Chaos, because they are so flat that they cannot be seen farther off than two leagues. They lie along the coast, and there is a shoal at a distance of half a league towards the southwest. The whole coast between these islets and those behind is of great banks of sand with patches of bushes, and towards the interior round-topped ridges of black ground with many small mountains. Thence towards the northeast there is a point east by north, which ends very low in the sea, with great sandflats along the shore between rows of black patches of bushes, at the termination of which is a mountain that is steep on the inland side and with an aperture in the middle. Half a league beyond it is another, and in the valley between them there are some trees which look like pines and are the first that I saw along the sea from Cape Agulhas to that place. In the vicinity of these islets, seven and eight leagues from the coast, is a bank with thirty to thirty-five fathoms of water on it, and towards the shore it is deeper, at two and three leagues from it there being seventy and eighty fathoms, with a bottom of fine sand and in some places mud.

*Of the Points of the Pillar.*

The Points of the Pillar are four leagues east of the islets Chaos, in latitude thirty-three degrees. The first part of the Land of Natal lies northeast at a distance of twenty-five leagues. Its mark of recognition is two points of sand rising steeply from the sea, with a flat patch of bushes above, and close by is an islet shaped as under, which may be as large as a caravel. This is

probably the place where the pillar called Saint Gregory stood, which Bartholomeu Dias set up when he was exploring that coast by order of the king Dom John the second, for it is stated that he left it fixed in an islet between the Chaos and the river Infante, in which locality there is no other, and therefore I gave it this name. A league from these points towards the northeast the coast forms another projection also covered with bushes, and beyond it in the round-topped ridges is a long and narrow strip of verdure different from the other around, which runs down from the top direct to the sea, where there are some shoals close to the land. Passing thence, a solitary large widespreading tree is seen upon the top of the ridges of the interior, and between it and the sea are some white patches. Towards the east the whole land along the coast consists of banks of sand, and towards the interior of round-topped ridges between green patches of meadow decked with trees that look like oaks. Eight leagues before reaching the river Infante some low openings are seen on the coast, and three leagues farther are some rocky banks, near which is the rock that is called Of the Fountains, which is a rock with a cleft in the middle, and it looks like an islet, but is not one. All the land above it is very green, with some trees scattered about.

(Here in the original is a coloured view.)

#### *Of the River Infante.*

The river Infante is in latitude thirty-two degrees and a half. Its mark of recognition is its being high and rocky in the interior, with both its banks steep, and thus it enters the sea. Above, between it and a bushy patch, there are some large trees. The bar is deep, but not sufficiently so for passing ships to cross it. It runs from northwest to southeast. On the southeastern side there is a reef of rock from which some shoals project into the sea a crossbow shot. It was there that we ran aground with the ship *Saint Benedict* in the year 1554, in which ship came Fernam Alvares Cabral as commodore of the fleet. On the northeastern side the shore is sandy, and the interior consists of mountains with forests. Eight leagues beyond this river is another too small for ships to enter, which is called Saint Christopher, and it also enters the sea between high rocks. Near to it are three islets

close to the shore, two of them peaked and connected with each other, the third flat and at a distance. In this locality, four and five leagues from the land, there are not more than forty to fifty fathoms of water, with a bottom of coarse red sand and in some places rock.

*Of the Land of Natal.*

The first point of the Land of Natal is in latitude thirty-two degrees. The last point is to the northeast inclined to north, at a distance of forty-five leagues. Its mark of recognition is a great rocky point, and any one being four or five leagues at sea will observe a grove of large trees in the interior, and when this lies to the northeast, above it three small mountains are visible. Thence a league towards the northeast is another forest which runs down to the sea, and above it a bare ridge and three other mountains larger than those behind. All this land which is called Natal is high, and has patches of sand along the sea. Most of the shore is rocky, and there are reefs. It has no ports. There are in it some rivers, but none capable of receiving large ships. All the sea is deep and clean, only there is a little islet very near the coast. The interior consists of green ridges and many patches of forest, between which there are also in some places wild olive trees, and in the valleys and low lands watercress, water parsley, and other herbs of this country. The appearance of the land for the greater part is high and fruitful, and thus it is well peopled and contains a great variety of animals tame and wild. After this manner the whole coast continues to the last point, which is in latitude thirty degrees. Point Pescaria lies north by east, at a distance of twelve leagues. Its (*i.e.* the last Point of Natal) mark of recognition is a point not very large, which on the western side has some walls of rock and banks of sand on the coast, and any one passing it must keep to the east-northeast or west-southwest, because this Land of Natal has three points, to wit, the two already mentioned and another almost in the middle, the coast between these capes forming open bays.

*Of Point Pescaria.*

Point Pescaria is in latitude twenty-nine degrees and a third. Point Saint Lucia lies north by east at a distance of

fifteen leagues. Its mark of recognition is a point not very high, with small rocky ledges, and in the interior there is another larger one behind that on the coast, with many white patches. From it towards the northeast the coast forms banks of rock. Between this point and that of Saint Lucia there is a small open bay, having little shelter.

*Of Point Saint Lucia.*

Point Saint Lucia is in latitude twenty-eight degrees and a half. The Land of Fumos lies to the northeast inclined to east at a distance of thirty leagues. It has no mark of recognition of which mention can be made, except a low point covered with bushes, that runs down to the shore, which by any one running past it is seen to project farther into the sea than the adjoining land. Between it and the point of the Land of Fumos are the rivers Saint Lucia and the Banks of Gold, in the locality of which there is a bank a league from the coast with not more than fourteen and fifteen fathoms of water on it, the bottom being of large gravel and broken shells, and farther seaward of fine black sand with some shellfish among seaweed. The river contains much water, as it is connected with a lake which it makes inland, with three others of good size, and with some swamps which continue for several leagues. The bar is not very deep, and runs almost east and west. On the southwestern side there are some shoals, which extend into the sea a cannon shot. The coast is low, and the shore consists entirely of sand banks.

*Of the Point of the Land of Fumos.*

The point of land which is called dos Fumos (of the Smokes) is in latitude twenty-seven degrees and a third. The river Espirito Santo lies to the north-northeast at a distance of thirty leagues. As for its mark of recognition I saw nothing distinctive of which mention can be made, because all the land there is low and with banks along the shore, as I have said, only there is one point of sand with a patch of bushes on it, which runs farther into the sea than the adjoining land, but not so far as to be noticed unless one is running past close to it. In this locality I lost two anchors, through finding myself at dawn one day very close to the coast,

with a contrary wind and upon reefs, where I remained three days very anxious, which caused no little uneasiness and fear to the people of my company that we might not be able to proceed, as there were only two anchors left. This happened at the beginning of the voyage, for, as I have already said, this exploration was from the east towards the west, commencing at Cape Correntes and ending at the Cape of Good Hope.

*Of the River Espirito Santo and of its Bay.*

The river Espirito Santo is in latitude twenty-five degrees and three-quarters. Cape Correntes lies almost east-northeast, at a distance of seventy leagues. Its mark of recognition is that it has on the southwestern side a high round-topped ridge of land, which is an island, and which does not project farther into the sea than does the main land. The island may be a league and a half in length, and it has a little cleft in the middle, in which is a white spot. The entrance on the southwestern side is deep, but obstructed with rocks. Its width may be a little more than a musket shot. The entrance on the northeastern side may be six or seven leagues across. Inside there is a grand bay in which very low water is seen at spring tides, notwithstanding which there is a harbour for passing ships. Three great rivers flow into it, in which also small vessels can come to anchor. Any one wishing to enter it must approach the point of the island from the northeast to within a full league and not less, because thence towards the island, as also on the side of the mainland, it is shallow, and he must proceed along some islets, sounding with the lead and keeping a look-out in order to discover where it is deep or shallow. He will find on the bank seven and eight fathoms, with clean sand. When he enters farther, he must keep close to the island until he has passed it, and afterwards he must turn to the south until he sees the southwestern entrance, or nearly as far, and anchor in eight and nine fathoms near the island, on which he will find fresh water. He should not go deeper in, and should keep far from the western side, on account of the current coming from the rivers, that is strong. The people of the island and also of the mainland of that part are very friendly to us. They are subject to a king called Inhaca, who is still alive, from whom we that were wrecked

in the ship *Saint Benedict* received much hospitality, and thus also he treats all the Portuguese who go there to barter ivory by order of the captains of Mozambique. This is not the case with those who reside on the other shore, who do all the harm they can to those who go to trade with them, and they are the people who drove away Manuel de Sousa de Sepulveda with all his company when the galeon *Saint John* was wrecked in the year 1552.

*Of the River do Ouro.*

Twelve leagues from the Santo Espirito towards the east is another small river, which is called do Ouro (of the Gold). It has for landmarks on the southwestern side a black country with black banks, and in a line with them a white spot on the shore. From it to the northeast is a high land with a bare top that looks like a road. From the mouth of the river running inland is a bushy bank, but the entrance is not in front of the place where that is seen, which is all reef, but half a league thence towards the southwest, where as soon as the end of the reef is seen, which is narrow, one can enter to the eastward by the middle of the channel. There is a fathom and a half of water on the bank. If one needs to go inward, after he is between the reef and the land he must turn towards the river until he is at its mouth, and can go up it ten or twelve leagues by sounding with the lead. The people of the country are of the Mokanga nation, and our friends.

*Of the Watering-place of Boa Paz.*

Fourteen or fifteen leagues from this river towards the east is another which is called the Watering-place of Boa Paz (Good Peace), which is small and unfit for vessels to enter, although they have oars, because the sea breaks heavily in it. There are some shoals along the land at the distance of a league towards the southwest. Any one wishing to take in water,—as only for this purpose I make mention of the place,—must go with the boats over a reef that lies from it a cannon shot to the northeast, and that at half-tide rising, not falling, and after landing he must take the barrels overland to the river and must return in the same way to embark. A league from this watering-place

towards the northeast is a reef at a distance from the coast of half a league, and the space inside is deep and clean, so that ships can be sheltered there, although I should not advise them to attempt it unless under extreme necessity, on account of the danger there would be of insufficient wind when they wished to continue the voyage.

All that coast thereabouts is of sand along the shore, and at low tide reefs of rock are seen, but four fathoms from them it is deep and clean, with a bottom of fine sand, in some places black. In this locality there is a shoal which at half a league from the land has nine and ten fathoms of water upon it, and on that account the depth increases outward, as the bottom thence is very steep, but clean. Along the shore there are mountains and patches of white and red sand. The interior is formed in round-topped ridges, some with trees on them, and others with white spots. Thence the country becomes lower and lower, and is formed in little pointed mountains and strips of sand between bushes, which look like roads, without any landmark or anything of which mention can be made, until Cape Correntes is reached. This is in latitude a little short of twenty-four degrees, and here ended the limit of this my enterprise and exploration, from which I returned to Mozambique on the 13th of March 1576.

It may not be amiss to Your Highness, if you wish to make use of the ports that I found, to know that they are bays and not rivers, and most of them unprotected from the east winds, nor less to know of the dangers that I experienced in the passage, not considering that for these reasons they are useless or that all the persons who shall visit them hereafter will run the same risks. Because, as to the first, although rivers everywhere give more protection than bays, on this coast they are not of such utility for what is needed as the bays are, because for the greater part they have narrow entrances and are obstructed with turnings and channels which frequently change, and with sandbanks or reefs, and besides cannot be entered except by day and with sufficient wind and tide, being in short ports where those entering or leaving must depend upon various circumstances and favourable conditions, which in those localities are not met with, inasmuch as a ship may reach them when driven by the wind and unseasonably, and without time to wait for these opportunities, on which account the bays that can be entered and left without



these difficulties at all times and hours when it is necessary are much better.

And as to the bays appearing without protection from the east winds, there are some sufficiently sheltered, for of the eight winds of the compass they are protected from more than six, as the bay of Saint Sebastian, which is covered from southeast round by west until nearly east-northeast, and the bay of Saint Bras a little less, and even if they were not so much sheltered, I would not only not condemn them, but would affirm, as I do, that no port for the service of this navigation can be better adapted than those of the eastern side of that coast, for the ships which pass there never have need to run into them except when the west winds are blowing, from which they are well sheltered and offer a secure place to lie in. For if those that proceed from this kingdom to India wish to put into them through arriving there late, or not desiring to be under the necessity of wintering at Mozambique and thence passing the island of Madagascar at any time to India, these, whether early or late, that leave this kingdom according to the ordinary navigation, always reach that locality in the monsoon and force of the west winds. And in like reasoning those that come from India, although they arrive towards the close of the eastern monsoon, inasmuch as they make their passage with it, only need to enter the ports when they meet the west winds, by which, without tacking to and fro with which they are lost or damaged, and without fear of the risks and winterings of Mozambique, having taken in water, fuel, fish, and flesh, which are plentiful and cheap there, at any convenient time, as it is close, they can double the Cape and proceed to this kingdom.

And secondly, of the dangers that I encountered. The voyages which ships of passage make are very different from that which I performed, as well in point of time as in that of route. For I went to explore, and was obliged always to keep very close to the coast, with its shoals, turns, and windings, in order that nothing should remain to be inspected; and as I had only two anchors,—through having lost the other two at the Land of Fumos at the very commencement of the voyage, as I have related,—which were scarcely sufficient to secure a ship in a smooth river, much less along the coast and in the force of the trade winds that prevail there, and also as I knew not where it was deep or where

it was shallow, where it was foul or where it was clean, I remained in danger of what I could see by day and of what I could not see by night, and also of what the winds and currents, which are strong there, could effect, chiefly from Cape Correntes to the Points of the Pillar, where as the coast runs northeast and southwest, and in places almost north and south, on account of which, the east winds being there generally light and the coast formed in open bays, I found myself at times in places where I could not double the points of land, nor run to any other place, still less come to an anchor on account of the bad equipment that I had, remaining entirely dependent upon the mercy of our Lord and upon the many miracles which he through his boundless goodness performed for me in this voyage, and upon the good fortune of Your Highness, whose enterprise it was. But the passing ships, if they proceed from this kingdom, go by always with westerly stern winds, as I have said, approaching or keeping away from the coast at the will of those who direct them. And those that come from India, although they leave early, do not reach that locality until the middle of February and later, at which time the east winds blow on the quarter, because for the greater part they are then northeast, and when light, east, and with them the currents run more along the coast; nor do they approach to see the land except at the Points of the Pillar or from Cape Recife onward, for along the remaining part of the coast it is more advantageous for them to run west-southwest and in places west. And furthermore the modern pilots, to whom it cannot be shown that they know more of the navigation of this passage than the ancients, taught by experience are without fear of the coast, although hitherto they had no knowledge of its features, and are accustomed after they come so far always to go in sight of it or nearly so, that they may be more favoured by the currents and winds. Hereafter they can be more venturesome, for they have now been enlightened upon the features and marks of recognition of the ports and places where they can put in or reach if it is necessary, and also of those which they must avoid and keep away from in order to make their voyages safe and free from the risks and sudden surprises in which I found myself at each moment.

EXTRACTOS  
DA RELAÇÃO DO  
NAUFRAGIO DA NAO *SANTIAGO*.

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[The ship *Santiago* left Lisbon for Goa on the 1st of April 1585 with over four hundred and fifty souls on board, and in the night of the 18th of August struck upon a shoal in the Mozambique Channel, where she went to pieces. The crew and passengers tried to save themselves on rafts and in the two boats, but most of them perished. The following extracts are from the account given by the survivors.]

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Ao outro dia Domingo oito do mez chegou a Luabo, onde Francisco Brochado estava, que o recebeu com aquelle amor, e gazalhado com que recolheo assim todos os mais que escaparaõ deste Naufragio, com mais acolhimento de pay que de amigo. Daqui mandou logo Francisco Brochado dous negros, hum a Sena a buscar roupa para o resgate dos que ficavaõ em Linde, outro com mantimentos, e provimento necessario para os que estavaõ em Linde, com que guarneçeraõ de forças. E porque de Sena lhe tardavaõ com a roupa, os tornou a prover de mais mantimentos. Vindo a roupa mandou logo por elles, e chegaraõ a Luabo a vinte e dois de Settembro, alegres de se verem com liberdade, e em companhia de Portuguezes. Agazalhou-os, e vestio-os, Francisco Brochado, fazendo-lhes muitos regalos, como todos elles publicavaõ. Entaõ se soube, que encalhara a jangada duas legoas de Linde entre Calimanè, e Cuama a Velha. Este foy o successo da jangada do Sota-Piloto, e da gente, que se nella embarcou. Das outras jangadas, que se fizeraõ, se não soube mais, que presumirse se perderiaõ, ou acabariaõ todos os que nellas se meteraõ à falta de mantimentos, porque nenhuma veyo à terra.

Tornando aos que se salvaraõ no batel, desembarcaraõ em Luabo, onde foraõ recebidos de Francisco Brochado com muito

amor, em cuja caza estavaõ tambem parte dos que se salvãrãõ no Esquife com Fernãõ de Mendoça, Piloto, e Mestre da Nao, dos quaes logo se tratarã o que lhes succedeo em sua viagem. Partido o Esquife do Baixo, como fica dito, e naõ achando terra, os que nelle hiaõ houveraõ seo conselho, e ainda que contra vontade de Fernãõ de Mendoça, se determinãrãõ todos em hum corpo de naõ tornar à Nao, mostrando Fernãõ de Mendoça disso muito sentimento, e dezejando de tornar à Nao para se fazerem as jangadas com melhor ordem, e com sua prezença poder animar, e consolar aquella miseravel gente: mas como só naõ podia resistir à furia de tantos, em tal occasiaõ conveyo-lhe calarse. Esta foy a causa de fazerem sua viagem com poucos mantimentos e agoa, e sem aparelhos para poderem navegar: levavaõ algumas caixas de marmellada, alguns barris de conservas, e queijos, hum frasco com duas canadas de agoa de flor, sem mais outra agoa, nem vinho; todavia hindo correndo o Baixo tomãrãõ mais hum barril de vinho, hum pique, e hum remo, e com mais dous outros que levavaõ, e hum lançol, se enxarceãrãõ o melhor que pudẽrãõ: de hum remo fizeraõ o mastro, do pique verga, do lançol vèla, cozendolhe alguns pedaços de pannos; enxarcea e driça fizeraõ de huma linha de pescar. E assim se sahãrãõ do Baixo; depois ordenãrãõ Traquete, o mastro delle fizeraõ de hum remo, a verga de espadas, a vèla de camizas: e porque o mar lhes entrava pelos bordos, fizeraõ arrombadas de hum pedaço de panno de cor, que tomãrãõ no Baixo; o lème ordenãrãõ de taboas que tirãrãõ das tilhas. Levavaõ huma Agulha de marear, e por ella com vento Suèste governando a Nornoroèste, que era como elles cuidavaõ atravessar, e hir demandar a mais proxima terra; porque o Esquife hia taõ aberto, que a dous baldes naõ podiaõ vencer a agoa. A regra, que tiverãõ, foy huma talhada de marmellada, e meyo quartilho de vinho por dia: o vinho era misturado com agoa salgada, que de contino entrava no batel.

Dous dias navegãrãõ com o vento que se disse, que foraõ terça e quarta feira, com o mar muito grosso. A' quarta feira se lhes mudou o tempo, e vento Nordèste, e Lesnordèste, com que o fez hir ao Noroèste; mas acalmou logo de todo. Desemmasteãrãõ o Esquife, e armãrãõ tres remos com que foraõ picando com grandes correntes que havia. A' sexta feira viraõ muitas Baleas, por onde entendẽrãõ que estavaõ no Parcel de Sofala; e tambem por a agoa ser de fundo; naõ no tomãrãõ com tudo, por naõ terem mais

que dez braças de linha. Ao Sabbado vinte e quatro do mez em amanheendo tomãraõ fundo em nove braças, quando veyo ao meyo dia viraõ terra, e dantes naõ na terem visto foy por causa de hum grande nevoeiro que havia, porque descobrindo o dia viraõ toda a Còsta com muitos fumos de queimadas. Alguns diziaõ, que se tomasse logo terra, e que fariaõ a guarda, que por haver cinco dias que navegavaõ sem beber agoa, sómente hum pouco de vinho misturado com agoa salgada, padeciaõ grande sede; mas o Mestre como tinha experiencia e idade, foy de parecer, que corresseo ao longo da Còsta para ver se podiaõ tomar as Ilhas primeiras, donde lhes ficava facil hir a Moçambique, e naõ ficarem à cortezia dos negros; e tambem entendia que se desembarcassem, que se havia logo o Esquife de desfazer com o rolo do mar, como se desfez.

Despois deste conselho foraõ correndo tres dias, e vindo a noite escaceava-lhes o vento, e hiaõ correndo athè dar em fundo de tres braças, e logo surgiraõ com hum frasco cheyo de agoa salgada, que sendo de cobre lhes servio de ancora, e de amarra huns pedaços de cabos, q̃ se desfizeraõ em corloens, amarrados huns em outros. Mas naõ bastando isto, desemmastreavaõ, e estavaõ toda a noite remando de mòdo que pudessem sustentar a ponta, por naõ hirem dar a travès. Nestes quatro dias, que vieraõ ao longo da Còsta, andaria o Esquife mais de quarenta legoas, por hir sempre com vento esperto em popa muito aviado.

Ao terceiro dia, que foy terça feira, vindo a noite começou a engrossar o mar com vento Suèste, que nesta Còsta he travessãõ, e metia grande baga; por onde receando, que os podia de noite commetter o mar, determinãraõ encalhar; disseraõ primeiro as Ladainhas como todas as noites atràs tinhaõ feito, e mareando o Esquife com a proa para onde lhes pareceo que o mar dava mais jazigo, commettèraõ a terra com perigo das vidas, por ser baixamar, e o Parcel grande, o vento travessãõ, os mares grossos, e quebrarem muito longe de terra. Dizia o Mestre da Nao, homem esperto nas couzas do mar, que esta desembarcaçaõ fora milagrõsa; porque o mar era grande, e vinha todo rebentando em flor, e parecia que a mais pequena onda era poderõsa para desfazer hum grande Navio, quanto mais hum taõ pequeno Esquife taõ mal concertado. Affirmavaõ os que nelle vieraõ, que em chegando os màres perto delle se desviavaõ a huma parte, de modo que nunca por onde foraõ o mar quebrou, e assim tomãraõ a praya sem perigo, e

tirãraõ o fato em terra. O intento de encalharem o Esquife em terra, era para que abonãando o mar, e feita sua agoada tornassem outra vez a demandar as Ilhas primeiras.

Sahidos em terra encheraõ hum barril de agoa, que achãraõ em cõvas em huma campina pela terra dentro, e vindose com ella para a praya, achãraõ hum negro, que trazia algum peixe miudo, posto que pouco, que lhe resgatãraõ por hum barrete, e mandãraõ com o negro à Aldea Alvaro Rodrigues, que estava duas legoas da praya, para trazer fogo, e ver se achava lingoa, que lhe dissesse onde estavaõ, para fazerem sua derrõta. Os negros da Aldea como viraõ homem branco, com muito alvoroço se vieraõ à praya, trazendo Alvaro Rodrigues as cõstas por fraco, e caçado. Entre estes negros vinha hum que fallava alguma couza em Portuguez, a quem perguntãraõ por Calimanè, e elle apontando com a mãõ para a banda do Nordèste, dizia que perto estava; e apontando para a parte do Suduèste, lhes disse, que para alli lhes ficava Luabo, onde estava Francisco Brochado. Com estas novas ficãraõ mais consolados, por saberem já a onde haviaõ de caminhar.

O Fumò da Aldea se offereceo logo a Fernãõ de Mendoça, dizendolhe, que elle o levaria às cõstas dentro a Calimanè. Com taes novas ceãraõ do peixe, e dormiraõ: o Capitaõ mòr deitou se dentro de hum caixaõ sem tampa, que viera no Esquife, o que vendo os negros pegãraõ delle rijamente, cuidando que estava cheyo de reales, mas vendose baldados do que esperavaõ, o largãraõ. De noite acodiraõ muitos negros, e negras das Aldeas mais vizinhas, e toda a noite estiveraõ em differenças com os primeiros; devia ser sobre a repartiçaõ dos pobres despojos; roubãraõ as vèlas, e fato do Esquife, e começãraõ a cavar a praya em diferentes partes, cuidando que os Portuguezes escondãraõ nella os reales, que já entre elles saõ estimados mais que prègos velhos, de que faziaõ ha pouco tempo tanto caso; e cavando na praya, naõ achãraõ mais que algumas espadas desempunhadas q̃ os do Esquife tinhaõ enterrãdas pela area. Pela manhã alevantandose o Capitaõ mòr do caixaõ, arremettãraõ a elle outros negros com grande furia, e sede de reales, e naõ achando dentro nelle couza alguma, pegãraõ todos delle, e foy feito em pedaços de raiva de o acharem vazio.

Caminhãraõ logo os do Esquife praya acima para aquella parte onde os negros tinhaõ apontado que ficava Calimanè, o que vendo os negros saltãraõ com elles, e de pullo lhes levavaõ os barretes

das cabeças : apoz isto os começàraõ a despir, e o que com toda a pressa naõ dava logo o fato, era mofino, pagando pelo corpo, andando à porfia de quem levaria melhor quinhaõ, trazendo muitas vezes ao pobre despojado pizado aos pès ; o que lhes era facil, assim por elles serem muitos, como por os Portuguezes estarem taõ fracos que se naõ podiaõ ter em pè. Desta maneira nùs caminhàraõ para Calimanè ao longo da praya, athè darem na bocca do rio, e antes de chegarem a elle foraõ salteados de outros negros, que lhes levavaõ os pobres farrapos, athè as contas que traziaõ aos pescoços.

Chegados à bocca do rio naõ viraõ remedio para o passar, e entendendo, que da outra banda estava a povoação de Francisco Brochado, tomàraõ o caminho rio acima, athè darem em hum esteiro que sahia do rio, e hum pedaço àlem delle houveraõ vista de hum Luzio, que he embarcação desta gente ; os negros do Luzio estavaõ fazendo lenha, naõ se atreveo nenhum a passar o esteiro, e hir ao Luzio, receando a agoa, que vinha muito teza. Nisto viraõ huma almadia, que andava no rio, fizeraõ-lhe sinal, mas os negros naõ acodiraõ a elle ; entaõ capeàraõ aos do Luzio, que em vendo os Portuguezes sahio o Mocadaõ, e na almadia se veyo a elles, e chegando lhes fallou em Portuguez, e lhes perguntou donde vinhaõ ? Dèraõ-lhe os Portuguezes conta de si ; respondeo, que assim elle como os mais negros que no Luzio vinhao, eraõ cativos do Muinha Sedaca, hum Mouro muito amigo dos Portuguezes, que vissem o que queriaõ delle, porque tudo faria. Perguntàraõ-lhe os nossos por Francisco Brochado ; respondeo, que era em Luabo, que naõ tinha deixado em caza mais que algumas negras ; entaõ lhe pediraõ, que os quizesse passar à outra parte do rio. Disse, que sim ; e logo metèraõ na almadia com elle o Capitaõ mòr, e o Mestre da Nao ; e o Capitaõ mòr deo ao negro, cuja almadia era, huns calçoens que ainda trazia cingidos, e o Mestre deo hum pedaço de panno de cor, que trazia na cabeça ; porque sem estas pagas o negro os naõ queria passar.

Pòstos da outra parte do rio, sahio a elles hum Cavallo marinho, que pelo naõ terem nunca visto cuidàraõ ser Badà, e com o medo e pressa se metèraõ pela vaza, atolandose athè a cinta, no que passàraõ trabalho ; porque o Cavallo marinho dava mostra de os seguir, mas logo se tornou a meter no mar. Chegàraõ ao Luzio, e feita a lenha tornàraõ com elle em busca dos companheiros, tomàraõ-nos, e atravessando o rio, que teria meya legoa de largura,

se passáraõ da outra banda, chegáraõ a caza de Francisco Brochado com duas horas de Sol; as negras de caza vendo-os nùs, queimados, ou fallando mais ao certo, assados, e disórmes, começáraõ a levantar hum grande pranto, recebendo-os com lagrimas e amor, como se foraõ Portuguezas; deraõ-lhe a cear do que tinhaõ, arroz, e bredos, que para elles foy banquete. Dellas souberaõ como Francisco Brochado estava em Luabo esperando os Pangayos de Moçambique, e que naõ tinha em caza fato, nem mantimento. Desconsolados ficáraõ com estas novas, porque as negras como pobres naõ nos podiaõ sustentar.

Dos negros entenderaõ que encalháraõ com o Esquife entre Linde, e Calimanè, duas legoas e meya de Calimanè. Mandou no mesmo dia Fernaõ de Mendoça, hum Marinheiro no Luzio, em que vieraõ, a Muinha Sedaca, que estava em hum seo lugar chamado Menguananè, duas legoas da povoação do Brochado, mandandolhe dizer, como chegáraõ alli perdidos, que cumpria a serviço de Sua Magestade vir ter com elles, ou dar licença para o hirem ver. He este Muinha Sedaca hum Mouro nobre natural de Quiloa, irmão de Muinha Mafemedede, tyranno de Angora; vive neste rio de Calimanè como vassallo d'ElRey de Portugal, e he rico. Vindo a noite bateraõ à porta, onde os Portuguezes estavaõ, dizendo que abrissem, que estava alli ElRey. Era este hum Mouro Xequede de huma Aldea, a que os seos chamavaõ Rey; com elle vinha hum seo irmão chamado Mocata, muito conhecido dos Portuguezes, os quaes como souberaõ, que naõ tinha dado à Cõsta perto dalli a Nao, trazendo o tino mais em roubar, que vizitar, como fizeraõ na Nao S. Luis, quando naquella paragem deo à Cõsta, detiveraõ-se muito pouco, fazendo muitos complimentos fingidos.

Pela manhã chegou Muinha Sedaca com o Marinheiro que fora ter com elle. Trouxe vestido para o Capitaõ mòr, camiza, calçoens, cabaya, e çapatos, e dous caçopos de arroz para todos. Deose ordem com que partissem logo dous homens, hum a Sena, outro a Luabo a avizar o Capitaõ de Sena, e a Francisco Brochado de sua perdição, pedir-lhes roupa, e favor para estes homens hirem. Deo Muinha Sedaca duas almadias, que logo partiraõ. Dahi a vinte dias chegou Manoel Brochado filho de Francisco Brochado em huma almadia para os levar a Luabo, dizendo-lhes da parte de seo Pay, que se fossem para Luabo, porque ao presente elle naõ tinha roupa, mas que tinha já despedida huma almadia a



Sena a trazer hum caixaõ com vestidos que lá tinha, com que os proveria a todos, e que entre-tanto mandava a Fernão de Mendouça hum vestido, e hum ferragoilo. Apoz o filho de Francisco Brochado chegou Martim Simoens morador em Sena com recado do Capitaõ da terra, que se fossem para lá se lhes parecesse bem, ou esperassem em Calimanè os Pangayos de Moçambique, por Sena estar entaõ muito doentia, e que se esperassem os Pangayos, os proveria de fato para se vestirem, e camizas: e por entre-tanto mandou para todos hum bahar de fato. O Capitaõ mòr estava sangrado a este tempo seis vezes, e por este respeito quiz antes hir a Sena para se purgar.

Ao outro dia se partiraõ todos nas duas almadias, e chegando onde o rio se divide em dous braços, apartaraõ-se Fernão de Mendouça, Martim Simoens, com sinco mais dos da companhia para Sena; o Mestre com os mais para Luabo em companhia de Manoel Brochado; onde chegados, Francisco Brochado os vestio logo, e agazalhou com o amor com que tambem recolheo aos da jangada, como fica dito. Salvaraõ-se no Esquife dezoito pessoas, Fernão de Mendouça Capitaõ mòr, Manoel Gonçalves Mestre, Manoel Rodrigues passageiro, Dinis Ramos barbeiro da Nao, Vicente Jorge criado de Fernão de Mendouça, Vicente moço de nove annos, Antonio Gonçalves Estrinqueiro, doze Marinheiros, Alvaro Rodrigues Negraõ, Andrè Martins, Antonio Neto, Balthezar Vicente, Lazaro Luis, Luis Gonçalves, Manoel Rodrigues, Miguel Falcaõ, Bento Ribeiro, Manoel Gonçalves, Pero Franco, Pero Carvalho, que depois falleceo em Sena. Este foy o successo do Esquife, e dos que nelle se salvãõ. Em Luabo estiveraõ todos, assim os do batel, como a mayor parte dos do Esquife, e os da jangada oito dias muito bem tratados de Francisco Brochado, do qual he bem se diga alguma couza, pela magnificencia e largueza com que se houve com todos os Portuguezes, que escapãõ do naufragio da Nao Santiago, merecendo certo pelas grandes obras que lhes fez, seos devidos louvores, e avantajadas mercês de Sua Magestade.

Francisco Brochado he natural da Villa de Amarante, da honrada Familia dos Brochados, foy criado do Infante D. Luis, ha trinta annos que està neste Rio de Cuama, do qual he Guardamòr, e traz todo o maneyo, e fabrica delle, porque todas as embarcaçoens, que nelle ha, saõ duas, excepto alguns couches de negros muy pequenos; esta concertado com os Capitães de

Sofala no frete dos seus Navios, que são dezaseis, a hum tanto por monção; tem grande caza, e familia de escravos, com todos os Officiaes que lhe são necessarios, cativos seus; reside conforme as monções, em Luabo, e em Calimanè, e em ambas as partes tem cazas, e povoações suas; pudèra ser hum homem muito rico, mas he tão bom, e largo de condição, que não he possivel ajuntar fazenda. Em todas as perdições de Naos deo sempre do seo liberalmente aos que dellas escaparaõ, achando todos nelle grande acolhimento, e favor. Nem ha Capitaõ de Sofala ou Ormuz, que com tanta largueza de condição acudisse, e remediasse as necessidades, que lhe representassem, como elle; porque elle foy o que vestio, e deo todo o mais necessario aos da jangada do Sota-Piloto, e os resgatou à sua custa; assim se houve com os do Esquife, que se foraõ para elle, e não vestio aos que se salvaraõ no batel, porque em Luranga, estando ainda no rio sobre ferro, houve quem os vestio a todos, que foy hum dos que se salvaraõ do naufragio, o qual como nisto não pretendeo mais que o serviço de Deos, e em outros gastos que fez com a mesma gente, quiz por sua modestia que delle neste tratado se não fizesse menção.

Continuando os louvores de Francisco Brochado, elle sustentou a todos em sua caza, dandolhes meza esplendida de tudo o que na terra podia haver; havia dia que mandava matar sincoenta gallinhas: os enfermos mandou curar com tanto amor, e cuidando como se foraõ seus filhos ou irmaõs, soffrendo com grande brandura os remoques dos doentes, que são nelles muy ordinarios, e de taes doentes, como aquelles que tinhaõ passados os trabalhos que se contaõ. Aconteceo que dezejando hum enfermo huma talhada de lombo de vaca, elle mandou logo comprar huma a hum mouro, a troco de duas que lhe ficou de dar em Sena, só por acudir ao dezejo do enfermo, fazendolhes outros regalos, e mimos que se não particularizaõ.

De Luabo se partiraõ a mayor parte dos que alli se acharaõ para Sena, Domingo dezaseis de Novembro, ficando com os que não foraõ, Manoel Brochado para os agazalhar, e levar comsigo a Calimanè em hum Pangayo que alli estava, porque de Sena haviaõ de hir a Calimanè, e dahi a Moçambique. Partiraõ em duas embarcações com que se neste rio navega, a que chamaõ Luzios: são do comprimento das barcas de Cascaes, mas muito razas, tem no meyo armada huma caza, em que vay metida a fazenda que se leva para Sena; sobre esta caza se arma outra, em

que dorme, e se agazalha o Portuguez que vay no Luzio. Cabem neste camarõte duas e tres pessoas; desta camera de cima sahe huma varanda, em que vaõ dous Marinheiros, que tem cuidado das escotas, e nella estaõ tambem os Portuguezes: como a calma passa he aprazivel estancia; porque della vaõ vendo o rio, e tomando o fresco de tarde e manhãa; tem estas embarçaõens huma só vela redonda, he de esteira, que elles tem por melhor, que a de panno, de que usamos: da caza para a popa se rema com quatro, e sinco remos por banda, ou vaõ às varas: na proa vay sempre o Mocadaõ, que he o Arraes da embarçaõ, com huma vara nas mãos, assim para endireitar, e botar o Luzio, como para espantar os Cavallos marinhos, que lhe não chegem.

Este rio, a que os Portuguezes chamaõ Cuama, he hum dos famosos da Ethiopia, e que pelas notaveis couzas que em si tem, pôde competir com os taõ celebrados rios Ganges, e Nilo: não se lhe sabe principio, e nascimento; dizem alguns que nasce das fontes de que corre e sahe o Nilo; entra no mar com dous braços: o do rio a que chamaõ o Grande, he Luabo, que está dezanove grãos escaços da banda do Sul: o do pequeno he Calimanè, que está em dezoito grãos menos hum quarto. Pela terra de Luabo sahe com tanto impeto a agoa, que affirmaõ, que sete, ou oito legoas ao mar se toma muitas vezes agoa doce nas vazantes: nas enchentes não entra por elle a agoa salgada mais que por espaço de sinco legoas: começa-se a dividir nestes dous braços trinta legoas das Barras nas terras de Quipango. Entre estes dous braços do rio ha huma Ilha chamada Chingomà, e assim se chama tambem hum Senhor que possue a mayor parte della. Pela Barra de Luabo se navega de Veraõ, e de Inverno; pela de Calimanè, que he o Rio pequeno, só de Fevereiro athè Julho: todo elle se navega para cima a Lesnoroèste, inda que por razaõ das vòltas, que vay dando, muitas vezes a Suduèste, e a Noroèste. O fundo he de area com muitos madeiros, e muy grossos cravados nella: este he hum dos mayores perigos que este rio tem, porque como he de grandes correntes, vem por elle abaixo as embarçaõens muito aviadas, e dando muitas vezes nestes madeiros, que a agoa escaçamente cobre, soçobraõ: o rio tem bastante largura, e no mais estreito hum terço de legoa: tem de huma, e outra parte muito arvoredado silvestre: as suas mayores eheyas saõ em Março, Abril, sem neste tempo haver chuvas, nem neves, que se desfaçaõ; por onde se presume, que vem de muito

longe, e se lhe dà a mesma causa, que attribuem às enchentes do Rio Nilo.

Criaõ-se neste rio muitos Cocodrilhos, que são os Lagartos aquaticos, muito mayores dos que se criaõ no Nilo; e alguns, dizem os negros, que são taõ grandes que parece incrivel, por onde senaõ escreve aqui sua grandeza. He bicho cruelissimo, na caça muito sagàs quando quer tomar algum negro; porque em Sena acontece às negras que vão lavar, ou tomar agoa ao rio, naõ nos verem, nem sentirem (taõ agachados e cozidos estaõ com a area) e dando com o cabo subitamente cingem a preza, levandoa atràs de si; e depois de se mergulharem abaixo, tornaõ outra vez a surgir com ella, e mostralla de algum penedo; e depois de estarem assim hum pouco, tornaõ-se a mergulhar com ella; e os negros dizem que os Lagartos fazem isto para os mais magoar. Os negros tomaõ alguns pequenos nas redes, que logo mataõ, e comem com muita festa, em vingança dos danos que delles recebem. Na terra ha outros Lagartos grandes, de sinco, seis, oito athè dês pès de comprido, que vão beber ao rio, e dizem os negros, que tem ajuntamento cõ os aquaticos e terrestes. Vindo pelo rio abaixo de Sena para Calimanè tomou Francisco Brochado hum vivo, e o levantou pelo cabo no ar, e depois o matàraõ os negros: tem estes da terra a lingoa negra, e farpada, o que os Cocodrilhos, naõ tem: os Cafres tambem comem estes. Ha neste rio muitos Cavallos marinhos muito grandes, e de feyo aspecto; tem os pès taõ grandes como de Elefantes, as pernas curtas, o corpo disfórme, e que ao longe parece de Badà; tem a bocca muito grande, e rasgada, a cor he parda, que tira a preto, como a de Lobos marinhos; só de Cavallo tem o pescoço, com grande cacho, orelhas, e rincho. Arremetem às embarçaõens, e muitas vezes as viraõ; por onde o Modacaõ vay sempre com muito tento batendo a agoa com huma vara para os espantar, e desta maueira os afasta da embarçaõ.

Tem este rio muito pescado, sessenta legoas pela terra dentro se comem caçoens taõ grandes como os de Portugal; os de Cuama são meliores e mais gostosos, e taõ saõs, que se daõ a doentes, ainda que estejaõ com febres; os Portuguezes lhe chamaõ Violas, e tem humas espinhas ou ossos largos de hum palmo, de dous de comprimento, como espadas, que lhe sahem das cabeças, com que se encontrarem a qualquer outro peixe, naõ ha duvida que o atravessem da outra parte. Sobem estes caçoens como cento e

vinte legoas pelo rio acima athè Thetè, e dizem os negros, que passãõ de Thetè.

Ha em Sena, e por todo o rio outros peixes, que chamaõ Cabozes, pouco menores que Pescadas, tambem se daõ a doentes, saõ de melhor gosto que Pescadas. Todo o outro pescado pela mayor parte se parece mais com o do mar, que com o dos rios. He muy povoado este rio, assim da banda do Bororò, que he da parte direita rio acima, como da banda do Motonga, que he a parte esquerda: as terras que saõ regadas deste rio, saõ fertiles, e muy abundantes de arroz, milho, feijoens, e outros legumes, que se por alli colhem: tem muitos figos como os da India, muito gado, e gallinhas, e taõ baratas, que por hum panno, que val dous tostoens, daõ pelo menos dês gallinhas, e muitas vezes doze, e quinze. Tem muita caça, assim ao longo do rio, como pela terra dentro, de Patos, Adens, e outras Aves, Bufaras Gazellas, Merùs. Criaõ-se por aqui muitos Elefantes, Leoens, Tigres, e muitos outros animaes, e bichos, tantos, que andaõ em bandos pascendo.

Metem-se neste rio outros muitos caudaes: dês legoas antes de Sena se mete o Chiri, braço de Luabo, rio celebre na Còsta; na bocca do Chiri se comèça a Ilha de Inhagoma, he muito plana, e muito abastada de mantimentos, terà dês legoas de comprido, e no mais largo legoa e meya. Outras muitas Ilhas ha neste rio, e em outros mais pequenos. A principal Ilha destes he Chingomà, de que atràs disse. Daqui passa o rio por Sena povoaçãõ dos Portuguezes, sessenta legoas das Barras de Sena còrre ao Reyno de Mongas, dividindo pelo meyo as Serras de Lupatà. Entre Mongas, e as nossas terras de Thetè, recolhe em si o famoso rio de Chireira, no qual tambem se metem o Cabreze, e Mavoso, rios em que se acha muito ouro, por cujo respeito saõ muito nomeados; daqui vay a Thetè, povoaçãõ, e Fòrte dos Portuguezes; e cento e vinte legoas das Barras do Reyno de Inhabazòè, que Manamotapa conquistou, e repartio entre alguns vassallos seos, dando aos Portuguezes huma boa parte, que saõ as terras, que reconhecem aos Portuguezes. De Thetè se navega athè o Reyno de Sacumbè, donde por espaço de vinte e quatro legoas athè entrar no Reyno de Chicovà, onde estaõ as minas da prata taõ desejadas dos nossos, se deixa de navegar pela muita penedia que nelle ha, por onde vay quebrando com grandes correntes, e susurro: daqui por diante he navegavel, posto que

se não sabe athè onde. Isto he o que se pòde saber dos Portuguezes do rio de Cuama.

Tornando ao Itinerario da gente do Naufragio: partiraõ, como se disse de Luabo a dezaseis de Novembro, chegãraõ a Sena aos vinte e sinco do mesmo mez, onde foraõ agazalhados com muito amor dos Portuguezes, que estavaõ em Sena. Antes de chegarem a Sena veyo Joaõ Rodrigues nella morador com recado, e ordem de Fernaõ de Mendoga, para os hir buscar a Luranga, trazia roupa feita, que deo de sua parte a todos. E nisto, e em tudo o mais procedeo Fernaõ de Mendoga como bom Fidalgo. Sena he povoação de Portuguezes nas terras de Inhamioy, tem hum Forte, que se chama S. Marçal, com Capitaõ, Soldados, e artelharía, e ainda que pequeno, e de pouco presidio, basta com tudo para ter enfreados e sujeitos os negros, os quaes cercando-o huma vez, desistindo da empreza se retirãraõ com muito dano seo. A terra he muy abastada: tem muito gado, gallinhas muito baratas, como fica dito: he muy doentia, os moradores della parecem homens doentes de maleitas, sem cor no rosto de vivos, todos tem baço, e os mais delles saõ tocados destes males, e tudo isto faz soffrer a sede de ouro, que aqui se vay buscar. Tudo o que lhes vem do Reyno ou da India, como farinha, azeite, conservas, roupa, he a pezo de ouro, e o vinho muito mais.

No tempo que aqui chegãraõ os Portuguezes do Naufragio da Nao Santiago, sendo monçaõ, em que as couzas valiaõ mais baratas, se vendia huma canada de vinho por sinco meticaës, que saõ seis cruzados de ouro, e por esta conta vinha a valer a pipa de vinho mil e oito centos e dois cruzados de ouro. Valia a canada de uraca, ainda que muito mã, a dous meticaës, que sahia a pipa por sete centos quarenta e nove cruzados de ouro. Valia hum barril de farinha de seis almudes, corrompida, e de mão cheiro, trinta meticaës, que fazem trinta e seis cruzados. Os doces custaõ tanto, que he incrível. De Sena partiraõ para Calimanè a vinte e sete de Dezembro a segunda oitava do Natal; puzeraõ no caminho quinze dias, chegãraõ a Calimanè a dèz de Janeiro, onde estiverãõ vinte e tres dias esperando tempo. Em Calimanè se embarcãraõ quarta feira tres de Fevereiro, chegãraõ a Moçambique a vinte e hum do mesmo mez. Sahidos em terra foraõ todos de joelhos em Procissaõ a Nossa Senhora do Baluarte, que assim o tinhaõ promettido por vòto, que os do batel fizeraõ; acompanhou-os o povo todo, o Vigario da Igreja Matriz, e os Padres de S.

Domingos, onde postrados por terra com muitas lagrimas deraõ as devidas graças a Deos, e a Nossa Senhora, que de tantos perigos os salváraõ.

[*English translation of the foregoing.*]

### EXTRACTS

FROM THE ACCOUNT OF

### THE WRECK OF THE SHIP *SANTIAGO*.

The next day, Sunday the 8th of the month (September), he arrived at Luabo, where Francisco Brochado was, who received him with the same love and welcome as he showed to all those who escaped from that shipwreck, entertaining them more like a father than a friend. Thence Francisco Brochado immediately sent two negroes, one to Sena for cloth for the ransom of those remaining at Linde, the other with provisions and all things necessary for those at Linde, that they might recover their strength; and the cloth from Sena being delayed, he sent them a further supply. The cloth having arrived, he sent for them directly, and they reached Luabo the 22nd of September, happy to find themselves at liberty and in the company of Portuguese. Francisco Brochado sheltered and clothed them, and made them many presents as they all declared. It was afterwards known that the raft ran ashore two leagues from Linde between Quilimané and Old Cuama. This was the fate of the raft of the under pilot and the people who embarked upon it. Nothing was heard of the other rafts, and it is presumed they were lost, or that those who embarked upon them died for want of food, for they never reached land.

Returning to those who saved themselves in the boat and disembarked at Luabo, where they were received with great affection by Francisco Brochado, in whose house were also some of those who saved themselves in the skiff, with Fernão de Mendoça, the pilot, and the ship's master, the events of whose voyage we will now relate. The skiff having left the reef, as has been said, and not finding land, they consulted together, and against the will of Fernão de Mendoça they determined in a body not to return to the ship. Fernão de Mendoça showed

strong feeling upon this point, wishing to return to the ship that the rafts might be made in better order and by his presence to encourage and console those poor people; but as he could not stand alone against the fury of so many in such a case, he was forced to keep silence. This was the reason of their taking this voyage with but little provisions and water, and those things which are necessary for navigation. They had several cases of marmalade, some kegs of preserves, some cheeses, and a flask containing six pints of [orange] flower-water, but no other water or wine; but on leaving the reef they took a barrel of wine, a pike, an oar, and with two more which they carried and a sheet, they rigged the skiff as best they could. Of an oar they made the mast, of the pike a yard, and of the sheet a sail by sewing bits of cloth to it, they made a stay and halliard of a fishing line. In this manner they left the reef. Afterwards they made a fore-sail, the mast of an oar, the yard of swords, and the sail of shirts; and as the water washed over the sides they made screens of a piece of coloured cloth which they took from the reef; the rudder they made of planks which they took from the decks. They carried with them a mariner's compass, by which with the wind south-east they steered to the north-north-west, which course they were anxious to pursue in search of the nearest land, for the skiff was so open that they could hardly bale out the water with two buckets. Their rations were a portion of marmalade and half a quartilho \* of wine a day, the wine was mixed with the salt-water which continually entered the boat.

For two days they navigated with the wind as above mentioned, being Tuesday and Wednesday, and with a heavy sea. On Wednesday the weather changed and the wind shifted to the north-east, and east-north-east, upon which they steered north-west, but presently there came a calm. The skiff was dismasted, and they took to the three oars, with which they made way, there being heavy currents. On Friday they saw many whales, by which they knew that they were near the bank of Sofala, and also because the water was not very deep, but they could not cast anchor, having only a ten fathom line. On Saturday the 24th of the month, at daybreak, they anchored in nine fathoms, and at midday they saw the land, which had not been visible before

\* Quartilho the fourth of a canada which is about three English pints.



on account of a dense fog, but the day clearing they saw all the coast, and the smoke of many clearings. Some were of opinion that they should land at once, and some keep guard, they having been five days at sea without water, having only a little wine mixed with salt-water to drink, so that they suffered greatly from thirst. But the master, who had age and experience, was of opinion that they should cruise along the coast and endeavour to reach the first islands, from which it would be easy for them to get to Mozambique, and not trust to the courtesy of the negroes; he also perceived that if they should disembark there, the skiff would go to pieces in the surf, which in fact it would have done.

According to this advice they cruised along the coast for three days, and at night, the wind falling, they went on till they got into three fathoms of water, where they cast anchor, a copper vessel filled with sea-water serving them for the purpose, and a piece of rope which they untwisted and tied the strands together served as a cable; but this not sufficing they dismasted and rowed all night to keep her head to the sea and prevent it striking her abeam. During the four days in which they thus cruised along the coast the skiff must have travelled more than forty leagues, sailing briskly before the wind all the time.

On the third day, which was Tuesday, night being come, there was a heavy sea, the wind being south-west which is a cross wind on this coast, and the waves rose high, so that fearing they might be swamped in the night they resolved to run ashore. First they recited the Litany, as they had done every night, and then steered the skiff with her prow towards the place where the sea offered the best chance of disembarking, and made for shore at the peril of their lives, it being low tide, the rocks high, the wind cross, and huge seas breaking far from land. The ship-master said that this landing was miraculous, the waves being so high and bursting into spray as if the least of them would be sufficient to dash a great ship to pieces, and how much more a small skiff so ill equipped. Those who were in it declare that when the waves were close they turned aside and never broke over them, and thus they reached the shore in safety and landed everything from the skiff, their intention in beaching it being to set out again in search of the first islands when the sea grew calm and they had taken in water.

Having landed, they filled a barrel with water, which they found in the ditches in a plain towards the interior, and returning with it to the shore, they met a negro with some small fishes, though but few; these they bought from him in exchange for a cap, and sent Alvaro Rodrigues back with him to the village, which was two leagues from the shore, to fetch fuel and see if an interpreter was to be had, who could tell them where they were, that they might know how to steer their course. The blacks of the village, seeing a white man, came joyfully to the shore, carrying Alvaro Rodrigues on their shoulders, he being weak and weary; among them was one who spoke a little Portuguese, and of him they inquired the direction of Quilimané. He pointed with his hand to the north-east, and said that it was close, and, pointing to the south-west, said that there was Luabo, where Francisco Brochado was. They were much consoled by these tidings, for now they knew in what direction to travel.

The headman of the village offered himself to Fernão de Mendoça, saying that he would carry him on his shoulders to Quilimané. Upon this they supped on the fish and went to sleep. The captain lay down in a chest without a lid, which came in the skiff, seeing which the negroes seized upon it forcibly, thinking that it was full of reals, but finding their hopes deceived they abandoned it. In the night many negroes and negresses came from the neighbouring villages, and were disputing with the first all night, probably over the division of the wretched spoils; they stole the sails and other things from the skiff, and they began to dig in different parts of the shore, thinking that the Portuguese had concealed the reals, which they now value among themselves more than the old nails which they prized so much a short time ago; and their digging led to no result but the finding of some cast off swords, which the crew of the skiff had buried in the sand. In the morning when the captain rose from the chest, other negroes fell upon it with great fury, thirsting for reals, and finding nothing in it, they all caught hold of it and tore it to pieces in their rage at finding it empty.

Those of the skiff then set out, going up the coast in the direction in which the blacks had informed them that Quilimané lay, seeing which the negroes leapt upon them, snatching the caps from their heads, and commenced to strip them, and he who did not immediately give up his property paid for his delay with his

body, for they vied with each other which should carry off the largest share, often trampling their wretched victim under foot, which was easy to them, both because they were very numerous and because the Portuguese were so weak that they could hardly stand upon their feet. In this way they travelled naked along the coast, making for Quilimané, until they reached the mouth of the river, having been previously attacked by other negroes, who carried off their remaining rags even to the rosaries which they wore round their necks.

Having arrived at the mouth of the river, they could find no means of crossing it, and understanding that the settlement of Francisco Brochado was on the other side, they pursued their way up the river till they came to a stream falling into it, and a little farther off saw a luzio, which is a craft used by these people. The negroes in the luzio were taking in wood. None dared cross the arm of the river to reach the luzio, because of the violence of the waters. Upon this they saw a canoe upon the river, and signalled to it, but the negroes did not come to their assistance; then they made signs to those in the luzio, who, seeing the Portuguese, the master of it came to them in the canoe, and, on reaching them, asked them in Portuguese where they came from. The Portuguese gave an account of themselves, and he replied that he and the other negroes in the luzio were captives of Muinha Sedaca, a Moor, very friendly to the Portuguese, and if they would say what they required of him, he would do it all. Our people inquired for Francisco Brochado. He replied that he was at Luabo, and only a few negresses were left in his house. Then they asked him if he would convey them over the river. He assented, and then the chief captain and the ship-master got into the canoe with him, and the captain gave the negro who owned it a pair of drawers which he still wore, and the ship-master a piece of coloured cloth which he wore on his head, without which he refused to carry them across.

Reaching the other side of the river, a hippopotamus came towards them, and never having seen one before they took it for the female of the rhinoceros, and in their fear and haste landed themselves in the mud which came up to their waist, and in which they suffered great terror, for the hippopotamus made as if it would follow them, but returned towards the sea at last. Having reached the luzio and finished taking in wood, they returned in it

to fetch their companions, and, taking them on board, they crossed the river, which is about half a league in width, and landed on the other side, and reached the house of Francisco Brochado after two hours in the sun. The negresses of his household, seeing them naked and sunburnt—or, more strictly speaking, roasted and disfigured,—raised a great lamentation, receiving them with tears and affection, as if they had been Portuguese themselves. They gave them a supper of what they had, rice and beets, which seemed to them a banquet. They learned from them that Francisco Brochado was at Luabo, waiting for the pangayos from Mozambique, and that they had neither furniture nor provisions in the house; they were disconsolate at these tidings, for the negresses, being poor, could not maintain them there.

They heard from the negroes that they came ashore with the skiff between Linde and Quilimané, at two leagues and a half distance from the latter. That same day Fernando de Mendoca sent a sailor in the luzio in which they came to Muinha Sedaca, who was at a place of his own called Menguanané, two leagues from the settlement of Brochado, telling him that they had arrived shipwrecked at that place, and he would be doing service to His Majesty by coming to see them or giving them leave to go to him. This Muinha Sedaca is a noble Moor, a native of Kilwa, brother of Muinha Mohamed, the tyrant of Angoya. He is rich, and lives near this river of Quilimané as a vassal of the King of Portugal. At night there was a knocking at the door of the house where the Portuguese were, and voices calling them to open to the king. This was a Moorish chief of a village whose people call him king, with whom was his brother called Mocata, who is well known to the Portuguese. When they heard that the ship had not come ashore near that place, being more intent on robbery than visiting, as they were in the case of the ship *St. Louis* when it came ashore in those parts, they left in a short time with many feigned compliments.

In the morning Muinha Sedaca came with the sailor who went to him. He brought clothes for the captain, a shirt, drawers, a Turkish garment (*cabaya*), and a pair of shoes; and two sacks of rice for them all. Order was given that two men should set out at once—one for Sena, the other for Luabo—to inform the captain of Sena and Francisco Brochado of their shipwreck, and ask them for clothes and help for the men to come to them. Muinha

Sedaca gave two canoes, which set out at once. Twenty days afterwards Manuel Brochado, son of Francisco Brochado, arrived in a canoe to take them to Luabo, bringing them word from his father that they should go to Luabo, because he had no clothes at present, but he had already sent a canoe to Sena to fetch a chest of clothes which he had there, from which he would provide for them all; and in the meantime he sent Fernão de Mendça a suit of clothes and a cloak. After the son of Francisco Brochado came Martin Simoens, an inhabitant of Sena, with a message from the captain of that place that they should go there if they thought fit, or wait for the pangayos from Mozambique, as there was then much sickness at Sena, and that if they chose to wait for the pangayos he would provide them with cloth and shirts, and in the meantime he sent some clothes for them all. At this time the captain, having been bled six times, preferred to go to Sena to purge himself.

The next day they all set out in the two canoes, and reaching the place where the river divides into two arms, they separated, Fernão de Mendça and Martin Simoens with five others of the company to go to Sena, and the ship-master and the rest, in company with Manuel Brochado, for Luabo. Having arrived there, Francisco Brochado received them with affection and clothed them, as he had entertained those of the raft, as before related. Eighteen persons were saved in the skiff: Fernão de Mendça, captain; Manuel Gonçalves, master; Manuel Rodrigues, passenger; Dinês Ramos, ship's barber; Vicente Jorge, servant to Fernão de Mendça; Vicente, a boy of nine; Antonio Gonçalves Estrinqueiro; twelve sailors, Alvaro Rodrigues Negrão, André Martins, Antonio Neto, Balthezar Vicente, Lazaro Luis, Luis Gonçalves, Manuel Rodrigues, Miguel Falcão, Bento Ribeiro, Manuel Gonçalves, Pero Franco, Pero Carvalho, who afterwards died at Sena. This was the fate of the skiff and of those who were saved in it. They were all, those of the boat, those of the raft, and most of those of the skiff, with Francisco Brochado for eight days, very well treated by him. It is fitting that we should say something of him, on account of his magnificence and generosity towards all the Portuguese who escaped the wreck of the *Santiago*, having certainly deserved due praises and great favours from His Majesty by the great things he did for them.

Francisco Brochado is a native of the town of Amarante, and

comes of the honourable family of the Brochados. He formerly served the Infante Dom Luis, but has now been thirty years on this river of Cuama, of which he is the Chief Warden, and is the cause of all its business and trade, for it has only two boats, except a few small ones belonging to the negroes, and he contracts with the captains of Sofala for the hire of theirs, which number sixteen, at so much a monsoon. He keeps a large household and many slaves, with such officers as are required, all his captives; he resides at Luabo and Quilimané according to the season, and has houses and settlements in both places. He might be a very rich man, but he is so good and of so liberal a disposition that it is not possible for him to amass wealth. In every shipwreck he gave largely to all who escaped, and all found refuge and favour with him. Even the Captain of Sofala or Ormuz, who so generously relieved necessities represented to him, did not do so much as Brochado, for he clothed all those of the raft of the under-pilot, provided them with everything necessary, and ransomed them at his own expense, and did the like for those of the skiff who came to him; and he did not clothe those of the boat, because while they were still journeying on the river, some one was found to clothe them all; this person was one of those saved from the wreck, who in this and other costs to which he was put for these same people sought only the service of God, and in his modesty did not wish to be mentioned in this narrative.

To continue the praises of Francisco Brochado, he maintained them all in his house, keeping a splendid table provided with everything that land produces; some days he ordered fifty hens to be killed. He ordered the sick to be cured, and cared for them as if they had been his sons or brothers, bearing with great gentleness the ill humours common to the sick, especially those who have gone through such hardships as have been related. It happened that an invalid wished for a slice of sirloin of beef, and he immediately bought a cow from a Moor, in exchange for two to be delivered to him in Sena, simply to gratify the desire of the invalid, and heaped many other favours and benefits upon them, which are not related in detail.

Most of those at Luabo left for Sena on the 16th of November, Manuel Brochado staying with those who remained, to entertain them and convey them to Quilimané with him in a pangayo

which was there, for from Sena they were to come to Quilimané, and from thence to Mozambique. They set out in two vessels which are used in the navigation of this river, which are called luzios; they are of about the same length as the vessels of bark, but very flat; in the middle they have a compartment in which the goods to be taken to Sena are put; above this there is another in which the Portuguese in the luzio sleep or take shelter; this cabin will hold two or three people, above this cabin is a verandah with two sailors to mind the tacks; the Portuguese also use the verandah in calm weather, for then it is a pleasant station from which they can see the river and take the fresh air from night till morning. These vessels have only one round sail of matting, which they prefer to the sailcloth we use. From the cabin to the poop the vessel is moved by four or five rowers on each side, or by poles. The captain is always at the prow, he is always the master of the vessel, and has a pole in his hand both to keep the vessel clear of shoals and to drive off the hippopotami from coming up with it.

This river, which the Portuguese call Cuama, is one of the most famous in Ethiopia, and from its many notable points may compete with the celebrated rivers of the Nile and Ganges. Its head and source is unknown, some say it springs from the same sources as the Nile; it enters the sea in two arms, one, called the great arm, is Luabo, which is scarcely nineteen degrees to the south, and the small arm, which is Quilimané, which is at eighteen degrees all but a quarter. In the Luabo the water rushes with such force that it is affirmed fresh water is sometimes found seven or eight leagues out at sea at low tide, and at high tide the salt water does not enter it for more than five leagues. It first divides into these two arms thirty leagues from their mouths, in the lands of Quipango; between these arms of the river there is an island called Chingoma, which is the name of him who owns the greater part of it. By the mouth of the Luabo it can be navigated both winter and summer, but by that of Quilimané, which is the small river, only from February to July. It is navigated upwards to the west-north-west, though on account of its many windings the direction is often south-west and north-west. The bottom is of sand, the banks are thickly wooded, and there are great trees in it, this is one of the greatest perils of this river, because the currents are rapid and the craft come down

it very swiftly and often strike upon these timbers, which the water scarcely covers, and are sunk. The river is of sufficient width, and is a quarter of a league at its narrowest part; on both banks there are many wild groves of trees. The river is at its highest in March and April, and as there are no rains or melted snows at that time, it is supposed that it comes from a great distance, and this is attributed to the same causes as the overflows of the Nile.

Many crocodiles are bred in this river, which are aquatic lizards much larger than those found in the Nile; the negroes say that some of them are of incredible size. They are very cruel creatures and sagacious in their hunting when they wish to catch a negro, for it is related at Sena by the negroes who go to the river to wash, or fetch water, that they are not seen or felt, being so hidden and covered in the sand, and then they suddenly strike, and encircle their prey with their tails, and carrying their victim behind them sink to the bottom, and then rise once more and exhibit their prize from some rock or stone, and afterwards carry it to the bottom again; the negroes say that the crocodiles do this to increase their sufferings. The negroes catch the smaller ones in nets, and then kill and eat them with great rejoicing in revenge for the evil they do them. There are other great lizards on the land, five, six, and eight feet in length, which go down to the river to drink; the negroes say there is breeding between the aquatic and land lizards. Coming down the river from Sena to Quilimané Francisco Brochado caught a live one, and held it in the air by its tail, and it was afterwards killed by the negroes. The land lizards differ from the crocodiles in having black forked tongues, the negroes eat these also. There are many very large hippopotami in the river, of a hideous aspect, they have short legs with feet as large as elephants, and a deformed body, at a distance they resemble a rhinoceros; they have large mouths like a rent, their colour is a dark grey inclining to black, like that of the sea-calf, but the hippopotamus has a great bunch of loose skin at the neck, it has ears, and neighs like a horse. They rush upon the boats and often overturn them, so that the captain always beats the water with a pole with great care to frighten them, and in this way drives them off the boat.

There is much fish in this river, seventy leagues inland cacoens are found as large as those of Portugal; those of Cuama are of



better quality and flavour, and so wholesome that they are given to invalids even when suffering from fevers; the Portuguese call them violas, they have a bone or spike sticking out from their head like a sword about a handsbreadth in width and two in length, so that there is no doubt that in meeting with some other fish it could run it through. These cacoens come a hundred and twenty leagues up the river, as far as Teté, and the negroes say still farther.

At Sena, and all other parts of the river there are other fishes called cabozes, somewhat smaller than hake, these are also given to the sick, and have a better flavour than the latter. The other kinds of fish for the most part more closely resemble salt-water than fresh water fishes. This river is thickly populated both on the side of Bororo, which is up the river to the right, and that of Motonga which is to the left; the lands watered by this river are very fertile and produce abundant rice, millet, beans, and other vegetables which are gathered there. There are many figs like those of India, and an abundance of cattle, and hens may be had so cheap that for a piece of cloth worth two testoons they give at least ten hens and sometimes twelve or fifteen. There is plentiful hunting both on the banks of the river and inland, of geese, ducks, and other birds, buffaloes, antelopes, and stags. There are many elephants, lions, tigers, and other animals in those parts, so many that they are seen grazing in herds. Many streams empty themselves into this river, one being the Chiri, which enters it ten leagues above Sena, it is an arm of the Luabo, a celebrated river on this coast. At the mouth of the Chiri begins the island of Inhagoma, which is of great importance, and abounds with provisions; it is about ten leagues in length, and a league and a half in width at its widest part. There are many other islands in this and other smaller rivers; the principal of these is Chingomá before mentioned. Hence the river runs past Sena, a Portuguese town; sixty leagues from Sena it enters the kingdom of Mongas, dividing the mountains of Lupatá in the middle. Between Mongas and our lands of Teté it takes in the famous river Chireira, into which run the Cabreze and Mavoso, rivers which are renowned on account of the quantity of gold which is found in them. Thence it goes to Teté, a town and fortress of the Portuguese, one hundred and twenty leagues from the entrance of the kingdom of Inhabazoè,

which Monomotapa conquered and divided among several of his vassals, giving a good share to the Portuguese, which are the lands now subject to them. From Teté to the kingdom of Sacumbé the river is navigable, and thence for a distance of twenty-four leagues, until the entrance to the kingdom of Chicovâ, where are the silver mines so coveted by our people, it is not navigable on account of the many rocks over which it breaks in great and murmuring currents. After this it is navigable, but to what distance is not known. This is what has been gathered from the Portuguese concerning the river Cuama.

To return to the itinerary of those who were shipwrecked. They left Luabo, as aforesaid, on the 16th of November, and reached Sena on the 25th of the said month, where they were entertained with great affection by the Portuguese who were at Sena. Before they reached Sena, João Rodriguez, one of the inhabitants, came with a message from Fernão de Mendouça to fetch them from Luranga; he brought from him ready-made clothing for them all; in this and everything else Fernão de Mendouça behaved like a worthy hidalgo.

Sena is a Portuguese settlement in the lands of Inhamioy, it has a fort which is called S. Marçal, with a captain, soldiers, and artillery, and though the fort and garrison are small, they are sufficient to keep the negroes in subjection, for on one occasion they besieged it and were forced to abandon the enterprise and retire with great loss. The country is well provided, the cattle are numerous, and hens very cheap as aforesaid. There is much sickness; the inhabitants look like men suffering from ague, they have no colour in their cheeks like living men, all suffer from the spleen, and most of them are attacked by these diseases; all this is borne through the thirst for gold, of which they come in search. Everything which comes to them from India, such as flour, oil, preserves, and clothes, is worth its weight in gold, and wine much more.

At the time when the Portuguese from the wreck of the *Santiago* arrived there, it being the monsoon in which things are sold at a cheaper rate, a canada of wine was sold at five miticals which are six cruzados of gold, at which rate a pipe of wine is worth 1802 cruzados of gold. A canada of arrack, though very bad, was sold for two miticals, which comes to 749 cruzados of gold a pipe. A barrel of flour, containing six

almudes, mouldy and evil smelling, cost thirty miticals, which make thirty-six cruzados. Sweetmeats are so expensive that it is incredible.

They left Sena for Quilimané on the 27th of December, the second octave of the Nativity. They were fifteen days on the way, and reached Quilimané the 10th of January, where they remained twenty-three days waiting for favourable weather. At Quilimané they embarked on Wednesday the 3rd of February, and reached Mozambique on the 21st of that month. On landing, they went on their knees in procession to Our Lady of Succour, to which those in the boat had bound themselves by a vow, they were accompanied by all the people, the vicar of the metropolitan church, and the Dominican fathers, and prostrate on the ground with many tears they gave due thanks to God and Our Lady who had saved them from so many perils.

EXTRACTOS

DA

HISTORIA DE S. DOMINGOS,

PARTICULAR DO REINO E CONQUISTAS DE PORTUGAL.

Por FR. LUIS CACEGAS, da mesma ordem, e Provincia, e Chronista della; reformada em estilo, e ordem, e amplificada em successos e particularidades por FR. LUIS DE SOUSA, Filho do Convento de Bemfica. Lisboa, 1767.

LIVRO III.—CAPITULO XXXIV.

*Do naufragio, trabalhos, e martyrio do Padre Frey Nicolao do Rosario.*

Muytos annos adiante passou à India outro filho de S. Domingos de Lisboa, cuja vida até a perder foy huma continuada tragedia de trabalhos, e desastres, e por isso pertence a este lugar. Chamavase Frey Nicolao de Sa, ou do Rosario. E sendo filho do Convento de Lisboa, era nacido na villa do Pedrogaó. Este Padre despois de ter cursado a India alguns annos com nome de grande prêgador, e vida pura, e exemplar, ouve licença pera se tornar pera o Reyno. Embarcouse na não S. Thomé, Capitaõ Estevaõ da Veiga, entrada do anno de 1588. Chegando ao Cabo de Boa esperanza, acharaõ as tempestades ordinarias que noutro tempo lhe deraõ nome de Cabo Tormentorio, ou tormentoso. E foraõ ellas taes, que fazendo força a todos o desejo de passar, abrio a não huma agoa pola roda da proa, a qual com o muito trabalhar dos mares grossos foy crescendo, e brevemente chegou a estado que naõ avia vencella com muitas bombas. Acordouse em commum que arribassem a Moçambique a buscar remedio, antes que o mal fosse mayor. Voltaraõ em poupa, mas foy o conselho sem proveito por tarde, que tomado com cedo dera salva-

caõ. Antes de sayrem da paragem, que chamaõ da terra do Natal, a não se cubrio de agoa atè quasi a cuberta de cima. Era em meyo do golfo, e a perdiçaõ sem genero de remedio, nem asperança delle. Mandou o Capitaõ lançar o esquife ao mar com guarda pera salvar sua pessoa com os que lhe parecesse, que não podiaõ ser muitos. E posto debaixo da varanda foraõ por ordem sua decendo a elle por cordas as pessoas de mais conta, entre as quais foy o Padre Frey Nicolao. Recolhidos no esquife os que couberaõ, acabou de se cobrir dagoa a miseravel não, e começaraõ a verse lastimosos casos: mas entre todos quebrou o coraçãõ atè aos que ficavaõ em semelhante desventura, huma minina de oyto annos filha de pay, e mãy fidalgos, e gente muito conhecida, bracejando piadosamente nas ondas, e lidando com a mòrte atè ficar afogada entre suas escravas que a cercavaõ. E em tal estado teve sua propria mãy olhos pera a ver, e animo pera se salvar sem ella. Mas não he de crer se não que a força do medo da morte a fez descuidar do penhor da alma no primeiro assalto; e no segundo lhe persuadio, que porse no esquife era tomar lugar pera sy, e pera a filha, e que teria valia pera a recolher despois. Assi o pretendeo logo com gritos, e lastimas, que quebrantaraõ a todos, mas não acharaõ em ninguem piedade pera lhe dar remedio.

Porèm logo se viraõ no esquife outros casos, que por mais desastrados fizeraõ esquecer os da não. Pareceo a gente demasiada pera taõ pequeno vaso, tratouse de o aliviar, e não podia ser sem sentença de morte contra alguns. Foraõ logo condenados, e lançados ao mar muitos dos que pouco antes davaõ parabens à sua ventura, de se verem a seu parecer em salvo, ficando tantos bons companheiros sepultados na profundeza das agoas. Foy o sorverse a não no mar, e a passagem ao esquife tudo abreviado, e como por momentos. E todavia no lugar, que o tempo deu, mostrou Frey Nicolao entranhas de verdadeira piedade, e religiaõ, ouvindo confissoens, e animando a todos: e o mesmo fez mais de assento nas fadigas, e perigos da segunda navegaçaõ: na qual o medo de soçobrarem com qualquer mar grosso, lhes trazia a morte diante dos olhos a cada momento. A cabo de alguns dias foy Deos servido, que tomaraõ terra em huma paragem que chamaõ terra dos Fumos, parte da Ethiopia Oriental. Lançaraõ fora dous companheiros a descobrir se avia povoaçoens, ou gente tratavel. Foy a ventura que a menos de meya legoa deraõ com huma aldea de negros cafres de cabello revoltto, como saõ os mais desta

costa. Mas era a gente bem assombrada, branda, e alegre: e tao bemaventurada, que nunca tinha visto estrangeiros; do que deraõ sinal nos extremos de pasmo que faziaõ de os verem brancos; e polo que se podia colligir dos geitos, e meneyos que faziaõ, davaõlhes nome de filhos do Sol. Seguiõse ao pasmo bom gasalhado, e convidaremnos a comer, e beber do que tinhaõ: e sairem logo alguns com elles em busca dos companheiros à praya. Mas eraõ desaparecidos; que viraõ vento em popa, e naõ quizeraõ perder viagem: do que os descubridores levantarãõ gritos ao Ceo como desesperados. E por naõ ficarem ali em nova, e mayor perdiçaõ, tomada licença dos bons hospedes, se lançaõ à praya, a ver se davaõ com o esquife. Os cafres os consolavaõ com mostras de compaixaõ de sua desgraça, e misturavaõ conselhos naquella lingoagem muda: em que queriaõ significar, que o mar era doudo furioso, e sempre irado, e mais doudo quem se fiava delle: que andassem sem por terra como faziaõ os moradores daquella aldea, e nunca teriaõ de que se queixar. Conselho sisudo, se naõ viera tarde: e na verdade pera os cobiçosos nenhum vem a tempo, como logo se mostrou nestes. Hiaõ caminhando com assaz malencolia, arriscados a ficarem pera sempre sepultados entre aquelles barbaros; acertaraõ de conhecer ambar na praya, e naõ avia menos que montes delle por toda a costa: assi se carregaraõ da mercadoria, como se caminharaõ de Belem pera Lisboa: e carregados chegaraõ ao esquife, que acharaõ surto com força de vento contrario. Daqui se fizeraõ à vèla, e foraõ correndo a costa atè darem em huma Ilha, que conhecerãõ ser das terras de hum Rey amigo dos Portuguezes, chamado o Inhacca: e sem fazerem mais diligencia, poseraõ fogo ao esquife, porque naõ ouvesse quem deixasse a companhia, aproveitando-se delle furtadamente. Foy o conselho taõ precipitado, que estiverãõ por elle em risco de hum novo naufragio de fome, e sede. Porque a Ilha era deshabitada, e tal, que corrida toda nem agoa tinha de beber, nem cousa que comer. Neste estado moveo Deos os coraçõens de huns Cafres da terra firme a que passassem à Ilha a entender a causa de huns fogos que nella viraõ, feitos polos nossos na mesma noite que chegaraõ. Levaraõ duas embarçaõens, em que passaraõ os pobres naufragantes à terra firme, mas com novos medos, e trabalhos, porque eraõ Almãdias pequenas em demasia, e faciles de virar com pequena força de tempo, a travessa grande, e os mares temerosos. Como a terra era de Rey amigo, foraõ caminhando descançadamente

atè onde tinha seu assento: e elle os agasalhou com amizade, e cortezia. Pareceo que eraõ acabadas todas as fadigas com tal gazalhado, mas acharaõse muito enganados. Porque avendo sò dous caminhos pera se tornarem à India, que eraõ, ou ficar ali esperando embarcaçãõ pera Moçambique, ou caminhar por terra à nossa fortaleza de Sofalla: os que ficaraõ esperando pagaraõ a quietaçãõ com pestilenciais doenças, e necessidades sem remedio, com que acabaraõ muitos miseravelmente: os que se atreveraõ ao caminho, padeceraõ fomes, e sedes, e encontros de Cafres de guerra mãos, e deshumanos, a fora oitenta legoas de asperissimos caminhos tomados a pè. Destes atrevidos foy hum o Padre Frey Nicolao, e succedeolhe bem, porque achou em Sofalla Casa de S. Domingos, e Fradres da Ordem. Era ali Vigario o Padre Frey Joaõ dos Santos, que despois escreveu parte deste naufragiõ ouvido da boca dos que o padeceraõ, na sua *Varia Historia da Ethiopia Oriental*.

#### CAPITULO XXXV.

##### *Como foy martyrizado o Padre Frey Nicolao do Rosario.*

Como Frey Nicolao descansou, deixou a fortaleza, e passouse à Ilha de Moçambique, terra sadia, e fresca. Mas como quem veste o habito da Religiaõ e zelo della, naõ sabe descansar, nem pouparse: em lugar de tornar pera a patria, e aos seus amados penedos de Pedrogaó, ou pera a deliciosa cidade de Goa: se foy de novo offerecer às febres, e desaventuras dos rios de Cuama, que saõ na mesma costa, e Cafraria, onde se perdera. Era polo anno do Senhor de 1592, quando emprendeo esta viagem. Nella se fez bem conhecer, e estimar por espirito Apostolico de todos os lugares por onde andou, atè acabar, dando a vida por Deos, e polos proximos pola maneira seguinte.

Succedeo neste tempo aparecer naquellas partes exercito de Cafres, o nome Zimbas ou Muzimbas, gente nova, e nunca nellas vista, que saindo de suas terras, correo grande parte desta Ethiopia, como açoute do Ceo fazendo destruiçãõ em toda cousa vivente que encontrava, com brutalidade mais que de fêras. Porque como verdadeiros Antropofagos da antiguidade celebrados, comiaõ carne humana: no lugar, donde entravaõ, naõ perdoavaõ a cousa viva, nem homeni, nem animal: tudo matavaõ, e tudo

comiaõ, e atè os bichos, como por conjuraçaõ. Eraõ em numero mais de vinte mil, gente solta sem molheres, nem filhos: e como eraõ tantos, e naõ vinhaõ com tençaõ de buscar terras pera morar ao uso dos antigos Hunos, Godos, e Vandalos, e outras naçoens do Norte: se naõ sò instigados de espirito diabolico de fazer mal, corriaõ em breve muita terra, e como achavaõ a gente descuidada, e os lugares abertos, nenhuma cousa lhes resistia, assolavaõ tudo. O remedio, que achavaõ os naturais, era largar as povoaçoens, (que na verdade saõ pouco custosas) fogir pera o mato, e embrenharse no mais espesso: ou ajuntarse com elles em semelhante genero de vida, porque sò assi escapavaõ à morte, e a seus dentes. Tendo corrido victoriosos mais de trezentas legoas de costa, e andando nas terras do Monopotapa: pera com mais segurança senhorearem a provincia, fortificaraõ hum lugar, e nelle faziaõ assento, e sahiaõ a tempos como salteadores. Tem os Portugueses nestas partes duas casas fortes, situadas sobre as ribeiras do grande rio Zambeze, em distancia de sessenta legoas huma da outra: huma està na povoaçãõ de Sena, de que era Capitaõ André de Santiago, outra na de Tete, Capitaõ Pero Fernandez de Chaves. Estes Capitaens saõ subditos do nosso Capitaõ, e Governador de Sofala, e ordinariamente saõ homens de sua obrigaçaõ, ou seus criados; e as casas lhe servem de feitorias pera o resgate do ouro que mandaõ fazer, e he o trato mais grosso de Sofala. Obrigado Andre de Santiago dos males que os Zimbas vinhaõ fazendo nas terras vizinhas, determinou buscallos, pelear com elles, e ver se os podia desfazer antes de crecerem mais em poder, e reputaçãõ. Ajuntou tudo o que avia em Sena de Portugueses, e mestiços, e negros confidentes, e foyse em demanda delles ao mesmo lugar de que se dizia estavaõ senhores. Mas chegando, achou a empresa mais difficultosa do que se persuadira ao sair de casa, porque o inimigo tinha cercado a povoaçãõ em roda de fortes trincheiras de pãos a pique, suas cavas largas, e fundas, com travezes, e seteiras, tudo em rezaõ militar, e naõ como barbaros. Avisou logo ao Capitaõ de Tete, que se viesse ajudallo com o mayor poder que lhe fosse possivel. Naõ tardou Pero Fernandez de Chaves em acodir, porque a causa era commum, e como fazia conta que teriaõ cerco largo, pedio ao Padre Frey Nicolao que avia dias residia em Tete, quizesse ser companheiro na jornada pera administraçaõ dos Sacramentos, e consolaçaõ de todos. Naõ se soube elle negar, como se tratou



de serviço de Deos, e bem das almas. Pozse com elle em caminho. Tiveraõ os Barbaros noticia do soccorro, lançaõ espias fõra, pera saberem a ordem, e caminho que trasiaõ. Como estiveraõ informados, sae de noite caladamente hum esquadrãõ dos melhores, vaõse deitar em silada em hum passo de huma grande mata de arvoredado espesso, e cego, por onde o socorro tinha sua estrada: que naõ podia ser mais a proposito pera o effeito. Vinhaõ os nossos sem nenhuma fõrma de gente de guerra, eraõ poucos mais de cem homens entre Portuguezes, e Mestiços, gente bem armada, mas todos taõ descuidados, e sem cautela, como se naõ ouvera enemigo em toda a terra. Os mais em andores às costas de seus escravos sem armas prestes, nem mecha aceza, nem homem diante que descobrisse o campo: em fim como gente que naõ temia, nem estimava o enemigo: o qual tanto que os vio bem entregues no mato, levantando hum trovaõ de alarida que foy ferir nas nuvens, deu sobre elles com tanta furia, que antes de terem tempo de arrancar espada, foraõ degolados todos os Portuguezes, e mestiços, sem escapar homem. Ajudou a desaventura, que os nossos por virem mais desabafados, caminhavaõ mea legoa diante dos cafres amigos, que traziaõ pera companheiros do perigo, que eraõ hum grande numero, gente boa e determinada: e assi quando chegaraõ ao valle da emboscada, já os Barbaros sahiaõ delle vitoriosos. O Padre Frey Nicolao sendo achado inda vivo, e conhecido por Religioso, foy trazido por elles à sua povoaçãõ, assi como estava atassalhado de feridas mortais: ali o ataraõ de pès, e maons a hum madeiro alto, e às frechadas o acabaraõ de matar em odio de nossa santa Religiaõ, dizendo que os Portuguezes naõ faziaõ aquella guerra se naõ por conselho dos seus Cacizes (que assi chamaõ os Cafres aos nossos Sacerdotes com lingoagem dos Mouros da costa seus vizinhos antigos). Affirmase que soffreu a morte com alegria, e olhos no Ceo: naõ sò com paciencia, considerando como he de crer, que puro zelo de servir a seus proximos, e cumprir com sua obrigaçãõ o chegara a taõ duro passo. Assi acabou sua vida, e trabalhos com mais este merecimento, e com outro, que logo seguio tambem assaz consideravel que foy ser pasto daquellas fêras em carne humana cozido, e assado: pera podermos dizer delle o que se conta dos Martyres antigos: *Obturaverunt ora Leonum &c.* sendo despois de asseteado como saõ Sebastiaõ, comido de fêras como Santo Inacio.

Mas porque he certo que fica dezejando o fim de taõ carniceiros

algozes, quem isto lè, brevemente o diremos, inda que não seja de nossa obrigação. Com a vitoria de Pero Fernandez de Chaves, facilitaraõ a outra que logo ouveraõ do Capitaõ de Sena que os cercava : fizeraõlhe ver as cabeças dos amigos, e conhecidos que o vinhaõ socorrer. Resolveose em deixar o cerco. Mas a tristeza, e horror do desastre fez nos seus o mesmo desmancho, que nos do Chaves. Desordenaraõse ao partir, e (como toda a retirada tem partes de desconfiança, e medo) sayndo tràs elles toda a multidaõ dos cercados, foraõ desbaratados, e mortos, ainda que teveraõ a consolaçaõ de ser com as armas nas maõs, e vendendo bem suas vidas. Passaraõ estes negros despois à Ilha de Quiloa, onde se affirma que comeraõ mais de tres mil Mouros, e Mouras, e despois à de Mombaça, onde fizeraõ o mesmo em todos os moradores, que não ouve ascaparlhes nenhum. Ultimamente foraõ mortos, e acabados todos por el Rey de Melinde, que lhes deu batalha acompanhado de outros Cafres homens de valor chamados Mosseguejos. Assi castigou Deos, e acabou o instrumento com que tinha castigado a tantos. Outro exercito semelhante a este, ha muitos annos que correo a costa da mesma Ethiopia, que chamamos Occidental, porque corre do Cabo de Boa esperança pera o Norte, com os mesmos estilos de vida, e guerra, e com nome de Jagas : e andaõ já no Reyno de Angola, e polos vizinhos. Saõ varas de Deos que manda por toda a parte quando lhe parece, pera escarmento do mundo, e exemplo nosso.

#### LIVRO QUINTO.—CAPITULO XXXIIL.

*Das Casas, e Residências, que a Ordem tem na Ilha de Mossambique, e terras da Ethiopia Oriental.*

Por differente caminho, mas com mais rezaõ, que todas as Casas referidas, pertence ao Sul a que temos na Ilha de Mossambique com outras, que della dependem, situadas na Ethiopia, que communmente chamamos Cafraria. Digo por differente caminho. Porque esta Ilha fica arrimada á costa, que corre do Cabo de Boa Esperança contra a India; por grande numero de legoas, que por isso mereceo o nome de Ethiopia Oriental, á differença da Occidental, que desdo Cabo Verde té o de Boa Esperança, cria gente semelhante a esta em cores de rosto, em infidelidade, e barbaria de trato, e costumes. Esta Ilha he todo o refugio; e alivio, que achaõ as náos de Portugal, depois de longa, e cançada

viagem. Aqui tomaõ alento dos trabalhos, e tormentas de quatro, e sinco, e ás vezes mais mezes de mar. E daqui tornaõ a navegar ordinariamente na entrada d'Agosto com a monçaõ, que entaõ entra. E sem mudar vellas correm novecentas legoas, que ha de golfo até Goa. Disse com mais rezaõ. Porque esta Ilha jaz da banda do Sul, tanto contra o Tropico de Capricornio, que fica em 15 pera 16 grãos alem da Equinocial. Foy Autor da Casa o famoso Capitaõ Dom Luis d'Ataide, da segunda vez que governou a India. Sahio de Lisboa no anno de 1577 despachado por elRey Dom Sebastiaõ; chegando a Mossambique, achou nella dous Religiosos Dominicanos, que tratavaõ de passar á Ilha de S. Lourenço, por outro nome Madagascar, a fim de se empregarem na conversãõ daquelle Genticio, que he innumeravel; mandoulhes suspender a jornada, e aconselhouos, que fundassem Casa ali, que seria de muita importancia pera gasalhado, cura, e remedio de tantos Religiosos, como cada anno passaõ do Reyno pera a India, e sempre chegaõ perseguidos de infirmitades, que a longa viagem causa: E tambem lhes naõ faltaria occasiaõ na terra firme, que tinhaõ á vista, pera se occuparem a tempos em allumiar aquelles pobres Cafres, taõ escuros nas Almas, como nas carnes. Era conselho de quem podia mandar como Senhor, e de quem podia ser seguido por prudente. Foy aceitado polos Padres, que eraõ Frey Jeronymo do Couto, e Frey Pedro Ususmariz. Escolheo o Viso-Rey o sitio pera o Convento, fez demarcar a praça, que avia de occupar, e podemos dizer, que foy delle o Fundador. Começou a obra com felice pronostico polo titulo, que escolheo de Nossa Senhora do Rosario, que he o mesmo, com que a acho aceitada pola Provincia nas Actas do Capitulo provincial do anno de 1579, em que foy eleyto Provincial o Padre Frey Antonio de Sousa, que depois foy Bispo de Viseu. Naõ se teve por menos bem assombrado pronostico da fabrica outro, que agora diremos. Era Mestre della hum Genticio assaz emperrado em sua feyta, e envelhecido nos annos, como no erro. Tinhaõlhe lastima os Religiosos: procuravaõ ganharlhe a Alma com santas batarias, que cada hora lhe davaõ. Respondia Santunayque, que assi se chamava, que seria Christaõ, quando sua hora chegasse. Foy o Senhor servido darlhe huma forte doença, e com ella hum ár de Celestial graça, com a qual, sem ninguem lhe fazer lembrança, mandou chamar os Religiosos, e usando do mesmo termo, com que dantes rebatia as santas admoestaçoens, disselhes, que era a sua hora chegada, e

queria receber o Santo Bautismo : E teve tal ventura, que apoz a hora do Bautismo, lhe chegou a da morte, com que voou pera o Ceo.

Ajudou o edificio huma molher rica de Nação Java, chamada Violante ; que seudo casada com hum Portuguez, Condestable da Fortaleza, deu por sua devaçãõ ao Convento hum grande palmar a elle vizinho : E como se fora mãy de cada hum dos Religiosos, os sustentou muitos annos de todo o necessario. Estas caridades podemos crer, que lhe acrescentou fazenda, e honra. Que assi sabe Deos pagar as que se fazem a seus servos. Porque morto o primeiro marido achou hum homem muito nobre, que folgou de casar com ella. Chamavase Pedro de Sousa Camello : E ficaraõ continuando ambos no beneficio da Casa. De sorte, que a boa Violante naõ era conhecida por outro nome, senaõ de mãy dos Frades. E por officio de gratidaõ, fazemos aqui della esta memoria.

Sustenta a Casa commummente quatro até seis Religiosos, que recebem por ordinaria da Fazenda Real hum tostaõ por dia cada hum. Foy a obra muito acertada. Porque tanto que chegaõ as náos do Reyno, agasalha, e cura com caridade todos os Religiosos de qualquer Ordem, que sejaõ. O que sendo notado polo Viso-Key Mathias d'Albuquerque muitos annos depois, lhe assentou outra particular ordinaria de cem mil reis de renda em cada hum anno, pera effeito de continuarem com largueza, e poder, o que dantes obrava só a boa condicãõ, e piedade Religiosa.

Fica esta Casa imitando o mesmo officio, e representacãõ de fronteira com a Cafraria : que, segundo atraz dissemos, faz a de Malaca com os Reynos vizinhos, e Ilhas daquelle mar. Porque della passaraõ logo os Padres á terra firme, e subiraõ aos Rios de Cuama : e atravessaraõ a outras Ilhas, e a grande de S. Lourenço, naõ lhes soffrendo o bom Espirito, ficar nada por tentar, pera dilatarem a Prégacãõ do Santo Evangelho, á custa de muitas vidas, e perda de saude, por ser todo aquelle clima de ares pestilenciaes, e totalmente contrarios a naturezas criadas debaixo do Ceo temperado, e benigno.

Foy primeira occupaçãõ, passarem todos os Domingos, e dias Santos a hum destrito da terra firme, porque a travessa he estreita, e dizer Missa, e ministrar os Sacramentos a muita gente Christãa, que nelle mora, com grande beneficio das Almas, e como seus L'arochos. Chamaõ o destrito a Cabeceira.

Deraõ segundo salto na Ilha de Quirimba, junto ao Cabo Delgado, sessenta legoas de Mossambique. Era Senhor della Diogo Rodrigues Correa. Persuadiraõlhe, que fundasse Igreja. Edificou o Portuguez grande, e lustrosa: E naõ se contentou com menos, que entregalla aos Religiosos, com doaçaõ perpetua, juntandolhe terras, e palmares de bom rendimento, sem mais obrigaçaõ, que duas Missas rezadas cada semana. Esta Igreja he suffraganea á de Mossambique: E de ordinario residem nella dous Religiosos: polo muito que tem crescido a Christandade, depois que a tomaraõ á sua conta.

Terceira viagem foy a dos Rios de Cuama, e terras de Sofalla, e Menopotapa, atravessaraõ a estas partes, porque em todas andavaõ espalhados muitos Portuguezes, a quem a cobiça do ouro trazia esquecidos da saude corporal, e muito mais da Espiritual. Assi fizeraõ grande serviço a Deos, encaminhando estes pera a salvaçaõ. Bem se diz, que he raiz de todos os vicios, e hum genero de servir Idolos a cobiça. Quasi que tinhaõ perdido o conhecimento de que eraõ Christaõs, devassos nos costumes, cegos nas obrigaçoens da Fé, e Mandamentos de Deos, e de sua Igreja. Naõ avia guardar Domingo, nem festa. Naõ conheciaõ Quaresmas, nem distincão de dias da semana, pera o santo costume de guardar abstinencia nas Sextas feiras, e Sabbados, com outros muitos erros, e descuidos. Tudo remediaraõ estes Padres, prégando, rogando, reprehendendo, admoestando; e de caminho ganharaõ outras muitas Almas pera Christo com sua Prêgação.

#### CAPITULO XIV.

*De outras Igrejas, que os Religiosos de S. Domingos, moradores em Mossambique, governaõ na terra firme de Monopotapa; e do valor, com que se portaraõ em dous cercos, que aquella Fortaleza padeceo.*

Residindo já na povoaçã, que acompanha a Fortaleza de Sofalla, o Padre Fr. Joã Madeira, Religioso antigo na idade, e provado na virtude: foy lhe mandado por Julho de 1586 por companheiro o Padre Frey Joã dos Santos, porque tinha á sua conta seiscentas Almas de Confissã entre Portuguezes, e Mistiços, e gente da terra, que era grande carga pera hum homem só. Partio este Padre de Mossambique, e foyse juntar com Frey Joã Madeira. Como estiveraõ juntos, ajudaraõse muito. Levantaraõ duas

Ermidas, huma de Nossa Senhora do Rosario dentro do lugar : Outra com titulo da Madre de Deos, em hum palmar dos Frades, sitio fresco, e bem assombrado, e Casa de muita romagem : ambas ornadas com toda a decencia, e concerto, que a terra entã dava de sy. E foraõ convertendo de Gentios, e Mouros tanta gente, que só o Padre Frey Joaõ Madeira batisou mais de mil Almas, e o companheiro por listra, que se fez, seiscentas, e noventa, e quatro.

Ao mesmo fim passaraõ outros Padres de Mossambique ás estendidas terras, que lava o grande Rio de Cuama, que os naturaes chamaõ o Zambeze. He Rio taõ poderoso, e grande, que ao desembocar no mar naõ sahe menos, que por sinco portas, cada huma taõ espantosa por largura, e impeto de agoas, que daqui nasceo darem nomes de muitos rios ao que na verdade ha hum só rio, e huma só madre : Como acontece ao Nilo no Egypto, que naõ cabendo suas agoas em hum só leyto, entra com ellas partidas em sete no mar Mediterraneo. Por este Rio Zambeze assim a sessenta legoas da boca tem os Portuguezes hum Forte sobre as ribeiras delle, que chamaõ Sena, provido d'artelharia, e muniçoens, que serve, como de huma feira, e feitoria, pera guarda das fazendas, que o Capitaõ de Sofalla manda ao resgate do ouro, que alli acode muito das terras no Monopotapa. Pera o mesmo effeito fundaraõ outra casa forte, outras sessenta legoas mais adiante, sobre o mesmo Rio, e da mesma parte, que chamaraõ Tete. Ambas estas Praças ficaõ nas terras, e senhorio do Monopotapa, e ambas saõ governadas por ministros, que a elles manda, e poem de sua maõ o Capitaõ de Sofalla. A huma, e outra subiraõ os nossos Religiosos de Mossambique. Em Sena levantaraõ huma Igreja da Invocaçaõ de Santa Catharina de Sena, aproveitando-se do nome da patria da Santa, que o da terra lhes offerecia. Em Tete edificaraõ outra em honra do Glorioso Patraõ de Espanha Santiago. Em ambas acompanharaõ os Altares de devotas Imagens, lavradas com curiosidade, e mandadas trazer da India, e ajuntaraõ concerto de ornamentos, e muita limpeza do culto Divino. E pera espartar devaçaõ instituirã suas Confrarias. Em Sena huma de Nossa Senhora do Rosario, e outra do nome Jesu, pera evitar os juramentos. Em Tete huma de Nossa Senhora da Conceiçaõ, e outra de Santo Antonio. Emendados os abusos, e desterradas as cegueiras, que atraz apontamos, que por tudo corriaõ, foraõ reduzindo as terras, e gente a toda a policia, e boa ordem da

observancia Christãa: De tal maneira, que por sua diligencia florece hoje em aquelles lugares, que são no coração da Cafraria, a perfeição da Fé de Nosso Senhor Jesu Christo, como em qualquer dos bons lugares de Portugal.

Alem das Igrejas ditas, administraõ os nossos Religiosos outras tres, que são Luanze, Mossapa, e Manica, que por todas trazem continuos em seu serviço doze, e quatorze Religiosos. E porque em todas sem differença são os ares venenosos, e inimigos da complexão, e gosto daquelles, que tiverão seu nascimento em terras temperadas: E com tudo os Frades de S. Domingos as correm, e aturaõ constantemente por serviço de Deos, e obrigaçãõ do Habito: Parece justo darmoshe por paga a que nossa pena póde, que he ficar memoria nestes escritos de seus nomes. Assi os pudemos alcançar todos. Os que chegarão a nossa noticia, são os Padres Frey Jeronymo Lopes, e Frey Joaõ Fraústõ: E apoz elles Frey Joaõ Madeira, e Frey Joaõ dos Santos. Dos quaes o Padre Frey Joaõ dos Santos, vindo depois a este Reyno, compoz, e imprimio hum curioso tratado das particularidades daquellas Provincias, e dos trabalhos, que nellas experimentarão elle, e outros muitos Padres nossos. E affirma, que achou por conta de livros, serem por elles baptisados deste destrito dos Rios de Cuama até o anno de 1591 passante de vinte mil Almas: Entre os quaes ouve muitos Senhores de vassallos, que lá chamaõ Encosses. A estes Padres juntaremos outros quatro, de cujas letras, e industria se aproveitaraõ os Metropolitanos de Goa, pera por elles mandarem visitar estas Ilhas, e Costa Ethiopica, que são de sua jurisdicãõ. Foraõ Frey Jeronymo de Santo Agustinho, Frey Diogo Correa, nascido na India em Chaul, o Presentado Frey Estevaõ d'Assumpçãõ, e Frey Manoel Pinto. De todos quatro se sabe, que correrão todos estes povos, e cumpriraõ sua obrigaçãõ com muita inteireza, emendando vicios, e castigando culpas. Sigua a estes Religiosos o Padre Frey Joaõ de Santo Thomás, que foy despachado de Mossambique pera a Ilha de S. Lourenço, polo Alferes mór D. Jorge de Menezes, no tempo que servio de Capitaõ de Sofalla. Era o intento fundar povoaçãõ, e Igreja, e convidar aquelles povos com a Ley de Christo. Passou o mar, comçou a correr com seu ministerio. Mas naõ pode resistir á inclemencia do Ceo. Acabou de doença.

Mas naõ se contentaraõ só Religiosos de S. Domingos do Convento de Mossambique, de pelejarem com as febres pestilen-

ciaes, e mortiferas de Cafraria. Tambem provaraõ a maõ em medos de fogo, e sangue: Quero dizer, sendo companheiros dos bons soldados, que defenderaõ aquella Fortaleza de Mossambique aos cossarios Olandezes em dous acometimentos taõ apertados, que a tiveraõ em grande perigo: E porque o feito da defesa foy de valor memoravel, e naõ toca menos á honra da Religaõ, que da Patria; por ambas as cousas fazemos aqui breve relaçaõ do successo dambos. Em Conselho pleno assentou a Republica rebelde d'Olanda, que lhes estaria bem pera segurar os roubos, que na India Oriental faziaõ suas Armadas, e enfraquecerem o poder dos Portuguezes nella, fazerse Senhora da Ilha de Mossambique, unico refugio, e reparo das náos, que deste Reyno no navegaõ pera a India. Aprestaraõ huma Armada de treze vellas, nomearaõ por General della Paulo Van-Carden, Capitaõ experimentado naquellas viagens, e taõ pratico do pouco poder, e força, que avia na Ilha, que cotejando com ella o que levava nas treze náos, offereceo aos Ministros, que o mandavaõ, naõ só tiralla da maõ dos Portuguezes, mas que desde logo, como de Praça já subdita aos Estados d'Olanda, faria della sua homenagem, se lha quizessem dar em guarda, e aceitarlhe a obrigacaõ. Porque tinha por certo, que naõ podia aver resistencia em Mossambique. Corria o anno de 1607 quando com igual soberba, e golodisse de huma, e outra parte se concertaraõ Van-Carden, e seus mayores, lançando em seus livros mais huma Praça de novo na India, e Governador della Paulo Van-Carden. Assi foy sua, em quanto naõ chegaraõ a tentalla. Passou Van-Carden com boa viagem sua navegaçaõ: Entrou no porto, desembarcou, prometendose vitoria a terceiro dia. Era a Fortaleza mais sombra de Fortaleza, que Praça defensavel, poucos soldados, e esses meyo consumidos dos ares pestiferos, e Sol sempre ardente da Torrida Zona. O sitio hum campo raso. Mas bem disse Antigono a hum, que o advertia, que eraõ muitas mais as náos dos inimigos, que as suas: Se fazeis boa conta, dizeime, por quantas náos contais minha pessoa. Assistia na Fortaleza por Capitaõ della, e de Sofalla Dom Estevaõ d'Ataide, Fidalgo honrado, e valeroso. Valeo sua pessoa, e dos bons companheiros inda que poucos, pera fazer retirar a Van-Carden com mais pressa, do que tinha obrigaçaõ pola menagem dada, e com muita gente morta, e reputaçãõ perdida. Porque os nossos, como gente, que sabia que seus braços aviaõ de ser os verdadeiros muros de sua



defeza, sahiaõ como Leoens de dia, e de noite a offender o inimigo. De sorte, que temendo Van-Carden ficar cercado de cercador, ouve por seu conselho largar a terra, e embarcarse. Mas muito mais graça teve o successo do anno seguinte. Como os rebeldes se davaõ por Senhores da Ilha; despacharaõ traz Van-Carden a Pedro Plens na entrada de 1608 com outra boa Armada, e ordem, que de caminho visitasse a nova conquista, e seus conquistadores. Chegou este a Mossambique, e com a certeza de achar a terra por sua, entrou de festa, lançando Bandeiras, e Estandartes, e com salva de artilharia, como se aportara em Frangelinhas. Porem acharaõ tudo tanto ao revez, que no primeiro acometimento viraõ, que lhes convinha despejar a terra, e porto: E assi o fizeraõ.

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*De Quarta Parte da Historia de S. Domingos, particular do Reyno, e Conquistas de Portugal. Por Fr. LUCAS DE SANTA CATHARINA, Chronista da Ordem dos Prégadores, e Academico da Academia Real. Lisboa, 1767.*

*Do que tem a Congregação para o Sul em a Costa de Africa (em 1706).*

Sahindo da Costa da India, atravessando para a Costa de Africa, em distancia de novecentas legoas, navegadas em hum mez, está Moçambique em altura de cincoenta graos do Sul, terras de Cafraria, em que a Congregação tem huma Vigairaria, e Casa das principaes, chamada S. Domingos. Residem nella de ordinario quatro, cinco, seis Religiosos, e talvez mayor numero, por ser a porta por onde os Religiosos entraõ, e sahem para as Christandades dos rios de Sena, e Reynos de Monopotapa.

Adiante sessenta legoas, viagem de oito, e dez dias, se entra nos rios. A' entrada delles tem a Congregação a Casa, e Vigairaria de Sena, com o titulo de S. Domingos; assistem nella trez, e quatro Religiosos, e talvez mayor numero; tem capacidade para ser Convento. Meya legoa distante desta Casa, se vê a Igreja Paroquial de nossa Senhora dos Remedios; assiste nella hum Religioso.

Pelos rios dentro está a Casa, e Vigairaria de Tete, com o titulo de Santiago, rica, e abundante entre todas as dos rios.

Assistem nella dous Religiosos. Mais pelas terras dentro, no Reyno de Manica, tem a Congregaçã muitas Casas, e Paroquias, Chimpambura, Matuca, Vumba, Dambarare, Matafune, Chipriviri, Loanze, Maçapa, Quitambuize, Ongue, e outras muitas, e em cada huma seu Religioso cathequizando, ensinando, instruindo, e bautizando aquelles barbaros Cafres. Na Corte do mesmo Emperador, (chamada Zimbaoe) a que os Religiosos bautizaraõ, reduzido á luz da Fé, tem a Congregaçã Igreja, em que residem Religiosos, que o mesmo Emperador tem por Capellaens, e Confessores, pedidos com instancia, e tratados com estimaçã.

Na Corte delRey Quiteve se vê novamente fundada huma Freguesia com seu Religioso por Paroco, que promette naquellas Christandades grande fruto. Fundouse outra no Corte delRey Bance, que se malogrou pela pertinacia do barbaro duro, e cego como Mouro. Pela mesma Costa, perto do Cabo das Correntes, está a Fortaleza de Sofala, em que a Congregaçã tem Casa com hum Religioso, que assiste, e se occupa em cathequizar, instruir, e bautizar.

#### TOME IV.—LIVRO QUARTO.—CAPITULO XII.

*O que de novo obraraõ os Religiosos de S. Domingos, estendendo o Evangelho nos Rios de Sena, terras do Monomotapa. Bautiza o Padre Fr. Luiz do Espirito Santo a Mavura, tio do Emperador Capranzine; intenta este nas suas terras a destruiçã dos Portuguezes, que levantaõ por Emperador a Mavura, alcançada huma grande vitoria.*

Antiga ceara, e cultura antiga do trabalho, e applicaçã dos filhos de S. Domingos, saõ os Rios de Sena, em que á sombra das armas Portuguezas, entraraõ com o Governador Francisco Barreto, reduzindo com a doutrina, como elle com a espada; prologo, que já se lê na terceira Parte da Chronica, com a noticia das primeiras Igrejas, que levantamos naquellas vastissimas terras, e fruto grande na reducçã das almas. Achamos novamente continuando os Padres naquellas Christandades, levantada outra Igreja em Tete, com o titulo de S. Domingos em Soriano. Mas passemos ao obrado na Corte do Monomotapa, e Feiras da Mocaranga, de que tivemos, e daremos singular noticia.

Achavaõ-se neste grande Imperio os nossos Religiosos; de

trez principaes sabemos os nomes, o Padre Presentado Fr. Luiz do Espirito Santo, e os Padres Fr. Manoel Sardinha, e Fr. Joaõ da Trindade. Occupavaõ-se no exercicio de catequizar, e bautizar aquella gente barbara, e supersticiosa, quando se offereceraõ ao Padre Fr. Luiz algumas praticas com hum Principe, tio do Emperador, por nome Mavura, homem de coração brando, e entendimento claro, circumstancias, que apressaraõ o effeito das batarias. Pedio o Bautismo, que lhe ministrou (depois de catequizado pelo Padre Fr. Manoel Sardinha) o Padre Fr. Luiz, com grande alvoroço de espirito, e esperanças de grandes consequencias, e poz-lhe por nome D. Philippe. Estimulouse o Emperador Capranzine, (era este o nome do sobrinho, que de presente governava o Imperio) e buscava caminho para a vingança, a tempo, que chegava á sua Corte Jeronymo de Bairros por Embaixador do Governador de Moçambique, D. Nuno Alvares Pereira, que mandava o presente, a que chamaõ Curva, mimo, que os Capitaens daquella Fortaleza fazem todos os annos ao Emperador, em gratificação de terem suas terras francas para o commercio, e passagem para as Minas do ouro, correspondencia, que ficou assentada, (por Francisco Barreto, primeiro Capitaõ de Sofala) com o Quiteve, Rey das terras, que se estendem entre Sofala, e Manica.

Recebido o presente, dispoz o Emperador (barbaridade impracticavel, ainda entre a mesma Cafraria) que com traycaõ, e engano tirassem a vida ao Embaixador: e desaforado em seu rancor, e odio, mandou dar *Empata*; que he como pregaõ geral, para que todos os Portuguezes, que se achassem em suas terras, fossem mortos, e despojados de suas fazendas. Teve anticipado aviso de tudo, pela fidelidade grande dos seus Cafres, André Ferreira, Portuguez destemido, que era ao presente Capitaõ das Portas, que he huma Feira, ou como Feitoria, a que chamaõ Macapa. Detinha-se a este tempo na Corte, mas com o aviso se retirou á sua Feira, e fortificandose em hum *Chuambo*, que he o mesmo que reducto, ou tranqueira de paos muito fortes, mandou aviso ás mais Feiras das terras do Emperador, que eraõ Luanzi, Dambarare, e Chipiriviri, para que recolhidos a ellas os Portuguezes, e Christaõs, se puzessem em defenza contra o grande poder, que os ameaçava.

Recolheraõ-se logo ás Feiras, que lhe pertenciaõ, os Religiosos de S. Domingos, que andavaõ espalhados por aquellas Christan-

dades ; e animando os Soldados contra o inimigo dellas, accompanhando suas armas com as que só podem debelar o demonio, (oraçoens, jejuns, e penitencias) se viraõ resistidos os assaltos, e desbaratados os cercos, com que o Emperador com formidavel Exercito cahio de improviso sobre os ameaçados, em que achou taõ valerosa resistencia, que o obrigou a retirar-se com pouca reputaçãõ, e muita perda. Caso admiravel! Que em hum Imperio taõ dilatado, como o da Mocaranga, (nome commum das terras do Monomotapa) com taõ grosso poder, (assistido do mesmo Emperador) ficassem naõ só defendidos, mas victoriosos huns poucos de Portuguezes, antes encorralados, que guarnecidos, em huma tranqueira de paos! Naõ se póde attribuir por certo só ao valor dos Soldados, nem ás armas dos Religiosos, mas ao Ceo, que esgrimindo as, consegue semelhantes triumphos.

Chegou noticia do succedido aos Portuguezes de Tete, e Sena, e vendo o perigo, em que estavaõ os da Mocaranga, começaram a levantar muita gente de guerra das nossas terras de Botonga, por mandado do Capitaõ, e Governador D. Nuno Alvares Pereira. Naõ descançavaõ os Religiosos ; por conselho dos quaes junto hum bom pé de Exercito na Feira de Luanze, acclamaraõ os Christãos por Emperador o Mavura D. Filippe, e levando-o por Capitaõ do Exercito, de que era Alferes hum Religioso nosso, levando diante o Estendarte da Cruz arvorado, avistaraõ a Caprazine, soberbo, como poderoso, e dando-lhe batalha, o viraõ em poucas horas posto em vergonhosa fugida. Mas retirado ao mais interior da Mocaranga, em que o buscaraõ, e seguiraõ muitos, tornou a refazer-se, e a buscar o campo Christaõ por duas vezes, sahindo de ambas taõ desbaratado, e enfraquecido, que poderaõ os Portuguezes seguramente trazer, e collocar a D. Filippe na Corte, e Throno do Monomotapa, fazendo o reconhecer por Emperador dos Grandes, e Senhores daquelle Imperio ; a que elle agradecido, jurou vassallagem a ElRey de Portugal, com o tributo de tantas pessas de ouro, fruto da doutrina, e instrucçaõ do Padre Fr. Manoel Sardinha, a que D. Filippe escutava, e tratava com veneraçãõ de filho. Assim chamou logo a si, (e nunca largou de sua companhia) os Religiosos de S. Domingos, a que reconhecia causa da fortuna de se ver Senhor do Imperio, sendo para elle ainda de mais preço (como de toda a importancia) o ver-se herdeiro da gloria, que nunca acaba. Para ir negociando esta ás Christandades daquellas terras, estimaraõ

os Religiosos o valimento, não para se introduzirem nos Palacios, ou terem voz nos governos; maxima sempre praticada nos filhos de S. Domingos.

TOME IV.—LIVRO IV.—CAPITULO XIII.

*Continua-se a guerra com o Capranzine. Daõ a vida pela Fé os Padres Fr. João da Trindade, e Fr. Luiz do Espirito Santo. Dá huma vitoria ao Emperador D. Filippe hum mysterioso sinal, que se vio no Ceo. Levanta-se Igreja na Corte; noticia de outras na mesma Mocaranga, e no Reyno de Manica.*

Naõ deixou o tyranno Capranzine descansar ao novo Emperador, que applicado a ideas de dilatar a Christandade no seu Imperio, naõ suppunha taõ promptas as forças do seu inimigo; mas elle campeava já com hum grosso Exercito nas mesmas terras do Imperio, que ameaçadas hiaõ reconhecendo o seu dominio. Sahio a encontrallo o Emperador com mais resolução, que ventura, deixando-lhe nas mãos huma importante vitoria. Ficaraõ cativos muitos Christãos, e entre elles dous Religiosos nossos, que lhes faziaõ companhia em toda a fortuna, sendo esta, em que agora se viaõ, a que o Ceo lhes dava pelo muito que trabalharaõ. Eraõ elles o Padre Presentado Fr. Luiz do Espirito Santo, e o Padre Fr. João da Trindade. Vinha este cheyo de feridas (gloriosos despojos, com que o enriquecera aquelle conflicto) mas naõ se contentando a crueldade dos barbaros de o ver naquelle estado, repetindo-lhe outras com odio carniceiro, o despenharaõ de hum alto rochedo, de donde chegou ao chaõ feito em miudos pedaços.

Ao mesmo tempo levavaõ outros ao Padre Fr. Luiz á presença do Tyranno, que sequioso do sangue innocente, se queria fartar agora delle, em vingança do que sabia, que o Padre tinha obrado na reducção do Emperador novo, e Christandades daquelle Imperio. Mandou-lhe logo que lhe fizesse a *Zumbaya* (que he no estylo da Cafraria a mayor reverencia). Era o Padre Fr. Luiz natural de Moçambique, pratico nos estylos daquellas terras, e sabia bem que só se dava a Deos o que lhe pedia o Tyranno; respondeo lhe intrepido: *Que elle era só hum Rey pequeno da terra, e que até esse apoucado Reyno tinha justamente perdido por tyranno; que ainda que em seu poder se via cativo, naõ reconhecia,*

*nem podia reconhecer outro Rey na terra mais que o de Portugal, como nem outro por Rey do Monomotapa, mais que a seu tio D. Philippe, já filho da Igreja; e que sobre todos, o unico, que reverenciava, e reconhecia, como Rey dos Reys, era Jesu Christo. Filho de Deos verdadeiro, Senhor do Ceo, e da terra, que resgatara o genero humano com o seu sangue; preço inextimavel, com que merecera, em quanto homem, todas as veneraçoes de homens, Anjos, e demonios, no Ceo, na terra, e nos Infernos. E como te atreves tu (continuava o Padre com hum generoso, e inflexivel animo) como te atreves, homem feito de pó, e que brevemente te has de reduzir a elle, a roubar a Deos verdadeiro a adoração, que se lhe deve, como Senhor de tudo? Ay de ti, que como outro Anjo rebelde, e soberbo, te atreves á Cadeira do Altissimo; mas cahir ás no horrivel lago, bramindo por toda a eternidade, como miseravel carvão do inextinguivel lume! Torna, torna em ti, já que Deos te aconselha por minhas vozes, e dobra ao verdadeiro Senhor o joelho, antes que esperar de mim, que a ti to dobre, devendo-o a elle.*

Accendeose em ira o tyranno, impaciente com o que estava ouvindo, e mandou logo, que atado o Padre a hum tronco, fosse azagayado; martyrio em que acabou gloriosamente a vida, e passou a dar a Deos na gloria a adoração, que lhe defendera na terra.

Mortos os Religiosos no martyrio, e mortos muitos Portuguezes na batalha, entendia agora o Caprazine, que recuperava o Imperio sem resistencia. Assim mandou dizer ao tio, que lhe despejasse a Corte, e o reconhecesse por seu Rey, ou cahiria nas mãos de sua ira, ainda ensanguentada da passada campanha. Ao que respondeo D. Philippe, que viesse, que nella o esperava; e tratou logo de ajuntar gente: para o que o Padre Fr. Manoel Sardinha lhe agenciou muita roupa, (preço mais estimavel na Cafraria) que mandada á outra parte do Rio Zambeze, se ajuntaraõ vinte mil Cafres. Achava se o Emperador com alguns Christãos, e poucos Portuguezes; com esta gente em boa ordem, se resolveo a buscar o inimigo, quando ao moverse o Exercito, levanta os olhos ao Ceo, e vê nelle huma resplandecente, e fermosa Cruz, na fórmula (ainda que sem letras) em que já apparecera ao Emperador Constantino Magno. Prostra-se por terra, beijando-a em veneração, e reverencia, a tempo que os Christãos, que lhe faziaõ companhia, lhe davaõ pressa, que não

suspendesse a marcha: a que elle respondeo (juntamente animoso, e compungido) mostrando-lhe a Cruz, e ao Padre Fr. Manoel, que mandou chamar logo, porque hia na outra parte do campo.

Alvorou-se o bom Padre, e accendido em zelo da honra de Deos, vendo como encaminhava os seus Soldados com a mesma bandeira, com que no Mundo triunfara de seus inimigos, voltando-se ao Exercito, que admirava o prodigio, foy tal o espirito com que incitou a todos a seguir a mysteriosa bandeira, e dar a vida pelo Senhor, que lha mostrava, segurando-lhe a vitoria, que investindo todos ao inimigo, que já tinhaõ diante com innumeraveis combatentes, os romperaõ com o primeiro impeto, e os puzeraõ em tal confusaõ, que sem bastarem a defenderse, se vio em breves horas o campo cuberto de trinta e cinco mil Cafres, e os mais postos em arrebatada fugida, acompanhando o Capranzine. Mas o Emperador Christaõ, destro, e Soldado, foy seguindo a vitoria, e naõ largou as armas da maõ, sem expulsar os inimigos de toda a Mocaranga.

Porém naõ tardou o Tyranno, (ajudado de hum seu Capitaõ mór, a que chamaõ *Macamoaza*, e de alguns sênhores, a que chamaõ *Encosses*, que com seus filhos, e mais gentes, que fizeraõ, o foraõ buscar) em se tornar a pôr em campanha, entrando pela Mocaranga com hum Exercito do mayor poder, e nobreza della. Mas os Portuguezes das Feiras, e os de Tete, e Sena, que tiveraõ de tudo anticipada noticia, fazendo com brevidade levas da gente mais robusta, ajuntaraõ quarenta mil homens, em que se contavaõ duzentas espingardas Portuguezas, muitos Christãos daquellas terras, e seis mil Cafres, que das em que assistia, levava o Padre Fr. Damiaõ do Espirito Santo, Religioso nosso, juntos, e levantados por sua industria, e zelo. Com este poder entraraõ os nossos pela Mocaranga, e se ajuntaraõ a hum troço de gente, com que o Emperador os esperava; e buscando logo o inimigo, (que vinha taõ confiado, como se acabara de sahir vitorioso) chocaraõ com elle com tanta bravozidade, e valentia, que sem lhe valer nenhuma resistencia, o fizeraõ espalhar pela companhia, deixando nella dous mil Cafres moços, e robustos, filhos dos Grandes, que o Capranzine trazia, para occupar nos lugares mais nobres. Mas elle sem assistir no campo, como ensinado dos varios successos delle, se retirou com pouca companhia, e menos esperança, com a noticia, e magoa da perda.

Vitorioso agora, e descançado o Emperador D. Filippe, quiz, reconhecido a Deos, que se levantasse Igreja na sua Corte. Assistio á expedição dos materiaes o Padre Fr. Aleixo dos Martyres, Religioso Dominico, e abertos os alicesses, quiz o mesmo Emperador lançar a primeira pedra, o que fez em dia sinalado, levando-a sobre seus hombros, assistido de alguns Religiosos, e dos senhores, que se achavaõ na Corte, e muito povo, que fizeraõ o acto mais festivo. Grande dia, sem duvida, para os filhos de S. Domingos! Verem em terras taõ remotas, taõ estranhas, e taõ incultas, a hum Monarcha, e Senhor dellas, (que ainda que com as carnes pretas, poderoso Senhor, pela preciosidade, e vastidaõ de seu Imperio, e como tal respeitado) carregado de hum penedo, naõ para o lançar com a Gentilidade no monte de Mercurio, mas para avultar sobre elle o Templo de Deos verdadeiro! E soando naquella incognita lingua os seus louvores, como ecco das vozes Evangelicas, que os convidaraõ a elles! Grande gloria por certo, e singular premio, que quiz dar o Ceo á Familia Dominicana, como sempre lembrada do seu Instituto, sempre adiantada em exercitallo!

Com Igreja na Corte começaraõ com mais esperanças os Padres a cathequizar o Povo, de que bautizaraõ muito, e entre elle a hum filho do Emperador, que á petição sua instruiu na Fé, e bons costumes o Padre Fr. Aleixo, pondo lhe este nome no Bautismo. Com a noticia do que se tinha obrado, e obrava na Mocaranga, ou terras do Monomotapa, vieraõ novos Obreiros Evangelicos de Goa. Espalharã-se logo por Vigarios naquellas Feiras. Na de Luanze já antiga, com huma fermosa Igreja. Outra na de Maçapa. Outra na de Chipiriviri, isto quanto ao Reyno da Mocaranga. No Reyno de Manica, aonde já era antiga a Christandade, se levantaraõ trez Igrejas, e Paroquias. Na Feira de Umba. Na Feira de Chipangura. Na Feira de Matuca, em que começaraõ a florecer as Christandades, de que foy grande cultivador o Padre Fr. Manoel da Cruz, por estes tempos Vigario Geral. Muito mais se poderaõ estender naquelles dilatados Reynos, mas saõ curtas as posses dos Religiosos, para a grandeza dos espiritos, com que se sacrificã ao rigor daquelles climas, pela mayor parte destemperados, e pouco sádios, sendo innumeraveis as vezes, que se tem visto reduzidos a extremas penurias, e ultimos apertos.



## TOME IV.—LIVRO QUARTO.—CAPITULO XIV.

*Continuaõ-se as Christandades no Imperio do Monomotapa. Bautiza-se o Emperador, toda a Casa Real, e grande parte do Povo. Da-se noticia do ultimo progresso destas Christandades.*

He incançavel o trabalho, com que os nossos Cultores Evangelicos chegaõ a ver o fruto fazonado nesta grande seara da Mocaranga, ou terras do Monomotapa: porque ainda que os Cafres não tenhaõ repugnancia a crer o que se lhes ensina nas verdades da Fé, como succede com os Mouros, (que criados, e abraçados com sua maldita seita, duvidaõ de que possa haver ley mais segura, especialmente, não achando nella freyo á sua sensualidade, negaça com que seu maldito Profeta a fez bemquista) com tudo tomaraõ os Cafres delles, como contagio da visinhança, o que tambem os leva, e arrastra, que he a liberdade de terem muitas mulheres. E o que he mais para admirar, he que façaõ tanto caso de ter muitas, não fazendo nenhuma estimaçaõ dellas; e a prova disso, como do pouco amor, que lhes tem, he, que não só não se alteraõ, ou se provocaõ a vingança, vendo as com outros, (contra a pratica commua da natureza em todas as naçoens) mas levando-as consigo á campanha, as offerecem, e poem diante ao inimigo, para que quebrada a primeira furia nellas, com as suas mortes se cance, e se embarace antes que peleje.

Nasce desta crueldade, serem as Cafras menos difficultosas de reduzir, com a pia affeizaõ, que tem a huma ley, em que se manda, e obriga ao amor, e estimaçaõ das mulheres proprias, e que na Casa saõ senhoras, como unicas. Menos difficultade ha tambem nos Cafres pequenos, porque os pays (com a duvida de que o sejaõ) não estimaõ os filhos, assim os deixaõ cathequizar dos Padres, de que o mayor cuidado he buscallos nos primeiros annos. Mas pelos de 1652 se vio naquellas Christandades, que já se facilitavaõ os adultos, para premio, e ainda para esperanza dos que trabalhavaõ zelosos naquella Sagrada cultura. Passaro o Sceptro do Monomotapa, por morte do Emperador D. Philippe, que annos atraz o governara com piedade Christãa, (como já contamos nos precedentes Capitulos) á mãõ de Monarca Gentio, e não nos constando o tempo, que esteve nella, o achamos agora sogeito á Igreja, por industria, e de zelo Apostolico do Padre Fr. Aleixo do Rosario.

Achava se este Padre na Igreja, que está na Corte, ou nas visinhanças della. Amindadas as visitas, e as praticas com o Emperador, dispoz o Ceo o effeito, a que se encaminhavaõ; cathequizou ao Emperador, e logo toda a Casa Real, que instantemente pediaõ o Bautismo; dispollo, e fello o Padre, com a mayor solemnidade, e fausto, que foy possivel naquelle Imperio, em 4 de Agosto de 1652. Ao Emperador poz por nome D. Domingos, (que no seu dia lho deu o nosso Patriarca) e á Emperatriz Dona Luiza. Bautizaraõ-se tambem dous filhos. Ao Principe, e herdeiro da Coroa, deu o nome de D. Miguel. Seguirãõ-se os Grandes, todo o Palacio, e a mayor parte do Povo. Foi dia plausivel para aquelle Imperio. Passou a noticia a toda a Christandade, festijou-se em Roma, como Cabeça della, e para immortalizar esta memoria, mandou o Mestre Geral da Ordem dos Prégadores, Fr. Joaõ Bautista de Marines, gravar, e esculpir em huma lamina de bronze o Bautismo com todas as circumstancias delle, accompanhadas de huma inscripção narrativa, em que as explicava; e he a seguinte em idioma Latino:

Anno 1652 in inferiori Æthiopiæ vastæ Monomotapæ Imperator à Fratibus Ordinis Prædicatorum Christiana Catechesi imbutus, interque eorumdem manus salutifero baptismi lavacro, palam ab uno ipsorum tinctus; quod Sacra hæc functio in 4 Augusti diem incidisset, Dominici nomen sibi imponi voluit, spem exinde amplam et concipiens, et faciens, non solos modo Palatinos, ac Proceres ab iisdem Prædicatoribus jam penè edoctos; sed et universa Imperii sui Regna propediem Imperatoris sui, atque Imperatricis Ludovicæ exemplo Fidem amplexatura; nec quoad Optimates diù fuit expectationis eventus, sic librante Dei Providentia, ut quando sub Cancrhi Tropico passim turbata Fidei semina ferè exaruerunt, eadem uberius alibi sub Capricorni Tropico adolescant.

Naõ foy menor a demonstraçaõ, que fez a Provincia de Portugal, como aquella, a que de justiça lhe competia semelhante progresso, feito em huma colonia sua. No Convento de S. Domingos de Lisboa, como Cabeça da Provincia, se celebrou a noticia com a mayor demonstraçaõ Catholica, estando o Senhor exposto, com Missa solemne, a que assistio com toda a Corte ElRey D. Joaõ o IV. de feliz memoria, favorecendo naquelle dia aos Religiosos desta Casa com singulares demonstraçoens de sua magestade, e grandeza.

Bautizado o Emperador daquelle grande Imperio, não só conseguirão os nossos Religiosos ver estendida a Christandade por toda aquella Cafraria, á imitação do seu Monarca, mas pelo tempo adiante deraõ tambem á Ordem, e á Congregaçaõ hum filho, que a não desmereceo, nem pela pessoa, nem pela capacidade. Foy este o Principe D. Miguel, herdeiro da Coroa do Monomotapa, que criado com a doutrina dos Religiosos, e conhecendo o pouco, que são os Imperios do Mundo para quem pelo bautismo fica herdeiro de outro, que he eterno, entrou pelos Claustros Dominicanos a pedir, e vestir a sua mortalha, pedida com humildade, vestida com alvoroço. Estudou com singular applicaçãõ: e chegando, com não menos capacidade, a occupar as Cadeiras, passou á conversãõ das almas dos que o perderãõ Principe, para o lograrem Mestre; sendo o seu exemplo a mais eloquente persuasiva, que se escutou naquelle Imperio, com igual assombro, que fruto. O Mestre Geral da Ordem, Fr. Thomaz de Rocaberti, lhe mandou Patente de Mestre em Theologia, pelos annos de 1670. Acabou os seus em Goa, sendo Vigario de Santa Barbara, de morte placida, como quem se tinha recolhido a ensayarse para ella.

Mas sera razaõ, que demos noticia do ultimo progresso destas Christandades dos Rios, nestes annos proximos ao em que escrevemos. Começou a crescer a zizania na seara de Christo, por algumas contendas, que o Administrador Ecclesiastico tinha com os Cultores della, intentando introduzir outras religioens, sem haver respeito a que era lavor, e trabalho da de S. Domingos, taõ proprio, como antigo, e frutuoso. Com estes pensamentos passou o Administrador a Goa, aonde não surtio effeito a sua diligencia; e voltando para os Rios, com tençaõ de as continuar, se pacificou tudo por industria do Presentado Fr. Francisco da Trindade, que embarcado com elle, vinha por Commissario, e Visitador dos Rios, e Vigario de Tete, com mais cinco Religiosos para administraçaõ das Igrejas. Chegou a Mosse, aonde visitou o Convento, e as Igrejas das Ilhas de Quirimba, e Amiza, e passando a Sena, (aonde fez hum Cathecismo, e Confessionario na lingua dos naturaes, de que se tirou grande fruto) despedio os Religiosos, o Padre Fr. Joaõ de Santo Thomaz para a Igreja do Espirito Santo de Sofala; o Padre Fr. Damaso de Santa Rosa para a Igreja do Zimbaoè, Capellania do Emperador do Monomotapa; o Padre Fr. Diogo de Santa Rosa para reedificar a Igreja em a Macapa; o

Padre Fr. Jozé de Santo Thomaz para reedificar a Igreja do Hongue; o Padre Fr. Miguel dos Archanjos, para levantar novamente Igreja no Reyno de Quiteve. Outras Igrejas intentou o Commissario, que não tiveraõ effeito; mas continuou felizmente o da reduccaõ das almas nestas novamente providas.

Despedidos os Religiosos, passou o Commissario a Tete, aonde compondo novo Cathecismo na lingua da terra, fez fructo de innumeraveis almas, cathequizando, e bautizando assim meninos, como adultos. Foy hum destes o Principe do Monomotapa, filho do Emperador D. Pedro já defunto, e de Emperatriz Vondato; poz lhe por nome D. Constantino: e voltando de Tete, o trouxe para a India, e no Convento de Goa, com o nome de Fr. Constantino do Rosario, tomou o habito de S. Domingos, em que depois o acompanhou outro Principe irmão seu, por nome Fr. Joaõ (de que se perdeu o cognome) que tinha bautizado o Padre Fr. Philippe da Assumpçaõ. Ao tempo que isto escrevemos, assistem ambos no Convento de Santa Barbara em Goa.

Estes foraõ os ultimos progressos das Christandades dos Rios de Sena, em que sem duvida cultivou aquellas plantas novas de Tete o Presentado Fr. Francisco da Trindade, com tanta applicaçã, e desvelo, que pelas ruas se entoavaõ as oraçoens, e se ouviaõ no trabalho; e ordenando o Padre, que nas casas da Povoaçã se entoassem de noite, e de manhã, por haver nellas numerosas familias, (e assim se exercitasse juntamente a devoçã, e a memoria) succedeo hum caso, em que mostrou o Ceo o quanto lhe era aceito. Molestava-se com o estrondo, que lhe faziaõ os Cafres, hum homem dos poderosos da terra, e mandou em sua casa, que não rezassem de madrugada. Mas não tardou muito, que nella se ouvisse huma voz, que claramente chamava os escravos, que ajuntassem para a doutrina. Espertavaõ, e ajuntavaõ se, sem acabar de entender quem os chamava. A repetiçaõ fez mayor o reparo na casa; e fazendo o Senhor della, veyo a entender, que não devia embarçar occupaçaõ taõ santa; e advertido, e devoto, mandou continualla.

Extracto do Capitulo XV., Livro quarto, Tome IV.

Com mais rigorosa morte foy victima da Fé o Padre Fr. Nicolao do Rosario, filho do Pedrogaõ, Villa de Portugal, (e assim filho da Villa, como do Convento de S. Domingos, que ha nella) grande

Prégador, e de vida exemplar, calidades, que lhe deraõ grande lugar na Congregaçaõ; passou della voluntariamente aos Rios, para Obreiro daquellas Christandades, em que se detinha frutuosa-mente, quando acompanhando o Capitaõ de Tete, na guerra, que tinha com os Zimbas, (Cafres crueis, e devoradores de carne humana) ficou prizioneiro delles. Foy logo atado de pés, e mãos a hum tronco, e como outro S. Sebastiaõ, cuberto de settas, que lhe abriaõ mais bocas, para lhes prégar a verdade no tempo, que lhe durou a vida no martyrio. Despedaçado depois seu corpo, o repartiraõ, e comeraõ.

[*English translation of the foregoing.*]

## EXTRACTS

FROM

### HISTORY OF THE ORDER OF SAINT DOMINIC

IN THE KINGDOM AND CONQUESTS OF PORTUGAL.

By FRIAR LUIS CACEGAS, of the said Order and Province, and Chronicler thereof; reformed in style and order, and amplified in evénts and details, by FRIAR LUIZ DE SOUSA, Son of the Convent of Bemfica. Lisbon, 1767.

#### BOOK III. CHAPTER XXXIV.

*Of the Shipwreck, Labours, and Martyrdom of Father Friar Nicolas do Rosario.*

Many years ago another son of Saint Dominic went to India from Lisbon, whose life up to its close was a continual tragedy of hardships and disasters, and therefore deserves a place here. He was called Friar Nicolas de Sa, or do Rosario. And being a son of the Convent of Lisbon, he was born in the town of Pedrogaó. This Father after travelling through India some years with the reputation of a great preacher and a pure and exemplary life, obtained permission to return to the kingdom (*i.e.* Portugal). He embarked in the ship *S. Thomé*, Captain Estevão da Veiga, in the beginning of the year 1588. On arriving at the Cape of Good Hope they encountered the usual tempests which formerly

gave it the name of the Stormy Cape. And these were such that all being desirous of passing it and pressing on, the ship sprang a leak in her bow, which in consequence of the action of the high seas increased, and shortly reached a state that it could not be kept under by many pumps. It was agreed by all to put back to Mozambique to seek a remedy before the evil became greater. They turned the ship about, but the counsel was without success in consequence of being too late, which had it been taken in time would have given safety. Before passing the locality which is called the land of Natal the ship was filled with water almost to the upper deck. It was in the middle of the gulf, and the destruction without any kind of remedy or hope thereof. The captain ordered the boat to be got out in order to save himself with those he might think proper, who could not be many. And the boat being placed under the gallery of the ship, by his order the principal persons, among whom was the Father Friar Nicolas, were lowered into it by means of ropes. All that it could contain being placed in the boat, the unfortunate ship was covered with water, and sad scenes were witnessed: but among all it broke the hearts even of those who were in such a plight to see a child of eight years, the daughter of noble parents and well known people, struggling piteously in the waves, and fighting with death until drowned among her slaves who surrounded her. And in such a state her own mother had eyes to see her and heart to save herself without her. But it can only be believed that the strength of the fear of death made her careless of the prompting of the soul at first, and then persuaded her that by getting into the boat she was securing a place for herself and her daughter, who would be taken in afterwards. And she showed this by screams and groans, which broke the hearts of all, but found in no one sufficient pity to give her relief.

But other cases were soon seen in the boat, which by being more disastrous made those of the ship to be forgotten. The people seemed too many for such a small vessel, means were therefore taken to relieve it, and it could not be done without sentence of death against some. Many of those who a little before were congratulating themselves on their fortune in seeing themselves in safety while so many good companions were buried in the depth of the water were at once condemned and thrown

overboard. The sinking of the ship in the sea and the embarking in the boat occupied a very short space, and could be told in minutes. And yet in the brief interval Friar Nicolas showed proofs of sincere piety and religion, hearing confessions and encouraging all: and he did the same with more leisure in the hardships and dangers of the second navigation, in which the fear of being overturned by each heavy sea kept death before their eyes at every moment. At the end of a few days God willed that they should reach the land at a locality which is called the Country of Smoke, part of Eastern Ethiopia. They sent on shore two companions to find out if there were any villages or people that could be dealt with. Fortune willed that in less than half a league they came across a village of black Kaffirs with crumpled hair, like all on this coast. But these people were well favoured, gentle and cheerful; and were so fortunate that they had never met foreigners, of which they gave proof by extremes of astonishment at seeing them white, and from what could be guessed from their gesticulations and the movements which they made, they gave them the name of children of the sun. To their astonishment followed good shelter and invitation to eat and drink of what they had, and some went at once to the shore with them in search of their companions. But these had disappeared, because a favourable wind had arisen, and they did not wish to lose the opportunity of pursuing the voyage; at which the explorers raised cries to heaven in despair. And in order not to remain there in new and greater distress, they asked permission of their good hosts to run along the shore to see if they could find the boat. The Kaffirs consoled them with proofs of compassion in their misfortune, and they added advice in that mute language, in which they desired to express that the sea was raving mad and always enraged, and the more foolish those who trusted it; that they should always travel on land, as was done by the inhabitants of that region, and then they would never have anything to complain of. Wise advice, if it had not come too late, and in truth to the covetous nothing comes in time, as was soon shown in these. They were walking along in a sad mood, in danger of being buried for ever among those barbarians; they came across ambergris on the shore, and there were not less than heaps of it on the whole coast, so they loaded themselves with the merchandise as if they were going from Belem to Lisbon,

and thus laden they reached the boat, which they found lying still on account of a contrary wind. From this place they set sail, and ran along the coast until they came to an island, which they found to be part of the territory of a king a friend of the Portuguese, called the Inhaca; and without making any more efforts they set fire to the boat, to prevent any one leaving the company by making use of it stealthily. This proceeding was so rash that in consequence of it they were in danger of a new shipwreck of hunger and thirst, because the island was uninhabited and such that after search neither water to drink was to be found, nor anything to eat. In this condition of matters God moved the hearts of some Kaffirs on the mainland to cross over to the island to ascertain the cause of some fires which they saw on it, made by our people on the same night that they arrived. They took two boats, in which the poor shipwrecked people passed over to the mainland, but with new fears and troubles, because they were very small canoes and easy to be upset by the slightest rough weather, the passage was long, and the seas dangerous. As the territory was that of a friendly king, they went on walking without fear until they reached his residence, and he entertained them with friendship and courtesy. It seemed that all their hardships were at an end with such shelter, but they were quite mistaken, because as there were only two ways to return to India, which were, either to remain there waiting for the ship from Mozambique, or to travel overland to our fortress of Sofala, those who waited paid for the ease with pestilential diseases and necessities without relief, through which many perished miserably; and those who attempted to walk to Sofala suffered hunger and thirst, and encountered warlike Kaffirs, evil disposed and inhuman, besides eighty leagues of extremely rough roads to travel on foot. Among those who braved the journey was the Father Friar Nicolas, and he was fortunate, for he found in Sofala a house of Saint Dominic and friars of the order. The vicar there was the Father Friar João dos Santos, who afterwards, in his *General History of Eastern Ethiopia*, wrote a brief account of this shipwreck, as he heard it from the mouths of those who suffered it.



## CHAPTER XXXV.

*How the Father Friar Nicolas do Rosario suffered martyrdom.*

When Friar Nicolas had rested he left the fortress, and went to the island of Mozambique, a healthy and cool land. But as he who puts on the habit of religion and its zeal does not know how to rest or to spare himself, instead of returning to his country and to his beloved rocks of Pedrogaó, or to the delightful city of Goa, he exposed himself anew to the fevers and misfortunes of the rivers of the Zambesi, which are on the same coast, and Kaffraria, where he perished. It was in the year of our Lord 1592 that he undertook this journey. In it he made himself well known and esteemed for his apostolical spirit throughout all the places he visited, until his death, giving his life for God and his neighbours in the following manner :

It happened at this time that there appeared in those parts an army of Kaffirs named Zimbabos or Muzimbabos, a strange people never before seen there, who leaving their own country traversed a great part of this Ethiopia, like a scourge of God, destroying every living thing they came across, with a brutality greater than that of wild beasts. For like true cannibals celebrated in antiquity, they ate human flesh : in the place that they entered they spared not a living being, neither man nor animal ; they killed all and ate all, even the worms, as by conspiracy. They numbered more than twenty thousand men without wives or children, and being so numerous, coming not as the ancient Huns, Goths, and Vandals, and other northern nations, to find lands in which to settle, but rather moved by a diabolical spirit of evil doing, they traversed a large tract of country in a short time, and finding the people unprepared and the places undefended, nothing could resist them and they laid everything waste. The only resource of the natives was to abandon their villages (which in fact are not worth much) and flee to the thickets and conceal themselves in the thickest parts, or to join with them and embrace their mode of life, which was the only way in which they could escape death and their jaws. Having victoriously traversed three hundred leagues of coast, and being in the lands of Monomotapa, to dominate the province with greater security they made a fortified place, and settled there, issuing from time

to time to carry on their robberies. The Portuguese have two strongholds in those parts, situated on the banks of the great river Zambesi, at a distance of sixty leagues from each other. One is in the town of Sena, of which André de Santiago was Captain, the other at Tete, the Captain being Pero Fernandes de Chaves. These Captains are subject to our Captain and Governor of Sofala, and are generally men who are indebted to him or in his service, and sometimes serve him as factors for the gold trade commanded to be carried on, which is the most considerable commerce of Sofala. André de Santiago, moved by the harm the Zimbabwes were doing in the vicinity, determined to go in search of them and fight them, and try to defeat them before their power and reputation increased. He assembled all the Portuguese, half-breeds, and trustworthy negroes in Sena, and set out to seek them in the place of which they were said to have made themselves masters. But on arriving, the enterprise was found to be more difficult than was supposed on first setting out, for the enemy's town was surrounded with a strong palisade, their trenches were wide and deep, with parapets and loopholes in military style and not like barbarians. He immediately requested the Captain at Tete to come to his assistance with as large a force as possible. Pero Fernandes de Chaves made no delay, it being a common cause, and thinking it was likely to be a long siege, asked Friar Nicolas, who had been in Tete for some days, to accompany the expedition for the administration of the sacraments and the consolation of all. He could refuse nothing which was for the service of God and the good of souls, and set out with them. The barbarians had notice that help was coming, and sent out spies to learn in what order and by what road they were approaching; and being informed thereof, a company of the best of them issued silently in the night and lay in ambush in a dark and thickly wooded pass most proper for their purpose, and through which the reinforcement had to pass. Our people came on their way with no attempt at military order; there were little more than a hundred men, including Portuguese and half-breeds, all well armed, but as careless of danger and devoid of precautions as if there was no such thing as an enemy on earth, most of them carried in litters by their slaves, their arms unprepared, no match-cord alight nor scouts in front to reconnoitre the road, in short as men who neither feared nor considered the

enemy. The latter, as soon as they were well into the thicket, raised a thundering cry which rent the clouds, and fell upon them with such fury that before they could draw their swords all the Portuguese and half-breeds were slain to a man. This misfortune was furthered by the fact that our people, for greater comfort, travelled half a league in advance of the friendly Kaffirs whom they took with them as companions in peril, being a large number of good determined men, so that when they reached the place of ambush the savages were leaving it in triumph. Friar Nicolas, who was found to be still alive and was recognised as a religious, they carried to their town, covered as he was with mortal wounds; there they bound him hand and foot to a high tree-trunk and finished killing him with arrows, in hatred of our holy religion, saying that the Portuguese only made this war upon them by the advice of their cacizes (for thus the Kaffirs call our priests in the language of the Moors of the coast, their ancient neighbours). He is said to have suffered death not only with patience but with joy, his eyes upraised to heaven, considering that pure zeal to serve his neighbours and fulfil his duty had brought him to such a pass. Thus ended his life and labours with this merit more, and another very considerable to follow, which was to become the food of these ferocious eaters of human flesh, roasted and boiled: but we may say of him as of the martyrs of old: *Obtulerunt ora Leonum, &c.*, being first shot to death with arrows like St. Sebastian and then devoured by wild beasts like St. Ignatius.

But it is certain that the reader will be wishing to see the end of these bloodthirsty executioners, we will therefore relate it briefly, though it is not part of our subject. Their victory over Pero Fernandes de Chaves facilitated that which they afterwards gained over the Captain of Sena, who was besieging them. They showed him the heads of the friends and acquaintances who had come to succour him, and he resolved to raise the siege. But the sadness and horror of the disaster put our people into the same confusion as befell the party of Chaves, they fell into disorder in setting out, and (as every retreat has weak and dangerous points) the whole multitude of the besieged sallied forth upon them, and they were defeated and slain, but they at least had the consolation of dying with their arms in hand and of selling their lives dearly. These blacks afterwards passed to

the island of Kilwa, where they are said to have devoured more than three thousand Moors, men and women, and then to that of Mombasa where the inhabitants met with the same fate, not one escaping them. At last they were all killed and exterminated by the King of Melinde, who gave battle to them, accompanied by other Kaffirs, men of valour, called Mosseguejos. Thus did God punish and put an end to the instrument with which he had chastised so many. Many years ago another similar army of savages traversed the coast of this same Ethiopia, called Western, because it runs from the Cape of Good Hope to the north, having the same manner of life and warfare, they were called Jagas and traversed the kingdom of Angola and the neighbouring country. They are scourges which God sends into every part when He sees fit, for a warning to the world and an example to us.

#### BOOK V. CHAPTER XXXIII.

##### *Of the Houses and Residences of the Order in the Island of Mozambique, Lands of Eastern Ethiopia.*

By a different way, but with greater reason than the other houses mentioned, that which we have in the island of Mozambique and others depending on it situated in Ethiopia, commonly called Kaffaria, may be said to belong to the South. By a different way, because this island is close to the coast which runs from the Cape of Good Hope towards India for many leagues, and therefore merits the name of Eastern Ethiopia, to distinguish it from the Western, which runs from Cape Verde to the Cape of Good Hope. The natives are similar in colour, heathenism, and barbarous lives and customs. This island is the only place of refuge and refreshment for the Portuguese ships, after their long and weary journey. Here they rest from the labour and hardships of a four or five months sea voyage, and sometimes longer; and thence they resume their navigation, generally at the beginning of the August monsoon, and without shifting their sails accomplish the nine hundred leagues between the Strait of Mozambique and Goa. With more reason, because this island lies on the southern side, so close to the tropic of Capricorn that it is 15 or 16 degrees beyond the Equator. This house was founded by the famous Captain Dom Luis d'Ataide,

the second time that he governed India. He set out from Lisbon in the year 1577 by order of the king Dom Sebastian. On reaching Mozambique, he found there twelve Dominicans, who were endeavouring to reach the island of St. Lawrence, otherwise called Madagascar, to employ themselves in the conversion of the innumerable heathens there. He commanded them to suspend their journey, and advised them to found a house there, which would be of great importance as a place of shelter, rest, and cure for the many Religious who pass from Portugal to India, and always arrive suffering from the infirmities caused by a long voyage, and they would not want for opportunities on the mainland, which is in sight, to enlighten those poor Kaffirs whose souls are as dark as their faces. This was advice from one who might have commanded as master, and which could be prudently followed: it was accepted by the fathers, who were Friar Jeronymo do Couto and Friar Pedro Ususmariz. The site of the convent was chosen by the Viceroy, who caused the ground-plan to be marked out, and may in fact be called its founder. The work was commenced under happy auspices, the name chosen being Our Lady of the Rosary, by which it was accepted and recognised in the Acts of the Provincial Chapter of the year 1579, in which Friar Antonio de Sousa was elected Provincial, who was afterwards Bishop of Viseu. Another omen equally favourable attended the work, which we will now relate, the subject of it was a heathen, hardened in his courses, and as old in years as in error. The Religious had pity on him, and endeavoured to win his soul with pious arguments, with which they assailed him at all hours. Santunayque, for such was his name, replied that he would be a Christian when his hour should come. The Lord was pleased to send him a serious illness, and with it a ray of celestial grace, by which without being urged by any one, he sent for the Religious, and in the same terms in which he formerly replied to their holy admonitions, said that his hour was come, and he wished to receive Holy Baptism, and happily for him the hour of death came after the hour of baptism, upon which he went to heaven.

A rich woman, a native of Java, called Violante, contributed to the building, and being married to a Portuguese, the Constable of the fortress, out of devotion she gave the convent a grove of palm trees which was near it, and as if she had been

the mother of each of the Religious she supplied them for many years with all necessaries. And we may believe that this charity served to increase her honour and wealth, for so God knows how to repay what is done for his servants, for her first husband being dead, a very noble man called Pedro de Sousa Camello sought her in marriage, and both continued their benefits to the convent, so that the good Violante was known by no other name than that of the Mother of the Friars, and we here make this memorial of her out of gratitude.

The House commonly maintains from four to six Religious, who are allowed a testoon each a day from the royal coffers. The work proved of great service, for when the ships came from Portugal they sheltered and cured, with charity, all the Religious who came in them, no matter of what order. This being noted many years afterwards by the Viceroy Mathias d'Albuquerque, he settled on them an allowance of a hundred thousand reis a year, that they might continue with liberality and power what they did before only from goodness and religious piety.

This House fulfilled the same office towards the opposite country of Kaffraria as that which the House at Malacca rendered the surrounding country and islands of that sea, as before described ; for the fathers went from thence to the mainland and journeyed to the rivers of Cuama, and crossed to other islands and the large island of Madagascar, the good Spirit suffering nothing to tempt them to delay the preaching of the Holy Gospel, at the cost of many lives and loss of health, for all that country is full of pestilence and totally opposed to the constitution of those born under temperate and benign skies.

Their first care was to pass to the mainland in a district where the crossing was narrow, every Sunday and Holiday, to say Mass and administer the Sacraments to many Christians who were settled there, to the great benefit of souls, and as their pastors. They called the district Cabeceira (beginning).

Their second mission was to the Island of Quirimba, near Cape Delgado, sixty leagues from Mozambique. The lord of it was Diogo Rodrigues Correa, and they persuading him to found a church, the Portuguese built a large and beautiful church, and he did not content himself with less than bestowing it upon the Religious in perpetuity, with fruitful lands and palm groves annexed, with no further obligation than two low Masses to be

said every week. This church is dependent on that of Mozambique, two Religious generally reside there on account of the great spread of Christianity since they took charge of it.

Their third voyage was to the rivers of Cuama and lands of Sofala and Monomotapa, because in these parts there were many scattered Portuguese, drawn by the thirst for gold, and careless of their temporal and still more of their spiritual health. There they performed good service for God, travelling about in the cause of salvation. It is well said that covetousness is the root of all vices and a species of serving of idols, the Portuguese had almost lost the knowledge that they were Christians, they were licentious in their customs, blind to the obligations of faith and the commandments of God and His Church, they kept no Sundays or Feasts, knew no Lent nor distinction in the days of the week, disregarded the holy custom of observing abstinence on Fridays and Saturdays, and were guilty of many other faults and negligences. The fathers remedied all this, preaching, praying, reprehending and admonishing, and gaining many other souls to Christ by their preaching on the way.

#### CHAPTER XIV.

*Of the other Churches which the Religious of St. Dominic settled at Mozambique govern on the mainland of Monomotapa, and of the valour with which they bore themselves during the two sieges which the said fortress underwent.*

Friar João Madeira, a Religious of advanced years and approved virtue, was already residing in the town which adjoins the fortress of Sofala, when in July 1586 Friar João dos Santos was sent to him as his companion, he having in his charge six hundred souls to confess, including Portuguese, half-breeds, and natives of the country, which was a heavy task for one man alone. This friar left Mozambique and joined Friar João Madeira, being together they assisted each other greatly, they built two hermitages, one called Our Lady of the Rosary, in the town, and the other called Of the Mother of God, in a palm-grove belonging to the friars, a cool well-shaded spot, a great place of pilgrimage: both were adorned with all the decency and order which the land would give of itself. They continued converting so many Moors and heathens that Friar João Madeira

alone baptized more than a thousand souls, and his companion, as appears by a list which was made, six hundred and ninety-four.

For the same purpose the Friars of Mozambique traversed the extensive lands washed by the great river of Cuama, which the natives call the Zambesi. This river is so great and powerful that it discharges into the sea by no less than five different mouths, each of such amazing size and impetuous waters that it is called many rivers, whereas it is but one river, and has one source. The same is related of the Nile in Egypt, the waters of which do not remain in one bed, but discharge into the Mediterranean Sea by seven mouths. Up this river, sixty leagues from its mouth, the Portuguese have a fort on the bank, called Sena, provided with artillery and ammunition, which serves as a mart and factory for the goods which the Captain of Sofala sends for the gold trade, and many resort there from the lands of Monomotapa. For the same purpose they built another stronghold sixty leagues farther on, on the same river and on the same side, which they called Tete. Both these places are in the lands and jurisdiction of Monomotapa, and both are governed by officers sent and appointed by the Captain of Sofala. Our Religious of Mozambique journeyed to both. At Sena they erected a church under the patronage of St. Catherine of Sienna, taking advantage of the name of the saint's country which the land offered them. At Tete they built another, in honour of the glorious patron of Spain, St. James. In both they decked the altars with pious images curiously wrought, ordered to be brought from India, and added proper ornaments and all seemliness in the Divine worship. And to rouse devotion they established their confraternities, in Sena one of Our Lady of the Rosary, and another of the Name of Jesus, against swearing; in Tete one of Our Lady of the Conception and another of St. Anthony. The abuses and errors before mentioned being amended and banished, which before were rife in every part, they reduced these lands and people to all the policy and good order of Christian observances, in such a manner that by their efforts there flourishes in those parts, which are in the heart of Kaffraria, the perfection of the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, as much as in any of the good towns in Portugal.

Besides the said churches, our Religious serve three others, which are, Luanze, Mossapa, and Manica, which are constantly



served by twelve or fourteen Religious, and as in all, without exception, the air is pestilential and contrary to the constitution and tastes of those born in temperate climes, and as all the Friars of St. Dominic traverse and labour in them constantly in the service of God and by the obligation of their habit, it seems but just to reward them as far as is in our power, which is by making a memorial of their names in these writings. Thus we may reach them all. Those who came under our notice are Friar Jeronymo Lopes, Friar João Frausto, and after them Friar João Madeira and Friar João dos Santos, of whom Father João dos Santos came afterwards to this kingdom and wrote and printed a curious treatise on the peculiarities of those Provinces and of the labours he underwent there with many others of our friars. And he affirms that by the numbers entered in the books, up to the year 1591 more than twenty thousand souls were baptized by them in that district of the rivers of Cuama, among whom were many lords of vassals, who are called *Encosses* in those parts. To these friars we will add four others of whose learning and industry the Archbishops of Goa availed themselves, sending them to visit these islands and the Coast of Ethiopia which are within his jurisdiction. They were Friar Jeronymo de Santo Agustinho, Friar Diogo Correa, born in Chaul in India, the \*Presentado Friar Estevão d'Assumpção, and Friar Manoel Pinto. It is known of all four that they went among all those people and fulfilled their obligations with great earnestness, amending vices and punishing faults. These Religious were succeeded by Friar João de Santo Thomas, who was sent from Mozambique to the island of Madagascar by the First Ensign Dom Jorge de Menezes, at the time when he was Captain of Sofala, the intention being to found a town and church, and bring those people to the law of Christ. He crossed the sea and began the labours of his mission, but he could not withstand the inclemency of those skies, and died of an illness.

Not content with struggling against the pestilential and mortal fevers of Kaffraria, the Religious of St. Dominic of the Convent of Mozambique also faced the terrors of fire and bloodshed. That is that they were companions of the good soldiers who defended that fortress of Mozambique against the Dutch pirates, on the occasion of two such desperate attacks as placed it in

\* *Presentado*: a friar who has taken university degrees.

great peril. And as the defence was made with memorable valour, and is as much to the honour of religion as of our country, for these two reasons we will give a brief account of both events. In full council, the rebel Republic of Holland decided that it would add security to the thefts of their fleets in East India, and weaken the power of the Portuguese there, if they made themselves masters of the island of Mozambique, the only refuge and defence of the ships which go from this kingdom to India. They equipped a fleet of thirteen sail, appointing as its General Paulus van Caerden, a captain experienced in those voyages and so well aware of the small strength and force in that island, that comparing it with the forces sent in the thirteen ships, he offered the ministers who sent him not only to take it from the Portuguese but to do homage for it there and then as a place subject to the States of Holland, if they would appoint him to guard it and impose this obligation upon him, for he was certain he would meet with no resistance in Mozambique. During the year 1607, with equal pride and greed on both sides, Van Caerden and his superiors arranged the matter, and set down in their books a new stronghold in India, with Paul van Caerden as its Governor, thus it was theirs before they had arrived to make the attempt against it. Van Caerden arrived after a prosperous voyage, disembarked, after entering the port, promising himself victory on the third day. The fortress was rather the semblance of a fortress than a defensible place, the soldiers were few and half consumed by the pestilential air and ever ardent sun of the torrid zone, the site an open country. But well said Antigonus to one who warned him that the enemies' ships outnumbered his own, "If you count well tell me as how many ships do you count my person?" Don Estevão d'Ataide was present at the time as Captain of the fortress and that of Sofala, a valiant and honourable hidalgo, and his person and those of his good companions, though few, were sufficient to make Van Caerden retreat more speedily than was consistent with his promise, with the death of many of his people and the loss of his reputation. For our people, as those who knew that their own arms were the walls of their defence, sallied out like lions, night and day, to attack the enemy, so that Van Caerden, besieged instead of besieger, thought fit to abandon the place and embark. But the event in the following year was still more

fortunate. The rebels, giving out that they were masters of the island, sent Peter Verhoeff after Van Caerden at the beginning of the year 1608, with another good fleet, with orders to visit the new conquest and the conquerors on his way. On arriving at Mozambique, certain of finding the land their own, they entered rejoicing, flying banners and standards, and with salvos of artillery as they put into port at Frangelinhas; but found matters so contrary to their expectations that at the first attack they saw it was more convenient to quit that land and port, which they accordingly did.

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*From the Fourth Part of the History of St. Dominic, particularly in the Kingdom and Conquests of Portugal. By Friar LUCAS DE SANTA CATHARINA, Chronicler of the Order of Preachers and Member of the Royal Academy. Lisbon, 1767.*

*Of the Possessions of the Congregation in the South on the Coast of Africa (in 1706).*

Leaving the coast of India, and crossing to the coast of Africa, a distance of nine hundred leagues, navigable in a month, Mozambique is reached in an altitude of 50 degrees from the South, and the lands of Kaffraria, in which the Congregation has a vicarage and a house of the principals, called St. Dominic, where four, five, six, and sometimes more Religious reside, it being the door through which the Religious pass backwards and forwards to the Christian missions of Sena and the kingdoms of Monomotapa.

The rivers are entered sixty leagues farther on, a voyage of eight or ten days, here the congregation has the House and Vicarage of Sena, called St. Dominic. It is served by three, four, and sometimes more Religious, it might be used as a convent. At a distance of half a league from this house is seen the parish church of Our Lady of Refuge, which is served by one Religious.

Penetrating the interior by the rivers, there is the House and Vicarage of Tete, with the name of St. James, the richest and most numerous mission of all those on the rivers. It is served by two Religious. In the interior, in the kingdom of Manica,

the Congregation has many houses and parishes, Chimpambura, Matuca, Vumba, Dambarare, Matafune, Chipriviri, Loanze, Maçapa, Quitambruize, Ongue, and many others, each having its Religious to teach, catechise, instruct, and baptize those barbarous Kaffirs. In the court of the Emperor (called Zimbaœ) whom the Religious baptized and converted to the light of faith, the Congregation has a church, in which the Religious reside, whom the said Emperor has as his chaplains and confessors. They were earnestly asked for, and are treated with esteem.

In the court of King Quiteve is seen a newly-founded parish church, with a Religious as the parish priest, which promises great fruit in the Christian missions. Another was founded in the court of King Banoë, but came to an end, through the obstinacy and savage hardness and blindness of the Moorish heart. On the same coast, near the Cape Correntes, is the fortress of Sofala, where the Congregation has a house, where a Religious resides, and occupies himself in catechising, instructing, and baptizing.

#### TOME IV.—BOOK FOURTH.—CHAPTER XII.

*Further Labours of the Religious of St. Dominic in propagating the Gospel in the Rivers of Sena and lands of Monomotapa. Friar Luiz de Espirito Santo baptizes Mavura, the uncle of the Emperor Capranzine, the latter attempts to destroy the Portuguese, who proclaim Mavura Emperor and gain a great victory.*

The rivers of Sena are an ancient harvest-field, cultivated by the labour and diligence of the sons of St. Dominic, they entered it under the protection of the Portuguese arms with the Governor Francisco Barreto, conquering it with doctrine as he did with the sword; a beginning read of already in the third part of the Chronicle, with an account of the first churches which we raised in those vast lands and their great fruit in the conversion of souls. We find the fathers again continuing in those Christian missions, and another church built at Tete, with the title of St. Dominic in Soriano. But let us pass on to what was done in the Court of Monomotapa and markets of Mocaranga, of which we have and will give a particular account.

Our Religious, finding themselves in this great empire, the

names of the three principal being known to us as Friar Luiz de Espirito Santo, Presentado, and Friars Manoel Sardinha and João da Trindade, occupied themselves in catechising and baptizing that barbarous and superstitious people, when Friar Luiz found occasion to converse with a prince called Mavura, uncle to the emperor, a man of gentle disposition and clear understanding, a circumstance which deepened the effect of his arguments. He asked for baptism, which was administered (after he had been catechised by Friar Manoel Sardinha) by Friar Luiz with great transport of spirit and the hope of great consequences, giving him the name of Philip. The Emperor Caprazine (such was the name of the emperor who then governed the empire) was enraged, and was searching for some means of vengeance, when there came to his court Jeronymo de Barros, the ambassador of the Governor of Mozambique, D. Nuno Alvares Pereira, who sent him a present which they call *curva*, a gift which the captains of that fortress make to the emperor every year in return for a free passage through his lands for commerce and access to the gold-mines, an arrangement made by Francisco Barreto, first captain of Sofala, with Quiteve, king of the lands which extend between Sofala and Manica.

Having received the present, the emperor (unheard of barbarity even in Kaffraria) plotted by treason and deceit to kill the ambassador; and grown insolent with hate and rancour, ordered an *empata*, which is a sort of general proclamation, that all the Portuguese found in his dominions should be put to death and despoiled of their property. André Ferreira, a courageous Portuguese, then captain of the *Portas*, which is a market or factory which they call Masapa, had previous warning of this, through the great fidelity of his Kaffirs. He was at Court at the time, but on receiving this warning he retired to his market and fortified himself in a *chuambo*, which is the same as a redoubt or palisade of strong stakes, and sent warning to all the markets in the dominions of the emperor, which were Luanze, Dambarare, and Chipiriviri, that the Portuguese and Christians should retreat to them and put themselves in defence against the great force which threatened them.

The Religious of St. Dominic, who were scattered among the Christian missions, retreated to their own markets, animating the soldiers against their enemies, assisting their arms with

those which can alone subdue the devil, prayers, fasting, and penance, so that the attacks were resisted and the sieges defeated, upon which the emperor with a formidable army fell upon them by surprise, but met with such valiant resistance that he was obliged to retire with little credit and great loss. Wonderful event! that in such a vast empire as that of Mocaranga, (the common name of the lands of Monomotapa) against so great a force (assisted by the emperor himself) a few Portuguese should not only have defended themselves, but have been victorious, penned in rather than entrenched in a wooden palisade! Such triumphs can certainly not be attributed to the valour of the soldiers or the arms of the Religious, but to the protection of Heaven.

The news of this event reached the Portuguese of Tete and Sena, and seeing the peril of those in Mocaranga, they commenced to levy soldiers in our lands of Botonga, by command of the Captain and Governor D. Nuno Alvares Pereira. The Religious were indefatigable, and by their counsel a large army was assembled in the market of Luanze, the Christians proclaimed Mavura, D. Filippe, emperor, making him general of the army, to which one of the Religious was Ensign-bearer, carrying before them the standard of the cross uplifted. They faced Capransine in his pride and power, and giving him battle, in a few hours they saw him in shameful flight. He retired into the farthest interior of Mocaranga, where many sought him out and followed him, and he returned to retrieve himself and find the Christian camp on two occasions; from both of which encounters he emerged so weakened and defeated that the Portuguese could with safety bring D. Filippe to the court and place him on the throne of Monomotapa, causing him to be acknowledged emperor by the lords and chiefs of the empire; and he in gratitude swore homage to the king of Portugal, with a tribute of so much weight in gold, all this being the fruit of the doctrines and instruction of Friar Manoel Sardinha, whom D. Filippe listened to and treated with the veneration of a son. Thus he called the Religious of St. Dominic to his side and never parted from their company, acknowledging them to be the cause of his fortune in finding himself lord of the empire and of what he prized still more (being of paramount importance) his being an heir of everlasting glory. To spread this benefit in the

Christian missions of those lands the Religious prized his esteem, but not to introduce themselves into palaces or have a voice in governments, which has always been a maxim followed by the sons of St. Dominic.

TOME IV.—BOOK IV.—CHAPTER XIII.

*Continuation of the war with Capranzine. Friar João da Trindade and Friar Luiz do Espirito Santo give their lives for the faith. A mysterious sign in the heavens gives a victory to the Emperor D. Filippe. A church is built in the court; account of others in the said Mocaranga and the kingdom of Manica.*

The tyrant Capranzine left the new emperor no time to rest, who, occupied with plans for spreading Christianity in his kingdom, had not supposed his enemy's forces would be so ready, but he was encamped with a large army in the territories of the empire, which, thus threatened, were gradually yielding to his dominion. The emperor went out to meet him with greater courage than fortune, leaving an important victory in his hands. Many Christians were taken captive, among whom were two of our Religious who bore them company in all their fortunes, that in which they found themselves at present being given to them by Heaven for their many labours. They were Friar Luiz do Espirito Santo and Friar João da Trindade. The latter was covered with wounds (glorious spoils with which he was enriched in that conflict), but the cruelty of the barbarians was not satisfied with seeing him in this state, they inflicted others with blood-thirsty hate, and flung him from a high rock, so that he was dashed to pieces on the ground.

At the same time, others carried Friar Luiz into the tyrant's presence, who, thirsting for innocent blood, now wished to satisfy himself with it, in vengeance for what he knew the father had accomplished in the conversion of the new emperor and the Christian missions of that kingdom. He immediately ordered him to render him the *sumbaya* (which in the manner of Kaffraria is the highest homage). Friar Luiz was a native of Mozambique, and was well versed in the customs of those lands; he knew that what the tyrant asked of him could only be given to God, and answered him with intrepidity: "That he was only a petty king of the earth, and even that small kingdom was justly lost

through his tyranny; that though he was a captive in his power, he did not and could not recognize any king on earth except the king of Portugal, and no other as king of Monomotapa but his uncle D. Philippe, now a son of the Church, and above all the only one he revered and recognised as king of kings was Jesus Christ, true son of God, Lord of heaven and earth, who redeemed mankind with his blood, inestimable price, by which as man he has merited the veneration of men, angels, and demons in heaven, in earth, and in hell. And how dost thou dare? (continued the father, with generous and inflexible courage), How dost thou dare to rob the true God of the adoration due to him as Lord of all? Alas for thee! who like another proud and rebel angel darest to aspire to the seat of God, but to fall into the horrible lake, burning for all eternity as miserable fuel to the inextinguishable fire! Return, return to reason, now that God counsels thee by my voice, and bend the knee before the true Lord, rather than expect me to bend to thee, in the homage due to him."

Inflamed with wrath, the tyrant, impatient of what he was hearing, immediately commanded that the father should be tied to a tree-trunk and killed with assagais, by which martyrdom he gloriously ended his life and went to render God, in glory, the adoration he had defended for him on earth.

The Religious being dead by martyrdom, and many Portuguese killed in battle, Caprazine now thought to recover his empire without resistance, he therefore sent a message to his uncle bidding him quit the court and acknowledge him as his king, or he would fall into the hands of his vengeance still stained with blood from the last campaign. Dom Philippe answered that he might come, and he was waiting for him there; and immediately endeavoured to gather an army, to which end Friar Manoel Sardinha procured him a large quantity of cloth (the price most esteemed in Kaffraria), which being sent to the other side of the river Zambesi, twenty thousand Kaffirs were raised. The emperor found himself with some Christians and a few Portuguese, and with this force he resolved to go in search of the enemy. As the army was setting out, raising his eyes to heaven, he saw there a resplendent light, and beautiful cross, in the same form (but without letters) in which it before appeared to the Emperor Constantine the Great. He prostrated himself upon the



ground, kissing it with veneration and reverence, while the Christians in his company bade him make haste and not stop the march, to which he replied both with animation and compunction by showing them the cross, and to Friar Manoel, whom he immediately sent for, he being in another part of the camp.

The good father rejoiced, and inflamed with zeal for the honour of God, seeing that his soldiers marched under the same banner with which he triumphed over his enemies in the world, returned to the army, who were amazed at the prodigy, and incited them with such spirit to follow the mysterious banner and give their lives for the Lord, who had shown it to them to assure them of victory, that they all fell upon the enemy, who was now before them with innumerable combatants, and breaking their ranks at the first attack, threw them into such confusion that they were not sufficient to defend themselves, and in a few hours the field was covered with thirty-five thousand Kaffirs, and the rest were accompanying Capranzine in speedy flight. But the Christian emperor as a skilful soldier followed up his victory, and did not lay down his arms until he had driven the enemy from the whole of Mocaranga.

But the tyrant did not delay, and assisted by his chief captain, who was called Macamoaxa and by some lords called Encosses, and their sons and other men whom they had or caused to be levied, attempted another campaign, entering Mocaranga with an army composed of the greater part of its nobility and power. But the Portuguese of the markets and those of Tete and Sena, who had previous warning of all, making speedy levies of the fittest people, gathered an army of forty thousand men, among which were two hundred Portuguese musketeers, many Christians of those lands, and six thousand Kaffirs, among whom was Father Damião do Espirito Santo, one of our Religious, who had raised and assembled them by his zeal and industry. With this force our people entered Mocaranga, and joined a body of troops with which the emperor was awaiting them, and seeking the enemy, who were advancing with as much confidence as if they had just gained the victory, attacked them with such bravery and valour that in spite of resistance they were scattered over the field, leaving two thousand Kaffirs dead,—strong young men, the sons of the nobles, whom Capranzine had brought to fill the highest places, but he was not present on the field, having learned a

lesson from former events, and retreated with a small company with the news and grief of his loss.

Victorious and at rest, the emperor D. Filippe now wished to build a church in his court in gratitude to God. Friar Aleixo dos Martyres, a Religious of St. Dominic, assisted in the preparation of the materials, and the foundations being dug, the emperor himself wished to lay the first stone, which he did upon a notable day, raising it upon his shoulders, assisted by some Religious and gentlemen who were at court, and a large concourse of people, which lent festivity to the occasion. Doubtless a great day for the sons of St. Dominic! to see in lands so remote, strange, and uncultivated, the monarch and lord of them (though black, a powerful king and respected as such, for the extent and beauty of his empire) burdened with a great stone, not to raise as in heathendom the mount of Mercury, but to erect upon it the temple of the true God, and hear his praises sounded in that unknown tongue like an echo of the apostolic call which invited them thither! A great glory certainly, and singular reward which heaven wished to give to the family of St. Dominic, as always mindful of the rule of their institute and forward in exercising it.

With a church at court, the fathers began with greater hopes to catechise the people, many of whom they baptized; among them being a son of the emperor, who at his request was instructed in the faith and good habits by Friar Aleixo, who gave him that name in baptism. With the news of what was accomplished in Mocaranga or the lands of Monomotapa and was still doing there, other apostolic labourers came from Goa, and scattered themselves as pastors in the different markets. In that of Luanze, now an old mission with a beautiful church, another at Masapa, another in that of Chipiriviri, all these in the kingdom of Mocaranga. In the kingdom of Manica, where Christianity had now been founded for a long time, three churches and parishes arose, in the market of Umba, that of Chipangura, and that of Matuca, where the Christian missions began to flourish, of which Friar Manuel da Cruz, at that time Vicar-General, was a great cultivator. They might have spread still more in these vast kingdoms, but the means of the Religious are small compared to the nobility of spirit with which they sacrifice themselves to the rigour of those climates, for the most part intemperate and unhealthy, and

on innumerable occasions they have seen themselves reduced to the most extreme penury and most pressing want.

TOME IV.—BOOK FOURTH.—CHAPTER XIV.

*The Christian missions in the Empire of Monomotapa are continued. The Emperor is baptized, and all the royal house, and a great number of the people. An account is given of the latest progress of these Christian missions.*

It was by dint of indefatigable toil that our evangelical labourers made fruitful the great harvest field of Mocaranga, or lands of Monomotopa, for though the Kaffirs have no repugnance in believing what they are taught of the truths of the faith, as is the case with the Moors (who, brought up in and attached to their cursed sect, doubt that any law can be more secure, especially as it places no restraint upon their sensuality, the allurements by which their accursed prophet made it beloved), yet the Kaffirs imitate them in all, catching contagion from their proximity, and what most attracts and leads them astray is the liberty of having many wives. And it is a source of astonishment that they should be eager to have many, as they do not hold them in the least estimation; and a proof of this and of the little love they bear them is that they are not in the least disturbed or moved to vengeance by seeing them with others (against the natural custom in all nations), they carry them with them to battle, and place them in front before the enemy, that their first fury may break upon them and they may be tired by putting them to death and hindered in their attack.

This cruelty is the cause that the Kaffir women are less difficult to convert, because of the pious affection they have for a law which obliges men to love and esteem their own wives, and makes them sole mistress of the house. There is also less difficulty with the young Kaffirs, because their fathers (with the doubt of their paternity) make no account of the children, and leave them to be catechised by the fathers, whose chief care is to seek them out in their first years. But by 1652 it was seen in those Christian missions that there was already a hope that the adults were becoming an easier prize to those who worked zealously in that holy harvest. By the death of the emperor D. Philippe, who in

years gone by governed with Christian piety (as we have related in the preceding chapters), the sceptre of Monomotapa passed into the hands of a heathen monarch, and not knowing how long it remained in them, we now find it subjected to the Church by the industry and apostolic vigilance of Friar Aleixo do Rosario.

This father, being in the church which is in the court, or in its vicinity, zealously visited and conversed with the emperor, and heaven brought about the end at which he was aiming. He catechised the emperor and then all the royal household, who earnestly asked for baptism,—which the Father arranged and administered with all possible solemnity and pomp in that empire on the 4th of August 1652. To the emperor he gave the name of Dom Domingos (being the feast-day of our patriarch), and to the empress that of Dona Luiza. Their two sons were then baptized, the prince and heir to the crown was given the name of Dom Miguel, and they were followed by the nobles, all those of the palace, and the greater number of the people. It was a praiseworthy day for that empire. The news spread all over Christendom, and there was rejoicing in Rome as the head of it. To commemorate the event the Superior-General of the Order of Preachers, Friar João Bautista de Marines, ordered a bronze tablet to be made and engraved, representing the baptism and all its circumstances, with an inscription explaining them, which is as follows in the Latin tongue:

Anno 1652 in inferiori Æthiopiæ vastæ Monomotapæ Imperator à Fratibus Ordinis Prædicatorum Christiana Cathechesi imbutus, interque eorumdem manus salutifero baptismi lavacro, palam ab uno ipsorum tinctus; quod Sacra hæc functio in 4 Augusti diem incidisset, Dominici nomen sibi imponi voluit, spem exinde amplam et concipiens, et faciens, non solos modo Palatinos, ac Proceres ab iislem Prædicatoribus jam penè edoctos; sed et universa Imperii sui Regna propediem Imperatoris sui, atque Imperatricis Ludovicæ exemplo Fidem amplexatura; nec quoad Optimates diù fuit expectationis eventus, sic librante Dei Providentia, ut quando sub Canchri Tropico passim turbata Fidei semina ferè exaruerunt, eadem uberius alibi sub Capricorni Tropico adolescant.

There was no less demonstration in the province of Portugal, as one to whom the credit justly belonged of such progress made in one of her colonies. In the Convent of St. Dominic at Lisbon,

the chief house of the province, the event was celebrated with the highest Catholic demonstrations, the Blessed Sacrament being exposed, with solemn high Mass, at which King João IV of happy memory assisted with all his court, favouring the Religious of that house upon that day with singular marks of his majesty and greatness.

The emperor of this great empire being baptized, our Religious not only succeeded in seeing Christianity extended through the whole of Kafraria in imitation of their monarch, but in the future the country gave the Order and Congregation a son who was not unworthy of it in person or capacity. This was the prince Dom Miguel, heir to the crown of Monomotapa, who brought up in the doctrine of the Religious and knowing the small value of the empires of this world for those who by baptism have been made heirs of another which is eternal, entered the Dominican cloisters to ask for and put on their habit, which he desired with humility and received with rapture. He studied with application, and afterwards occupied the teacher's chair with no less capacity, passing on to the conversion of the souls of those who lost him as a Prince to find him as a Teacher, his example being the most eloquent persuasion heard in that empire, with equal fruit and admiration. The Master-General of the Order, Friar Thomas de Rocaberti, sent him the diploma of Master in Theology in the year 1670. He ended his days in Goa, being Vicar of Santa Barbara, with a peaceful death, as one who had desired it.

But it is well that we should give some account of the latest progress of the Christian missions of the rivers, in the years preceding that in which we write. Discord was sown in the harvest-field of Christ by some discussions which the Ecclesiastical Administrator had with the labourers therein, by attempting to introduce other religious orders regardless of the fact that the missions were the work of the Dominicans, as much their own as they were long established and fruitful. In this design the Administrator went to Goa, where his attempts were ineffectual, and returning to the rivers with the intention of continuing them, he was pacified by the industry of Friar Francisco da Trindade, Presentado, who embarked with him as Commissioner and Visitor of the rivers, and Vicar of Tete, with five other Religious for the service of the churches. He arrived at Mozambique, from whence he visited the convent and churches of the

islands of Quirimba and Amiza, and passing to Sena (where he compiled a Catechism and exercise for confession in the language of the natives, which produced great fruit), he sent the Religious — Friar João de Santo Thomaz to the church of the Holy Ghost of Sofala, Friar Damaso de Santa Rosa to the church of Zimbaõ, chaplain to the emperor of Monomotapa, Friar Diogo de Santa Rosa to rebuild the church at Masapa, Friar Jorge de Santo Thomaz to rebuild the church of Hongue, and Friar Miguel dos Archanjos to build anew a church in the kingdom of Quiteve. Other churches were intended to be built by the Commissioner, but the plan was not executed, though the conversion of souls was happily carried on in those thus newly provided.

Having despatched the Religious, the Commissioner proceeded to Tete, where composing another catechism, in the language of the country, he gained innumerable souls, catechising and baptizing both children and adults. One of these was the prince of Monomotapa, son of the emperor Dom Pedro, now dead, and the empress Vondato; he gave him the name of Dom Constantino; and returning from Tete, brought him to India, where in the convent of Goa, with the name of Friar Constantino do Rosario, he took the habit of St. Dominic, in which he was followed by another prince, his brother, whose name was Friar João (the record of his name is lost), who had been baptized by Friar Filippe da Assumpção. At the time in which we are writing both are in the convent of Santa Barbara at Goa.

This is the latest progress of the Christian missions of Sena, and those newly established at Tete were doubtless tended by Friar Francisco da Trindade with such diligence and care that prayers were entoned in the streets and during work; and the father commanded that in the houses of the population, which contained many families, they should be entoned night and morning (thus exercising together their devotion and their memory). An incident occurred which showed how acceptable it was to heaven. Disturbed by the noise made by the Kaffirs, one of the powerful men of the country ordered those of his household not to pray in the early morning, but before long a loud voice was heard in the house, clearly calling to the slaves to join together in the creed. They awoke and assembled, not knowing who had called them. The incident was repeated and caused great surprise in the house, and the master, reflecting

upon it, understood that he ought not to hinder their holy occupation, and thus warned, he devoutly ordered it to be continued.

*Extract from Chapter XV., Book Fourth, Tome IV.*

By a most cruel death Friar Nicolas do Rosario fell a victim for the faith. He was a son of Pedragão, a town of Portugal (and thus a son both of the town and the convent of St. Dominic there), a great preacher, of exemplary life and qualities, which gave him a great place in the congregation. He willingly left it to go to the rivers as a labourer in those Christian missions, where he remained with great fruit till he accompanied the Captain of Tete in his war against the Zimbos (cruel Kaffirs, eaters of human flesh), and was taken prisoner by them. He was then tied to a tree hand and foot, and like another St. Sebastian covered with arrows, which opened more mouths by which he preached the truth to them, as long as his life lasted under this martyrdom. His body was afterwards cut to pieces, divided among them, and devoured.

[The following papers have been copied from documents in the Archive Office at the Hague, where they form part of the records of the Dutch East India Company.—G. M. T.]

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*Bijvoegsel tot het Tractaat van 12 Juni 1641 tusschen Portugal en de Nederlanden voor een Wapenstilstand van Tien Jaren.*

Namen van de plaatsen die in Orienten bij de Portugiesen en Nederlanders werden beseten en gefrequeeteert, met distinctie wat yder int bijzonder toecompt, alleen bevaert en gesamentlijk frequenteeren.

Op de custen van Monomotapa, Monsambicque en Melinde tusschen Cabo de bona Esperanca en de Roode Zee besitten en frequenteren de Portugiesen alleen

de fortresse Soffala op de cust vant rijk Monomotapa, de fortgens en fetorien Kilimane, Angosia, Cabo de Courentos en verscheijden rivieren daer omtrent;

de stadt en fortresse Monsambicque, en in dat gewest de groote vlecke Sene en 't fort St. Marceel met de rivieren de Quama;

de fortresse Mombassa, en daer omtrent op de custe van Meline, de vlekken en fetorien van Pate, Monfia, Gengebar, Ampassa, en andere van minder inportantie;

t' eijlandt Madagascar wert aende west cust bij de Portugiese en des selfs Oost Cust van de Nederlanders bevaren.

[The treaty was ratified by the king of Portugal on the 18th of November 1641 and by the States General on the 22nd of February 1642.—G. M. T.]

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*Rapport van Jan van de Capelle aan den Hoog Edelen Heer Maurits Pasques de Chavonnes, Gouverneur van de Kaap Kolonie, en den Raad van Politie.*

Wel Edele Gestr<sup>e</sup> Heer en E. Agtb<sup>re</sup> Heeren.

Den ondergetekende, uwe wel Edele Gestr. en E. agtb<sup>re</sup> gantsch geringen dienaar, van den beginne aan, op 't comptoir rio de la goa gelegen, eenige togten met de schuijt opwaarts gedaan, en



vermits het ongelukkig geval met de rovers, nog verscheidde reijzen in eenige negerijen twee a 3 uren van Comp<sup>s</sup> post gelegen zijnde, huijsgehouden hebbende, soo geduurende het leggen der rovers, uijt nood, als naa haar vertrek om ons van reijst te proviandeeren, tot dagelijkse consumptie, en also de occagie gehad hebbende, om den tolk en ook verscheidde inlanders te ondervragen, soo over de negotie, voor desen door de portugeesen aldaar gedreeven, als de gesteltheit der landen, op 't geen zij geven, soo verre hun het selve bekend is, neemt met alle eerbied de vrijmoedigheid van aan U wel Edel gestr<sup>e</sup> en E. agtb<sup>r</sup> in dit volgende geschrift voor oogen te stellen 't geene hij dienaangaande heeft kunnen ervaaren, en alhoewel zulx alles niet als een seekere waarheit kan stellen, hoop egter uwe wel Edele gestr<sup>e</sup> en E. agtb<sup>ms</sup> ootmoedigen dienaar, dat zij de moeijte sullen gelieven te nemen van 't selve te doorsien; te meer dewijl deselve sijn te samen gestelt in de hoope, dat eenige dingen daar in mogten werden gevonden, die strekken kunnen, ten dienste en voordeelen van d' E. Comp<sup>te</sup>. Zal dan beginnen met een verhaal van seker geval door den tolk (hier voor gem<sup>t</sup> :) bijgewoont, waar uijt scheijnt te blijken, dat daar aan rio de la goa wel eerder zeeroovers sijn geweest, als nu, en om die reeden (mogelijk, de portugeesen, in eenige jaaren herwaards, geen scheepen meer derwaarts gesonden hebben.

Den tolk dan, heeft mij verhaalt dat voor de sevende reys, met de portugeesen van mosambique, aan rio de la goa gekomen zijnde, soo als naar huijs meende te keeren, in de bhaj haar een schip was ontmoet, voerende witte vlagge: dat zij alsoo het stil wierd beijde ten anker moesten komen, en niet langh daaraan hun Capiteijn benevens den boekhouder naar het andere schip (dat zij meijnde en frans man, en hunne vrinden te sijn) waren gegaan, alwaar zij beijde wierden vast gehouden; onder des quam de nagt aan, tegen de morgenstond, nog donker zijnde, quamen de soo gemijnde fransen met drie vaertuijgen aan geroeijt meijnende het schip der portugeesen, te overrompelen: dog alsoo zij den boekhouder (gebonden sijnde) in hadden, verstouten deese sig, roepende tegen sijn volk, dat op haar hoede moesten sijn, en gem: vaertuijgen van boord houden, also zij quamen om t' schip wegh te nemen: hier door geraakte de portugeesen op de been, en deden eenige chiergies, uijt kleijn geweer, waar op die in de vaertuijgen (: als toen geen kans siende :) weeder te

rugge keerden. Dag geworden zijnde, mijnde de portugeesen het weeder na binnen te setten, dog raakten per ongeluk aan de grond, toen verliet alle het volk het schip salveerden sig aan land : die van het andere schip quamen kort daarop en ligten de beste goederen daaruijt steekende voorts het schip in den brand : zijnde het ruim twintig jaaren geleden, dat dit is voorgevallen, en seedert geene scheepen van de Portugeesen aldaar geweest, gelijk zij jaarlijx deeden.

Want volgens het seggen van geñ: tolk, zô hebben zij nooit een vast comptoir daar gehad, maar op een eijlandje genaamt Xiphini, gelegen aan de N: O' kant van de baij, en aan de mond der revier, die wij noemen St. Esprict, hadden zij een plaats, daar hutten op-sloegen, en in logieerde, gedurende de tijd, dat daar lagen om te negotieeren, 't welk ordinair vijff a ses maanden was. In eijder negereij langs evengem: rivier, tot aan manisse toe, (: hebbende nooit hooger op geweest :) hielden zij gedurende bovengem: tijd, een factor met een man a vier bij zig, die de negotie deed, komende dan van beneeden, om de 8 a 10 dagen, met hun schuijten opwaards, om het genegotieerde af te haalen, ende wanneer met haare scheepen weederom na Mosambicque keerde, lieten sij geñ: hutten (: zijnde van riet :) staan, tegens s' anderen jaars.

Ik heb deesen tolk (: zijnde een geboore mosambicquer :) over verscheijde dingen, aanguande den handel der portugeesen soo aan rio de la goa, als mosambicque en Chovalla, principaal raakende het goud, ondervraagt : waarvan hij mij dit volgende heeft gesezt.

In de landstreeke van mosambicque werd geen off immers seer weijnig goud gevonden, dog wel amber, eliphants tanden en wax. Maar in de revier Guama, die op circa 18 g<sup>r</sup>: Z: b<sup>o</sup> legt, alwaar de portugeesen twee casteelen hebben, een op deese en een op d' andere zijde (: dog dat op dese zeijde zoude zij al voor lang verlaten hebben :) segt hij veel goud gevonden te werden : hier komen de portugeesen jaarlijcx met haare scheepen, gaande voorts met kleijn vaartuijg, tot twintig a dertigh te gelijk, de revier op, tot aan een stad, die hij noemt Cenne, alwaar de portugeesen een besetting zouden hebben, en in off aan het rijk monomotappa leggen : en moeten zij, eer daar kunnen komen vijftien a seshien dagreijdsens onder wege sijn.

In 't land rondom geñ: Cenne, soude goud in overvloed

weesen, 't geen door de portugeesen werd ingekogt, voor coraalen, lijwaaten, lakenen, scharen, messen, kruijt, loot, tin, ja zelfs voor gemaakte kleederen, koussen, schoenen &<sup>a</sup>, op gem: goederen souden daar seer wel getrokken, en 't gout goedkoop ingeruijt werden: de portugeesen aldaar hun negotie gedaan hebbende, vertrokken weeder met hunne vaartuijgen na beneden en voorts met de scheepen na Mosambicque: de voorm: stad Cenne, soude seer groot weesen, in deselve veel swarten wonen, en onder deese veel goudsmeeden zijn, die curieus werk maakten.

De vaartuijgen daar de portugeesen meede opwaarts gaan zijn (: volgens t seggen van meergem: tolk :) langwerpig, voor niet breed maar gesneeden, om dat tegen de stroom op moeten, onder plat, sô dat niet diep kunnen gaan en werden door 8 a 10 man voort geroeijt, off liever gepagaaijt of geschept, gelijk op Batavia en andere plaatsen de orangbaaijs: soo dat na alle apparentie opgem: rievier Guama, niet dieper zal weesen, als die aan rio de la goa: waarvan ik de eene, bij ons gen<sup>t</sup> St. Esprit, wel vijftig mijlen hebben opgeweest (: 't welk meer als eens soo verre is, als ooit de portugeesen daar hebben gedaan :) alwaar wij de revier wel breed en schoon voor 't oog vonden, dog niet boven groote anderhalf voeten diep, soodat met onse schuijt, die twee voeten diep ging, niet verder konde komen, maar moesten (: tot ons leet weesen :) weeder te rugge keeren: gelijk Uwe Wel Edele gestrenghe en E. agtb<sup>r</sup> uijt de te vooren overgesondene rapporten, sulx in het breede hebben kunnen sien, en het is wel apparent dat men aan la goa, mede vaartuijgen hebbende, die niet boven de anderhalf voet diep gingen, een groot stuk verder opwaarts zoude kunnen komen en (: mogelijk :) wel voordeelen voor d' E. Comp<sup>te</sup> te behalen zijn: alsoo meergem: revier St. Esprit, volgens de kaarte wel ruijm 200 mijlen landwaard, voorbij de stad monomotappa, en voorts door het rijk van die naam (: daar eijgentlijk het goud soude vallen :) doorloopt. Dog alsoo men met gem: soorte van vaartuijg, niet al te veijlig de baij kan passeeren, soude men genootsaakt zijn, een kleijue posteeing aan meergem: revier te houden, bij de capiteijns bombo, makandi off mainisse bij deese laaste, zoude wel de bequaamste plaats weesen, en deese heeft ons, als d' eerste maal daar waaren, een plaats om een logiement te maken aangepresenteert: ook kunnen de scheeps schuijten tot daar komen, om 't geen opwaarts ingekogt wierd, af te haalen.

Tot Chovalla, dat omtrent op 20 gr: Z. b<sup>te</sup> legt, segt den tolk, landwaard, meede veel goud ingeruijlt te werden: en zouden de hier voorengem: coopmansc: daar meede wel getrokken weesen, de portugeesen hebben daar ook een casteel, dog soude niet seer sterk zijn.

Niet verre van Chovalla, noemt hij een plaats off revier niambani, hier soude de portugeesen, seedert het verlies van 't hier voorengem: schip, haare scheepen hebben gesonden, komende dan van daar, met behulp der negers, naar Mainisse voorts op bombo, en vervolgens aan la goa, tot aan de over seijde bij Capit<sup>a</sup> tembi, om te negotieeren: hun handel gedaan hebbende, vertrokken zij weeder, door den selven wegh naa niambani, en voorts te schiep na mosambicque: de portugeesen zouden deese revier nooijt landwaarts besogt hebben, soodat hij niet wist te seggen, off daar goud viel, ofte niet.

Aangaande Rio de la Goa, daar Comp<sup>a</sup> post is, daar van segt hij, niet te weeten, dat in alle de tijt, die hij bij de portugeesen heeft gevaaren, zij lieden op die plaats goud hebben geruijlt: maar wel tanden, amber en wax, dog van dit laaste geen groote quantiteit: heeft ook in alle de tijt, die daar heeft huijs gehouden (: 't welk is seedert het verlies van meergem: schip:) geen goud bij deese natie gesien: kennende hij nogtans het goud en silver wel, gelijk dat bij ondervinding hebben gesien, als hem, eenigh goud off silverwerk wierd verthoont, hij wel wiste te seggen wat specie het was.

Om dat den tolk, en ook de negers, veel van gem: niambani hoorde spreken, en hij mij seijde, dat het een groote revier was, bequaam om met scheepen binnen te komen, en veijlig te leggen, heb ik in eenige kaarten na deselve gesogt (: nog jongst in een geographie, gemaakt door Samson d'abbeville:) dog niet gevonden, want van Cabo de goede hoop, tot aan Cuama, vind men (: buijten de kleijne:) maar vier groote revieren, als Infantas, Spiritus S<sup>t</sup>, Sambre en Cuama, die landwaarts ook werd gen<sup>t</sup> Indires.

Infantes, legt volgens gem: geographie op circa 32 gr: Z: b<sup>te</sup> niet verre van terra de natal, loop tot diep in 't rijk van monomotappa.

Spiritus St. off gelijk wij seggen St. Esprit is eijgentlijk aan la goa, heeft volgens gem: kaart drie uijtgangen in zee: die daar ook sijn; als een besuijden de bhaj, bij de Inlanders gen<sup>t</sup>

machavane naa een Capiteijn van de landstreek : de tweede, is die, aan welke Comp<sup>a</sup> post is, bij genoemd rio de la goa ; de derde, leijd aan de N: O<sup>o</sup> kant van de bhaj, en bij ons altijd genaamt St. Esprit.

'Twee van deese, als die om de Z<sup>o</sup> en die an de N<sup>o</sup>, zijn door ons besogt, soo verre men heeft kunnen komen, dog die, aan welke 's Comp<sup>a</sup> post legt, niet verder als een mijl a vier, ten tijde van de heer van Taak zaliger, en den tolk, ook sommige negers seggen, dat deselve loop, tot aan en mogelijk, wel door het gebergte, dat men aldaar uijt het fortje kan sien, en zig strekt tot aan en voorbij paraotte, hetwelke de landstreek is, daar 't koper valt, zijnde vier a vijf dagreijnsens van 's Comp<sup>a</sup> post gelegen.

Volgens meergeñ: caart, vereenigen sig dese drie geñ: uijtgangen eenige mijlen landwaard makende een rievier, die daar de naam ontfangende van Spiritus St. voorts loop door het rijk monomotappa verder als een der andere drie groote revieren, verscheidde negers hebben mij ook gesegt dat geñ: uijtgangen zig voor bij 't gebergte vereenigen, en een revier maken, die verre landwaard loopt.

Benoorden la goa, op omtrent 22 gr: Z: b<sup>o</sup> siet men de derde rivier Sambre dese loopt meede tot diep in 't rijk monomotappa : en is mogelijk deselfde, die den tolk niambani noemt (: apparent na een der bij wonende capiteijns gelijk de gewoonte wel hebben :) want hij weet te beduiden, dat deselve groot is, en in de mond twee eijlandjes leggen : gelijk hetselve ook in de caerte sodanig te sien is.

De vierde revier Cuama, is gelegen op circa 18 gr: Z: b<sup>o</sup>, loopt meede verre landwaard, tot in het rijk monomotappa, draajd zig veel om de Z<sup>o</sup> en d' andere om de N<sup>o</sup> soo dat het seer wel kan sijn, dat meergeñ: Cenne, meede in opgeñ: rijk gelegen is, en als men aan la goa, middel had gevonden, de revier op landwaard te komen, soude men met de portugeesen in een en deselve landstreek zijn, dog een goede distantie tusschen bejide blijven, alsoo d' een van deese, en d' andere van een andere zijde, daarin zoude komen.

Kan ook niet laten te seggen, wel edele gestr: heer en E. agtb<sup>o</sup> heeren, dat het veele vremd voor is gekomen, dat men aan la goa, geen vervalle fort van de portugeesen heeft gevonden, nog geene van die natie (: 't zij swart off blank :) daar woonende,

gelijk ik wel hebbe gehoord dat men verwacht had, dog aan de revier Sambere (: gelijk wel apparent is:) deselfde zijnde die de caffers niambani noemen, vind men desselfs zijde hoek ook genaamt Caab St. maria gelijk aan rio de la goa : ook vind men daar een vervalte en verlate fort en wonen nog inlandsche portugeesen aldaar; in de mond der selve leggen ook twee eijlandjes gelijk aan la goa, is in den ingang soo wijd dat bijna de naam van een baij meriteert; is soo veel verder om de N<sup>e</sup> en nader aan Chovalla gelegen alwaar landwaard goud gevonden werd: de portugeesen hebben ook seedert eenige jaaren herwaard, geen scheepe meer derwaarts gesonden, aan in de landstreek van la goa te negotieeren, maar sijn geheel achter gebleeven.

Egter schijnen die van Mainisse, dien landaard somtijts nog te bezoeken, en met haar te correspondeeren alsoo men aan la goa seedert eenige maanden veel nieuwe mosambicqse coralen heeft sien dragen, die de caffers seggen bij mainisse te kopen.

De soon van deesen capiteijn voor eenigen tijd aan la goa bij mij zijnde, heb ik hem gevragt off zij lieden geen handel dreven met die van niambani: hij antwoorde mij van ja: dat in de koude tijd (: dat is in de maanden Maij, Junij en Julij:) haar volk daar heenen gingen en kogten voor schopjes, beijltjes, en assegaijen, mosambicqse coralen: die sij lieden dan weeder aan de omher wonende negers verruijlen, soodat (: na alle apparentie:) die van niambani, nog handel drijven met die van Chovalle, dat het eerste portugees comptoir aan die seijde is.

Die van Mainisse rekenen niambani, seven dag reijsens van haar, en den tolk segt niambani en Chovalle vijf dag reijsens te sijn: en Comp<sup>s</sup> post aan lago is twee dag reijsens van mainisse, en volgens gem: reecq: veerthien dagen reijsens, overland van Chavalla.

Kan ook wel Edele gest<sup>f</sup>: heer en E. agtb<sup>e</sup> heeren, niet nalaten te seggen, dat in laatste van 't jongst gepasseerde jaar aan la goa neegers sijn geweest, uijt de landschappen paraotte en machicosje die niet alleen koper, maar ook tin met haar bragten om aldaar te verruijlen; het koper was seer mooi van couleur, gelijk daarover, aan uwe wel edele gestrenge en E. agtb<sup>e</sup> al te vooren is geschreeven: het tin is meede mooi van couleur dogh wat weekeljk en ligt, gelijk uijt twee stukjes van staafjes (: die ik de eere hebbe gehad, aan den wel edelen heer gouverneur te overhandigen:) gesien kan werden; het eene is veel harder van

specie, dan het andere, gelijk zulx bij omsmelting hebbe bevonden.

Dit thin seggen sij gevonden te werden in de landstreek machicosje, aan de kanten der revier, in mandjes opgeraapt, gesuijvert van het zand, en dan door de negers tot staaftjes gebragt om te verruijlen, alle de inlanders gebruiken dit thin, ook het geene zij van ons inkoopten, om onder haar koper, tot hals en armringen, te smelten: waar door 't sonder twijfel komt, dat haare ringen, sô een glans hebben, en buijgsamer zijn dan d' Comps ringen, die daar sijn geweest.

Eenige van bovengem: buijtenlanders sijn bij ons op t' fort geweest, dog soodra de omher woonende negers merkte, dat eenige van het volk, koper en thin van haar sogte te ruijlen, dreef de soon van den capiteijn mateke, alle de buijtenlanders weg, in presentie van michel: hier uijt blijkt dat de aan la goa woonende neegers, niet gaarne sien dat wij met andere handelen, daar het egter niet ondienstig voor d' E. Comp<sup>ie</sup> konde wesen die menschen aan te haalen, en met haar te handelen en alsoo aanleiding te geven, tot aanbrengingh van meerder quantiteit en ook (:sometijds:) andere goederen, die landwaarts mogten gevonden werden: ook tot aanmoedinge van verder gelegene negers, met het geen daar viel, aff te komen, en men alsoo ook nader kondschap dier landen en landaard bekomen.

Ik ben altijd begerig geweest, om de landen daar de hiervorgem: stoffe gevonden werd, te besien, en als de heeren majores goed vonden, vaartuigen derwaards te senden, gemaakt op de wijze als hier vooren gesegt, te weeten: die 8 a 10 man konnen voeren, met 4 a 6 basjes voorsien, plat zijnde van boom voor gesneeden, alsoo altijd tegen stroom op moeten waar meede men niet alleen kan zeijlen en roeijen, maar ook met stokken of bomen setten alsoo men boven in de revier met roeijen niet kan vorderen, vermits de snelle afwating: off wel het selfde fatsoen, als de vorige schuijten sijn geweest, mits zoo diep niet gaande, plat van bodem en zonder kiel zijnde, soo wil ik seer gaarne (:mits andere opperhoofden aan la goa zijnde:) de togt landwaard ondernemen, en vertrouwe dat wel soo verre (:mogelijk:) verder soude komen dan daar het tin en koper gevonden werd: alsoo die landstrecken, volgens de beduijdenis van een bejaard neger, niet verre sijn gelegen van dien Capiteijn machimbile Cosse, daar den gesaghebber Jurriaan Clappenburg, en ik, wederom moesten keeren,

vermits ondiepte, breeder in 't overgesondene rapport dato augustij 1721, te zien. Want gem: negers heeft mij alle de Capiteijns genoemt, die aan de hooge landstreek, die men aan la goa uijt 's Comps. post siet, gelegen zijn, dit gebergte strekt zig van 't Z. Z. O<sup>t</sup>, N. N. W<sup>w</sup> heenen, beginnende dan uijt het Z. Z. O<sup>w</sup>, noemt hij nassangano, daar ook eijser gevonden werd: na deese batua paraotte en machicosje welke paalt digt aan meergem: Capit<sup>n</sup> machimbile Cosse: en voorts strekt na de kant van hier boven gemelde niambani, wiens inwoonders, door de Caffers aan la goa werden gen<sup>t</sup> moetonge, in de vier gem: landstreeken vald kooper, en in die van machicasje boven het koper, nog het hier vooren gem: thin.

Dat in gemelte landstreeken, off verder landwaard, goud gevonden werd en ook silver, soude men ten naasten bij, vast kunnen stellen: om dat de aan la goa woonende negers, het namen weeten te geven, noemende sij het silver de lamma jntoffe om dat van couleur, het tin niet ongelijk is, zijnde Intoffe tin gesezt: het goud noemen zij de lamma Insoeke, omdat het van couleur aan het Coper, niet oneijgen is, 't welk zij Insoeke noemen, bij de lamma, verstaan sij goud of silver, of wel alle beijde, het alleenig met bovengem: bij naamen zijnde geschikt na de Couleur onderscheidende, sonder zij verders van de wardije van dien, yts weeten.

Voeg hier nog bij, dat volgens alle apparentie en het seggen der neegers, wij met de vaartuijgen naar boven zijn geweest, om de revier te bezoeken in een tijd, dat men het weijnigste water daar heeft, als in de maanden Junij, Julij en Augustus zijnde het droogste van de tijd, wanneer men daar seer weijnig water ofte regen heeft: en de inlanders ook den tolk seggen, dat in de regen tijd meerder water is in de revieren, 't geen gelooffelijk is, want toen wij boven zijn geweest, Julij en August; 1721, hebben wij boven mainisse, overal aan de kanten der revieren, kunnen sien, dat het water hooger was geweest, wel tot vier voeten: soodat wel apparent is, dat men in 't laatste, of kort na de regentijd (: die voor soo verre wij hebben kunnen sien, in de maand Septemb' begint, en in Decemb' eindigt:) na boven gingh, men daar meerder water soude vinden, en bij gevolgh, verder kunnen komen dan tot nog toe hebben gedaan, de hoop daar toe is nog vermeerdert alsoo eenige swarten, ook een der pr Schooteroog overgekome ne slaven, mij hebben gesezt, dat in 't uijtgaan van



't voorleedene jaar, het water bij mainisse, soo hoog is geweest, dat de lage landen, die wij 3. a 3½. voet boven water hebben gesien, onder hebben gestaan: sonder twijffel veroorzaakt door de sterke aanpersing van het boven water tegen de vloedden, opstoppende, en aldus die landen onder water gestelt hebbende, genoegsaam vastgesteld kan werden dat men in de hier voren gem: tijd, de revieren opgaande, verder opwaards soude komen, dan tot nog toe is geschiet.

Zal onder welduiding van uwe wel Edele gestr. en E. agtb<sup>r</sup> hier nog kortelijk bijvoegen, Ietwes rakende de negotie, en gesteldheit der landstreek rondom her, bij Comp<sup>a</sup> post, aan rio de la goa.

Aangaande de negotie is aan uwe wel edele gestr. en E. agtb<sup>r</sup>, bevoorens door de overleedene opperhoofden, wijdloopig gescr: of deselve verbeetert is, of veragterd, kan ik uwe wel edele gestr: en E. agtb<sup>r</sup> vermits het ongelukkig geval met de zeerovers, niet seggen: maar wel dat bij eenige der daar omher woonende capiteijns, nog een reedelijke quantiteit tanden zijn geweest, en ook amber, van welke de Engelsche (: die in januarij en februarij jongst leeden daar zijn geweest :) een goede partij hebben gekogt, dog egter niet alle (: maar 't zij onder welduidinge gesegt :) wanneer zoo creticq zal gehandelt werden, als na de dood van de heer Swertner, wel hebbe sien doen, is het niet apparent, datter veel voortgang zal werden gemaakt: want die natie niet mag sien, dat er geeretiseert wert op een bosje coralen, off andere kleijugheeden, wat het ook mag zijn; maar wel dat men de hand eens ligt, en een bosje meerder geeft: wanneer zij ook williger zijn, om aan te brengen, 't geene zij hebben en sulx kan gemakelijk gedaan werden, als men siet dat ijmand wat dikwils met goede tanden off amber komt, en ook andere met sig brengt, met goede waaren: om haar alsoo te animeeren, tot aan brengen van meerder quantiteijd, sonder men egter een gewoonte daar van behoeft te maken.

De ondervinding heeft mij geleert, dat de negers seer wel content zijn, als men soo met haar leeft, en heb ik, in de ziekte van de heer Swertner zaliger (: uijt sijne last:) de negotie doende, op gem: wijze gehandelt, en in de tijd van vier a vijff weeken, meer dan de helft, der p<sup>r</sup> de hoeker Gouda overgesondene amber ingekogt, en geloof ook (: 't zij onder correctie gesegt:) dat de meerdere quantiteit, van amber of andere waaren, wel soo veel winste komt te geven, schoon een bosje coralen meerder betaalt

als de mindere quantiteit voor een bosje coralen minder ingekogt, en het is seeker, dat men met een geschenkje, 't zij van een bosje coralen, off andere kleijnigheeden, veel bij die natie kan winnen, en haar tot zig trekken: dog als men sit te cretiseeren, nors is, en haar doet vertrekken, als het voor de gebodene prijs niet willen geven, blijven zij 'te huijs, en brengen haar waaren niet te voorscheijn: waarvan al exempels hebbe gesien, met het in koopen van rijst en rundvee, daar wij om landwaard hebben moeten gaan.

De waare die daar wel meest getrokken zijn, en gewilt, zijn corallen, thin en lijwaat: na de twee eerst gem: vragen de negers dagelijx, dog na het linnen niet soo sterk, alsoo een grote quantiteit van de zeerovers hebben ingekogt, het roode, blauwe, of het gebloemde, gelijk het guinees dat daar is geweest, willen zij het beste aan.

Kooper kan daar ook wel verhandelt werden, dog niet soo willig, als de bovengem: waaren, te meer alsoo daar te land koper vald, vrij mooijer van couleur, als het geene er van de Comp<sup>ie</sup> is geweest.

Thin hebben zij van den beginne aan sterk na gevraagd: en als men daar thin hadde, en er staafjes van deed gieten, soude men daar voor, alles kunnen ruijlen wat zij hadden: te minsten na gedagten: want zij vallen somtijds wat veranderlijk, willende d' eene tijd dit, en d' andere weeder wat anders hebben; het is ook nu dat zij het landwaart quijt kunnen raaken, want voor 't geene van ons ruijlen, 't zij coraalen thin, lijwaat, &<sup>a</sup>, koopen zij landwaard weeder ossen, eliphantstanden, amber &<sup>a</sup>, die dan al weederom aan de blanke verruijlen, eijisschende dan soodanige goederen, als zij weeten landwaard meest getrokken te zijn, scheijnende egter coralen altijd, het beste gewild.

Ik hebbe hierboven vergeeten te seggen dat de negers aan la goa, geen sin in het fatsoen van Comp<sup>ie</sup> kopere ringen hebben gehad, om dat met leeden, en te ligt waaren: swaarder zijnde, en van een stuk, toegebogen, tot soo verre dat er de platte hals of arm, even door kan, soude zij nog wat beeter van de hand willen: gelijk dat jongst hebben gesien, met d' Engelsche koper ringen, die op gem: wijze gemaakt waaren, en seer wel getrokken; het was ook mooijer geel koper als d' E. Comp<sup>ie</sup> ringen, het roode koper willen de negers in 't geheel niet wel aan, omdat haar koper ook rood is.

Het land om en bij Comp<sup>a</sup> post aan la goa is meestendeel rul sand, uijtgenomen de soute vlakke, daar in den beginne aan gecampeert hebben, die aard en kleijagtig is, dog vermits meest alle springthijen onderloopt, en bequaam om te besaijen als alleenig tegen de hoogte aan, daar reijst, pisang, pompoenen &<sup>a</sup> door de negers gezaeijd en voort-geteelt werd: deese vlakke strekt zig tot omtrent twee mijlen van het fort, al langs 't hooge land, uijt, en zoude ten deele door het leggen van een dam off dijkje, voor het zeewater bevrijd kunnen werden, en soo in der tijd, bequaam gemaakt om te bezaeijen.

Verder landwaart, is het land op verre na sô sandig niet, en heeft men hier en daar grote vlaktens en laag land, daar schoon gras in staad, op kleij en aardagtige grond, met kleijne waterpoeltjes van verswater, daarin: en zoude sonder twijffel (: bearbeijd zijnde:) bequaam weesen, om vrugten voor te brengen men heeft ook diergelijke lage landen aan beijde seijde der revier St. Esprit tot verre boven den meergem: capiteijn mainisse, die omtrent 25 mijlen van Comp<sup>a</sup> post gelegen is aan de overseijde der revier la goa, in de landen van den Capiteijn tembi is het omtrent van deselve gesteltheid, meede met schoone vlaktens voorsien, soo wel in het midden, als aan de kanten der revieren: ook in voortbrenging van vrugten.

De vrugten die aldaar gevonden werden zijn reijst, pisang, pattattas, pompoene, een soort bruijne en een soort witte boontjes, waterlimoenen, annanassen, suikerriet, toebacq, en een soort van zaad genaamt Mawelle, ook wel masuelle, daar de negers meest van leven.

Rijst vind men in redelijke quantiteyd, egter niet sôveel, dat met het comptoir (:hondert off meer koppen sterk zijnde:) daarvan zoude kunnen subsistereen, schoon dit jaar, veel meer land is besaeijd, als wel geduurende ons verblijf aldaar, is gedaan.

De boontjes zijn er meede in redelijke abundantie en goed van smaak, dese bij de reijst geconsumeert, soude men in cas van nood, kunnen subsistereen met een getal van manschap, als even is gesejt, te meer alsoo het rundvee, bocken &<sup>a</sup> daar redelijk wel te bekomen is.

Het suikerriet, werd op verscheijde plaatsen, door de negers aangequeekt scheidt weelig voort te willen, dog werd in geen groote abundantie gevonden, maar soude wel occasie weesen

(: menschen daar zijnde die zig des verstonden :) hetselve in meerder en grooter quantiteit, te doen aanwassen.

Tabacq vind men daar overvloedig, dog hoe verder landwaard, hoe meerder quantiteit en hoe beeter hij voort komt, is reedelijk om te rooken (: gelijk de ondervinding ons heeft geleert, na 't ongelukkig geval met de rovers :) en soude (: menschen daar zijnde, die de voortplanting van dien verstonden:) in een goede abundantie kunnen voortgeteelt werden alsoo deselve, tot sooverre als landwaard ben geweest, seer weelig hebsien groeijen, en soude ik, nog een rolletje van dat kruijt, aan uwe wel Edele gestr: en E. Agtb<sup>r</sup> kunnen verthoonen, dat tot speculatie heb meede gebracht.

Aangaande het rundvee, bocken, schaapen en desselfs hair, is aan uwe wel Edele gestr: en E. agtb<sup>r</sup> bij 't leeven der overleedene opperhoofden al gesz: soo dat daar niets van zal spreken maar tot slot eijts bij voegen, aangaande het humeur en aard dier negers.

Moord-dadig is die landaard niet, dog dieftaghtigh van kints been aan: zijn gemeensaam in ommevang: liefhebbers om een vereering te hebben, dog niet om iets te geven, en zo sij al iets aan ijmand geven, dient men haar ten minsten de waardige van dien wederom te geven, off zij zijn misnoegt: estimeeren bijzonder haar eijgen selfs, voor andere natie: hebben gaarne dat men haar aan siet voor stoutmoedige menschen, schoon zij op 't gesigt van een snaphaan, het bosch kieser: egter hebben zij 't sedert het geval met de zeerovers, veel meer assurantie getoond, dan te voeren, seggen ook (: sonder te sien op de overmagt :) dat de Hollanders geen courgie hebben, maar zij lieden wel: verscheijde malen hebben zij ons volk, buijten in het bos zijnde, om eijtwes te koopen, hunne goederen afgenomen en uijtgetrokken, hoewel zij het, door toe doen van den Capit<sup>a</sup> mateke wederom hebben moeten geven: hebben ook selfs op 't fort, ons volk wel gedreijgt te slaan, gelijk ik selfs heb gesien, en ook tot differente maalen, haar aanstonds van het fort heb doen vertrekken: Sien seer ongaarne dat wij met de buijtenlandsche negers handelen: gelijk blijkt uijt het weggagen der buijtenlanders, hiervooren gemelt, en zal d' E. Comp<sup>ie</sup> off desselfs dienaren daar leggende, niet vreedig met de verre afgelegene inlanders (: schoon zij daar komen :) kunnen handelen, voor dat de nabij de post woonende negers (: in het beletten van dien hun particulier voordeel

beogende :) soo veel de meester niet kunnen speelen, en onder naauwer subject gebragt zijn, dat wel met hondert man (: als was 't ses mijl in de ronte :) kan gedaan werden.

Hiermede eijndigende, zal ik met diep eerbied en onderdanigsten respect, verblijven (: onderstond :) Wel Edele gestr: heer en E. agtb. heeren, uwe wel Edele gestr: en E. agtbares, gantsch nedrigen dienaar (: was getekent :) J. v. de Capelle (: in margine :) Cabo de Goede hoop den 3<sup>e</sup> Augustus, A<sup>o</sup> 1723.

Accordeert,  
(Geteekend) R. TULBAGH,  
E. G. Clercq.

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*Extract uit het Journaal gehouden te Fort Lagoa :—*

Saterdag 29 December 1725, een bewolkte Lugt en een Landlijk Coeltje maakende warm weer deese voormidd: quamen eenige Paraotters hier met wat Stofgoud bij haar, dat wij incogten ; vragende hun verder na de verheijd van hun Land, waar op zij seijden Seven dagen reijnsens te zijn van hier tot in hun Land, en dat aldaar gevonden wierd goud, Coper en Eliphants tanden, Seijden meede dat Paraotte, machicosje Chiremandelle en Inthowelle aan een grensende Landen waaren, en Inthowelle, Cap<sup>n</sup> of hoofd van alle deselve; een van deese Paraotters, wesende zoo hij zeijde een Cap<sup>n</sup> en gen<sup>t</sup> Pangele Jnthowisse, als wij hem vragden of hij niet wel hadde hooren Spreeken van monomotappa, antwoorden, dat hij daar wel hadde geweest, en dat er veel goud verhandelt wierd, dat uijt hunne en andere Landstreeken daar na toe wierd gebragt; Segt van sijn land nog 10 dagen reijnsens te zijn tot Monomotappa dat hij op sijn taal Blosje noemt gedagte buijtenlanders in de negerije van matekij gehuisvest zijnde, Seijden over twee daagen nog eenig Stof Goud te sullen brengen; gem: Paraotter Seijde ons nog dat veel en groote Eliphants tanden in hun land waaren, dog door de verheijd van d' weg waaren deselve te swaar om te dragen.

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*Dag Register gehouden aan Rio St. Jao van aan de wal, wat dagelijc genegotieert ende gepasseert is, in maand 7ber 1727.*

Woensdag, den 17 d° smorgens de wind fariabel en dood stil gingen na de wal met negotie, quamen bij een Cap<sup>m</sup> genaamt Kambe, dewelke ons seer vrindelijk bewellekomde gaf ons aanstonds een cagie om in te logeeren, en ons goed te bergen, vragten hem of hij geene negotie voor ons hadden, segten hij van ja en dat hij andere Capt<sup>m</sup> ook wilde laten waarschouwen om negotie te brengen, van slaaven Eliphants danden en amber, bragten ons aanstonds 1 kleijn dantje, hetwelk wij inruijlden, voorts de wind O<sup>o</sup> N<sup>d</sup> O<sup>o</sup> den geheelen dag.

Donderd. den 18<sup>en</sup> d° de wind als vooren, ruijlden van dag 2 kleijne danten na de middag en den geheelen dag, goed weer; ook vragten de Cap<sup>m</sup> wie dat wij waaren of wij niet portugeesen waaren, segten wij van neen, maar dat wij hollanders waaren quaame aldaar goede vrintschap met haar te maaken, En met haar te negotieren, segte de Cap<sup>m</sup> dat het seer goed was, maar dat daar nooijt geen hollanders geweest hadden, niet anders als portugeesen.

Vrijdag, den 19 d° smorgens de wind N<sup>d</sup> N<sup>d</sup> O<sup>o</sup> op de middag gingen met de schuijt weeder naa boord, om meer goed te haalen.

Saturdag den 20 d° smorgens de wind Noorden, den heelen dag, goed weer, bleeven dien dag aan boord.

Sondagh 21 d° smorgens de wind Z<sup>d</sup> O<sup>o</sup>, tot Z<sup>d</sup> O<sup>o</sup> Z<sup>de</sup> gingen weeder met de schuijt, met de groote kist met goed naa den Capt<sup>n</sup> Kambe, bewilkomde ons tot het tweede mal seer vrindelijk vereerde ons een Cabriet, vereerden hem weederom  $\frac{1}{2}$  p<sup>o</sup> butta waar meede hij zeer wel content was; smiddags en den heelen dag goed weer.

Maandag den 22 d° smorgens de wind Z.Z.O. ruijlden 1 koebeest voor het volk tot vervarsing, op de middag Ruijlden een Eliphants dant en een kleijn p<sup>o</sup> amber voords den geheelen dag goed weer.

Dingsd. den 23 d° smorgens t' lugtie van 't Z<sup>de</sup> tot Z.Z.O<sup>o</sup>: overdrevene lugt, Ruijlden 2 kleijne danden, voorts goed weder den geheelen dag.

Woensdagh den 24 d° weer en wind als vooren, den geheelen

dag door vragten den Capt<sup>n</sup> kambe hoe dat het land heet daar hij woont segte hij dingadinge daar waaren 4 Capitains, als

1. Dingadinge, dat is de grootste in dit land.
2. Kambe.
3. Jan Mosse.
4. Jan bidieme.

Vragten hem verder van het land Niambani en van Nialinge hoe veel Capt<sup>ns</sup> daar in Jder land waaren, gaaf hij ons tot antwoord, dat in het land van Niambani 5 Capt<sup>ns</sup> zijn als

- |  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Tembe</li> <li>2. Jan Bosse</li> <li>3. Schambe</li> </ol>                                 | } | deese drie binne de grootsten in het land Niambij. |
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>4. Jan Bisse, de laaste beijde hebben niet veel te seggen.</li> <li>5. Maboeti, En</li> </ol> |   |  |

Jn het land van Nialinge zijn 4 Capiteins, als

1. Soewaane,
2. Mahohe,
3. Mawotje,
4. Magombo.

Vragten ook den Capt<sup>n</sup> of hij ons niet condon narigt geeven van t' land Jnhambano ofte St. Marij, en van Steven Verhagens baaij ook van een plaats Malomoni of punta de la salud, of hij ook niet een Capt<sup>n</sup> kente, Imbara, welkers land geheeten is piliao, segte hij van neen, dat hij niet wust, maar van Rio de baseratte wuste hij wel dat de portugeesen daar ook quamen om te negotieeren.

Nog vragten hem, hoeveel maal des jaars de portugeesen daar quaemen, segte hij maar eenmaal des jaars en dat het nu haar tijd was om te coomen, bleeven dan wel een maand of ses leggen, te negotieeren.

Donderd den 25 d<sup>o</sup> 's morgens goed weer, Ruijlden 1 p<sup>o</sup> amber, verder niet voor gevallen.

Vrijdag den 26 d<sup>o</sup> 's morgens de wind N.O. op de middag quam den groote Capt<sup>n</sup> van dingadinge sijn zoon bij ons omme te sien wat voor negotie wij hadden, versogten aan hem, dat hij dog met ons mogte negotieren, segte hij van Ja, dat hij ons zoude slaaven, Elijphants danden, sturen vereerden hem 3 p<sup>o</sup> photassen omdat hij ons negotie soude sturen, waar met de schengagie seer wel vergenoegt, gaaven hem ook eenige soopies aracq, waar meede hij vertrok na sijn negarije.

Saturdag den 27 d<sup>o</sup> weer en wind als boven, Ruijlden 1 slaaf, verder niets voorgevallen.

Sondagh den 28 d<sup>o</sup> 's morgens de wind N.N.O. goed weer. Ruijlden 1 slaaf, voorts goed weer den geheelen dag.

Maandag den 29 d<sup>o</sup> smorgens de wind als vooren, Ruijlden 2 slaaven voorts den dag door goed weer.

Dingsdagh den 30 d<sup>o</sup> 's morgens weer en wind als booven, ruijlden 2 slaave op de midd: swaare donder, en weerligt, met reegen teegen den avond nog al swaare donder, en weer ligt de heele nagt door.

Woensdagh den 1 October 's morgens de wind van 't Z<sup>de</sup> tot Z.Z.O. betooge Lugt 't weer nog als booven den heelen dag door, ruijlden van daag 1 slaaf.

Donderd: den 2 d<sup>o</sup> 's morgens de wint Oost, ruijlden een slaaf, voorts den dag door goed weer.

Vrijdagh den 3 d<sup>o</sup> 's morgens de wind Z.Z.W<sup>t</sup> ruijlden 1 slaaf voorts de nagt door goed weer.

Saturdag den 4<sup>en</sup> 's morgens de wind Z.Z.O<sup>t</sup> ruijlden een beest voort volck tot verversing.

Sondagh den 5<sup>en</sup> d<sup>o</sup> 's morgens de wind als vooren, voorts den heelen dag goed weer.

Maandagh den 6 d<sup>o</sup> 's morgens het Lugie Zuijden goed weer, ruijlden 1 slaaf, voorts den dag door goed weer.

Dingsdagh 7<sup>en</sup> 's morgens de wind Z<sup>a</sup> tot Z.Z.O. goed weer ruijlden een slaaf, voorts den daag door goed weer.

Woensdagh den 8<sup>en</sup> d<sup>o</sup> 's morgens de wind fariabel en stil, ruijlden 2 slaaven, teegens den avond gingen met de schuijt naa boort, omdat onse goed op was vereerden den Cap<sup>tn</sup> Kambe, voor dat wij soo lange bij hem gelogeert hadden 1 p<sup>r</sup> halve bafta en een groot bos coraalen; waarmeede hij zeer wel te vreedden waar schenkte hem nog eenige soopjes aracq en naamen afscheijjt van hem, versogten hij aan ons als wij weeder quaame, dat wij bij hem dog mogten weeder komen voorts goed weer den geheelen dagh.

Donderd. den 9 dito 's morgens en inde voormiddag, goed weer ging de stuurman goudsberg en de bootsman met de schuijt naar de wal; voorts den dag door goed weer.

Vrijdagh den 10 dito 's morgens weer en wind alsvooren haalden ons geweer af om schoon te maaken, waar onder een pistool met hagel geladen zijnde onversiens afging, en den mattsroos Willem



de Groot hem quetste in zijn been, maar dog niet veel van beduijding was.

Saturdagh den 11 d° 's morgens, en op den dag als boven.

Sondagh den 12 d° 's morgens de wind N.N.O. tot N.O. goed weer, tegens den avond quaaam de stuurman en boosman met de schuijt weder aan boord, voorts de nagt door goed weer.

Maandagh den 13 dito 's morgens de wind N.N.W. met vroeg schaffen beleijden scheepsraad, door dien den stuurman Elias boudewijnsz: eenige figuren hadde geslagen onder het volk, seedert dat stuurman Gousberg en de bootsman van boort waaren, en is in de scheepsraad beslooten, dat hij van zijn ambt ontslaagen tot verder ordre, aan Rio de la Goa, bij het opperhoofd aldaar, zijn verantwoording te doen.

Dingsdagh den 14 d° 's morgens de wind Z.W. goed weer na de middag Z.Z.O. voorts den dag door.

Woensdagh den 15 dito 's morgens de wind van 't W.Z.W. door 't Z.W. tot Zuiden reegenagtig weer frisse coelte, niet voorgevallen.

Donderdagh den 16 d° 's morgens en in de voormiddag de wind O. tot O.N.O. waaren beesig om water te haalen, voorts den heelen dag goed weer.

Vrijdagh den 17 dito 's morgens weer en wind alsboven, gingen aan 't brandhout cappen.

Saturdagh den 18 dito 's morgens de wind Noorden, waaren nog al besig met brandhout te kappen, dato quaaam een moor bij ons aan boort, met 3 slaaven, welke wij van hem ruijlden vragten hem waar dat hij woonde, segte in het land van Niambani, en of hij geen negotie meer voor ons hadde, segte van Ja, dat hij nog meer wilde brengen, al wilde wij het heele schip vol slaaven hebben, quaamen met hem te braaten van de portugeesen vragten of hij van Mosambique was antwoorden van Ja en dat zij wel met haar veertig mooren in dit land waaren, om te negotieeren voor de portugeesen, en de portugeesen als zij daar quaamen, haare Eijgene Cagies hadde dat het schip digte bij zijn negarij quaaam te leggen; ook de Cap<sup>tn</sup> Tembe, Jan Bosse, en Chambe nabij hem woonden; wij segten als hij morgen weeder bij ons quaaam, soude wij met onse schuijt meede gaan, naa zijn negarij, om te zien hoe het daar uitzag het welk hij ons beloofde tracteerden hem met eenige soopies araq, waarmede seer vergenoegt vertrock.

Sondagh den 19 dito 's morgens de wind Z<sup>de</sup> tot Z.O. en O.Z.O. vanden morgen quaaam de moor weederom, bragte 3 slaave meede, welke wij ook aanstonds ruijlden.

Vroegen hem of wij nu souden met hem na zijn negarij gaan, segte Ja, als wij maar klaar waaren, lieten aanstonds de schuijt te regt maaken, naamen de moor mede in onse schuijt, en liet hij zijn kano vooruijt gaan teegens den avond kwaamen wij bij zijn negerij aan bleeven de nagt over, wees ons aanstonds een gagie aan om te logeeren, tracteerde ons zeer wel naar haar manier.

Maandagh den 20 dito 's morgens de wind N.O. goed weer, quaaam de moor bij ons in onse kagie, vereerden ons een jong lam waarvoor wij hem weederom eenige bossen coraalen van diferente soorten vereerden waarom hij versogte, Jndien wij hem van alle soorten hadden laten sien, maar daar was geen negotie meede te doen, soo als hij segte versogten, dat hij dog de drie Cap<sup>tns</sup> mogten laten roeppen, 't welk hij aanstonds liet doen tegens den midd: quaaamen sij alle drie aan, Tembe, Jan Bosse, en Cambe, groeten en bewilkomte ons zeer vriendelijk op haar maniere, sij spraaken alle drie goed portugees; de Cap<sup>tns</sup> vroege aan de moor, of wij portugeese waaren, segte hij van neen maar dat hollanders waaren, quaaamen daar in alle vriendschap, omme met haar te negotieeren, sij hoefden niet bang te weesen voor ons, want wij haar niet quaad souden doen, en alles wat wij van nooden hadden, wilden betaalen, gaaven aan haar eenige glaasen wijn, het welke haar seer wel smaakte, en bedankten haar seer vriendelijk, Ook segten de Cap<sup>tns</sup> waarom wij niet eher waaren bij haar gecoomen, indien wij al soo lange met het schip daar hadden geleegeen, segten wij als w' weederom kwaamen, dan souten wij bij haar koomen want wij niet veel goed bij ons hadden omme te negotieere wij waaren maar gecomen, om te sien wat voor coopmanschappen daar valt, en wat voor goed aldaar getrocken was het was onse eerste mal, en souten wij wel meer daar coomen, vragten verder aan haar, als nu weeder om kwaamen of zij ons niet wilde toestaan, een cagie te laten bouwen, waar zij aanstonds willig toe waaren, segten van Ja dat wij het wel mogten doen, als wij weeder quaaamen, Wij sijden dat in een maand drie â vier souden weeder daar coomen, en onse sijn soude weesen 5 Canoon-schooten en de vlaag van booven laten waaijen segte sij dat 't seer wel was vereerden aan haar als

den Cap<sup>tn</sup> Tembe 1 p<sup>e</sup> halve bafta, aan den Cap<sup>tn</sup> Jan Bosse 2 p<sup>e</sup> photasse, en aan den Cap<sup>tn</sup> Chambe 2 p<sup>e</sup> photasse versogten daarbij goede vriendschap van haar het welke sij versprooken en seer vergenoegt met ons waaren; teegens den avond gingen wij een wijzig aan de strand, om te sien de gelegentheid van de portugeesen, bevonden het ook soo gelijk de moor het ons geseijt hadden daar waaren veele kagies van de portugeesen, welke alle maal leedig stonden, ook was er een kerk, en een kerkhof, waarop veele gemetselde graaven waaren, en op elk graf een vlaggetje van wit linne, wel van ander 't half ellen lang, ook was daar een groot huijs van riet gemaakt, daar de Cap<sup>tn</sup> in logeert, en als de Cap<sup>tns</sup> daar quaam, alle de swaarte Cap<sup>tns</sup> tracteerde gingen weeder na de moor toe, ruijlden nog 2 slaaven, de moor sijn naam is Schaha, heeft nog twee zoons een heet Silima, en den anderen Molondowa, en als wij weder daar in de revier quaamen zouden, een van de moor sijn zoons met een canoe bij ons aan boord coomen en brengen ons daar bij sijn kagie met het schip ook vroegen wij aan de moor, of hij ons niet conde berigt geven van St. Mary, of Jnhambano, van Steven verhaagens baaij, ook van een plaats Molomoni, of punta de La Salut, of hij ook niet een Cap<sup>tn</sup> Jnbara welkers land Piliao geheeten is kende, segde hij van neen, van alle niet te weeten, vroeg het ook aan de Cap<sup>tns</sup>, maar sij wisten het ook niet, maar van Basaratt dat wiste hij wel, dat portugeesen daar ook quamen, ruijlden amber en Eliphants tanden, voor Coraalen en Linnen.

Dingsd. den 21 dito 's morgens wind zijden, en Z.W. gingen met de schuijt weeder na boort, naamen afscheijt van de moor, en van de Capitains, seijde de moor dat hij morgen weeder bij ons soude comen; voorts den heelen dag goed weer.

Woensdag den 22 dito 's morgens de wind N.O. betooge lugt, teegens de middag quaam de moor weeder aan boord, met 2 slaaven, welke van hem ruijlden, tracteerden met eenige soopies aracq hem, sijn zoons die hij bij sig hadde, tegens den avond vertrock hij weder met sijn soons, en ging naa Nialinge toe, om daar de nagt te blijven, indien 't te laat naar sijn cagies was.

Donderdag den 23 dito 's morgens de wind N.O. tot N.N. Oost tegens de middag quaam de moor weeder aan met 1 slaaf welke van hem ruijlden; dat was onse laaste ruijling want coraalen die waaren niet getrocken, en de roode zijl cleeden, daar wouden

sij ook niet aan, hadden alsoo met onse negotie gedaan, tracteerden de moor met zijn soons met drooge vis en rijst, en met eenige soopjes aracq, waar meede sij teegens den avond seer contant vertrocken naa haar cagie, en naamen afscheid van ons.

Vrijdag den 24 dito 's morgens de wind N.O. ook variabel en stil met donder en weerligt, in de voormiddag 't weer aan de beeter hand, ging den stuurman goudsberg met de schuijt de Rivier Niambani op, omme te visiteeren.

Saturdag den 25 dito 's morgens de wind van 't Z<sup>de</sup> tot Z.Z.Oost overdreevene lugt, verder niet voor gevallen.

Sondagh den 26 dito 's morgens 't Lugje Z.Z.O. ook dood still.

Maandagh 27 dito 's morgens de wind van 't Z.W. tot Z.Z.W<sup>e</sup> en Z<sup>de</sup> tot Z<sup>e</sup>.Z<sup>e</sup>.O<sup>e</sup>. Regenagtig weer na de middag dood stil, kuam de stuurman goudsberg met de schuijt weeder aan boord, voorts de nagt door goed weer.

Dingsdagh den 28 dito 's morgens de wind van 't Z<sup>de</sup> tot Z.W<sup>e</sup>. ging de stuurman weeder met de schuijt de Revier van Nialinge op; voorts de nagt door goed weer.

Woensdag den 29 dito de wind N<sup>e</sup>.W. voorts den dag door goed weer.

Donderd: den 30 dito 's morgens de wind van 't N.N.O. tot N.O. droogden ons kruijt aan de wal; na de middag een frisse coelte, quaaam alhier ter reede een portugees schip, voorts de nagt door goed weer.

Vrijdagh den 31 dito 's morgens de wind N.N.O. tot N.O. & O<sup>e</sup>., ging den stuurman Goudsberg, met de schuijt na het portugees schip, om te vraagen hoe de Capt<sup>n</sup> en het schip hiet voorts den dag door goed weer.

Saturdag den 1 November, 's morgens de wind van 't N.O. door 't O. tot O.Z.O. quaaam de stuurman met de schuijt weeder aan boord, bragte rapport, dat den capitain sijn naame was Bernardus de Graster, en dat hij zeer veel pakken en goed hadde meede gebragt, het schip heet Sinjoor de angoste, groot in de tagtig voet, met 3 masten, voorts den dag door goed weer.

Sondagh den 2 dito 's morgens de wind O. & O. ten Z<sup>de</sup> gingen aan 't crengen, om tussen wind en waater wat schoon te maken na de middag haalden ons tuij anker thuijs, om met de eerste goede wind naar zee te gaan; voorts de nagt door goed weer.

Maandagh den 3 dito 's morgens de wint van Noorde tot N.W.

ligten ons anker en gingen onder zeijl, voorts de nagt door buijg weer.

Wat nu aangaat de gesteltheit van de revier, soo konnen geen grooter scheepen geborgen worden, als omtrent van 80 à 100 voet, maar grooter niet.

En als men daar binnen is in de revier, kan men Niambani suijdwaarts op vaaren, tot 7, 8, à 9 mijlen tussen banke en droogteus door; het is met de schuijt overal gepeijlt de diepte van 3, 2½ vaam, ook 5 voet waater, op sommige plaatsen heel droog, alwaar sij met de schuijt hebben vast geseeten, daar de revier maar een steen worp wijt is spruijtende wel op drie a vier plaatse uijt.

Nialinge om de noord geleegeen vaarende N<sup>de</sup>, N.N.W. op, wel 4 à 5 mijl niet anders als platen en banken van 4 à 5 voet waater; omtrent de rhevier 6 à 7 mijlen opwaarts, loopt hij sig selven toe, heel droog, soo dat zij met de schuijt moesten weeder omkeeren. Gesteltheit van het Land dat is gelijk op Rio de la Goa vol bosschaghie en sandig.

Van leevens middelen is aldaar, koebeesten, schaapen, bocken, hoenders, maar geen varkens, vis in overvloed. Ook valt daar veel rijst, pompesaat, catjan, boonen, gelijk als op Rio de la Goa, batardus Risjes, suure Lamoene, oranje appels, klappers, tamarijnie, etc.

Van negotie valt, daar slaaven, Elijphants tanden, amber, maar zijn weijnig, wax, honing, daar valt ook olij om te branden, maar weijnig, booter is er ook, maar die is niet om te vervoeren, want sij is niet wel gemaakt, en kan niet duuren, waarvan een proef hebben meede gebragt.

Wat goed van den inlander best gewild, dat is wit en blauw linne, photassen, wit zijleed, wit guinees blaauw basta, ook vraagen sij na wit en blau photassen.

Coraalen bennen niet getrocken, als maar tot een toegift kleijnigheeden, als van mond kost, hoenders, vis, etc.; dat kan men nog wel daar voor bekoomen, maar groote negotie niet.

Wat aangaat de ommegang van den Inlander; soo is er wel meede om te gaan, sij benne gaar niet quaardaardig en soo als men sien kan, wel meer met Christen menschen hebben verkeert, en is men vijf [vrij] wat sekerder om Landwaard in te gaan en te negotieeren, als op Rio de la Goa, het is een heel goede natie van volck, men soude daar wel met 4 à 5 man,

konnen een Landt togt doen, omme het land te sien, sonder eenig quaad te bevreesen, van den Inlander, haar geeweerd dat is peijl en boog, waarmede sij ook veel visse schieten; Assagaijen siet men seer weijnig als wat Capitains bennen, die hebben nog wel een assagaaij in haar hand, maar verder het gemeene volck niet, die hebben peijl en boog.

Gedenckende hiermeede aan het opperhoofd d' E. heer Jan van Capelle voldaan te hebben, dienende deese voor nedrig en onderdanig rapport. (onderstond) In de Brijgantijn Victoria den 13 November 1727 (was Geteekent) Henderik Ledeboer, Johan Casper Sprussel.

Accordeert  
(Geteekend) M. ZOMER Secret<sup>r</sup>.

*Eerbiedig Rapport en Journall door ons ondergeteekende ingevolge de instructie van den E. Heer Jan Van de Capelle, Pl. Opperhoofd in Loco, gehouden in de barcas de hoop opvarende en examineerende de noord revier deser bhaaij ofte die van St. Esprit als meede ter ontdeckkinge soo veel mogelijk van de stad off keijserrijk manomotappa, als meede die van Simbaos, &c., &c. Namentlijk:*

Maandag den 8<sup>e</sup> Maart 's morgens met 't lamieren van den dag de wind Z.Z.W<sup>t</sup>. slappe en gemeene coelte goed weer, ligten dreg en stelden 't onderzeijl van voor het fortres de Lijdszaamheijd, boegde de cours na de roode L, en passeerde deselve met sonsopgang, zeijlde als doen O<sup>t</sup>N.O<sup>t</sup> langs de bank, hadden de dieptens van 3, 3½, 4v<sup>m</sup> water tot dicht voor de Portugeese besetting Z<sup>d</sup> L, alwaar de droogte van 3, 3½ v<sup>t</sup> water passeerde, en doen weder dieper bevonden, en passeerde omtrent 8 uren de Z<sup>d</sup> hoek van de Portugeese besetting, en zeijlde alsdoen kort onder de wal van de besetting heen, doordien aldaar de diepte van 8 tot 10 v<sup>t</sup> water bevonden, totdat omtrent op de helft van 't voorñ: Eijland gekomen waren, als wanneer genootsaakt waren naar de vaste wal over te steeken, soo door de droogte die daar onder 't voormelde Eijland is, alsmeede dat aldaar midden in t' vaarwater 2 & 3 Landplaten leggen, die met half tij droog loopen, de wind alsdoen westelijker lopende kregen wat meerder

coelte, soodat omtrent 10 uren de 2<sup>de</sup> hoek van gem: besettings Eijland op sij hadden, alsmeede kort daar naar het eijland barquene, daar de vloet meede kreegen, seijlde alsdoen tusschen barquene en bosheuvel Eijland door, bevonden aldaar de dieptens van 4 tot 8 v<sup>t</sup> water, tot dat omtrent 11 uren de engelse revier passeerde, alwaar deselve meede een mooie en eguale diepte soo van 8 tot 10 v<sup>t</sup> water bevonden, het windje nog al mooi door koelende, seijlde de revier van mainisse in volgens de strekking der wallen, tot dat op de middag de vlagge stok, alsmeede het hooge Land van den Cap<sup>n</sup> Machaja passeerde, op de namidd: het windje uijt en in schietende passeerde omtrent  $\frac{1}{2}$  twee een eijland waar cagies op staan, en kort daarnaar aan de W<sup>e</sup> Zijde een spruijt, voorts opwaards komende moesten een rak off twee laveeren, passeerde in die tusschen tijd aan de O<sup>t</sup> kant van de revier eenige sandduijnen, alsmeede een schoon stuk soo wey als zaayland, tot dat 't met sons ondergang dood stil wierd en de ebbe sterk tegen kregen, voor de negerij van den zoon van Cap<sup>n</sup> massanguano voor dreg kwamen, en aldaar eenige verversinge inruijlde, waar wij tot in den morgen stond bleven leggen, voorts dien avond en den geheelen nagt dood stil en buijig weder.

Dingsdag 9's morgens een uur voor den dag het windje O<sup>t</sup>Z.O. variabel en buijig met regen hadden de vloet ligten dreg en stelden 't onder zeijl langs de strekking der wallen, passeerde 2 spruijten aan de O<sup>t</sup> zijde, alsmeede een groote boschagie met een eijlandje daar tegens over aan de W<sup>t</sup> zijde van de revier, maar omtrent 8 uren het windje verflaauwende, en de ebbe sterk tegens krijgende, bevonden genoodsaakt voor het land van den Cap<sup>n</sup> hoewanij de dreg weder te laten vallen, en een goede wind af te wagten, alwaar een kleijn uurtje vertoefde, wanneer het windje uijt den W.Z.W<sup>t</sup> soetjes begon door te koelen, weder de dreg ligten, en het onder zeijl stelden, passeerde omtrent 10 uren een inham aan de O<sup>t</sup> zijde van dese revier, het windje nog al stant houdende kroopen al soetjes opwaards, tot dat omtrent 11 uren bij het hooge land van makandij quamen, alwaar kort daar aan om dat de wind Z.Z.O<sup>t</sup> liep de dreg weder moeste laten vallen, omtrent 1 uren na de midd: quam er weder een kleijn coeltje uijt den O<sup>t</sup>.Z.O<sup>t</sup>. ligten vervolgens dreg, en stelden 't weder onder zeijl, avanceerende tot omtrent 2 uren boven 't hooge land van makandij, alwaar omtrent halff vier soo om de stilte als om

de groote afwatering weder voor dreg moeste komen : 's avonds omtrent 5 uren siende dat het water wel een voet gewassen was, en de revier nog al sterk afliep, ligten weder dreg en stelden 't aan 't roeijen door dien het dood stil was, en passeerde kort daar aan aan de rechter zijde een spruijt, en misdien den donker ons overviel quamen omtrent 7 uren  $\frac{1}{2}$  mijl boven deselve voor dreg, voorts des avonds en 's nagts goed weer en dood stil, bleven alhier voor dreg leggen en verwagten den dag.

Woensdag 10<sup>e</sup> 's morgens met 't lamieren van den dagh mooi weer en dood stil hadden een sterke afwatering, ligten dreg en stelden 't aan 't roeijen de revier opwaarts, totdat omtrent 8 uren de eerste vlaggestok van mainisse aan de O<sup>e</sup> kant van de revier passeerde, en omtrent  $\frac{1}{2}$  tien in de mond van de debora spruijt op de diepte van 16 v<sup>t</sup>. water voor dreg kwamen, waarop met den eersten den P<sup>i</sup> vendrig I<sup>e</sup> Monna met de schuijt de voorm: spruijt opvoer, om te sien off deselve ook met de barcas te bevaren soude wesen, waar den voorm: P<sup>i</sup> vendrig omtrent de midd: weder quam seggende deselve tot omtrent het gebergte van wakkalange opwaarts geweest te zijn, en dat van meening was om deselve in de terug reijse met de barcas te visiteeren, waarop met den eersten weder dreg ligten en door dien het nog dood stil was stelden 't aan 't boomen tot dat omtrent 1 uur daar naar het windje uijt den Z.Z.O<sup>e</sup> begon door te koelen, en het onderzeijl stelden, passeerde kort daar naar een spruijt, alsmeede de 2<sup>de</sup> vlaggestok van mainisse aan de linker zijde, en quamen omtrent 3 uren aan het hooge land van mainisse, alwaar de wind geheel tegen kreegen, soo dat genootsaakt waren de treklijn uijt te werpen, en soo opwaarts te geraken, en quamen omtrent 4 uren onder een hooge steijle hoek van 't gebergte voor dreg, en alsdoen met den eersten den zoon van Cap<sup>n</sup> mainisse gent<sup>t</sup> machiaan liet roepen, die kort daarnaar aan boord quam, en naar eenige salutatie, en beleefde onthalinge mij berigt gaff hoedat eenige Portugeesen, welke aldaar om eenige coopmanschap te drijven geweest waren, gehoord hebbende dat er een 's Comps. vaartuijg de revier opquam, dienselfden morgen vertrocken waren, uijtgesondert twee, die bij mij liet roepen, en haar van alles ondervraagde, antwoorde inlanders van omtrent deese plaats te zijn, en nu gekomen waren om alhier weder te blijven, waar op haar weder naar de wal lieten brengen, voorts nog eenige redenkavelinge met den voorm: zoon, van de



revier opwaarts te kunnen geraken houdende, en deselve naar zijn beste wetens ons bekend makende, zijn wij ondergeteekende, en nog 2 man met volle geweer op het versoek van den voorn: zoon naar zijn vader den ouden Cap<sup>n</sup> van mainisse gegaan, dewelke alhoewel out zijnde nog in goede gesontheit bevonden, dewelke nog al de oude vrindschap 's Comp<sup>s</sup> wegen betoonde, met te seggen ons tegen 's anderen daags 's morgens een bok tot vereering soude toeschikken, waarop wij denselven alsmeede zijn zoon ook een vereering 's Comp<sup>s</sup> wegen gegeven hebben, en zijn naar afscheid van haar genomen te hebben weder naar boord gegaan, voorts dien avond en geheelen nagt dood stil, bleven voor dreg leggen en naar een goede wind wagten.

Donderdag 11. 's morgens te 2 uren begon het windje uijt den W.Z.W<sup>o</sup> mooi door te koelen, ligten dreg en stelden 't onder zeijl van voor mainisse de revier opwaards, latende de bok aldaar tot dat weder sullen komen, passeerde op d<sup>o</sup> de eerste vlaggestok boven mainisse aan de O<sup>t</sup> kant, alsmeede kort daar naar de plaats waar de 2<sup>de</sup> aan de W<sup>t</sup> zijde van de revier gestaan had, het windje begon tegens den dag mooijtjes door te koelen, wanneer dat omtrent 1½ uur boven mainisse rekende te zijn, in die tusschen tijd passeerde niet als ried aan weder zijde; en omtrent 9 uren passeerde een eijlandje meest aan de linkerhand van de revier gelegen, waar kort onder heen zeijlden, en bevonden aldaar de dieptens van 5 à 6 v<sup>t</sup> water, alhoewel midden vaarwaters 9, 10 v<sup>t</sup> en dieper, de wind als doen naar 't Z<sup>de</sup> lopende passeerde ¾ mijl boven gem: eijland spruijtje aan de regterhand en hadden alsdoen een mooie voortgang, nademidd: de wind minder wordende, en naar 't Z.O<sup>t</sup> lopende, moesten het met boomen en zeijlen langs de wal ophaalen, waar niet minder dan 5, 6, 10 v<sup>t</sup> en dieper water bevonden, omtrent 2 uren nademidd: passeerde een groote boschagie aan de regterhand van de revier, omtrent een canonschoot van gem: revier landwaard in geleegen, en wel een uur langs deselve heen is streckende, wanneer een spruijt aan dieselfde zijde passeerde dewelke soo 't scheen regt op die bosschagie aan te loopen, en nu voorbij zeijlen om dat de wind ons dienstig is, hooger op komende, wierd de revier soo naauw, dat bij naar de stroom niet door konde zeijlen, en door de diepte konde weijnig off niet met boomen voortkomen, soo dat genoodsaakt vonden, misdien het stil wierd, met sons ondergang ¾ mijl boven deselve spruijt voor

dreg te komen, en gods weer en wind aff te wagten; voorts dien avond en geheelen nagt dood stil en sware mist, het welk in de nanagt coeltjes maakte.

Vrijdag 12<sup>e</sup> 's morgens met sons opgang het lugje mooi en dood stil vonden genoodsaakt om alle de lijnen alsmeede schooten en vallen aan malkanderen te knoopen en met de schuijt opwaards te brengen om de barcas opwaards te trecken, misdien soo door de diepte als de sterke afwating niet in staat waren, om op te boomen, en door veel moeijens en sukkelens omtrent  $\frac{1}{2}$  uur boven die plaats waar voor dreg gelegen hadde, misdien de wind uijt den N<sup>de</sup> begon door te koelen in de mond van een inham aan de regterhand van de revier gelegen weder voor dreg moeste komen, dese inham is seer naauw en loopt omtrent  $\frac{1}{2}$  mijl landwaard in; in de namiddag omtrent 3 uren het windje nog uijt den N<sup>d</sup> en N.O<sup>te</sup> waaijende, probeerde nogmaals om met de schuijt de lijnen uijt te brengen, en soo opwaards te komen, maar 4 van de beste matrosen waaronder de quartierm<sup>f</sup> gerekent met de coors bevangen konden weijnig voortgang maken soodat met sons ondergang  $\frac{1}{2}$  uur boven de laatsgem: inham off spruijt weder voor dreg moeste komen, en omtrent 1 uur van dien geheelen dag g'avanceert waren voorts 's avonds en tot middernagt sterke weerligt uijt den Z<sup>d</sup> O<sup>te</sup> in de nanagt wat koelder, en in de morgenstond buijig weder met regen, tot hiertoe van mainisse aff gerekent niet aan de wal geweest en geen negers gesproken, ook soo loopt de revier tot hier toe van 't N<sup>de</sup> nog meest Oostwaard op.

Saterdag 13<sup>e</sup> 's morgens met sons opgang het lugje nog al buijig en regenagtig bragten weder de treklijn uijt om opwaards te trekken omtrent 7 uren begon het windje uijt den W<sup>t</sup>.Z.W<sup>te</sup> soetjes door te koelen, soodat met zeijlen en boomen nog iets avanceerden, maar misdien het omtrent 8 uren weder dood stil wierd, waren genoodsaakt om weder voor dreg te komen: omtrent 10 uren begon het windje uijt den Z.Z.O<sup>te</sup> mooijtjes door te koelen ligten dreg en gingen nogmaals onder zeijl, wanneer kort daar aan een spruijt aan de regterhand passeerde, als meede wat vlak land aan de linker zijde maar geen cagies, alhier wert de revier weder breeder: kort na de middag kwamen aan het land van thimbiri gelegen aan de regterhand van de revier, alwaar op den oever van deselve eenige inlanders met vis vonden staan, maar deselve niet inruijlde, dit was de 2<sup>de</sup> maal sedert dat van

mainisse aff zijn dat negers sagen : het windje nog Z.Z.O<sup>t</sup> begon mooi'tjes door te koelen, bevonden op eenige hoeken en langs de kanten eenige droogtens van 2 en 3 v<sup>t</sup> water, alhoewel midden vaarwaters dieper, konden ook eenige cagies van de tent van de barcas over 't ried in 't land van thimbiri sien staan, tegens den avond omtrent 5 uren passeerde een spruijt, dewelke sullen noemen de thimbiri spruijt, misdien deselve schijnt het voorm: land door te vloeijen ; met sons ondergang moesten een uurtje boven geñ: spruijt, omdat het dood stil wierd voor dreg komen, en bleven des nagts aldaar leggen, voorts des avonds en in de voor nagt mooi weer, en in de nanagt een swaren dauw, de revier word alhier incomati genaamt.

Zondag 14<sup>e</sup> 's morgens met sons opgang dood stil en de lucht met een sware nevel beset, bragten weder de treklijn uijt, en gingen aan 't trekken en boomen langs de wal : omtrent half acht was de mist opgetrokken, en bleeff nog al stil : omtrent 9 uren kregen een kleijn coeltje uijt den Z<sup>de</sup> zeijlde vervolgens langs de strekking der wallen totdat omtrent de middagh het landschap obganne op zijde hadden, als meede een spruijt aan de linkerzijde passeerde, waar tot tweemaal een partij inlanders aan de kant vonden staan, maar sij niets te verruijlen hadden : nademidd: omtrent 2 uren passeerde weder een spruijt aan de rechterhand alsmeede een groot stuk zaad land aan deselfde zijde, hetwelke strekt tot de negerij van den kleijnen Cap<sup>n</sup> massoloko, in die tusschen tijd passeerde een eijland midden in de revier gelegen, het welke aan de linkerhand lieten leggen, alsmeede een groot stuk weijland aan deselfde zijde ; alhier kregen een partij inlanders aan weder zijde tot geselschap die ons navolgden, hooger op komende seijlde benevens het landschap inthimani, en bevonden alhier de revier voorm: op sommige hoeken waarvan zandplaten strekken heel droog, maar aan de overzijde van dezelve 9, 10 v<sup>t</sup> en dieper : omtrent 5 uren quamen aan de negerij van den kleijnen Cap<sup>n</sup> massoloko, gelegen kort aan de revier aan de rechterhand van deselve, regt voor den voorm: Cap<sup>n</sup> zijn negerij is een groote zandplaat, alsmeede een eijlandje midden in de revier gelegen, waar tusschen beijde door zeijlden : tegens den avond het windje verminderende, seijlde en boomde tot een groot  $\frac{1}{2}$  uur boven het laatgen: eijland, waar genoodsaakt waren omdat het dood stil wierd met sons ondergang voor dreg te komen ; voorts dien avond en den geheelen nagt niets

voorgevallen, het lugje bleeff helder en klaar, bleven vervolgens alhier leggen, en wierden weijnig muskieten gewaar.

Maandag 15 's morgens met sons opgang dood stil, en de lucht met eenige wolken beset, sagen weijnig kans om met boomen en trekken opwaards te kunnen geraken, soo door de sterke afwatering, alsmeede datter 5 van de matrosen met de koorts beset waren, soodat alhier nog naar een goede wind bleven wagten; ontboden in die tusschen tijd den grooten Cap<sup>n</sup> van 't landschap inthimati, genaamt houman walonge, en wiens negerij  $\frac{1}{2}$  mijl opwaards is leggende, waar op omtrent 7 uren den voorm: zijn zoon gen<sup>t</sup> masinqua houman bij ons aan boord quam, dewelke naar een salutatie mij berigt gaff, dat de E. Heer Jan Van de Capelle aldaar ook met een diergelijk vaartuijg geweest was, ook vragende naar sijn E. gesontheit en waar was, van hetwelke hem onderrigt lieten doen; sijn volk bragten in die tusschen tijd ook hoenders tot verversing te koop dewelke lieten inruijlen, vroegen hem 's Comp<sup>s</sup> wegen off aldaar geen Eliphantstanden, amber slaven &<sup>a</sup> in te ruijlen hadde, antwoorde aldaar wel Eliphantstanden, maar die andere goederen niet te verkopen hadde, vervolgens aan hem vragende na den loop der revier incomatie, antwoorde denselve door het landschap Sanguano, en nog veel verder en hooger op te loopen, ook aan hem vernemende naar de stad Simbaos, seijde hetselve niet te kennen, maar wel het landschap Savuko, alwaar meede goud soude vallen, en nog ver hiervan daan gelegen is, aan den voorm: nog vragende, ofte daar geen bokken te verkopen waren, seijde hij deselve aldaar niet te sijn: naar dese redenen over en weer gevoert te hebben, gaff hem 's Comp<sup>s</sup> wegen een schenkagie, waarop hij consent vroeg om weder naar de wal te mogen gaan, waarop naar dat hem nog met een soopje getracteert hadde, hem met onse schuijt door de swarte jongens aan de wal liet brengen, alwaar kort daar naar bij menigte van die inlanders, soo wel op d' eene, als d' andere zijde van de revier met haar schilden en assegaaijen quamen en sig tegens de barcas overstelden wij omtrent midden in de revier, dewelke aldaar een mooie breete heeft voor dreg leggende, maakten al ons oorlogs gereedschap meede vaardig om ons te verdefenderen soo wanneer sij op ons den eersten attacq deeden: omtrent 10 uren quam den voorm: Cap<sup>n</sup> zijn zoon met een koebeest aan de kant van de revier, welke aldaar seer steijl en hoog is, meede brengende een groote partij

van die natie, soodat wel kunnen seggen aldaar meer dan 1000 waren aan beijde zijde van de revier, dewelke malkanderen begonde toe te fluijten, en ook tegens ons met haar assegaaijen te drillen, even ofte sij soo aanstonds op ons den eersten aanval wilde doen, roepende aan malkanderen om die groote sjotte, meenende 't zeijl hetwelke in top stond weg te neemen, die domme inlanders siende dat wij ook klaar stonden, riepen aan malkander dat wij onse stokken ook klaar hadden om ons te verdedeeren, bedaarden wat en gingen nedersitten, in die tusschen tijd liet den voormelden Cap<sup>n</sup> zijn zoon ons door zijn tolk toeroepen, dat hij dat koebeest voor ons aldaar gebragt hadde, van meening zijnde ons Europaanders daar meede aan de wal te lokken, maar lieten hem door onse tolk weder seggen dat versogten dat nog eens aan boord bij ons wilde komen, 't welk hij consenteerde, waarop de schuijt met de swarte jongens weder naar de wal stuurde om te haalen, waarop voor de 2<sup>de</sup> maal aan boord quam, het eerste dat hem vroegen was, hoe al dat volk alhier op de kanten soo kwamen kijken, antwoorde deselve aldaar uijt nieuwsgierigheid om soo een vaartuijg te sien gekomen waren, en dat hij aldaar een koebeest voor ons hadde mede gebragt, maar een quaad vermoeden op die quadaardige domme inlanders hebbende, seijde alleenlijk dat het koebeest voor ons te groot was, en dat hetselve ons afbederven soude, vroeg hem verder naar zijn vader en waarom die niet aan boord quam, seijde hij deselve nog aan zijn cagie te wesen, seijde ik verders dat ik met hem spreken moeste, en dat hij hem konde laten roepen, waarop hij naar een soopje gedronken te hebben, weder met onse schuijt naar de wal voer, en kort daar naar den ouden schelm, die meede onder het volk op de kant stond met onse schuijt al bevende bij ons aan boord quam, en naar een groetenisse op sijn manier gedaan te hebben ging hij neder sitten, en misdien hij soo beefde vroegen hem off hij bang was, en vervolgde dat wij niet gekomen waren om hun eenig molest aan te doen maar om in alle vrindschap met haar te negotieren t' zij in eliphantstanden, amber, slaven, &<sup>a</sup>, het geene sij hadden off wilde verkopen, ook hem vragende naar de stad Simbaos, waarop hetselve berigt kreegen als van sijn zoon voorm: vragende hem vorders naar den loop deser revier incomati, alsmeede naar de Capt<sup>m</sup> boven sijn landstreek woonende, antwoorde sijn landschap gen<sup>t</sup> inthimani nog ver dese revier opwaards te strekken, en den eersten grooten

Cap<sup>n</sup> boven hem is genaamt hoesonguo, den 2<sup>de</sup> Mawillille, den 3<sup>de</sup> manguano, wanneer dat dan soude komen aan het landschap Sanguano, daar 2 cap<sup>ns</sup> soude passeeren, den 1<sup>ste</sup> gen<sup>t</sup> matoeme, den tweeden Masjawane, waarop hij stil zweeg, vroegen hem verders naar de revier bembe of Pembe, seijde die wel te weeten, maar bij noemde deselve Wembe, en van de zee aff in te komen loopen, en soo N<sup>d</sup> waard op en landwaar in, en in dese voorgeñ: revier niet te vallen, naar dit berigt van hem gekregen te hebben, vroegen hem off hij wat wilde eten off een soopje drinken, het geene hij alles weijgerde (: of hij sulx versworen hadde, ofte wel bang was dat wij hem vergeven soude weet ik niet :) maar naar hem een schenkagie 's Comp<sup>o</sup> wegen gegeven te hebben, versogt hij om weder naar de wal te gaan, met te seggen dat hij al sijn volk daar van daan soude doen vertrekken, waarop hem met onse schuijt door de swarte jongens lieten naar de wal brengen, alwaar hij gekomen zijnde, konde wij wel haast sien wat de meening was, misdien hij een rietje nam, en wilde sijn volk daarmede weg jagen, waarop die inlanders liepen ofte sij van haar leven geen voeten hadden gehad en bleven agter 't ried sitten, en dat sij iets anders geresolveert hadden bemerkten wij wel haast door haar toe roepen dat sij van d' eene naar d' andere zijde deden met te seggen dat sij ons op de zandplaat die vooruijt legt wel soude waarnemen, hetwelke ons door de tolk geseijt wiert, maar hadde weijnig gedagten dat de revier 1 uur boven dese plaats soo schielijk droog werd; wij aldaar den geheelen dag met de wapens in de handen klaar gestaan hebbende, kregen omtrent 4 uren op de namiddag het windje uijt den Z<sup>de</sup> ligten dreg en stelden't onder zeijl, vergeselschapt aan weder zijde meer als van 1000 van dese inlandsche natie, waarop omtrent 5 uren een zandplaat in 't gesigt kregen dewelke door sijn droogte meer als de helft van de revier bereijkte, wanneer dese inlanders altemaal vooruijt liepen naar deselve, van meening zijnde ons aldaar te attacqueren, wij nog hooger op zeijlende tot kort bij de voorgeñ: zandplaat kwamen op 2½ v<sup>t</sup> water, waarop met den eersten het zeijl lieten strijken, en lieten 't wat drijven, en overwegende gelijk als 2 à 3 maal geprobeert hebbe, dat het water in den tijt van 1 etmaal wel d<sup>m</sup> valt, dat soo nu aldaar overgeraakte, in de terug reijse aldaar niet soude kunnen passeeren, so dat genootsaakt vonden, soo om de oneenigheeden met den inlander te mijden, als ook om dat in de terug reijse voor die droogte off zandplaat niet soude

blijven zitten, wederom te keeren, en in de terug reijse eenige groote spruijten, die in 't opvaren gepasseert zijn te visiteeren, so dat voor stroom weder aff lieten drijven, en passeerde met sons ondergang weder die plaats daar dat onwetende dom volk op ons den eersten attacq meende te doen, alsmede kort daar naar de negerije van den kleijnen Cap<sup>n</sup> massoloko, en ook de plaats waar volgens berigt der inlanders de barcas gen<sup>t</sup> de Juff<sup>w</sup> hendrina 1726 gestuijt heeft, en alwaar nog 5 à 6 v<sup>t</sup> water bevonden, passeerde verders de zaadlanden alsmeede het vlakke veld aan de andere zijde, gooijden omtrent aan de helft van het Zaadland even boven een eijlandje midden in de revier gelegen omtrent 's avonds te 8 uren voor dreg, en bleven alhier dien geheelen nacht leggen, voorts des avonds en 's nagts niets voorgevallen, en hadden een heldere klare lucht en dood stil.

Dingsdag 16<sup>e</sup> 's morgens met sons opgang begon de nevel heel swaar op te trekken, en 't was dood stil, ligten dreg en door de sterke afwatering dorste geen zeijl voeren, soo dat het voor stroom weder aff lieten drijven, en passeerde kort daar naar het gisteren gem: eijland, alsmeede de rest van de Zaadvelden, en quamen kort daar naar aan het landschap Obganne, passeerde kort daar naar een spruijt aan deselfde zijde alsmede nog een d<sup>e</sup> aan de andere zijde: omtrent 10 uren quamen aan het landschap thimbiri, alsmeede passeerde een soogenaamde spruijt, het windje begon alsdoen uijt den Z.Z.W<sup>te</sup> soetjes door te waaijen, maakten de fok somtijds bij om de barcas regt te houden, dreven soo voorts tusschen riedboschagies door, soodat tegens de middag weder een spruijt dewelke in 't land van thimbiri loopt passeerde, welke niet ver gepasseert waren off de revier begon heel naauw te worden, en passeerde alhier nog een inham off spruijt aan die zijde van thimbiri: nademidd: omtrent 1 uren quamen voor die spruijt dewelke regt op die groote boschagie schijnt aan te loopen voor dreg om deselve te visiteeren, gelijk den P<sup>l</sup> vendrig 1<sup>e</sup> Monna ten eersten met de schuijt derwaarts ging, en deselve wel een groot  $\frac{1}{2}$  uur opwaards voer, wanneer van den inlander berigt kreeg, dat dese spruijt door het land van thimbiri is lopende, en ook deselfde te sijn die de thimbiri spruijt genaamt hebben, het welke wel te presumeeren is, misdien het water in de boven aangehaalde uijt dese revier seer sterk landwaard in is vloedende, en alhier het water uijt deselve weder in de revier komt te vallen, 's namidd<sup>e</sup> omtrent 2 uren

ligten weder dreg, lieten het vervolgens weder voor stroom afdrijven, bevonden alhier de revier weder breeder te zijn en passeerde alsoo de voorgeën: boschagie die wel 1 uur langs de revier heen strekt: omtrent 5 uren passeerde een spruijtje, hetwelke in 't afvaren aan de linkerhand is gelegen, alsmeede kort daar naar een eijlandje hetwelke aan de rechterhand passeerde, met sons ondergang rekende nog 2 uren boven mainisse te zijn, vervolgens spoeijde nog al onsen voortganh, tot dat omtrent  $\frac{1}{2}$  tien de plaats waar dat de 2<sup>de</sup> vlaggestok boven mainisse gestaan had, alsmeede kort daar naar de 1<sup>ste</sup> vlaggestok passeerde, wanneer dat omtrent 10 uren onder een hooge steijle hoek van Mainisse weder voor dreg kwamen, en aldaar den geheelen nacht bleven leggen, voorts des avonds en 's nagts regenagtig en buijig weder, en niets aantekenens waardig voorgevallen.

Woensdag 17<sup>o</sup> 's morgens met sons opgang begon de wind uijt den Z.W<sup>te</sup> met regen vermengt sterk door te koelen, resolveerden om desen dag alhier te blijven leggen, liet met den eersten den zoon van den ouden Cap<sup>n</sup> mainisse roepen, denwelke omtrent 8 uren, wanneer den regen begon op te houden, bij ons aan boord kwam, medebrenkende dien bok, die hij in 't opvaren ons vereert had, en kogten nog buijten dien eenige verversing, omtrent 10 uren quam een van die twee inlanders dewelke in dienst der Portugeesen geweest hadden, bij ons aan boord, mede brengende een pas, dewelke door de Portugeesen geschreven en onderteekent was, waar van den adais<sup>t</sup> Leendert Spruijt met den eersten een copia naar schreeff, hetwelke volbragt hebbende lieten hem naar een soopje gedronken te hebben weder naar de wal gaan; nademidd: omtrent 3 uren sijn wij ondergeteekende door versoek van den zoon naar den ouden Cap<sup>n</sup> van mainisse sijn cagie gegaan, alwaar gekomen zijnde, vroegen aan den voorm: off hij niet eenige negotie te drijven hadde, waarop kort daar naar 7 P<sup>a</sup> Eliphants-tandjes liet brengen, seijde wij deselve niet te kunnen kopen, misdien de grootste die daar onder was omtrent 10 lb. zwaar was, en nog eenige reden 's Comp<sup>s</sup> wegen over en weer gevoert te hebben, gaff hij een pot met honing voor schenkagie aan de E. Heer Jan Van de Capelle, en naar hem een soopje tot schenkagie gegeven te hebben namen afscheijdt, en gingen tegens den avond weer naar boord, voorts des avonds en 's nagts mooi weer, en een heldere lucht.



Donderdag 18<sup>e</sup> 's morgens met sons opgang de wind uijt den Z.Z.W<sup>te</sup> met een heldere klare lucht soetjes door koelende, gingen omtrent 7 uren onder zeijl, en vervolgens aan 't laveeren g'accompagneert van den zoon van den ouden Cap<sup>n</sup> Mainisse, die seer nieusgierig was om met soo'n groot vaartuijg eens te zeijlen, passeerde op dato het hooge gebergte van Mainisse, en quamen omtrent 9 uren aan de eerste vlaggestok beneden Mainisse, alwaar, omdat de wind sterk begon toe te neemen, en het vlak in de wind was, voor dreg kwamen, en alhier bleven leggen tot nademidd: omtrent 2 uren, wanneer het windje nog uijt den Z.Z.W<sup>te</sup> waaijende, slapper begon te worden, soodat de dreg weder ligten, en het onder zeijl stelde, laveerde vervolgens de revier aff, wanneer met den eersten een spruijt aan de regterhand passeerde, en omtrent 5 uren in de mond van de debora spruijt, bij den inlander gen<sup>t</sup> glouweene, quamen, denwelke wij opseijlden, als wanneer wij bevonden, dat hij in't begin sterk om de Oost is lopende, en aldaar de diepte van 11 à 12 v<sup>t</sup> en dieper bevonden, de wind met sons ondergang Z.O<sup>t</sup> lopende, waren genoodsaakt, presumeerende omtrent 1 uur opwaards gekomen te sijn, alhier voor dreg te komen, en bleven alhier leggen, voorts des avonds en 's nagts dood stil, en continueele regen.

Vrijdag 19<sup>e</sup> 's morgens omtrent 2 uren dood stil met regen ligten dreg en stelden 't aan 't roeijende voorn: spruijt opwaards, dewelke alhier een tamelijke breete heeft, hooger op komende begon deselve alhoewel diep, naauwer te worden, met sons opgang nog al buijig en regenagtig roeijden nog al opwaarts, tot dat omtrent 6 uren een grooten inham aan de regter zijde passeerde, welke te boven gekomen zijnde de voormelde spruijt heel naauw wert, soo dat alhier bleven leggen, rekende de voorgeñ: spruijt omtrent 3 uren opwaards gekomen te sijn, den regen nog sterk aanhoudende, begon het windje uijt de Z.Z.W<sup>te</sup> te wuijen, soo dat geen kans sagen de voorn: spruijt door desselfs naauwte met de barcas hooger op te kunnen geraken, soo dat den P<sup>l</sup> vendrig I<sup>a</sup> monna, en den Cap<sup>n</sup> mainisse sijn zoon, deselve nieusgierig zijnde om meede opwaards te varen, omtrent 8 uren met het schuijtje, tot ruijm een uur boven die plaats waar de barcas voor dreg lag, opwaards voeren, alwaar bevonden deselve heel om de N<sup>d</sup> te strekken, misdien sij het hooge gebergte van Mainisse niet alleen op zijde kregen, maar al

gepasseert waren, en aldaar de voorm: spruijt geheel met ried bewassen bevonden toe te loopen, soodat weder keerde en omtrent  $\frac{1}{2}$  elff aan de barcas quamen, en kort daarnaar, misdien de lucht begon op te klaren, weder de spruijt aff aan 't roeijen en boomen stelden, en misdien deselve alhier in't afvaren meest om de West draaijd, en de wind Z<sup>de</sup> was, haalden 't zeijl in top en quamen namidd: omtrent 2 uren weder in de revier de St. Esprit, wanneer deselve weder opwaards zeijlde, en omtrent  $\frac{1}{2}$  drie even boven een spruijtje, voor de voorm: eerste vlaggestok beneden mainisse voor dreg kwamen, en aldaar een mooie vlakte, om ons proviant te droogen, hetwelke door de regen heel nat geworden was, bevonden, alwaar hetselve aan de wal lieten brengen, in die tusschen tijd versogt den voorm: Cap<sup>n</sup> zijn zoon om weder naar zijn cagie te gaan, hetwelke hem consenteerde, waarop den voorm: een Eliphants-tandje voor schenkagie aan de E. Heer Jan Van de Capelle vereerende, naar een glaasje wijn gedronken te hebben, afscheid nam en vertrok naar zijn cagie: omtrent 5 uren wanneer onse victualje weder aan boord gebragt hadden, ligten dreg en stelden 't aan 't roeijen de revier weder aff, tot dat met sons ondergang de voorgemelde debora spruijt passeerde, en omtrent 7 uren een uur beneden deselve voor dreg kwamen en bleven alhier den geheelen nacht leggen, voorts des avonds en 's nagts mooi weer en dood stil.

Saturdag 20<sup>e</sup> 's morgens omtrent 3 uren hadden goed weer en dood stil, ligten dreg en stelden 't aan 't roeijen de gem: revier aff, wanneer kort daar naar misdien de ebbe hadd<sup>n</sup>, de 2<sup>de</sup> vlaggestok beneden mainisse passeerde, kregen met sons opgang een kleijn lugje uijt den Z.W<sup>te</sup> roeijden nog verder tot dat omtrent 7 uren bij 't hooge land van Makandij quamen, hetselve gepasseert zijnde, begon de voornoemde wind mooi door te waaijen, haalden vervolgens t' zeijl in top en gingen aan t' laveren, passeerde omtrent 8 uren een inham off spruijt, dewelke op de afscheijding tusschen makandij en hoewanij legt, en omtrent 9 uren lieten het naar de wal regt voor de negerij van Cap<sup>n</sup> hoewanij op de droogte van 2 v<sup>t</sup> water loopen, om dat de vloet ons tegen quam, in die tusschen tijd hadden buijig weer met regen, vertoefde alhier tot in de namidd: omtrent 1 uren, wanner het sterkste van de vloet gedaan, en de windt Z.O<sup>t</sup> gelopen was, het weder onder zeijl stelde, en vervolgens aan 't laveeren de revier aff, tot dat omtrent 4 uren wanneer het dood stil wierd

en aan 't roeijen stelde, een sware boschagie waar een eijlandje tegens aan legt aan de West zijde van de revier passeerde, alsmede een spruijtje aan de O<sup>t</sup> zijde van deselve, als ook het riedbossche eijland aan de W<sup>t</sup> zijde lieten leggen; kort daar naar passeerde weder een spruijt aan de O<sup>t</sup> zijde van voorgen: revier, en quamen omtrent 6 uren aan de negerij van den zoon van Cap<sup>n</sup> Massanguano, dewelke passeerde en aan de W<sup>t</sup> zijde lieten leggen, en quamen omtrent 's avonds  $\frac{1}{2}$  acht aan de zandduijnen aan de O<sup>t</sup> zijde van de revier gelegen, omtrent  $\frac{1}{2}$  negen passeerde een spruijt aan de West zijde van de revier, dewelke, naar het seggen der inlanders in het land van Massanguano is lopende, op dato passeerden een eijland aan de O<sup>t</sup> zijde waar cagies op staan, de vloet sterk opkomende, passeerde omtrent 10 uren het hooge land alsmeede de vlaggestok van den grooten Capiteijn Machaja, en omtrent 11 uren een half uur beneden deselve voor dreg kwamen, en bleven alhier tot in den morgenstond leggen, voorts des avonds en 's nagts mooi weer en stil.

Zondag 21<sup>e</sup> 's morgens een uur voor 't opgaan der sonne de lucht helder en klaar en dood stil, hadden de ebbe, ligten dreg en stelden 't aan 't roeijen, tot dat met sons opgang de engelse revier passeerde, en quamen aan het eijland barquene, roeijden vervolgens tusschen bosheuvel eijland en barquene door, lager komende passeerde omtrent 8 uren de 2<sup>de</sup> hoek, kregen alsdoen een kleijn coeltje lopende van 't N. tot N.O<sup>t</sup> en O<sup>t</sup> seijlde vervolgens tusschen het eijland de Portugeese besetting en vaste wal door, kreegen alhier de vloet en maakte weijnig voortgang, soodat omtrent 11 uren de eerste L van gemelde eijland op zij kregen, het windje alsdoen O<sup>t</sup> stelden de coers langs de Noord wal heen meest Z.Z.W<sup>t</sup> aan tot op een droogte waar 4, 5, en 6 v<sup>t</sup> water bevonden, de wind alsdoen O<sup>t</sup>Z.O<sup>t</sup> lopende stelde de koers W<sup>t</sup>Z.W<sup>t</sup> regt op de roode L aan, bevonden aldaar de dieptens van 2, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ , en 3 v<sup>m</sup> water, omtrent  $\frac{1}{2}$  voor een uren hadden gemelde roode hoek op zij, boegde alsdoen de coers de revier in naar het fortres de Lijdszaamheijd, alwaar te 1 uren onse dreg lieten vallen.

Gedenkende hiermeede naar de g'eerde intentie van het P<sup>t</sup> opperhooft den E. Heer Jan Van de Capelle, onse reijse te hebben volbragt, soo dient dese voor nedrig en verschuldigt rapport, en geven ons de eere van ons te onderteekenen (: onderstond:) E. gebiedende heer, U.E. dienstwillige en gehoorsame dienaren.

( Was geteekent : ) I<sup>s</sup> Monna, L. Spruijt (: in margine :) Actum in de barcas de hoop voor dreg gevallen zijnde voor 's Comp<sup>s</sup> fortres de Lijdszaamheid den 21<sup>e</sup> maart 1728.

Accordeert,  
(Geteekend) M. ZOMER, Secret<sup>s</sup>.

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*Eerbiedig Rapport en Journaal gehouden bij ons ondergeteekende Hendrik Goutsberg bezaghebber en Michiel Zomer secretaris, ter g'eerds ordre van 't pl. opperhoofd der fortresse de lijdszaamheid aan Rio Dela goa den E. Jan van de capelle, met 's E. Comps: brigantijn schip d' Victoria, ingevolge zijn E. aan ons meede gegevene Instructie van het bevondene en voorgevallene op onse voijagie naer Inhambano ofte niambani zijnde de baaij van rio St. Jao vaz, mitsgaders (des mogelijk) die van basaratte off Steven verhaagens, alle geleegeen op de africaanse cust, benoorden de baaij van gem: rio de la goa ons voor 't overige op zee gepasseerden, Nedrig gedragende aan 't Scheeps dag Journaal bij gem: bezaghebber gehouden; vertrocken Pmo: April ende gereverteert 24 Junij 1728.*

Donderdag Pmo: April 1728. op gisteren dit bodemtjen gemonstert en geene absenten bevonden hebbende, ontvingen op den avond onse depeches van 't opperhoofd den E. Jan van de Capelle in hoofde deses gemeld, waar op ons naar boord vervoegden, deze morgen het anker geligt zijnde, stelden het (bemant wesende in 't geheel, soo schepelingen als den Secretaris, militarien en Folk van de wal 33 Coppen, als meede voorsien van 6 ijsere 3 ladders gotelingen en verdere ammonitie van oorlog naar advenant) omtrent negen uren onder zeijl met een ZW t Z slappe Coelte de rivier aff en de baaij inquamen des agtermiddags in deselve ten anker op agt vadem water, daar men de portugeeze bezetting NW t N en Jaco ofte St. Maria Eijland O t Z van ons hadde.

Vrijdag 2 Do: met den dag de wind Z enz t W goed weer, wierd de schuijt binnenboort gehaalt, het anker geligt en zee beogt, het welke ons succedeerd, teegens omtrent half twaalf uren voor de middag, wesende doen buijig weeder, en wierd de Coers geboegt O, O t N en ONO aan.

Saterdag 3 Do: de wind in 't ZOten zomber weer Zeijlende

den geheelen dag een mijl off drie buijten de wal, maar door dien al gaande weg de strand benaderden, wierd het teegens den avond ten anker gesmeeten op 18 vadem water goede zand grond niet boven een mijl van de wal, waren snagts 't baaijten in de Caart bekent gestelt voor Agnadaboa gepasseert.

Zondag 4 Do: variabel weeder, de wind een weijnig Westelijck Sienend aankoomen, wierd het anker ten eersten geligt en OZO aangestevent, onder zeijl gestelt, om wat uijt de wal te geraaken, daar w' teegens den avond ook omtrent de 4 mijlen buijten waaren, en 90 vm: water Loden, ook 80 en verder veel ondieper.

Maandag 5 Do: heden hadden den geheelen dag heel schoon weeder, blijvende als booven in 't gesigt van de wal drijven, met goed weer.

Dingsdag 6 Do: als booven.

Woensdag 7 Do: met 't Limieren van den dageraad dreeven nog al even in en uijt 't gezigt van het Land dan wat noordelijk, en weder wat oostelijk aan, alzoo doot stil was, en groote deijnsige zee maakten maar ten halff uur naar Sons opgang bequame en Schoone marsz Coelte uit den Zde: waer op het aanstonts regt Noorden voor de wind Lieten doorstaan naar de wal, een weijnig oostelijker boegende, edog op den agtermiddag te Laat werdende gedagt, deselve van nabij aan te doen, wierd geresolveert ter Passeering van d' aanstaande donkere Nagt het weederom Zeewaard bij de wind over te wenden.

Donderdag 8 Do: de wind 's morgens nog favorabel continueerende, Smeeten het weeder over naar de wal, om de rivier basarette te verkennen, meenende op die distantie der Cust te zijn, op de midd: bevonden ons ook nog omtrent de breedte van dat oord, maar in de namiddag hebbende de strekkinge van de wal vervolgt, zagen en verkende klaarlijk voor uijt Cabo das Corinthus bij gevolg voor een dag twee â drie de zee gekosen gehad hebbende buijten gissinge considerabel oostelijk door de stroomen opgevoerd sijn geworden en basarette voorbij gepasseert, dierhalven goed vonden onse reijse en cours te vervolgen naar rio St. Jao vaz om in onse wederkeringe den voorbij gepasseerden des mogelijk aan te doen. In 't begin van den agtermiddag Stierff den matts: Lucas Sandersz: van amsterdam denwelken w' op den avond, naar gewone Godsdienst den Schoot van den ocean opofferden.

Vrijdag 9 Do: 's morgens met 't Limieren van den dag waren Cabo das Corinthas gepasseert en zijden doen volgens de strekking van de strand NNO., N t O, ook Noorden heenen, en in het eijnde vande dag wagt verkenden den bezaghebber de zd: van de baaij St. Jao Vaz voorm: en wesende omtrent drie mijl van de wal, soo boegden na deselve toe, alwaar w' ten elf uuren voor de middag op de diepte van  $9\frac{1}{2}$  vadem water fijn sand grond en ten anker quaamen, voorts den geheelen dag mooi weer.

Saterdag 10 Do: desen geheelen dag met goed weer ten anker blijven leggen, door dien de wind uijt den oosten om binnen te loopen moesten blijven afwagten.

Zondag 11 Do: bleeven ten anker leggen om reeden als booven.

Maandag 12 Do: 't Oostelijk Windje van gisteren avond Laat begonnen, hebbende, ende desen morgen nog continueerende, ligten Anker en gingen na binnen, alwaar w' op 6 vm. water des agtermiddags ten 2 à 3 uuren het selve weder in de grond worpen, en bevonden in deze rivier daar nog 2 andere dos: uijt spruijten en een eijlandjen off drie in leggen in 't ZZW: een Portugees scheepjen ten anker en verstingd van den inlander die ten Eersten met haare Canootjes aan ons boord met vis quamen dat het nog het selfde scheepjen was dat aldaar quam doen onsen bodem voorleeden Jaar daar van daan vertrok met name Nostra Sinjoor d'angosta en ook nog onder 't Commando van denselfden Cap: Bernardo d' Crasto Soares.

Dingsdag 13 Do: 's morgens met den dag zomber weer zijnde, konden weijnig van ons afsien, dog teegens de midd: een weijnig opgeklaart zijnde, resolveerden wij na den Eeten met onse schuijt van onder Nialinga daar w' ten anker Laagen, eens te gaan opvaren een Stiks weegs naar Niambani toe, daar den Portugees lag, naar de Cagies van den Capn: Quambe aldaar komende vonden hem niet thuijs, maar kreegen berigt van dien Capn: broeders vrouw, dat hij voor Eenige daagen van huijs was met zijn broeder, dog dat haar beijde in een dag off vijff wederom te verwagten waaren, hier op haar vrindelijk versoekende dat soo dra sij revertieren mogte, sij haar wilde waarschouwen eens bij ons aan boort te komen, dat haar een presentjen soude ontmoeten, sijnde het ons te doen, om als hij hem soo vriendelijk queed als de voorleeden reijs om van zijn discours de vereischte verligting te erlangen, Soo omtrent den aldaar Leggende Portugeezen capn:

als wegens het wedervaaren van de 16 deserteurs sedert November maand van ons Fortres die haar Coers deze weg uijt soude genomen hebben; den avond op handen komende namen van daar afscheid en voeren wederom na onsen bescheijden bodem, voorts de nagt door stil en goed weder.

Woensdag 14 Do: 's morgens vroeg bij ons te rade gevonden zijnde onsen eersten Stuurman Jan barentsz: met de schuijt, geadsisteert van de nodige manschappen en provision aff te vaardigen naar den portugeezen bodem, die wel omtrent ruijmtjes 3 mijlen van ons aff lag, met onse vrindelijk schrijvens in de naam van ons g'eedr opperhooft van 't fortres de Lijdszaamheid aan Rio de Lagoa den E. Jan van de Capelle en sijn raad vermits sijn E. ten gehoor was gekomen dat eenige der manschappen die in Novemb: maand Laastleden uijt gem: fortres waren gedeseerteert, haar oogwit bereijkt hadden van door de woeste landen om dier streeks aangekomen te zijn, Ja selfs dat eenige van haar 't geluk soude gehad hebben bij hem Capn: in dienst aangenomen te weezen, dat w' dierhalven in Name voorsz: in alle Civilitijd en beleeftheid de restitutie van die manschappen waren versoekende, gelijk sulx in vrindschap Leevende mogentheeden malkanderen gewoon sijn in sulke occasien te behandelen. Dit aangehaald 's morgens ten agt uren affgevaardigt hebbende, quam gemelden onsen Eersten Stuurman omtrent neegen uren wederom te rug aan boord, vergeselschap van Een afgesondene zergt: en meester in qualijt van den portugeezen Capn: Bernardo de Crasto Soares die hem in 't vaarwater met een Cano, waarinne eenige mooren waaren, was ontmoed, welke Cano belast sijnde met een present van 3 schapen 3 bocken en 11 hoenders, dese afgesondene met onsen Stuurman aan boord gekomen wesende, Leverde ons een brief van genoemde Capn: over die in 't Portugees geschreeven zijnde w' hierneevens bij dit ons nedrig rapport in 't origineel overleeveren, den inhoud een weijnig door den Secrets: Somer verstaan zijnde, ende daar in bevond eenige protestation van Negotie teegens den neegerhandel, die w' souden komen te drijven ter deser plaatse, Soo tracteerden desen vriend naer sijn qualiteijt en depecheerden hem tegens de middag met onsen Stuurman weeder naar sijn bodem, aan wien w' ook naar den Capn: vrindelijk te hebben laten bedanken, tot contra present meede gaaven eenige bottellies roode wijn, een partijtje witte

beschuijt en wat hollandse Caas naar ons vermoogen, denselven begelijdende de novo met en benevens ons voorig aen hem genoteerden, met een civiel schriftelijk andwoort waar op w' gaern tegens des anderen daags bescheijd verwagten souden; onder anderen hem daarin voordragende den stand en maniere sijner Negotie in dit district aldaar niet hebbende Land off Zand, fortificatie ofte eenige Vastigheid geen stabileering van schrijff off sitplaats wegens 't geen aldaer regulier mogt passeeren maer alleenig daer komende met eenige goederen, omme deselve te verruijlen, en naar diens verruijling weeder te revertieren daer hij van daan quam, en dat w' dierhalven oordeelden in die selve voorregten te bestaan, w' dosseerden hem ook dat w' niet geloofden dat als hij ter dezer plaatse in twee maanden sijn Comportance konde beoogen daar geen vijf à ses ja langer toe soude verspillen, en wij ook niet. Voorts den geheelen dag fraaij weer en stil, als ook des snagts. P. S. den afgezondenen zergeant en meester gaf onder anderen in discours te kennen dat er 13 militairen en een timmerm: waren gepasseert, en twee gestorven, dat haar heer en meester deselve een pas verleend hadde, en dat sijn landwaards der reijse vervolgt hadden naer Sofalla waer van hier nader breeder, als w' rapport van onsen Stuurman sullen hebben ontvangen.

Donderdag 15: des smorgens admirabel mooi weer, Even naar de middag quam onse eerste Stuurman met de schuijt van den Portugeezen Cap: aan boord te rug, denwelke ons verslag deede van sijn wedervaaren bij denselven in maniere als volgt dat gem: Capn: pretendeerden hoewel geen vastigheid ofte gestabileert Comptr: veel minder documenten van bewijs sijnes Conings weegen alhier ter plaatse hadden, dat dit Land erfelijk sijn Conink was toeschrijvende, ter oorsake daar soo een langen tijd off en aan alleenig door Portugeezen was genegotieert en nooit door eenige andere natie, waar op hem gevraagd zijnde van wien het selve ingekreegen hadde, en wat blijken van Pretentie daar van waaren, Antwoorden dat sijn Conink het van God bekomen hadde; voor 't overige ons volk wel getracteert hebbende, Sond ons weeder een runderbeest tot present aan boord, met aanbieding van verdere dienst presentatie en dankbaarheid voor 't van ons bekomene: waar op w' selfs van gedagten zijn van ons morgen ochtent vroeg eens naer hem toe te begeeven op Inhasbano dat den inlander Niambani noemt in de wandeling, alwaer sijn schip



middelvaarwaters in de rivier voor zijn wooning Legt, ten fine nadere Elucidatie van hem te verneemen wat ons in Cas van Commercie en volvoering van onse ordres te doen ofte te laten sal staan, met eenen hem reciprocquelijk sijne beleeftheeden te beantwoorden. Heeft ook mede aan onsen gemelde Stuurm: geconfirmeert 't segge dat zijn afgesondene gisteren aan ons deede, dat voor eenige daagen onse deserteurs daar gepasseert waaren, ten getalle van 13. Soo dat er drie gestorven moeten weezen, van 's gelijke dat hij met haar geen andere weg wetende als naar Sofalla aff te vaardigen, voorsien van een pas, als ook van een wijng Lijwaet en Coralen. Voorts den geheelen nagt goed weer.

Vrijdag 16 Do: smorgens met het Limieren van den dageraad Hemels weeder, lieten de schujit klaer maken en voeren naar den dikgem: portugeezen Capn: toe vertrekkende van ons boord ten agt uren, en alzoo d' ebbe ons teegen quam en onderweeg doot stil wierd waren genoodsaakt middelerweegs aan de wal te houden, alwaar wij ons een weijnig onderen op de middag ophielden, met eenen om te verneemen of eenen Capn: Quambe een moor woonagtig aldaer in 't Land van Tingatinga die ons eenige daagen te vooren was gesegt Landwaard in te zijn om Slaven off tanden op te zoeken, was terug gekomen, maar sulx niet sijnde poursuiveerden naar dat wij gespijsigt hadde, de Coers naar gesegde Inhasbano om volgens voorneemen met den Portugeezen Capn: selfs te spreken, dog door continuele Stilte en contrarie wind quamen eerst des avonds ten Neegen uren bij zijn schip dat on ofte gansch afgetakelt Lag voor zijn verblijf plaats aan de wal daar hij sig met zijn volk ophielt, ende wij ons daar gaaren willende naar toe Schikken, maer wierd in haar spraak door eenige gewapende bedienden en mooren toegeroepen, dat soo laat niemand aan de wal gedoogden, Lieten haar door onsen Tolk wederaan roepen vrinden te weezen, dog zij in donker geen vrinden kennende, waaren genoodsaakt het voor die nagt voor dreg te gooijen gelijk sulx geschieden.

Saturdag 17 Do: smorgens vroeg met 't opgaan van de zon weeder schoon weer makende, en stil, wierd van de wal geroepen, dat ons maar konden aen Land vervoegen, het geene op 't moment geschiede. Aldaar komende wierden in 't fort (soo als het genaamd wierd, dog veel beeter een vierkante Craal geleek, met ruwe dunne Pallizaadjens ofte wel te zeggen zimpele latten

omringt, die met cabelgaaren aan malkander gebonden waaren daarinne een bewoonde loots sting) door den Capn: en sijn Pater binnen gehaalt ende verwellekomt, naer een weinig vertoevens en hem bedankt te hebben voor zijn gesonden runderbeest, soo met woorden als contra present van thee, wijn en pijpen naar onsen voorraad gerigt, ondervroegen hem eerstelijk en beleefdelyk naar den stand van de 16 onser gevlugten manschappen, waar op hij vrindelyk haar staat omtrent het reeds vernomene confirmeerden behalve in 't Specificceere van de tijd, seggende alhier g'arriveert te zijn ten volle getalle den 29 Xbris Laastl: dat aldaer diverse van haar door sijn meester ader waaren gelaaten en dat maer een dag off thien vertoeft hadden, doen door hem van een pas en een weijnig onderhoud voorsien sijnde, haar rheijsse vervolgt hadde naar Sofalla, dog dat sedert tijding hadde bekomen drie van de Partij gestorven te zijn, dien hij dusdanig dicifreerden als een kleijn Frans mannetje, een kort en dik persoon met grijs haar en een lang Persoon met rood do: sulx w' vermoeden te zijn Jan Baptist, Andries Gijnbergen en maximiliaan van der Meer, met aan dezen Capn: te kennen gevende dat beeter soude gedaan hebben dat dit volk opgehouden hadde in plaats van een pas off de minste onderhoud te verleenen Liet sig genoegsaam bemerken blijd genoeg te zijn dat deselve quijt geraakten: daar naar hem vragende wat off die Protestation in hadde dien hij ons betuygden in zijn aan ons gesonde missive omtrent den Neegerhandel in dese Contrijen ofte ter deser Plaatse in cas wij die quamen te oeffenen, off sijn regt soo verre was Streckende boven dat van onse heeren en meesteren, ook dat als 't sake was dat zulx maar aan sijn Conink off gesondene van sijn onderdanen alleen gepermitteert was, en ons het selve met bondige bewijsen wierd aangetoont, d'ordres alsdan van onsen g'eerden Principaal niet strekten ons tegens onse vrinden ofte bondgenooten aan te kanten, w' dan alleen ons maar soude voorsien van water, brandhout en ververssing, ons versoeck dies aangaande aan hem rigten, en in alle ordre wederom vertrekken, hier op repliceerden den Capn: selfs in volgende Terme, dat hij ons de Negotie niet in staat was om te bedisputeeren veel minder te verbieden, hij ook in geen dienst van den Conink direct uijt Europa was maar alleenig van sijn meesters soo van Sofalla als van mosambique op dese cust, dat hij van sijn pligt g'agt hadde ons die Protestation te doer

om êr sijne meesters in de tijd van kennisse te geeven, Sustineerende dat alhier nooijt imant hadde gevaaren en sijdens weetens handelplaats gehouden als de Portugeezen van twee booven aangehaalde plaatsen, en dat daarom dit riviertje haar eijgen was, hier bij 't discours stakende om bij ons nader te overleggen hoe ons te gedraagen, en door denselven ter middagmaal versogt wordende bleeven aldaer, naar den Eeten gingen daarom streeks een weijnig wandelen om 't geboomte wat te besien en die Neegers te bezoeken, waar meede de voorige keer kennis was gemaakt, dat hij wel niet en verbood, maar liet ons egter altoos door een stuk off twee van zijn deurwaarders ofte oppas-officieren vergelijden waar nijt w' besluyten dat ons bij den inlander niet alleenig vertrouwden, ter beletting van eenige Negotie met haar te onderstaan, moesten door tegentij en overgrootte Stilte ook in zijn Loots vernagten, op een sijner dagelijx in gebruik houdende alcovens, daar bij den avond ook mede Slaven in de tronk wierden geslooten.

Zondag 18 Do: smorgens vroeg goed weer zijnde dog wederom teegens Stroom en dood stil, namen van Capn: bernardus de Crasto Soares (die onder anderen in discours ook eens voorgaff Scout van 't Comptoir van Mosambicque te weezen) en zijn Goase later afscheid, en staken met de schuijt schuijn over op Nialingens wal ofte 't Land van tingatinga, en gingen weder naar de Cagies van Capn: Quambe en die van zijn broeder, welke laatste w' nu bevonde thuijs gekomen te zijn, die ons beleefdelyk ontving en beloofde naar een poos met hem over Negotie geresonneert te hebben, als zijn broeder ook soude gereverteert zijn, dat sij bij ons aan boord soude komen, dog wij konde almeede aan hem bemerken dat voor den portugeezen Capn: vreesden, egter zijn meede zoodanig van natuur dat naar Presentjes luijsteren, w' hebben hem soo veel mogelijk aangemoedigt om maer met zijn broeder quambe met Negotie ons te komen bezoeken, waar van 't succes met verlangen sullen blijven afwagten, nademiddag voeren weder van daar naar ons boord, alwaer wij teegens den avond arriveerden, voorts een gewenschten avond stond en den nagt door goed weder tot

Maandag 19 Do: met sons opgang nog al Fraaij weder, als mede den geheelen dag, quamen gelijk dagelijx barquen ofte canoos aan boord met Neegers, maar bragten niets ter Negotie tot nog toe meede dan ververssings mondkost als Limmetjes, Vis &<sup>a</sup>.

Dingsdag 20 Do: den geheelen dag schoon weder als gisteren, in de voormidd: quam er een Cano aan boord met ses Neegers die een Slavin en een kleijn kindje bij haar hadden, welke sij seijlen te willen verkoopen, maar naar met haar lang getalmt te hebben, moest se weder onverrigter saken laten vertrekken, haare Pretentien soo extravagant sijnde dat onmogelijk in haare eijsschen konden bewilligt werden, begeerende viermaal meer als haar uijtterlijk kost accordeeren, voorts de namidd: goet weder makende en tegens den avond beginnende in 't Z.Wten te weerligten, dat wel de halve nagt rondom de gantsche Lugt des aardrijks continueerden met regenvlaagen. Heden hebben wij ook geresolveert dat dewijle tot nog toe met de schuijt aan de wal niet konde uijtgeregt werden, en ook denselven gantsch ontramponneert was, hem in een dag off agt wat te Laten herstellen, ten dien eijnde den eersten stuurman en timmerm: naar de wal geschikt, om in 't bosch soo veel bequaem hout op te speuren als mogelijk was, dewelke tegens den avond ook aan boort quamen met een goede ses dms: balk van 24 vt: Lang, die morgen sullen laten doorsagen, ende ter benodiging voorsz: emploijeeren.

Woensdag 21 Do: smorgens een gantsch betrocke Lugt en soo den geheelen dag door, met groote en kleijne reegenvlaagen wierd egter den balk die gisteren uijt 't bos gekapt zijnde doorgezaagt, om te dienen als aldaer aangehaalt, w' zullen morgen dat bosch eens gaan besigtigen, en daer meerder bomen vindende bequaam daar w' dese nog toe goed oordeelden ten dienste van onse Hoog g'agte heeren en meesteren binnen boord haalen, in den avond en de nagt heldere maneschijn, dog swaar waijende uijt den Z.Z.O. en Z.Osten die

Donderdag 22 Do: met den dag nog al Sterk bleeff doorkoelen, dog sig weeder een gantsch betrocken Lugt vertoonende, naar vroeg schaffen gingen w' na de wal, aldaar komende kruijsten de bossen door en door, maar vonden geen hout meer bij 't gisteren en Eergisteren aangehaalden te vergelijken, nog wel Eenige daar op sijn best een roeijriem uijt te practizeeren zoude zijn waar van êr wel eenige bij dit bodemje soude benodigt weezen, zoo dat w'ons weeder naar Capping van een stuk off twee van die Laatste Soort naar boord vervoegden, Latende de bezaghebber deselve naar de middag van de wal afhalen, voor de rest alle maar palisaden daar men te rio delagoa sig beter ende gemakelijker

van zoude kunnen bedienen. Is ook heden wederom een Cano aan boord gekomen mede brengende ter verruijl een bequame Eliphants tand en een kleijne gantsch niet waardige, dog den Secrets: konde almeede met die verkoopers niet te regt geraaken al bood driemaal soo veel als de goederen de voorige rheijsen doen wij hier alleenig Lagen, voor dat den Portugeezen Capn: op de Rhee de quaam golden, dan was het off het met haar nog nergens naar geleek en off hij haar maer spot bood. Dierhalven dese alweder onverrigter saken vertrokken. Voorts den geheelen dag redelijk weer dog zomber en betrocke lugt, zonder doorbreeking van zon, op den avond resolveerden wij van tegen middernagt met heldere maneschijn ende dan de vloet te baat hebbende ons met de schuijt en een partijtje goederen naar de wal te begeeven naer de Cagie van Capn: quambe in 't Land van tingatinga om te sien dat als hij geretourneert mogte zijn door hem eenige Negotie op te doen, alwaer

Vrijdag 23 Do: smorgens door dien de wind ons niet gedient hadde aanquamen en een Cagie innamen ter berging van onse goederen, maer tot ons Leetweesen vernamen dat hij selfs nog al niet geretourneert was, en dat sijn broeder een tour was gaan doen na Captn: de Crasto op Inhasbano, dier halven genoodsaakt waeren van ons Campement aldaar op te Slaan om het een dag off drie aldaer te houden en haar af te wagten, met eenen die menschen daer en daaromtrent te animeeren om met eenige negotie bij ons te markt te komen dog quamen voor eerst niet als met hoenders en een weijnig andere eetwaren daar van ons voor ons en ons bijhebbende volk voorsagen naer benodiging, maar dat 't ongehoorst ons voorquam, dat was dewijle de mans niet thuijs waeren, en de vrouwen inhalig van naturel zijnde, wilde tot voor water en brandhout incluijs wel voldoening hebben. Desen dag heeft het redelijk weer gemaakt, dog nu en dan een regenvlaagjen.

Zaturdag 24 Do: den geheelen dag variabel weer makende met regenbuijen continuelijk, quamen nu en dan eenige Neegers bij ons sitten dan den een met een kleijn tandje en dan den anderen, die wel niet soude geaccepteerd hebben om haar kleijne waarde, maar ter consideratie haar niet voor 't hoeft te stoten, en ter contrarij haar aan te moedigen om met grooter soort aan 't Ligt te komen, soo ruijlden den Secrets: deselve ook maer best mogelijk in. Op den avond weder mooi maneschijn weder

makende, dog des snagts gantsch buijig met continueele harde regenvlaagen.

Zondag 25 Do: smorgens en voorts den geheelen dag nog al sulk troubel, windig en regenagtig weer, W' resolveerden om na den Eeten ofte middag schaften weder onsen bodem te benaderen, dewijle tot nog toe niets van Captn: quambe ofte van siju broeder quamen te hooren, alwaer w' des avonds aanquamen en alles nog wel bevonden, sonder iets in onse absentie gepasseert te zijn, als dat wederom heeden voor de middag twee afgesanten aan onsen bodem waren gekomen, en op ons arrivement vonden van Capn: de Crasto soares, den eenen sijn Master ofte bootsman, en den anderen sijn Calvator off timmerman ter reparatie van sijn vaartuijgen, de welke ons sijntweegen quamen begroeten met eenen, een versch wittebrood ter present van dien Capn: medebrengende, maer haar essentiele boodschap dede den eerst aangehaalde in de portugeeze taal in volgende Terme, dat haar Capn: heer en gebieder naar minsame groete Liet aanseggende dat w' ons voor hem niet hoefden te schroomen in 't Negotieeren, onse gang maar te konnen gaan, en in 't minste van sijn kant ons niet soude belet worden, ja dat het redelijk was dat men sijn best voor sijn heer en mrs: deed, met eenen vriendschaps cultiveering versogt te onderhouden, ja als het met ons believeen was, konde maar bij hem met onsen bodem komen opkanten onder Inhasbano, voor alle dese minnelijke aanbiedingen hebben w' op geantwoort dat haar Capn: vrindelijk dede bedanken, en dat w' garen bereijd waaren omme een vrindelijken ommeegang met hem te continueeren, maar w' vinden niet raadzaam bij hem te gaan ankeren, ter contrarie te blijven waar w' zijn, malkanderen in de Caart te kijken baart jalousij; den stuurman hadde haar des middags ten eeten gehouden, en bleeven desen nagt mede bij ons, naar haar wel getracteert te hebben, vertrokken

Maandag 26 Do: smorgens naar 't vroeg schaffen naar haar verblijfplaats, Lieten haar Capn: door een contra presentie van Langepijpen &\*: bedanken. Dese knaapen waren geen half uur van ons boord aff, off quamen eenige Neegers bij ons met een vrouwe slaaff en een kleijn kint, kort daarop een do: en nog een andere met een weijnig Ambra, welk alle voor een begin van negotie door den Secrets: wierd ingeruijlt, buijten d'Eliphants tandjes voorlede Saturdag aangehaalt. Verders haden

niets voorgevallen, als dat het de voorleden nagt en nu den gantschen dag donker weer heeft gemaakt met continueele sterke regenvlaagen, de wint uijt den Z.Z.Osten 't heele Springtij door.

Dingsdag 27 Do: nog al variabel weer dog den morgenstond begunstigten ons weder met een weijnig Negotie, en in de namidd: begon 't weeder zig wat te bedaaren.

Woensdag 28 Do: begon sig den dageraad in een weijnig beter gestalte op te doen als eenige daagen had gedaan, dog op den dag nu en dan nog een weijnigje reegen quam te vallen, heden een runderbeest tot ververssing voor 't gantsche scheepsvolk geruijlt. Den Secretaris nademidd: eens na de wal varende recontreerden daar buiten eenige Calabassens boter, 2 ps: goede inlandse duijms deelen van een bequame Lengte, welke een en ander des avonds met de schuijt aan boord bragt omme ter preuve aan onsen heer gebiedder meede te brengen, hebbende den Neeger (daar se van geruijlt hadde en een timmerm: of Canomaker van sijn functie onder dese Natie was) versogt dat in cas hij êr nog een paar off ses van die bequaamheijd konde appretteeren, dat die soude tot deselve prijs aanneemen, maer gelove niet dat sijn in staat sijn van in een Langen tijd dusdanige leverantie te doen, om de volgende reeden eensdeels staat weijnig off niet sulk boomgewas in dit district, daar planken van die Lengte uijt komen, ten tweede gaat haar arbeijd weijnig voort dewijle uijt een heele boom een goede plank werken en dat met instrumentjens een halve vuijst groot, altoos het is alles talmerij met haar soo in het klaarmaken als verallieenering van dien.

Donderdag 29 Do: smorgens met Sons opgang heel schoon weder zijnde ging den bezaghebber met sijn schuijtsvolk na land naar de Cagies van den Capn: Quambe meermaals gem: om te sien off hij denselven ofte sijn broeder nog niet konde te spreken komen, en van haar die dienst te obtineeren die voorleeden Jaar van die kant genooten hadden, dat is aanwijsing en besorging van Negotie, ten dien eijnde haar door een presentie aan te moedigen, middelerwijl den Secrets: aan boord blijvende, off er die morgen iets van sijn gading mogte voorkomen, gelijk voor een dag off twee aan hem beloofd was, dog en viel daar heden niet van voor als den inruijl van een paar goede Calabassen honing, in de namidd: zagen de schuijt weeder boordwaarts aan

komen laveeren, denwelke eerst des avonds met 't opsetten van de wagt arriveerden, met berigt van den bezaghebber aan den Secrets: om cito met een kist met goed aan de wal te komen, dat Captn: quambe in sijn Negerij was gearriveert en Negotie besat, waar op den Laatstgenoemde sig aanstonds appretteerden en Claar maakte om Snagts ten drie uren met de vloed aff te setten, gelijk geschiede en arriveerden

Vrijdag den 30 Do: met sons opgang bij gem: Capn: daar w' reets een Cagie off twee in huur hadden, en onse goederen inborgen, vallende den geheelen dag niets in Negotie voor als eetwaren voor ons en ons bijhebbend volk, beschonken den Capn: en sijn broeder na haar genoegen, des snagts quamen haar bij onsen Schildwagt aanmelden, benevens diverse andere Neegers die een Slaaff off twee mede bragten, die den Secretaris à tout prix sig ook meester maakten, dewijle den portugeezen Capn: (hoewel dat ons per laatste sijner gesondene hadde laten seggen dat w' vrij mogten ons best in de negotie doen, ons in niets te zullen beletten) 't geheele land liet doorsnuffelen waer maer iets Logeerden, om het ons te ontbooren en weg te ruijlen, Alles in hoge prijs dusdanig opjaagden, en om dese natie in 't minste niet voor 't hoofd te stooten is men gehouden van extra kleijne Eliphants tandjes van haar aff te neemen.

Saturdag Primo Majj gingen wij met eenig goed naer een andere Negerije van den Piscador off vissers moor, omtrent een half uur van onsen verblijfplaats, welken Piscador den secrets: gisteren was komen aanseggen dat hij een slaven jonge hadd dien hij wilde verkoopen, naer hem braaff aracq in 't Lijff gegeven hadde vieler alweder d'accoord, maar de markt overal vergiftigt zijnde door de jalousie van Capn: Crasto Soares, naar alles na boord geschikt te hebben, gingen weder naar ons vertrek bij Cap: quambe, dit begin van Negotie aan de wal deed den Secrets: resolveeren van dese Capn: met een geschenkjen alweeder aan te moedigen om er voor ons uijt te snuijven, dog op den avond braken onse goede gedagten anders uijt, hebbende sijn broeder een tour gedaen naer Niambani off Inhasbano, per expresse ordre (zoo hij seijde) van den Portugeezen Capn: quamen beijde ons rapporteeren dat van hem gedrijgt waaren op keel afsnijding dat niet moesten gedoogen dat wij bij haar Cagies in 't Land van Capn: Tingatinga souden negotieeren, maer dat alles in 't werk moesten stellen (als vrij



gering van Eetwaren te koop te brengen & a:) om ons naar boord te doen vertrekken en in der daad toonden haer soo verleege dat niet meer met ons dorsten Negotieeren, waar op w' haar verseeckerde dat geen nood hadden, maer zij dog met bangigheid Leeken behebt te zijn, beloofden ons met goederen ter verruijl aan boord te komen, dog w' bemerkten dat sulx maar was om ons weg te praaten, en den Portugeezen Captn: voldoening te doen hebben, waerop sij afscheid namen en naar haar Cagies vertrokken. Weder in de nagt ten 2 uren quamen andere Neegers ons porren met Negotie die soo veel of in 't minste geen vrees voor die Capn: hadden.

Sondag 2 Do: des smorgens heel vroeg en door den dag quamen de gebroeders Quambe dan den eenen en dan den anderen weder bij ons om een Soopjen het welke w' haer schonken, naar den geheelen dag over en weder met raisonneeren doorgebracht hebbende over dat se vrij met Negotie mogte bij ons komen, en haar daar op alles bij maniere toe aangemoedigt hebbende, soo quamen sij dese nagt ons weeder een maal 2 à 3 bij, met Eliphants tanden, die van haer ook wierden ingenoomen, en naar haar eens helder beschonken te hebben, vertrokken vergenoegt. Heeden is ons ook ter gehoor gekomen dat den Portugeezen Capt: Landwaerd in eenige mooren hadden gezonden om Slaven en andere provisien in te ruijlen 50 à 60 runderbeesten die hij nog in voorraad hadden, 't welke ons doet denken dat dewijle over sijn voorraad disponeert, mitschien van gedagten is van haast te vertrekken, off dat sijn jalousij soo groot is dat alles zoekt in te slokken, 't kost wat het wil.

Maandag 3 Do: op de belofte van de broeders Quambe dat aan ons boort wilde komen Negotie brengen, al wederom voorgevende dat het aan Lant niet doen dorsten, sonden de schuijt voor de middag met een gedeelte van onse bagagie naer boord, om dat w' daar alle niet in konden met ordre om ons met de rest cito wederom te komen afhalen van de Cagie van den Piscadör off vissers moor, waer van voorleeden Zaturdag een Jongen genegotieert was daar w' na toe wandelden. De schuijt aldaer des avonds weder aankomende vertrokken naar onsen bodem, hebbende den gem: Piscadoor ons meede belooft wat Negotie te besorgen, aldaer komende deed den pl: stuurman rapport in onse absentie niets te sijn voorgevallen.

Dingsdag 4 Do: met den dag heel schoon weder makende even

voor het vroeg schaffen quam de grote Cano ofte barquine van den portugeezen cap: Castro Soares met zijn mastro off bootsman ons weeder op zij, met de groetenisse van zijn heer, mitsgrs: van een Presentie van twee Flesse vin de palme na zijn seggen om pons van te maaken, en gesont onder dit Climaat was, en nog een fles olijven olij, waar voor w' hem beleefdelyk deed bedanken, zijn afgesant wel getracteert en vergenoegt weeder depecheerende met contra reconnaissance van 't geene wij konden missen, en dat hem soo schielijk gaarn weg hadde was om dat alle momenten Negotie te verwagten waaren, gelijk sulx ook dien dag heeft gesuccedeert.

Woensdag 5 Do: nog al goet weer, dog niets in Negotie voorgevallen.

Donderdag 6 Do: weer als Voren, komende voor de middag een partijtje honing aan boord, benevens een paar inlander deelen, Als de vorige dewelke den Secrets: inruijlden. Onder ons middagmaal quam een inlander aan boord, en den Secrets: aanzeggen dat als hij geliefden cito aan de wal te komen, in de negerij van den Piscadoor off Vissers-moor meer malen genoemt, dat er Negotie was, denwelke sig aanstons bereijde en met de schuijt aldaar komende was geobligeert om êr die nagt te placken, want sij haar goet meest bij nagt (vermits êr Soodanig Eerlijk aankomen dat het Ligt niet moogen veelen, voornamentlijk Slaven) voor oogen brengen, gelijk sulx ook wel afliep, Comende hij Secrets: naar de gantsche nagt met haar getalmt te hebben.

Vrijdag den 7 Do: van daar met een paar Slavinnen en een Eliphants tand off drie, mitsgaders een os tot ververssing voor 't gantsche Scheepsvolk weeder aan boord.

Saturdag 8 Do: al wederom gezegent weeder voor en na de middag, redelijk Negotie aan boord gekomen zijnde is weder niet gemancqueert van alles in te neemen, en de mooren die daar mede gekomen waaren, Soodanig minnelijk onthaalt met arrax Nectar dat vergenoegt vertrocken, onder belofte dat gaarn met ons te doen hebbende, niet mancqueeren soude van nader aan te komen.

Sondag 9 Do: helder Claar weder, dog met het Spring meer Wind uijt den Zuijden, op den dag diverse Swaare reegenvlagen, dat den inlander in haar Cagies hield.

Maandag 10 Do: het buijig van de nagt overgedreeven en gestilt zijnde, bequamen een Schoone morgen-stond, als meede

in den voormiddag een weijnig Negotie, en nadmidd: wederom windig als gisteren.

Dingsdag 11 Do: met den dag en de geheele voordemidd: weer en wind als vooren, dog nademiddag gantsch bedaart, stil weder, dog een weijnig reegen vallende, van 's gelijke eenige tandjes ter verruijl aangebragt.

Woensdag 12 Do: smorgens en voormidd: gantsch buijig en regenagtig weer, nademidd: bedaart en stil, heden niets gepassert, dese Natie haar gemak houdende als het regent off waaijt.

Donderdag 13 Do: met den dag zomber en na vroeg schaffen waijende het nog al een halve storm uijt den Z.Z.Oten met reegen, op de middag weder goet weer, en teegens den avond wederom heel roesemoesig met sterke wind, dat den geheele nagt door continueerden, met overgroote sterke reegen.

Vrijdag 14 Do: smorgens mitsgaders voor en na de midd: het weer nog al als de gantsche nagt geweest is, Egter quam dese morgen goed Negotie aan boord, welke den Secrets: tot geen prijs gaan liet, en de aanbrenghers content deed vertrekken.

Zaterdag 15 Do: den voorleeden nagt nog al gepasseert met sware wind en Considerabele reegenvlaagen, en doende desen morgenstond sig ook nog al niet favorabel op, willen egter hoopen dat het met het eijnde van 't spring sal cesseeren en fraaij weder beginnen te maaken. P. S. den geheelen dag door travatig weer, niet als storm en reegen, op den avond egter een weijnig opgeheldert.

Zondag 16 Do: Pinksteren, den gantschen voorleeden nagt weder sterk gewaaijt ende geregent hebbende, was het tegens den dageraad stil geworden, sijnde mooi bedaat weder, komende de zon favorabel door, dit feest was ten eersten soo gunstig dat het vroeg een Slavin met haar kind aen boord voerden en op stonts wiert ingeruijlt, en w' twijffelen niet off zullen êr nog een stuk off twee en mitschien wel drie aan de wal bekomen 't zij heeden off morgen, hebbende deselve reets in 't oog.

Maandag 17 Do: heden morgen het schoonste gewenschte weer sijnde geworden, ons best gedaan om binnen onse magt te krijgen het wild 't geene gisteren in 't oog hadden, alle welke ons ook wel is gelukt, met en benevens eenige Tandjes en ook wat Honing. N.B. d' Eliphants tanden die hier ter verruijl aankomen valle meestendeels klijn, 't is iets raars als een goede wigtige tand van 20 & 30 lb: imant in 't gesigt komt, en dan is êr dese natie

soo wijs meede dat men haar bij maniere van seggen geen gelt ofte waarde kan bieden. Den Secretaris met de negotie naar boord vertrocken sijnde, en de schuijt aan de wal gezonden hebbende, bequam

Dingsdag 18 Do: des morgens vroeg tijding van den bezaghebber dien hij aan de wal hadde gelaaten om nog een slavin van den Piscadoor te ontfangen, denwelke hij reeds g'accordeert en voldaan hadde, waerin noteerde dat die slavin hem wel geleverd was geworden, en dat deselve behoorlijk in de Schuijt was gebragt ter bewaaringe van de twee mattröosen die daar de buurt in hadden om hem vlot te houden, dog dat dit vrouwmensch van de nagt haar hadde weeten door in 't water te springen te fugeeren, sonder dat den eenen mattröos die haer volgde haar hadde kunnen attrappeeren, waar op hij Bezaghebber zijn beklag aan den piscadoor gedaan hebbende, is onder haar geresolveert vijfderlij weegen Neegers aff te sturen om haer op te zoeken, onder belofte van een present waer van 't succes sullen afwagten. Sende de schuijt cito weder naer de wal met antwoord mij Secretaris leet te zijn dese onagtsaamheijd der mattröosen te verneemen, met eenen den bezaghebber versoekende alle devoire in te spannen ter wederkrijging van dit vrouwmensch, als mede dat soo goet zij van mijn aanstonts het succes te doen weten. Tegens den avond sond mij de schuijt weeder met een slavin dien hij gesogt had (dog sonder nader kennis van den gevlugten) waer voor hem de goederen cito ter betalinge toezond, hebbende den Piscadoor soo lange sijn Borg gebleeven, en het hem doen weeten dat terwijl mijn presentie aan boord, alzo het êr reedelijk quam te avanceeren, ook wierd vereischt, en hij sig om reeden der gefugeerde aan de wal soo lang bleeff ophouden, dat hij maar sijn best souw doen om meer van dat wild te bekomen, hem ten dien eijnde van een partijtje goed en memorijtje hoe te gebruiken voorsiede. Hier op krijge

Woensdag 19 Do: des morgens vroeg vier uren in 't eijnde van de honde wagt de schuijt weeder aan boord met een schone manslaaff, dog sonder nader nieuws van de gevlugte slavin. Voorts den geheelen dag uijt êr maten schoon weer als ook gisteren geweest waar, 't windje Noordelijk Labber en Stil, senden de schuijt weder naar den bezaghebber toe.

Donderdag 20 Do: smorgens voor sons opgang kreeg ik deselve weeder met een weijnig Negotie en een briefjen van den bezag-

hebber, waarinne mij noteerden dat nog een dag off drie aan de wal wilde vertoefen, om te wagten off se de gevlugte Slavin soude opbrengen, op de gedane presentatien van vereeringe die ik hem reeds hadden laten verdubbelen, en dat middelerwijl versogt om wat goed, dewijle nu en dan wel iets te Coop verwagten, dog declareerden sig in dat briefje hij hertelijk twijffelde off die slavin in quest oojt soude weder bekomen, waer op ik resolveerde van mij ook eens heen en weder aan de wal te transporteeren, omme de saak eens regt te onderstaan, met mij nemende eenige Negotie goederen om bij occasie daar te gebruiken ofte ten gebruik te laten. Aldaar komende, en mij na den gefugeerden g' informeert te hebben, bevond dat den vissers moor Piscadoor geen schuld hadde, hebbende sijn leverantie wel gedaan, en alderwegen depaches uijtgesonden ten opsoekinge van deselve, alleenig de foute te zijn van de twee mattsosen die de beurt in de schuijt hadde. Naar dat den Piscadoor mij belooft hebbende alle devoire aan te wenden ter wederkrijging van dat vrouwmensch, en dat een andere Slavin met een tandje desen dag ingeruijlt hadde vervoegden mij snags daar op (met d' ebbe afsakkende) weder na boord latende mijne overgehoudene Negotie goederen aan den bezaghebber omme deselve bij voorkomende occasie te kunnen emploijeeren.

Vrijdag 21 Do: van de morgen vroeg aan boord gekomen zijnde begon den dageraad sig daar op seer favorabel te vertoonen, sond den bezaghebber de schuijt weeder toe en had in de voormiddag ook een slavin off 2 aan boord, dewelke inruijlden, voorts den geheelen dag schoon weder en stil.

Zaterdag 22 Do: nog al Fraaij weeder, 't windje uijt den N.O. labber coelte, dog na de middag een gemeene frisse coelte. Heden niets voorgevallen.

Zondag 23 Do: goed weder dog stilletjes met variabele winden, meede niets gepasseert.

Maandag 24 Do: Wind en weer als gisteren, goede Negotie van een manslaaff off 3 &a: gehad, Soo aan boord als van den bezaghebber aan de wal bekomen, egter nog geen nader narigt van de gefugeerde slavinne. En hebben heden vernoomen dat een van de 3 Capiteins die op Inhasbano wonen daar den Capn: Crasto de Soares van 't portugeeze scheepjen sijn verblijf is houdende, met name Chamba overleeden was, het welk den inlander off veele van haar van wijd en zijd daar na toe voerden'

ter bijwooning van zijn laatste eere op haar manier, ofte ter verjaging van haar ingebeelde doods stuijpen &a.

Dingsdag 25 Do: schoon weder Frisse Coelte uijt den Noorden, en heden weder redelijke Negotie gepasseert en ingenoomen.

Woensdag 26 Do: schoon klaar weder en frisse coelte uijt den Z.Ote fers doorwajende in de voormiddag, quam een Cano of drie aan boord, die ider in 't bijzonder Levendige Negotie mede bragte, waar van haar met êr haast ontslagen maakte en content vertrocken, vereerden haar op haer vertrek ider soo een groote bandelier coralen, den eenen wit crystal, de andere blaauwe, de derde weeder een ander soort, beloofde mij als deselve Landwaard in mogte g'estimeert zijn, dat se deselve aan haar Natie soude voordragen, en ons in den aanbreng van 't geene sij mogte magtig werden soude prefereeren, den Portugees mogt êr leggen off niet, seggende met hem niet te doen te hebben, dan dat hij de hoogste prijs meede komt te borde te brengen.

Donderdag 27 Do: 't windje uijt den Zden frisse coelte, een weijnig reegen, en in Negotie niets voorgevallen, in den agtermiddag wierd om reeden die bij verclarings bekend staan den eerst aangestelden Stuurman Jan barentsz: in banden gedetineert, en inmiddels den bezaghebber door den Secretaris van de wal ontbooden om cito aan zijn bodem te verschijnen, die ook op

Vrijdag 28 Do: smorgens vroeg aanquam, den Secretaris hem aanstonts bekend makende wat in zijn absentie voorgevallen was, hem de resolutie voorleggende die gisteren getrokken was nopens het gedrag van zijn stuurman aldaar aangehaalt, en hij deselve geleezen hebbende liet de Novo vergadering beleggen, en approbeerden het gepasseerde, gelijk ook verders te borde bragt eenige nieuwe ongehoorde opgave van bij de vijftig Flessen arak dien hij Stuurm: had weten uijt 't ruijm te practiseeren binnen een maand tijd, waar uijt quam te blijken waar van dat hij alle daagen soo brutaal geweest, en teegens ider een hadde g'ageert als een uijtsinnig mensch, waar op geresolveert is denselve naar gedane behoude rheijsse (dat God geeve) ter dispositie van den E. Jan van de Capelle en raad aan rio de Lagoa over te Leeveren. Wind en weer den gantschen dag als gisteren, dog een weijnig Negotie aan boord voorgevallen als meede door den bezaghebber van de wal meede gebragt, egter de gefugeerde

Slavinne waaromme sijn verblijf aan de wal hadde genoomen agterweegen blijvende.

Zaterdag 29 Do: de wind nog al Zuidelijk schoon fraaij weeder, in de voormiddag de schuijt om water zijnde en middelerwijl deselve in 't wederom komen was vieler een slavinne die om haar gevoeg te doen in 't galjoen gegaan was over boord, ofte om wel te seggen had dat vrouwmensch haar wel stilletjes laten vallen, terwijl den schildwagt sig gekeert had, dog zulx wiert aanstonts bemerkt en bekend gemaakt, terwijl sij haar met d' Eb liet afdrijven, haar tusschen wind en water weetende booven te houden, onsen bodem voorbij wesende, wist dat varken een bestige swemmer wel wat uijt te lachen, dog dewijle sij met d' Eb afging quam onsen schuijt daar teegens aan zijelings haar te gemoet, die haar bemerkte door ons roepen en wenken, setten op haar aan, sij dogt hem te ontswemmen, maar kreeg haar egter al buijten ons gesigt in bones, aan boord komende slooten haer op, en dit voor een exempel dienende haar alle nader te Laten verassureeren. Naar de middag nog een moeder en kind ingeruijlt, voorts den geheelen dag goet weeder.

Zondag 30 Do: mooi wedoer stil, quamen eenige Neegers met Eliphants tanden aan boord, waer van haer ontlasten.

Maandag 31 Do: goet weeder de wind Noordelijk, heden morgen stierff een slavinnetje, het welke al eenige daagen hadde siek geweest en wierd aan de wal gebragt. Verders niets gepasseert.

Dingsdag den Eersten Junij. Stil aangenaam weer, niets voorgevallen als dat men dagelijx bezig is met water en brandhout te haalen, dewijle wij met Gods hulp, weder en wind dienende, met d' eerste gelegentheid verhoopen van hier onder zeijl te gaan naar basaratte, 's tijds gelegentheid niet zijnde omme met de slaven die w' bereijds binnenboort hebben verder Noordward te gaan, sullende inmiddels alhier nog waarneemen wat in die tusschen tijd ten dienste van d' E: Comp: door den inlander sal te borde gebragt werden, dog is den Secrets: van gedagten om met den bezaghebber den grooten Capn: tingatinga eens aan sijn cagies de visite te gaan geeven, Ten eijnde regt te weeten off hij wat in te brengen heeft off niet, en te hooren wat hij van hem aff sal geeven.

Woensdag 2 Do: stil aangenaam weer als gisteren, en ook niets in Negotie voorgevallen.

Donderdag 3 Do: nog al stil aangenaam weder, dog betrocke Lugt, verders zijn nog al besig met ons bodemtje van water en brandhout te Laaten voorsien.

Vrijdag 4 Do: goed weer, 't windje nog uijt den N. aan de Westelijke kant.

Zaterdag 5 Do: als booven.

Zondag 6 Do: als booven. Maar alzoo êr in een dag off vijf geen een prauw van de swarte nog met Negotie nog met ververssing aan boord verscheen, sond men onsen tolk eens na Nialinge aan de wal om een weijnig vis en hoenders, denselven weder aan boord komende rapporteerden dat de swarte aldaar niet en deede als discoureeren over de herwaarts komste van eenige mooren van Sifalla die door den Portugeezen Capn: voor eenigen tijd waaren uijtgesonden, dat sij diverse ofte veele Sifallase Caffers met geweer voorsien hadde meede gebragt, als ook eenige panos off genaamd potasse ter Negotie van do: Capn: alzoo hij een geruijmen tijd sonder de selve hadde geweest, niets ter negotieering hadde dan ijsere Schoppen waer mede het Land wierd bearbeijd, dese Caffers die dan met geweer soude gekomen sijn souden moeten dienen om dese Natie op ordre van dien Capn: aan de kant van 't Land van den grooten capn: tingatinga (alwaer wij genegotieert hebben) te straffen, wat hier van de waarheid is weeten w' niet, Altijt dat is indisputabel dat de canoos met den inlander ons boord mijden, en ons niets derven aanbrengen tot ververssing incluijs, off zulx nu op dien selven Capn: Portugais zijn commando geschiet souden w' niet twijffelen, en om zulx rondom met onse schuijt en een weijnig manschap te gaan onderstaan vinden w' ook niet raadsaam dewijle wij redelijk onse Negotie gedaan hebbende en êr niets meer valt als meede omtrent van alles klaar sijn om onse reijse te vervolgen naar bassaratte soo het mogelijk is, om in deselve te komen ter nader ondersoek van 't door onsen heer gebiedder aan gerecommandeerd.

Maandag 7 Do: alweder Fraaij weer 't windje nog al uijt een Noordelijk handje, en niets passeerende.

Dingsdag 8 Do: 't Lugje nog al N.O. goet weer en gelijk w' eergisteren hebben aangehaalt dat w' niet raadsaam vonden ons meer met onse schuijt en een weijnig manschap aan de wal te vertrouwen, soo sullen w' het besoek van Capn: tingatinga voor dit maal meede staken ons naer gedane Negotie in geen verlegentheijd te komen. En alzoo ons bodemtje van water en



brandhout voorsien is, soo is heeden het tuij anker thuijs gehaalt, en blijven voor 't dagelijx Claar leggen, om met 't Eerste Z. Westelijk Lugje zee te kiezen.

Woensdag 9 Do: alwederom Fraaij weer, 't Lugje N.W. Nrde: en wederom N.O., in de voormiddag weder een Slavin ter verruij aan boord gekomen en ingenomen zijnde, deed den Secrets: resolveeren om nademiddag eens heen en weder aan de wal met de schuijt te gaan, met sig neemende den Corporaal en 4 Soldaaten als mede het schuijtsvolk voorsien van ider een Snaphaan, na de Cagies van den ons vrindschap gedaan hebbende Piscador ofte moor, eensdeels om van hem te verneemen wat off van de waarheid was omtrent de nouvelles van Safalla, en anderendeels om soo hij nog eenige Negotie magtig was, het van hem voor 't Laatste aff te ruijlen, maer aldaer komende, bevond alle de Cagies in die Negerij leedig staan, sonder levendige ziel ofte d' allerminste meubelen-tot potten en pannen incluijs, soo dat sustineerde denselven met alle sijne gebuuren sal gevlugt zijn, uijt vreeze voor de nieuw aangekomene Caffers voor den Portugeezen Capn: op den avond kwam denselven weder aan boord en Communiqueerden dese tijding aan den bezaghebber. Voorts wagte maar na een goede wind om te vertrekken.

Donderdag 10 Do: de wind nog al N.N.O. en N.O., bestig weer.

Vrijdag 11 Do: 't Lugje alweeder N.N.W. en tegens de namiddag en snags weder N.N.O., maer een frisse coelte.

Zaterdag 12 Do: smorgens heel vroeg de wind N.W., tegens Sons opgang bijna West dat den bezaghebber deed resolveeren van aanstonts anker te laten ligten, gelijk geschiede, 't windje voormeld fris doorwajende, Liepen geluckiglijk 't gat uijt over de diepte van 4, 5, 6, ja tot 8 vadem waater, en in vervolg weder minder ja tot 3 en 2½ vadem toe, sagen continueel in 't Z.O. en Zuiden op considerabele branding, passeerden op de middag ten een ure de hoek van Cabo das Corinthas omtrent 1½ mijl na gissinge van de wal, dese westelijke wind nam tegens den avond hard toe, en setten ons in de nagt soo diep om de Zd: in zee, en een verbolgen water makende dat W'

Zondag 13 Do: gantsch geen land meer en zagen, op den dag ging de wind wat leggen, dog de zee bleeff eeven verbolgen, egter goed weer, dat ook de gantsche nagt daar op Continueerden.

Maandag 14 Do: smorgens met den dag begon de zee zig een

weijnig meer te setten met een Noordelijk Windje, waar op Wt: aan wiert geboegt om weder wat te benaderen en des mogelijk zijnde de rivier basaratte te bestevenen, maar op de middag bevonden naar de breedte neeming dat nog al meer om de Zd: door de stroomen waaren gevoerd, en de wind nog slap uijt den N.N.W. komende waaren genoodsaakt om't over te wenden om de N.Ot: en de wind tegens den avond aldaer van daan komende, wenden het weder om N.N.W. te bestevenen, dat den gantschen nacht doorsting met goed Weder.

Dingsdag 15 Do: continuatie van weer en wind tot op de middag, wanneer men bevond door breedte neeming juist op de hoogte van Rio de Lagoa ofte 't Eijland St: maria te zijn omtrent 20 mijl na gissing van de wal, en de wind N. zijnde, lieten het om de west doorstaan tot

Woensdag 16 Do: smorgens even voor vroeg schaffen dat nog geen west meer kon bestevent werden, wenden het weder om d'oost wat noordelijker, op de middag bevonden ons op de Z. breedte van 25 gr: 30 min: en 54 gr: 44 min: Lengte, dat met een regt Noorden bestevening vlak voor de baaij van basaratte moest te Land komen, gelijk ook op den avond ten thien uren in 't N. Wten Land is gesien geworden en op 35 vadem water ons bevonden, verders werdende het voor de nacht passeering om d' oost onder de wind gestookt en behoudende heel fraaij weder tot

Donderdag 17 Do: smorgens even met sons opgang sagen omtrent 4 mijl van de wal zijnde een opening Landwaerd in net ter plaatse daar men basaratte vinden moesten, waar op aan werdend gehouden, tot dat men nog omtrent  $\frac{3}{4}$  à 1 mijl van de wal waaren, doen vertoonden sig de gesegde opening als off digt aen Strand weder gantsch toe was, met branding, waar op den bezaghebber den Secretaris en onderstuurman Jan Meijn in de Cajuijt liet komen, alwaar w' overwogen, alhoewel het gat sig toe vertoonden om het egter op 12 vadem water ten anker te laten gaan en den gem: onderstuurman met de schuijt ter nader onderzoek Landwaerd aff te depecheeren, gelijk sulx geschiede omtrent 10 uren in de voormiddag, op de middag bevonden ook door de breedte neeming bij basaratte te moeten zijn, des achtermiddags ten 4 uren quam den onderstuurman wederom aan boord met rapport dat nergens nog aan Ot: nog aen Wt: zijde van die soo gelijkende baaij off opening Landwaerd in konde binnen komen; het geen sig soo voorgedaan hadde maar

een Lage strand was, met afgrijselijke branding rond om, vertrouwende dat het binnen water dat sig van Steng vertoonden niet anders en was als het welke sig bij Springtij over die Laage Strand heenworp. En dewijle hier ofte hier omtrent geen andere rivier te bevinden ofte te beoogen is, soo is te sustineeren dat die geene dewelke dese bhaaij in de kaart opgegeeven hebben voor een bhaaij en met de naam van basaratte gedoopt geen nader onderzoek van deselve hebben genoomen als dat het van zee een mijl 3 of 4 van de wal sig soo vertoonden, gelijk het in de waarheid doet, en dat wel net soodanig als in de kaart staat afgetekend, ons anker hier op geligt en de schuijt binnen boort gehaalt zijnde, staken weder om d' oost in zee om naar rio dela goa te revertieren, zijnde Contrarij Wind van 't Z: Z. t W: en Z.Z.W: daar w' na toe moesten en soo voorts den gantschen nacht.

Vrijdag 18 Do: smorgens nog al Continuatie van weer en wind, als ook den geheelen dag door boegende om Zee te houden nog al Z.Ot: aan, dat al was wat men kon besteevenen, hebbende ook eeven na sons opgang een slave kind overboort geset dat van de nacht gestorven was, en van 's gelijke teegen den avond een do: dat in den agtermiddag stierff.

Zaterdag 19 Do: de wind nog als vooren dog een weijnig betrokken lugt, dat te mits een reegenvlaagjen veroorzaakten.

Zondag 20 Do: schoon weder, 't windje uijt den Z.Z.O. en Z. t O. waijende, wenden om de W. om onsen beschijden plaats te belopen, goed weer.

Maandag 21 Do: aangenaam weder, weer en wind als vooren, stuurden nog al Wt: aan, in de nacht met 't begin van de hondewagt wierd gesustineert Land te sien in 't W.N.W., dat klaar en duidlijk sig op deed even voor sons opgang op

Dingsdag 22 Do: en bevonden ons bezuiden 't maria Eijland ofte Jaco door de stroomen afgevoert te zijn, omtrent half elf uuren in de voormiddag zagen 't gem: eijland in 't N.N.W. van ons, waer op aanhoudende den gantschen dag en nacht door dien gantsch stil was tot smorgens sijnde

Woensdag 23 Do: ten half sessen, wanneer men in de mond van de baaij op seven vadem waater goede sand grond ten anker quaamen, hebbende de buijten hoek van 't Eijland Jaco Z.O. t Z. omtrent derde half mijl van ons, de wind Wt: vlak voor Steeven en ging een swaare Ebbe op de middag ligten anker en lieten

het naar binnen drijven, meenende heeden nog de rheede te krijgen maar mislukten, moesten het nog des avonds vlak onder de rode hoek neerleggen door stilten.

Donderdag 24 Do: goed weer, op de middag 't Lugjen oostelijk, ligten anker en zeijlden de rivier in, quamen nademiddag onder 't fortres de Lijdszaamheid (Gode zij gelooft) op 8 vadem water wederom ten anker. Gedenkende hier meede voor soo veel ons mogelijk geweest zij volgens onsen Plicht voldaan te hebben aan d' g'eerde intentie van onsen heer gebiedier den E: Jan van de Capelle voornmt: dese dienende voor eerbiedig en verschuldigt rapport.

Actum in 's E: Comps: brigantijn Scheepje d' Victoria g'ankert Leggende ter plaatse voormeld, den 24n Junij 1728.

(Geteekend) HENDK. GOUTSBERG,  
M: ZOMER.

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*Dagregister door mij ondergeteekende gehouden in de hoeker de Snuffelaar, inhoudende principlijk de voornaamste voorvallen, de negotie betreffende, geduurende de vojagie langs de Z.O kust van Africa; weesende gedestineert geweest na de Rivieren Niambani & de Lagoa, mitsgaders soodanige andere baaijen of Rivieren, als op de kust van Terra de Natal, voornamentlijk van Baij d' à lagoa af, tot op de hoogte van 29 à 30 graden vaarbaar soudon bevonden worden. Zullende deese met eenen dienen voor needrig rapport Aan den Wel Ed: gestrengen Heere Jan de Lafontaine gouverneur &c, beneevens den E. Agtbaren politicquen Raad aan Cabo de goede hoop.*

September 1731 donderdag 6 ontvingen heeden morgen de Instructie van den Wel Edelen Heer Gouverneur en E. agtb: politicquen Raad, met last om met de eerste bequame occassie zee te kiezen, en onse Reijse te vervorderen, dog alsoo de winden den 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, en 13 niet dienstig waren, was het op

Donderdag 14 dat wij des morgens heel vroeg anker ligten, en onder zeijl gingen, beneevens onse macker de Zeepost zijnde de Snuffelaar bemand met 47 coppen en gemonteert met 10 gotelingen en 4 bassen, de Zeepost met 46 coppen en gemonteert

met 8 gotelingen en 4 bassen en ijder geactualieert voor 9 maanden.

Onder zeijl sijnde wierd de cours gesteld tusschen de Oost wal en het Robben Eijland door, bovengem: Eijland gekomen sijnde, boegde men de cours naar Zee; hebbende teegen den avond en des nachts van 't Z<sup>d</sup> en Z.W<sup>t</sup> met reedelijk weer.

Ik sal onder welduiding van Uwe Wel Edelgestr: en E. agtb:, in het vervolg van de saaken, die de zeevaart betreffen, niets seggen, als daar het de noodsaakelijheid vereijst, of andersints te passe komt: latende dat over aan den schipper, en die deselve sijn aan bevoelen.

Den 15, 16, en 17. had men reedelijk weer, dog den 18, was het buijg, den 19 beterden het weer.

Donderdag 20. waijden het een frisse coelte, dog tegen den avond nam de wind af, even na het op setten van de wagt, wierd (: soo gesegt werd :) van de Hoecker de Zeepost een canonschoot gedaan, sonder dat men eenig ander zeijn door vuuren &<sup>a</sup> konde te sien krijgen, buijten het ordinaire vuur van agter op cajuijt, weesende hij een mooijsuk te loefwaard van ons, niet lang daarna bemerkten men dat hij scheen na ons toe te houden, en agter nader in ons vaarwater quam, vervolgens bemerkten men, dat hij agterlijker raakten: den schipper Marius dringe hadde de wagt, en liet het groot zeijl benevens het voormarszeijl digt maken, de fok opgijen en teegen haalen, latende het soo met groot marsz: en besaan drijven, ten eijnde hij, alsoo boven wind van ons was bij ons konde komen: dog hij veragterden hoe langer hoe meer, en met de vijf glasen in de eerste wagt, konde men sijn vuur niet meer sien, in de honde wagt meijnde den opperstuurman en andere het vuur van de Zeepost weederom te kunnen sien, waarop een Lantaarn in onse besaans roede wierd gehangen, dog met het uijtgaan van gem: wagt was het vuur weederom uijt het gesigt.

Vrijdag 21. wierd des morgens vroeg rontsom na de hoeker de Zeepost uijtgekeeken; dog hij was niet te sien; waarop den schipper de presenten scheepsraad deede te samen komen, waarin geresolveert wierd, dat wij onse cours soude vervolgen, largo bij de genomene Resolutie te sien, wij brasten vervolgens af en stuurden O.N.O. heen.

Vrijdag 28. sag men met de vierglasen in de dagwagt land, sijnde drie heuvels in het N.W<sup>t</sup> en N.N.W<sup>t</sup> van ons geleegen, en

wierd gepresumeert dat hetselve het Eijland S<sup>t</sup> Mary soude weesen.

Saterdag 29. sag men weeder wal, weesende dit de vaste kust die na Cabo das Corinthas strekt.

Sondag 30. Seijlen weeder in het gesigt van de wal, daar wij in de voormiddag een opening gewaar wierden, presumeerde de schipper en stuurlieden dat het de Rivier baserate soude weesen.

Onder deese wal suckelde men door stilte, contrarie wind en teegen stroom, tot

Maandag den 8 October als wanneer men smorgens om 8 uuren Cabo das Corintas op Zijde kreeg, sijnde 1 à 1½ mijl buijten de wal; van waar men konde sien, dat de stranden van de verst uijt steekende hoek klippig waren, en dat daarop een sterke branding stond, voor uijt sag men een lager hoek, in het N. ten W<sup>en</sup> van ons, en voorbij deselve ontdeekte men meede land, dat van gedagte hoek gesepareert was, konde de strecking van dit, ook sien over de gem: sandige hoek, meerder genadert sijnde, sag men dat de verst geleegene wal sig uijstreckten tot in het N.O<sup>t</sup> op de middag had men de gegiste Z. b. van 23 gr: 46 m:, en alsoo, soo uijt gem: breete als andere reedenen g'oordeeld wierd, dat de baaij daar men voor was, die van S<sup>t</sup> Jao Vas of Niambani moeste weesen, wierd in den scheepsraad beslooten, deselve in te zeijlen, tot op 9 à 10 vadem waters, daar te ankeren, en dan de schuijt te senden, ten eijnde de hillen te soeken, en te besien of er middel was, om verder naar binnen te komen, na de Revieren Niambani en Nialinge, uijt wijsens neevens gevoegde Resolutie, het was even na de middag als men in gedagte baaij op 9½ vadem wit fijn sand ten anker quam, en wierd de schuijt, ten fine voorsz: aanstonds afgevaardigt met den onderstuurman Jan pentz deese reverteerden omtrent middernagt, met berigt dat in de mond der Revier was geweest, en daar 9 en 10 vadem diepte gevonden, van daar was hij komen zeijlen, langs een rif, dat tusschen sijn vaarwater en ons schip lag, over de diepte van 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4 en het minste schaars 3 vadem waters, sijnde dit laatste op de punt van gem: Rif; teegen over deese punt komt een ander, van een rif dat sig van de N. wal komt af strecken, tusschen beide deese punten moest men door om naar binnen te geraken.

Dingsdag den 9. des morgens reedelijk weer de wind landelijk, ligten anker en gaan om 7 uuren onder seijl, latende de

bovengem̄: onderstuurman met de schuijt voorzeijlen; om half neegen wende de schuijt na ons toe, waarom het anker lieten vallen op 5 vadem goede sand grond; den onderstuurman aan Boord gekomen sijnde, seijde dat ter plaatse daar hij gewend hadde niet meer dan 2 en 2½ vadem waters was, en dat wij ook met soo een schraal wind, niet boven de punt van het Rif konde komen, alsoo daar een sterke stroom van vloed ging, die ons tegen gedagte punt soude aansetten; om welke reedenen, wij ten anker bleeven leggen, en wierd de schuijt met gem̄: onderstuurman weeder uijt gesonden, om alles nader te onderzoeken, terwijl men hier stil lag, soo bemerkten men dat het water weijnig op en af liep.

Op de middag reverteerde den onderstuurman pentz, seggende dat noorde van ons de punt van Rif lag, daar wij bij om en over moesten, dat hij dwars over 't Rif was gezeijlt, op schaars 2 vadem diepte, en over seijnde, over al 4, 4½, à 5 vadem had gevonden, except op de meergem̄: punt daar maar schaars 3 vadem diepte was; hij wierd aanstonds weeder uijt gesonden, met last om van hier dwars op het Rif tot in de kil, en dan door deselve, tot binnen in de Rivier te loopen, om het over al, exact af te looden en pijlen, mitsgaders soo veel doenlijk te onderzoeken, wanneer het hoog of laag water was, en hoeveel hetselve wel quam op en af te loopen; alsmeede wanneer hij binnen sijnde, eenige neegers of wel een negerij gewaar wierd, deselve met voorsigtigheid te bezoeken, en sien hoedanig hij ontfangen wierd.

Woensdag den 10. des morgens om 8 uren reverteerden onse schuijt en bragt den onderstuurman berigt, dat hij binnen was geweest, en door de kil weederom na ons toe komen zeijlen, bij de hoek van het Rif om, dat in de kil overal deselfde diepte had gevonden als vooren gesegt, en op de punt van het Rif het droogste, daar maar drie vademen waters had gevonden, weesende na sijn reecq̄: omtrent half thij, dog het water liep hier wijng op en af, maar binnen wel 6 a 7 voeten, en was het deesen morgen tusschen 5 en 6 uren, na sijn gissing binnen laag water geweest, had ook daar op de kant eenige neegers gesien, naar de welke was toegegaan, deese leijden eer sij bij hem quamen hunne wapenen, bestaande in pijl en boog van sig, noemden haar land na sijn begrip tingatinge, en scheenen als met haar gebaarden en handen, hem de willen seggen dat ons schip groot was.

Op dit bericht wierd de scheepsraad belegt, en geresolveert om met d' eerste goede en bequaame wind, het (: in Godes naame :) na binnen te setten, gelijk de neevens gevoegde resolutie komt uijt te wijsen.

Des midd: om 11 uren kreegen w' een Z.W<sup>W</sup> koeltjen waarmede onder zeijl gingen, latende de schuijt een cabel lengte à 3 vooruijt zeijlen, stuurden N. en N. ten W. aan, boegden voorts de cours om boven de punt van het Rif te komen, passeeren de diepte van 5, 4, tot 3½ vadem, toen weeder 4, 5, 5½, 4, en 3 vademen schaars, kreegen een seer schraale buij en frisse coelte, passeerde 3½, 4 en 5 vadem voorts weederom 4, 4½ en 3 vadem grond, quamen alhier, alsoo de schuijt het beraamde zeijn deed, ten anker op goede zand grond, zijnde na de midd: omtrent half twee uren, en volgens de reecq: van den onderstuurman pents, omtrent Hoogwater, en liep hetselve alhier niet boven een voet a vier op en needer en ging seer wijnig stroom; moesten alhier alsoo de wind aan 't Z.W<sup>W</sup> bleef de nagt over blijven leggen.

Donderdag 11. des morgens de wint westelijk, ligten anker en gaan met de schuijt vooruijt onder zeijl tot op 5 vadem diepte, daar het anker weeder lieten vallen, om bequamer wind af te wagten; kort hier na krijgen een oostlijk weltjen, waarmede het onder zeijl setten, dog waaren niet verre geadvanceert, of quamen op het zeijn van de schuijt die voorseijlde wederom ten anker op 3 vadem, sijnde het toen omtrent middag, den onder stuurman pentz aan boord gekomen zijnde, seijde, dat hij even voor ons maar 2½ vadem waters had gevonden, en dat hij niet anders konde bemerken, of wij waren in het herwaarts aan zeijlen met die schraale buijen reegen de regte kil voorbij gelooopen; hij wiert daarop met de schuijt uijtgesonden, om regt dwars van ons te besien of de kil konde vinden, en er middel was voor ons, om met de hoeker daarin te komen, dan of wij deselfde cours van gisteren terug soude moeten, om na binnen te geraaken, hem wierden 3 à 4 knuppel kogels meede gegeven, en enden hout tot boeijen, om op de plaatsen daar wij over konden te stellen; omtrent 2 uren in namidd: quam hij terug, hebbende tot in de kil geweest, die maar een groot quart mijl, regt dwars van ons lag, tusschen beijde waren twee ruggen daar wij over moesten, waarop schaars 3 vadem waters was, op welke hij boeijtjes hadde gelegd.



Gingen hierop onder zeijl voorbij de boeijtes henen passeerde de diepte van 3, 3½ en 3 vadem schaars, weeder 3, 3½ 3 en 3 schaars, vervolgens weederom 3, 3½, 4, 4½, 5, 6, en 7 vadem waters, waren toen regt midden in de kil, die wij met een Z.Z. W<sup>t</sup> en Z.W<sup>t</sup> ten Z<sup>d</sup> gang in liepen, tusschen het rif dat van de N<sup>t</sup> wal strekt, en dat geene daar wij bij om waren komen zeijlen door, hebbende de diepte van agt en voorts 9 en 10 vademen tot binnen, voor de mond van de Rivier Nialinge, daar wij even om een sandige punt, of hoek ten anker quamen, op 10½ vadem en goede sand grond; leggende hier gelijk als in een groote binnen baaij, sagen om de Z<sup>t</sup> van ons ook 2 à 3 Eijlandjes in deese baaij leggen, en in het Z.Z.W<sup>t</sup> verthoonde sig gelijk als nog een rivier, omtrent 3 mijlen van ons geleegen sijnde.

Kort na dat wij ten anker gekomen waren sond men den onderstuurman Jan Pents naar de kant van tingatinge, daar hij gisteren nagt was geweest, om aan den capiteijn van die Landstreek onse aankomst bekend te maken, en te sien of hij niet eenige versse vis, of andere ververssing konde bekomen: hij reverteerde des nagts omtrent 12 uren met berigt, dat hij in een groote neegerij was geweest, en wel ontfangen geworden, dog den Cap<sup>m</sup> hadde hij niet te huijs gevonden, vis, of andere ververssing hadde hij niet konnen bekomen alsoo de neegers eenpariglijk seijden, dat sij niets aan ons dorsten verkoopen, sonder toe stemming van haaren capitain.

Een slave jonge van mijn, die een weijnigje taalkundig was, had men meede naar land laten gaan, op dat den stuurman beeter te regt soude konnen komen, gelijk naderhand te meermalen gem: jonge heb meede gesonden.

Vrijdag 12. des morgens sag men een partij neegers op de Hoek van Nialinge aan de strand, naar de welke onse schuijt beneevens den opperstuurman Harmanns Nieuwland, die goed Portugees spreekt, sonden, om te besien of niet eenige van hun aan boord konde krijgen, dog zij weijgerden dit, seggende in gebrooke Portugees, dat zij sulx buijten kennis van hun capitain niet dorsten doen, spraken voorts van een oud cap<sup>m</sup>, en portugeese vaartuijgen, wijsende na de hoek van de Rivier, die in het Z.Z. W<sup>t</sup> van ons lag, noemden ook Niambani, sonder dat gem: stuurman egter regt begrip van hun seggen konde krijgen, was hij weeder na. Boord keerden. Omtrent een uur à anderhalf hiernaar, sonden den alsistent Jacob van Leijden, beneevens den

onderstuurman Jan Pentz, en mijn slave jonge als tolk na de Negerij van tingatinge, om een klein presentje van Lijwaat aan dien Heer, die na zijn land, door de neegers meede tingatinge genoemd word, te brengen, en te onderstaan of hem in geen handeling met ons konde in wikkelen : dog op den avond keerden zij vrugteloos, alsoo de neegers seijde dat hun cap<sup>m</sup> naar Niambani was gegaan, wijsende dat dit was op de hoek van de Rivier die wij in 't Z.Z.W<sup>t</sup> van ons hadden, en sonder consent van haar opperhoofd, konden niets verruijlen nog verkoopen, wilden selfs geen lapje Lijwaat tot vereering aanneemen ; betuijgde egter wel met ons te willen handelen, als maar permissie konde bekomen ; het selfde seijden ook die van Nialinge, daar de onse in het te rug komen in passant waren aangeweest ; deese laasten beloofden ook morgen ogtent vis aan haar te zullen verkoopen, als maar met de schuijt aan land quamen : sagen heeden verscheijde canoas leggen vissen, dog geen van haar quam bij ons aan boord, selfs niet eens digte bij het schip.

Saturdag 13. des morgens waijde een zijdelijk lugje met een reegenagtige lugt, om 7 uren sonden onse schuijt met den stuurm: pentz na Nialinge, om te besien of de neegers hun woord, van vis te verkoopen zoude houden ; kort nadat ons schuijt was afgegaan passeerden ons 3 canos, die meede na de hoek van Nialinge liepen, van waar onse schuijt terug comende, berigte den onderstuurman, dat met eene der bovengem: Canoas was aangekomen, een gekleede caffer, met een geknopte rottang in zijn hand, den welke teegens de onse had gesezt, dat zij in't minste geen handel met ons konde drijven, selfs geen ververssing, water nog Brandhout toestaan, voor dat wij van de twee capitainen, die noemde Condwete en Jan Olabij, woonende op Niambani, consent daartoe hadde bekomen.

Op dit berigt wierd den raad belegt en goed gevonden, den adsistent Jacob van Leijden en onderstuurman Jan Pentz met de schuijt na gedagte Niambani te senden, om te besien of die Heeren Capitainen, konde beweegen, met ons in handeling te treden, ten welken eijnde hun eenig Lijwaat tot een schenkagie wierde meede gegeeven, alles breeder in de bijgevoegde resolutie te sien.

Des avonds om ses uren revertcerden onse afgesondene, met berigt dat zij op Niambani aan de strand komende, een groot

getal neegers gewapent met Pijl en boog, sommige ook met assegaijen, daar hadden gevonden, en bij deese ook eenige Portugeesen op d' Europische wijze gewapent, een van deese, die eenige commando scheen te hebben, verwelkomden haar seer beleeft, en leijden haar, met de rest der zijne geaccompagneert, naar een pagger, in de welke een woonhuijs stond, daar zij in een buijte gallerij nog twee portugeesen vonden, die haar vrindelijk welkome heeten, en bij hun needersitten : kort daar na vraagde een van deese, die de principaalste scheen te zijn, van waar zij quamen, en wat hun aanbrengen was : het door de onse hun kortelijk gesejt sijnde, soo ging een der portugeesen, naar binnen bij den capiteijn, of opperhoofd, die zij almere Mendo noemden, en seijden onpasselijk te zijn : deese weeder buijten gekomen sijnde, seijde uijt naam van zijn capitain, dat alsoo ter dier plaats, een vastigheid van den koning van portugaal zijn Heer en meester was, bij geen de minste handeling konde of mogte toestaan, maar ververssing, water en Brandhout woude hij ons leveren, soo veel als wij benoodigt waren, dog vooraf wilde hij de capitain van ons schip en de supercarga gaarne selfs spreken, versogt dierhalven dat die morgen bij hem wilde komen. Terwijl de onse hier saten verstonden zij dat de geene welke het woord teegens hun hadden gevoert, het eene de Priester, en het ander, sijnde dengeene die hun aan strand hadde ontfangen de sergeant was, het huijs daar zij saten, was in het vierkant omset met seer dunne pallissaten, hebbende aan ijder zijde van den ingang een opening daar een Bas, of kleen stuk geschut in conde leggen.

Teegen deese pagger over, sagen sij nog een ander, meede vierkant, dog met dicker pallissaden omset, hebbende op eijder hoek een soort van een rondeeltje of torentje van strooij, op de wijze als de cap van een neegers cagie rond op gehaalt, en een schietgat a vier; konden ook sien dat daarin basjes lagen, dog niet wel bekennen, of in alle de schietgaten basjes waren; dit vierkant noemden zij hun fort, waijende van eene der punten hun vlagge : d' onse wierd niet gepermitteerd hetselve van binnen te besigtigen mogten selfs niet rondsom hetselve gaan.

Nog eenigen tijd geseeten hebbende, en weggaande, wierden zij tot op de strand toe uijt geleij gedaan, daar de portugeesen met veel vrundschap afscheid namen, en wierden hier op het

vertrek, aan d' onse gesonden door den capitain de volgende ververssingen, als

1 koebeest

7 kleene levendige varkens

6 hoenders, benevens wat pisang

en kool of liever koolsbladeren, dewijl soo slegt waren, dat de naam van kool niet meriteerden; het Lijwaat dat aan onse afgesondene tot een schenkagie was meede gegeven, hadden den capitain niet willen aanneemen, seggende dat het geene hij aan ons sond te gering was, en dat verhoopten ons morgen selfs te spreken.

Zondag 14. deesen morgen wierd het koebeest dat gisteren hadde gekreegen, geslagt tot ververssing voor ons scheeps volk: en in de voormiddag tusschen 9 en 10 uren gingen de schipper Marinus dringe en ik, benevens den onderstuurman Jan Pentz en sergeant Jan Honselaar met de schuijt opwaard naar Niambani, om den Portugeesen Cap<sup>m</sup> te gaan sien en spreken: het was op de middag als wij daar aanlanden, en wierden aan de strand door den Cap<sup>m</sup> selfs, den Pater, Schriba, en een sergeant met 4 gewapende militairen ontfangen, verwellekomt, en na binnen geconvojeerd, bij de Poort van de pagger komende, stapten de serg<sup>t</sup> met zijn soldaten vooruijt, en stelden sig in twee reijen, tusschen welke door, wij na binnen stapten, alwaar wij ons benevens den Capitain en paap ter needer setten. Hier een moment geseeten hebbende, vragde den Capitain onse namen, van waar wij gekomen waren, en wat de reeden van onse komst was; hetwelk hem kortelijk wierd gesezt, en hem na sijn naam gevraagt, waarop hij antwoorde dat zijn naam was Joan de fonseka Moenier, en excuserde sig dat gisteren niet in persoon met de onse hadde konnen spreken, hebbende sijn onpasselijkheid sulx niet toegelaten.

Wijders quam hij tot b'antwoording van ons voorstel, en seijde dat ververssing, water, Branthout, en wat aldaar wierd gevonden tot ons dienst was, dog met ons negotieren konde hij niet doen, maar protesteerde uijt naam van sijn Coning teegens het doen van eenigen handel met de Inwoonders hier omtrent, als weesende alle subaltairne van sijn koning, die reeds ruijm twee hondert Jaaren dit land hadde besecten, sonder dat hij Cap<sup>m</sup> wiste, dat hier ooit eenige scheepen van andere naties waren geweest als in de Jaaren 1727 en 1728, wanneer een hollandsche

Brigantijn daar was geweest, en met den Inlander gehandelt, om welke reedenen thans hier seedert ruim 2 Jaaren een vaste postering was gehouden, die er bevoorens niet was geweest, maar hadden jaarlijx maar met een scheepje gekomen om hier te handelen, vertrekkende na een legging van 4 à 5 maanden wederom na Mosambicque, Seijde ook dat zijn Conink weijnig voordeelen van deese plaats trok, en het houden van de post meest was, om zijn regt te bewaren, welk bevoorens gedurende de absentie van een scheepje aan eenige daar woonende mooren was aanbetrouwt geweest.

Naar nog eenige andere reeden wisseling, wierd te tafel gedekt, daar wij benevens den Cap<sup>m</sup> op zijne nodiging aan gingen zitten, benevens de paap die men niet konde kennen als aan zijn geschooren kruijn, dewijl gekleed ging als d' andere portugeesen. Wij hadden maar een wijng gegeeten, als men van de kant van Nialinge een canonschoot hoorde doen, en tijding gebragt dat er een schip quam; den Cap<sup>m</sup> seijde daarop met blijdschap, dat sal ons schip weesen, dat wij alle dagen te verwagten hebben, en gaf last om met een der basjes van zijn fort te b'antwoorden, dat hun ordinaire zeijn was soo als wij verstonden.

Terwijl den Cap<sup>m</sup> deese ordres gaf, seijde de schipper in gebrooke portugees, wie weet of het onse macker niet en is, dit seggen ontstelde den Cap<sup>m</sup>, en vraagde ons of wij nog een schip verwagten, wij antwoorden ja, dat die in Zee van ons was geraakt, en wij hem hier een maand moesten in wagten: dit seggen ontsetten hem nog meer, stond verbaast van tafel op latende ons en de paap alleenig zitten, dog quam na korten tijd weeder bij, hebbende na alle apparentie eenige ordres weesen stellen op zijn fort: om dees tijd wierd hem berigt gebragt, dat het binnen gekomene schip, digt bij het onse ten anker was gekomen, waarom den Cap<sup>m</sup> vast stelde dat het onse macker moeste weesen, dewijl haar schip altijd direct voor de post ten anker quam, hij betuygde opentlijk zijn wantrouwen, dewijl hem bij onse aankomst van geen tweede schip hadden gesegt: dog wij verseekerden hem dat schoon het onse Compagnon mogte sijn, hij de minste quade gedagten van ons niet moeste hebben, dat vrij konde verseekert weesen, dat wij dienaars van de Neederlandsche g'octroijeerde Oostindische Comp: waren, en niet sonder last daargekomen, dat onse ordres egter dicteerden, dat indien wij hier een schip

von den koning van Portugaal, of wel een postearing vonden van die Majesteijt, wij niet dan in alle vrundschap met hun soude omgaan, sonder het zij omtrent den handen of andersints eenige reedenen van klagten te geeven.

Dit stelden dien Heer weederom wat gerust, en raakten voorts weeder met hem in een andere discours, van welk w' het weederom draijden op den handel, dog hier omtrent geen apparentie siende, vraagden wij mits het selve betalende eenige ververssing, benevens water en Brandhout: dat hij alles aan ons beloofde te geeven naar genoegen, als wij maar opgaven wat ververssing en hoe veel wij begeerden, bepaalde voorts ons, om in thien dagen te moeten vertrecken: een eijschje van ververssing gaven w' hem, dog ten opsigt van 't vertrek sijden w' dat die tijd te kort was, en dat wij onse macker moesten afwagten vervolgens presenteeen hem onse op gisteren weederom gekomene schenkagio bestaande in

1 p<sup>a</sup> b<sup>r</sup> blaauw guin:, en

2 „ beng<sup>a</sup> zeijkleeden,

benevens verscheijde andere kleijnigheeden van de provisien, particulier voor onse tafel meede genomen, die wij op heeden daar hadden bij gevoegt, hij nam deselve na lange protestatie aan, en renoveerde zijn voorige seggen, dat ons van alle noodwendigheeden tot ververssing soude voorsien, dog ten opsigt der aangepresenteerde betaling seijde hij, dat die goederen daar voor een geringe preijs wierden gekogt, en het zijn coning op soo een kleijnigheijd niet soude aankomen, die aan goede vrinden als de hollanders waaren gegeven; maar wij antwoorden dat onse heeren en M<sup>rs</sup> het meede wel konden betalen, en sonder betaling niets souden aanneemen.

Eijndelijk na nog eenige reeden wisseling, en belofte van sijn kant, dat ons morgen ogtent een plaats daar wij water en Brandhout konde halen soude worden aangeweesen, namen wij ons afscheijd, alsoo de son al laag was gekomen, en wierden in selver wijse uijtgeleijde, tot op de strand, als ontfangen waren geworden het fortjen en het Logiement bevonden wij te zijn, soodanig als onse afgesonde ons gisteren hadden berigt, sijnde dit woon huijs na alle schijubaarheijd, het selfde, dat ten tijde als de Brigantijn hier was, daar den Cap<sup>tn</sup> hiervoor van heeft gesproken, al heeft gestaan; in een kleene wandeling, daar wij den Cap<sup>tn</sup> met veel mocijten toe persuadeerden, sagen w' agter sijn

Logiement, dog buiten de pagger, haar kerk, en de wooning van den pater, bij hetselve was een kleijn thuijntjen, dog sagen seer wijnig groente daarin ; aan de andere zijde stonden eenige cagies van hunne dienaars en vassalen : clappus of cocus en tammerijn boomen vond men hier rondom meede, dog geene Limoenen, dewelke sij seijden verder heen te staan ; de overige boomen grond en heester gewassen quamen meest met die van Rio de Lagoa overeen.

W' hebben hier voorwaards nog abusivelijk vergeeten te seggen, hoe verre die Cap<sup>m</sup> het district van sijn Koning op deese kust reekende te zijn ; het welke hij stelde te beginnen, bij of met Boka de Cabo das Corinthas (: soo noemde hij Rio de Lagoa :) tot aan Cabo de guarda fuij, het welke aan de hoek van de roode Zee legt, en tot daar toe waren al de strand bewoonders vassalen van sijn Koning, buiten verscheijde andere plaatsen, die zij hier en daar landwaard in besaten.

Wij gelijk gesegt, van de portugeesen gescheijden en verdrocken sijnde, hoorden als wij omtrent half weegen ons schip waren twee canon schooten, d' een omtrent een half quartier na den anderen doen, sonder dat wij konde bedenken wat die beduijden, nader comende sagen de Lantaarn van onse besaans rae, dat het gegeven teeken was, om bij donker het schip te konnen vinden, en roeijden daarop aan boord, daar wij van de opperstuurman verstonden, dat het op de zijde van ons leggende schip een Portugees was, deese middag binnen gekomen sijnde, dat de twee schooten door ons gehoord, het opsetten der wagt was geweest, eerst door den portugees, daarna door hem gedaan : wijders sijde gem̄: stuurm̄: dat den Cap<sup>m</sup> van het portugeese schip, aanstonds na het vallen van sijn anker had geroepen dat onse Capt<sup>n</sup> bij hem aan Boord soude komen, en als hem gesegt wierd, dat die na het fort was gegaan, seijde hij, dat dan hij opperstuurman soude komen, dog deese had gesegt niet uijt sijn schip te konnen gaan, dewijl de schipper niet aan boort was, en indien den portugeesen Cap<sup>m</sup> eijts te seggen had, konde hij eijmand senden. deese sond daarop sijn onder Cap<sup>m</sup> of eerste Lieijtenant, vragende wat volk, waar van daan onse komst, en om wat reeden hiergekomen waren.

Het een en ander had den opperstuurm̄: kortelijk beantwoord ; waarop gem̄: onder Cap<sup>m</sup> vraagde of hij niet wiste dat dit een portugeese plaats en reede was, den stuurm̄: antwoorde neen,

zulx is in onse kaarten niet bekend, den onder Cap<sup>m</sup> repliceerden, dat zulx egter soodanig was, en dat zijn Cap<sup>m</sup> ordre had, om hier bij ons te blijven leggen, dat soo water of Brandhout noodig hadden, zulcx tot onsen dienst was, maar handel met den inlander, was ons niet gepermitteerd, en strijdig teegens de tractaten tusschen sijn portugeese Majesteijt, en Haar Hoogmoogende de Heeren Staaten generaal; op welk onse stuurm: had geantwoord, dat hij aan hem hierop geen positief bescheid konde geeven, maar soude aan de schipper en mij berigt hiervan doen, soodra wij aan boord quamen.

Onder meer andere reedenen vraagde onsen stuurm: aan den portugees, hoeveel manschap en geschut sij op hadden, en hoe lang op den weg waren geweest tusschen Mosambicque en hier, deselve antwoorde dat 100 coppen op hadden die een hoed draegen, buijten de mooren en caffers, waren gemonteert met 18 stucken. Was heeden de thiende dag zij van Mosambicque waren geseijlt, dog wij konden soo veel hoed dragende menschen nooit te sien krijgen, maar eenige mooren en een partij caffers, geschut konde wij maar 5 in de laag tellen, mackende thien in het geheel, dog telden 14 poorten daar geschut in soude kunnen leggen, gedagte luytenant weggaande versogt den stuurman meede na sijn boord, dog deese excuseerde, en liet op sijn versoek den adsistent van Leijden beneevens den ondermeester C. F. Henneberg met hem gaan, die seer wel onthaalt wierden, en sagen dat verscheijde neegers die met haar Canoas aan boord quamen, met de portugeesen bekent waren, en haar verwelkomden, gedurende hun aanweesen daar hadden zij het oog over het een en ander laten gaan, en niet meer als 10 stucken canon kunnen tellen; blanke en mesticen of hoed dragende coppen, geloofden zij niet meer als 30 a 40 te sijn, moren 20 a 25, beneevens een goed getal caffers, dat sij vertrouwden slaven te sijn, die niet lang ingekogt waren geweest.

Maandag 15. deesen morgen sond den Portugeesen Cap<sup>m</sup> sijn quartiermeester en liet ons volk presentereen, die ons soude toonen waar wij water en Brandhout konde halen; hem wierd door den schipper geantwoord, dat heeden nog niet wel konden, maar wouden morgen met den dag beginnen, den eerste luytenant quam weeder bij ons aan boord omt: de midd: en bleef bij ons op de portie: na de maal tijt ging ik en de schipper met hem in de cajuijt, om wegens den handel te spreken, dog konde geene de



minste apparentie daartoe bespeuren, onder meer andere reedenen vraagden w' hem na de naam van zijn Cap<sup>n</sup> en schip, waarop hij antw: dat de Cap<sup>n</sup> gen<sup>t</sup> was Manoel Lopes, en het schip, Nostra Sinhora de Bon Souratte; naar wijder nog eenige indifferente discoursen te hebben gehouden, nam de portugees afscheid met betuyging van veel genoegen en vrindschap.

Dingsdag 16. voormidd: omtr: 10 uren quam den pilot major en schrijver bij ons aan boord met een schriftelijk protest teegens het doen van eenigen handel met Inwoonders van deese landstreek. Wij versogten deselve, of copia te mogen hebben, het laatste wiert ons toegestaan, en hij eijschte een schriftelijk bericht wegens onse reijse, wij antw: dat niet konde sien, waar toe sulx noodig was, dewijle hun alles reets mondeling was geseijd, dog alsoo ons uijt alle omstandigheeden was gebleeken, en nog bleek, dat zij lieden quaad vertrouwen van ons hadden, mijnende dat w' roovers of particuliere handelaars waren, te meer alsoo sij wisten dat met ons tween in Comp: waren geweest, soo antw: dat wij hun soodanig geschrift souden geven, als zij ons de copia van het protest bragt; waarmede sij content waren, wij wilden haar bij ons ter maaltijd houden, dog sij Excuseerden sig, en versogten voor haar vertrek uijt naam van hun Cap<sup>u</sup>, dat w' ons soo spoedig als doenlijk van het noodige wilden voorsien, om deese Rheede te kunnen verlaten, dat w' aannamen, te meer alsoo wel konde sien, dat omtrent de negotie hier niet te doen soude vallen; want buijten de protestatien der portugeesen hadden sij soodanige ontsag onder de Inlanders dat geen een Canoa bij ons aan boort dorste komen, en als iemand van de onse aan land was, wierd hij in het omwandelen altijd van een oppasser of twee vergeselschap.

De gedagte opperstuurman zeijde, dengeene te weesen, die A<sup>o</sup> 1728 ettelijke hondert caffers van Chifalla na hier bragt, en roemde dat hij meer dan duijsend neegers om het leeven hadde laten brengen, omdat se met de opperhoofden van de Hollandsche Brigantijns hadden genegotieert, dog dit getal van 1000 dunkt ons wat groot, ten zij het luijsige geselschaap, dat de neegers gemeenelijk bij hun in haar kleedjes hebben, meede daaronder telden.

Wegens de aankomst van deese Caffers van Chifalle word mentie gemaakt, in de Journalen gehouden in de Victoria op de vojagie na herwaards A<sup>o</sup> 1728.

Woensdag 17. heeden sond den portugeesen capitain aan ons  $\frac{1}{2}$  koebeest en

3 kleene verkens, latende daarbij seggen, dat het was tot een contra present voor de op gisteren aan hem gesondene ham en soetemelks kaas; lieten hem bedanken en met eenen seggen dat klaar waren om water en Brandhout te halen, en onse schuijt aanstonds soude afsenden, gelijk ook gedaan wierd: de sijne volgde kort daar naar: wij kreegen een Canoa die ons gekapt en geklooft hout aan boord bragt, beide de schuijten voerden water aan, aan land waren 4 à 5 portugeesen, om de neegers die hout moesten kappen en water na de schuijten dragen aan te perssen, waaruijt bleek, dat zijl: niet anders wensten, als dat wij maar van daar vertrokken.

Donderdag 18. wierd doorgebracht met water en Brandhout te halen.

Vrijdag 19. kreegen heeden soo veel water en brandhout dat reecq̄: genoeg te hebben: en dewijl alhier voor ons omtrent de negotie niets te doen viel, wierd geresolveerd na Rio de Lagoa te zeijlen, hoopende de Zeepost aldaar of wel op den weg te ontmoeten largo te sien in de bijgevoegde Resolutie.

Saturdag 20. doesen morgen sond den Cap<sup>m</sup> Manoel Lopes ons de geyschte ververssing aan boord, met den opper stuurman en schrijver, hetselve bestond in

- 2 koebeesten
- 8 schaapen
- 4 groote en
- 8 kleene verkentjes
- 8 cabriten
- 50 hoenders

voorts een partij Pisang en kool of bladeren, een partij aard vrugten eenigsints na patattes sweemende, die sij op de kusten van Guinea, na het seggen van onse schipper Jam jammes noemen, weesende heel droog, dog goed van smaak.

Boven dit thans gesondene had den Cap<sup>m</sup> ons tot verschijde malen de verse soode laten toekomen; de neegers die aan water en Brandhout hadden gearbeijd, wisten wij dat door hem betaalt waren, waarom aan de brengers vraagden wat wij voor het een en ander moesten betalen.

Waarop sij met veel rodomontades antw: en te kennen gaven, dat haar konink voor sulke kleijnighceden niets wilde genomen

hebben en voornamentlijk niet van Hollanders dat zijn beste vrienden, waren, dog wij repliceerden, dat onse heeren en Meesters, niets sonder betaling wilde aanneemen, dewijle sij in staat waren het te kunnen betalen, soo wel als zijn portugeese majesteijt voor niet te geeven, en wij het sonder betaling niet dorsten aanneemen; dog sij bleeven weijgeren eijts te eysschen; waarom wij resolveerde om haar een contra present van

6 p<sup>e</sup> fijne Caatjes

6 „ breede Souratse Citsen, en

1 rol tabacq welke 12½ lb swaar was,

te doen, uijtwijsens nevens gaande resolutie. Deese goederen wierden hun aangepresenteert, dog niet als na verscheijde weijgeringen gedaan te hebben aangenomen; wijders stelde sij ons de copia van het protest ter hand, en wij hun in t' kort het berigt weegens onse vojagie, den inhoud van deese kan uijt de twee hier bij gevoegde stucken gesien werden.

Zij hadden nog bij haar een opgesteld schrift sijnde een soort van een verklaring, waar wij verklaarden dat gedurende onse leg dagen alhier geen negotie hadden gedaan: wij antw: haar dat w' niet konden sien waartoe dat dat voor haar dienstig was, dewijl hun ten vollen bekend was, dat wij egeene handel aldaar hadden gedreeven, en ons diergelijke certificatie door haar lieden eerder diende geegeven; welke sij aanstonds presenteerden, mits wij haar schrift ook teekenden, zij wilde sig daarvan bedienen, als onse macker hier mogt komen, om hem te toonen dat wij hier niet hadden genegotieert, na nog eenige reedenen hier over gewisselt te hebben, sij met haar versoek blijvende aanhouden, namen wij aan te teekenen, mits wij boven onse hand teekening in 't hollands deese woorden stelden, ten teeken dat wij gedurende ons leggen alhier geen handel met de Inlanders hebben gedreeven; dit stonden zij toe, den schipper en ik teekende daarop, hebbende ik vooraf met eygener hand bovenstaande woorden op hun papiertjen geschreeven, sij gaven ons vervolgens een verklaring dat wij geene negotie hadden gedaan, welke in origineel hierneevens is gevoegd.

Dit talmen hiermeede een eijnd hebbende sijden wij teegen haar dat water en brandhout genoeg hadden, en van meening waren, met de eerste bequame occasie te vertrecken; welk seggen wij konde sien dat hun seer aangenaam was, en vertrocke zij kort daarna met betuijging van groot contentement en vrindschap,

wensende sijl: ons en wij haar alle welvaart toe. Op de middag wierd van ons schip een werp anker uijt gebragt, en de swaare ankers geligt, om met d' ebbe wat uijtwaart tot regt voor de kil te drijven, en alsoo wij in het drijven den portugees wat na quamen, geraakten daar alles in allarm, de proppen wierden van haar geschut gehaalt en alleman was op de been; de Cap<sup>m</sup> vraagde door sijn roeper, waar hij heen wilde, dat hem soo na quamen waarop hem wierd gesezt, dat wij wat uijtwaard wilde gaan leggen, om met het eerste bequame lugje na buijten te kunnen loopen; en met een versogt dat hij sijn roer na stuurboord woude leggen, om wat van ons af te draijen, op dit seggen raakt sij wederom in rust, en riepen wederom bon, bon S<sup>r</sup> Amigo, in't voorbij drijven sag men den Cap<sup>m</sup> en alle andere officieren op het half dekjen staan met hunne zijdgeweers aan de seijde, wij groeten malkanderen en lieten ons anker een cabel lengte of ses agter hem vallen.

Zondag 21. moesten w' alsoo de wind ons tegen was, stil blijven leggen tot

Maandag 22. als wanneer sm: een Z.W<sup>w</sup> lugjen waijde, met welke wij onder zeijl gingen, en quamen omtrent de midd: wederom ten anker op 9 vadem goede sand grond, wij lagen hier meest regt voor de droogten daar over moesten om buijten te geraken, maar de wind was daartoe niet dienstig.

Den Portugees, na dat wij deese morgen even om de hoek van Nialinge waren comen, ging meede onder sijl, en Laveerde opwaart aan, na sijn fortres op Niambani.

Eer wij van Niambani geheel schijden, souden w' volgens pligt ook narigt van de gesteldheid des Lands, strecking der Revieren, en aard der Inlanders dienen te geeven, dog tot het een nog het ander, is geen occasie geweest, om regt ondersoek te doen, alleen hebben w' op Niambani aan land sijnde gesien, het geene op den 14 deeser hier voorwaart gemeld staat: de eijgentlijke Inwoonders des Lands, scheijnen veel met die van Rio de Lagoa over een te komen, uijtgenomen dat s' in 't aangesigt niet gesneeden sijn; en omtrent hun dragt is dit onderscheijft, dat deese een Lapjen Lijwaat, en die op Lagoa een van stroo gevlogte kooker gebruijken tot decking van hun schaamte, te weeten de manspersoonen; vrouwlieden heb ik op Niambani wijnig gesien, en van de geene die ik gesien heb, sijn een stuk á twee met paantjes of kleedjes, en andere met een lapje Lijwaat van vooren, en een dito van

agteren bedekt geweest, wat de Rivieren betreft, als dat de Revier Nialinge genaamt, tusschen het land van die naam, en het land van tingatinge, Dat men in het opgaan ter linker hand heeft, meest noorden in loopt; dog schijnt na de strecking van 't gebergte, tussen welke zij haaren loop heeft, sig verder op, om de west te draijen.

De Revier Niambani loopt meest Zuijde in tussen het land van die naam ter linker en dat van tingatinge ter regter zijde, sijne strecking verder innewaard hebben wij niet kunnen sien.

Dingsdag 23. smorgens de wind ons niet dienstig sijnde om buijten te loopen moesten wij blijven leggen; den onderstuurman Jan pentz wierd in tusschen uijtgesonden met de schuijt om ter plaatse, daar hij op de punt van het rif het diepste water vond, een boeijte te leggen, hetwelk verrigt hebbende quam hij weederom aan Boord.

Woensdag 24. des morgens redelijk weer de wind van het Z.W<sup>e</sup> en Z.W. ten W<sup>e</sup> met een marsz: coelte, ligten om half seeven ons anker en gaan onder zeijl, en raakten tusschen 8 en 9 uren buijten, hebbende op het droogste kleene drie vadem waters gehad, weesende dit regt op de zijde van het gelegde boeijtjen, dat wij aan stuurboord van ons lieten leggen: de schuijt in, en ankers opgeset sijnde, stelden wij onse cours om veel doenlijk de wal naast te houden, en hadden met sons ondergang, Cabo das Corinthas omt: 3½ a 3 mijlen dwars van ons, het waijde deese nagt fris op uijt den Z.Z.W<sup>e</sup> soodat beijde de marsz: wierden ingenomen, hielden het vervolgens den 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, en 30, af en aan, om niet te ver buijten de wal te geraken, en was het nog op den 30 als men 's avons met sons ondergang het Eijland, S<sup>t</sup> Maria in 't gesigt kreeg, waar onder wij des nagts omt: 12 uren, op 8½ vadem sand grond te anker quamen.

Woensdag 31. des morgens hadden een oostelijk lugjen, ligten anker en gaan daarmee onder zeijl, stellende de cours tussen de banken door na binnen, dog alsoo vermits de slappe koelte, wat te verre na de portugeese besetting wierden geset, door de sterke uijtgaande Ebbe, raakten op een puntjen of ruggetje van een Bank, het agterdeel van t' schip eventjes de grond, doende dit ons egter geen de minste beletsel in onse voortgang, krijgen te mets wat becter coelte, en de roode hoek in het gesigt, wat meer genadert zijnde sag men een schip in de mond van Rio de Lagoa, dog naast onder desselfs Z<sup>t</sup> hoek ten

anker leggen, dat wij nader komende bevonden de hoeker de Zeepost te weesen, passeeren hem en loopen na binnen, daar omt: 3 uren in de namidd: op 9 vadem modderige grond ten anker quamen, regt voor het gedemolieerde fortjen.

De Zeepost quam kort hier na meede bij ons ten anker, en den besaghebber van dien bodem Jochem Otto bij ons aan boord verhalende dat hij den 20 der gepasseerde maand Zber: 's avonds door swaare Leckagie, het over de andere boeg hadde moeten wenden, en alsoo van ons was geraakt: dat hij den 21 dito 's morgens ons niet meer siende sijn cours na herwaards had gesteld, met voorneemen om de Leckagie ter degen te herstellen, en dan na ons op Niambani te komen; den 3 deeser loopende maand was hij hier binnen gekomen, en thans weeder klaar zijnde, had hij heeden morgen sijn anker geligt om buijten te loopen, dog stroom en wind tegen krijgende, moeste hij hetselve weederom laten vallen ter plaatse daar wij hem hadden sien leggen.

Omt: den avond quam den Cap<sup>m</sup> Maphumbo ons verwellekomen, als meede een caffer van Matekij uijt naam van dien Cap<sup>m</sup>, wij tracteerden haar met een soopjen aracq, en een frisse pijp toebacq, dat hun wel beviel; scheenen seer content te weesen, dat sijn mijn weederom daar sagen, hadden ook eenige reedenen met hun van de negotie, dog scheenen wij nig slaven te hebben, dog wel Eliphands tanden, als wij maar blauwe en geele Coralen hadden dog deese waren der niet.

November donderdag den 1. deesen morgen quam den besaghebber Jochem Otto weederom hier aan boord, geevende aan mij een reecq: van het geene hij, geduurende sijn leggen alhier, voor de E. Comp<sup>e</sup>: hadde genegotieert, bestaande in 1 Eliphands tand van omt: 42 lb. betaalt tot 3 p<sup>s</sup> beng<sup>s</sup> zijlkleeden 5 d<sup>o</sup> d<sup>o</sup> kleene soort daarvoor betaalt 3 beng: zeijklkleeden en 3 bossen of 12 lb. gesort: coralen, weesende dit alles dat hij hadde kunnen opdoen, en betuijgde, dat de neegers, soodra zij verstaan hadden, dat ik stond te komen, geen handel met hem hadde willen doen, maar wagten op mijn komst.

Den Cap<sup>m</sup> Maphumbo, met de Broeder van den Cap<sup>m</sup> Tembi, dien heer zijn ordinaire boodschapper, en eenige andere sijner onderdaanen, quamen meede aan boord, met sig brengende, quanswijs tot een vereering en om ons te verwellekomen

1 koebeest en

1 Eliphandstand van 35 á 40 lb.

tot een contra present aan den Capitain wierd hun wederom ter hand gestelt

1 p<sup>o</sup> beng<sup>a</sup> zijkleed voor het beest  
 5 „ „ „ de Eliphandstand  
 1 „ „ wierd gescheurt en des capitains  
 Broeder, Maphumbo, en de andere bringers der gem: goederen  
 uijtgedeelt vervolgens kopt men nog van haar

1 slave meijsjen voor 2 p<sup>o</sup> beng: zijkleeden  
 en 1 „ „ d<sup>o</sup> wierd gescheurd en uijt  
 gelangt tot inruijling van hoenders, vis, melk en andere kleijnig-  
 heeden voor de cajuijts tafel.

Spraaken verders met deese Heeren weegens den Handel, dog zij scheenen niet veel te hebben als Eliphands tanden, souden egter naar slaven uijtsien, vraagden ons niet als naar blaauwe en geele coralen, wilden van geen andere soorten hooren, het lijwaat scheen hun meede nog wel te bevallen: zij bleeven deesen middag aan boord om haar Buijk te vollen, gaf haar naderhand wat toebacq, pijpen, en vulden een fles á 3 die zij meede gebragt hadden met aracq, waarmede zij vergenoegt vertrocken.

Vrijdag 2. hadden heeden Maphumbo met zijn geselschap van gisteren wederom aan boord, als meede de soon van Cap<sup>m</sup> Matekij, hadden met hun eenige reedenen wegens de negotie, dog hun seggen quam meest op dat van gisteren uijt, dog souden egter hun best doen om slaven te bekomen, regaleerden haar met soopjen, pijpen en toebacq, soo dat zij content haar afscheid namen.

Saturdag 3. op het versoek gisteren aan de soon van Matekij gedaan, bragt hij deesen morgen bij ons den portugeesen ouden tolk Kaher, die wij bij ons behielden, om geduurende ons leggen hem wederom als voorheen, tot tolk te gebruiken: de Broeder van evengeñ: Cap<sup>m</sup> Matekij was meede in dit geselschap, brengende

1 Bok tot schenkagie, dog uijt naam van zijn Broeder, wij vereerden aan haar te samen 1 p<sup>o</sup> zeijklkleed, aan den eersten wierd principaal deese vereering gedaan, om dat regt boven de plaats daar ons water moesten halen, zijn negerij had; en aan den anderen, voor het halen van den tolk, die omtrent 8 uren hier van daan, bij den Cap<sup>m</sup> Bombo woonagtig was en ten anderen aan zijn vader voor de Bok Maphumbo was meede hier,

met een neeger die 1 Eliphands tand en een p<sup>s</sup> ambræ te koop bragt, voor de ambræ wilde deese niet als blaauwe coralen hebben, maar de tand swaar omt: 20 á 25 lb. kogten wij voor 2½ p<sup>s</sup> beng<sup>s</sup> zeijklleeden. D' een nog de ander van deese messieurs, konde men niet van den Hals krijgen, zonder een soopje, en aan Maphumbo nog wel een bottellie aracq, beneevens eijder der grootste casten een endje toebacq en een pijp á vier te geeven, waarna zij vergenoegt naar land gingen.

Zondag 4. hadden heeden, gelijk in 't vervolg meest alle dagen veel neegers, dog wijinig negotie aan boord, de meesten bragten niet dan Eijeren, melk, pisang, annanas, water limoenen &<sup>a</sup> te koop; kogten egter heeden nog

1 tandjen van 8 á 9 lb. voor - ½ p<sup>s</sup> beng: zeijklleed. de soon van den Capt<sup>n</sup> Matollo quam heeden ook bij ons, brengende tot schenkagie

1 Elijphands tandje van 12 á 14 lb., voor welke hem alsoo belofte deed van meerder tanden, en ook slaven te sullen brengen, tot contra present gaven,

1½ p<sup>s</sup> beng<sup>s</sup> zijkleed, beneevens wat toebak pijpen, en in zijn meede gebragt kan omt: 2 á 2½ fles aracq.

1 p<sup>s</sup> beng<sup>s</sup> zeijklleed wierd heeden nog uijtgegeven, voor een koebeest tot verversing voor het volk, aan den Cap<sup>m</sup> Matekij.

Maandag 5. heeden reegenagtig weer zijnde, had men weijnig neegers aan boord, alleenig quam den Capitain Maphumbo, en de Broeder van den Capt<sup>n</sup> Matekij brengende tot schenkagie, als Maphumbo 1 Elijphands tandjen van 12 á 14 lb., en den anderen 1 gladde en vette Bok, t' een en ander wierd door ons aangenomen, dog seijden hun dat voortaan geen bocke vleesch meer wilden eeten, en als zij eijt vereeren wouden, wat anders en van meerder waardij brenge moesten; gevende voorts aan den bockebrenger voor sijn Bok

½ p<sup>s</sup> en aan Maphumbo voor sijn tand

1½ p<sup>s</sup> Beng: zeijklleed

alsoo 2 p<sup>s</sup> beng<sup>s</sup> zeijkllede te samen tot inruijlen voor hoenders, melk en andere kleijnigheeden voor de cajuijt, wierd uijtgelangt 1 p<sup>s</sup> beng: zijkleed.

Dingsdag 6. quam een onder capitain van Tembi genaamt Chicambe, zijnde een neeger die al veel werk van de negotie maakt, en geduurende den stand van hot comptoir alhier een



goede partij Eliphants tanden en ambræ aangebragt, had nu bij hem 3 mooi grootte en een kleender Eliphands tandjen, maar alsoo hij niet als blauwe coralen wilde hebben, moesten wij daarvan afsien, en hem daarmee laten vertrecken. Na de midd: lieten de Capt<sup>ns</sup> Matekij en Matollo weten, dat zij morgen met eenige negotie goederen wilde afkomen, latende met eenen na ouder gewoonte om wat pijpen, toebacq en arak vragen, dat w' aan hun lieten toekomen.

Woensdag 7. het was deese morgen mooi lief weer, en dewijl den Cap<sup>n</sup> Matekij had laten weeten dat heeden woude afkomen, gingen de schipper en ik omt: 8 uren met de schuijt na land, besagen het geweene fort, dat gelijk een groen bewasse Berg scheen, alleenig met 2 á 3 stucken van d' oude muuren der woonhuijsen beset zijnde, van de stal stond nog de cap van het dak, en een gedeelte der stylen: van hier quamen bij de thuijn, deese was bijna niet kenbaar, want vermits de neegers de waterleijdinge hadden laten vervuilen, was het water opgestopt, en de thuijn verandert in een moerasch, bijna soo dicht met alderhande ruijgte begroeijt, als eer dat hier een thuijn wierd aangelegt, vonden egter een dwarspadje, daar wij half droog half nat voets doorquamen, tot teegen de hoogte, daar langs heenen gingen, hebbende het gesigt over de heele thuijn, dog konden niets vinden nog sien als de twee oude Limoen Boomen, twee à 3 jonge ditos, en een appel boompjen; aan de twee oude limoen Bomen waren een partij, dog onrijpe vrugten, maar sullen in wijnig tijd meede sterven moeten door de moerassige grond.

Vervolgens gingen wij na onse gemetselde water Bak en leijding, die wij nog in sijn geheel vonden, soo als hem gelaten hadden, uijtgesondert dat 10 a 12 pallisaten van de geene die langs de waterloop sijn gestelt, uijtgetrokken waren, door het schuijts volk van de Zeepost, dog deese waren in haaren voortgank om gemakkelijk brandhout te krijgen, door de neegers gestuijt, seggende dat dit soo wilde staande houden als het stond, ten teeken dat daar Europeers hadden huijs gehouden, en dit laten maken, daar was op andere plaatsen wel brandhout te bekomen soo goed als daar.

Dit besien hebbende, stapten weder na de stal, daar ons op de brocken kleij van de oude muuragie ter needer setten, en wagten na de komst van den Cap<sup>n</sup> Matekij, ten laasten quam

sijn broeder, en seijde dat gedagten Heer niet soude komen, alsoo verscheijde vreemde neegers hem waren komen bezoeken.

Op dit berigt traden wij in onse schuijt en roeijden na de overkant, om den Capitain Maphumbo de visitie te geeven, dog vonden deesen Heer niet te huijs; wij wandelden hier een wijng in t' rond, dog de heete zon belette ons ver te gaan, wes het na de strand keerden, daar niet lang waren geweest of sien Maphumbo uijt sijn Berk treden, komende soo hij seijde van ons schip, hadden eenige reeden wisseling met hem wegens de negotie, dog hij antwoorden dat hij arm was en niets hadde, maar den Cap<sup>m</sup> tembi wist hij wel dat Eliphandstanden, en ook eenige slaven had, zijn oppasser of looper, was eer gisteren al naar dien Cap<sup>m</sup> gegaan, om daarover te spreken, dog tot nog niet weederom gekomen; intusschen deese reedeneering, was de son in top gereesen en braaf heet, wes wij ons, dien Cap<sup>m</sup> gegroet hebbende na boord begaven.

Donderdag den 8. hadden op dato veel neegers dog weijnig coopliden aan boord, kogten alleenig 1 Eliphands tandjen van 15 à 16 lb. swaar, voor 2 p<sup>s</sup> beng<sup>s</sup> zijkleeden, dat al wat veel was, dog dedden het om te sien of den handel geen beeter voortgank konde geeven, als de hand wat ligten.

Vrijdag 9. hadden wij vermits het regenagtige weer weijnig neegers aan boord, soo ook niet

Saterdag 10. alsoo het uijt den Z.Z.O<sup>s</sup> stijf waaijde, alleenig soud Maphumbo aan ons, tot ververssing van het volk 1 koebeest, dat gisteren al hadden besprooken voor 1 p<sup>s</sup> beng<sup>s</sup> zeijklkleed, buijten wat aracq, toebacq en pijpen, die gem: Cap<sup>m</sup> liet versoecken.

Tot inkoop van hoenders &<sup>a</sup> voor de Cajuijts tafel is op dato uijtgelangt— $\frac{1}{2}$  p<sup>s</sup> beng<sup>s</sup> zijkleed.

Zondag 11. had men den bekenden Sanguaner Jan Gale of Coupaune hier, met 3 mooie Eliphands tanden, dog alsoo hij niet als blaauw of geele coralen wilde hebben, konden wij se niet koopen, maar moesten hem laten vertrecken, met deselve, nog quam de broeder van den Cap<sup>m</sup> Tembi ons begroeten met 1 schoon vet varken, daar wij om reedenen hem 1 p<sup>s</sup> beng<sup>s</sup> zeijklkleed voor gaven, maar seijden hem met eenen dat niet gekomen waren om verkens te koopen, en ook niet van meening waren, diergelijke vereerings meer aan te neemen.

Maandag 12. onse schuijt heeden om water gaande, belaste

men het schuijts volk, om de thuijn eens door te waden en te besien of niet eenige groente onder de ruijgte konde vinden, weeder komende bragten zij een weijnig petercelij en wat sellerij, zijnde het eenigste dat zij hadden konnen vinden op de middag quam de ordinaire rapportganger van den Cap<sup>m</sup> Madommedom of Tembi ons seggen, dat zijn Heer, over een dag à 3, met eenige Eliphands tanden, en Slaven soude bij ons komen : en intusschen versoek doen om een fles aracq à drie en wat toebak en pijpen, wij vulden sijn flessen, en gaven hem ook wat toebak en een pijp à ses, en seijde, dat de komst van sijn Heer, ons des te aangename soude weesen als hij maar wat rijkelijk mede bragt, om te verkoopen.

Dingsdag 13. deesen morgen quamen twee broeders van den Cap<sup>m</sup> Tembi, beneevens Maphumbo bij ons aan boord, en ruijlden van haar

1 Eliphands tand  $\bar{v}$  50 à 55 lb. voor  $2\frac{1}{2}$  p<sup>a</sup> b<sup>r</sup> b<sup>i</sup> guins:

1 do. „ 10 „ 11 lb. voor  $\frac{1}{2}$  p<sup>a</sup> beng<sup>a</sup> zijlkleed

beneevens voor het volk tot verversing 1 koebeest voor 1 p<sup>a</sup> beng<sup>a</sup> zeijklkleed, deese Heeren wierden, op goede hoop van meerder te sullen brengen, wel getracteert, en gingen content en half bestoven aan de wal.

Tot in kopen van hoenders en andere kleijnigheeden op dato nog gescheurt en uijtgelangt 1 p<sup>a</sup> beng<sup>a</sup> zeijklkleed.

Op voorstelling van den schipper Marinus dringe en den besaghebber Jochem Otto wierd heeden in vergadering goed gevonden, om aan het scheeps volkjen, op de hoekers de Snuffelaar en Zeepest bescheijden, een kleene verstreking van 's E. Comp<sup>a</sup> Lijwaten en toebacq te doen, in maniere als bij de neevensgaande resolutie blijkt. Onse schuijt had men heeden naar Matollo gesonden op hoop van daar ijts te sullen op doen, dog keerde onverrigter sake, alsoo dien Cap<sup>m</sup> seijde, dat sijn goed nog niet bij de hand hadde, maar over een dag a twee wilde hij selfs daarmee afkomen.

Woensdag 14. hadden heeden alsoo het koeltjes, weijnig neegers aan boord; de soon van Matollo quam omt: de midd: van wien w<sup>r</sup> kogten

1 slavin voor 1 p<sup>a</sup> bengs zeijklkleed en

$1\frac{1}{2}$  „ br: b<sup>i</sup> guinees

hij seijde over een dag a drie met sijn vader te gelijk wederom soude komen, met slaven en Eliphands tanden, versoekende

voorts om wat aracq, toebacq en pijpen, het welke hem gegeven werd.

Donderdag 15. heeden is niets voorgevallen, als dat men volgens resolutie van den 13 deeser de verstrekking van het volk uijtdeelden, te weeten

126½ lb. toebacq

19½ p<sup>s</sup> beng<sup>s</sup> zeijklleden aan die op de Snuffelaar bescheijden zijn, en

148 lb. toebacq met

23½ p<sup>s</sup> beng<sup>s</sup> zeijklleeden aan het op de Zeepest bescheijden volk

makende alsoo te samen

274½ lb. toebacq en

43 p<sup>s</sup> beng<sup>s</sup> zeijklleeden.

Vrijdag 16. den Cap<sup>m</sup> Matekij sond ons heeden een mooi vet kalf dat aannamen, hem tot een contra present gevende

½ p<sup>s</sup> beng<sup>s</sup> zeijklleed, het andere

½ " " " " werd geemploijeert tot inruijling van melk, hoender, eijeren en andere kleijnigheeden voor de cajuijt.

Saturdag 17. was vermits het reegenagtige weer niets te doen, alleenig wierd tot ververssing voor het volk van den Cap<sup>m</sup> Matekij gekogt 1 koebeest, kostende 1 p<sup>s</sup> beng<sup>s</sup> zeijklleed.

Sondag 18. op versoek van den Cap<sup>m</sup> Matollo had men onse schuijt gisteren avond met wat aracq, toebacq en pijpen naar de neegerij van dien Cap<sup>m</sup> gesonden, alsoo hij liet seggen, dat met eenige slaven bij ons wilde komen, heeden morgen de schuijt reverteerende, quam dien heer zijn soon, niet anders meede brengende, als

1 wijf met

1 kind, die wij tesamen inruijlden voor

4 p<sup>s</sup> beng<sup>s</sup> zijklleeden en

1 „ Souratse bafta

hij seijde dat sijn vader deese hadde bekomen van sijn broeder die onder het gebergte woonde, en gemeijnd had, meerder te sullen brengen, dog waren hem ontloopen.

Maandag 19. hadden heeden verscheijde inlanders hier met Eliphands tanden, dog alsoo zij niet als blauwe en geele Coralen wilden hebben konden wij niet koopen, alleenig verkogt een onder capitain van tembi, genaamt Chicambe

1 Eliphands tand v̄ 40 à 42 lb. swaar

voor 2 p<sup>a</sup> beng<sup>a</sup> zeijklleeden, en  
 3 „ heele smalle Souratse baftas  
 1 „ „ „ do. wierd

uijtgereijkt tot inkoop van hoenders &<sup>a</sup> voor de kajuijts tafel.

Dingsdag 20. heeden sond den Capitain Madommedom, met sijn Broeder, 1 Eliphands tand van 50 à 55 lb. die wij kogten

voor 1 p<sup>a</sup> beng<sup>a</sup> zeijklleed  
 1 „ b<sup>r</sup> b<sup>l</sup> guinees, en  
 2 „ smalle Souratse baftas

hij sprak van meerder tanden, ook slaven te sullen brengen, en versogt om wat aracq, toebak en pijpen, dat men aan hem ter hand stelde, vereerende hem wijders nog eijs van onse meede genome snuijsterijtjes, met wat snuijf toebacq, die hem seer aangenaam was, en vertrok heel vergenoegt.

Woensdag 21. hadden heeden seer warm weer, en verscheijde Neegers aan boord, onder was een soon van Mangombe, oom van tembi, en den bewusten prins Jan, A<sup>o</sup> 1723 uijt Engeland gekomen, deese heeren hadden twee mooie Eliphands tanden, eijder wel omt: de 60 lb. swaar bij haar, dog wilden die niet verkoopen als voor blaauwe en geele Coralen: egter konden wij haar niet van den Hals krijgen, sonder wat aracq, toebacq en pijpen te geeven.

Donderdag 22. den Cap<sup>in</sup> Maphumbo was heeden hier, met verscheijde ondercap<sup>ins</sup> van Tembi, zij waren redelijk spijtig met haar meede gebragte negotie, egter kogten w' van haar, naar lang talmen

1 Eliphands tand  $\bar{v}$  50 à 52 lb. swaar,  
 voor 4 p<sup>a</sup> smalle Souratse baftas, en  
 2 „ beng<sup>a</sup> zeijklleeden

1 Eliphands tand van 30 à 32 lb. swaar  
 voor 2 p<sup>a</sup> Souratse baftas, en  
 2 „ beng<sup>a</sup> zeijklleeden

wijders op hun versoek wat gegeeten, en toebak aracq en pijpen gekreegen hebbende, vertrocken zij na de wal.

Vrijdag 23. nog

Saturdag 24. is niets voorgevallen, en wiert geseggt dat Tembi en Maphumbo met al hun volk uijt waren gegaan om Mangobe te beoorlogen.

Zondag 25. was het nog stilstand, alleenig wierd tot ververssing

voor het volk v̄ Maphumbo gekogt 1 koebeest tot 1 p<sup>a</sup> beng<sup>a</sup> zeijklreed.

Den bringer van dit beest zijde, dat tembi met sijn bijhebbend Leeger onverrichter saake was geretourneert, alsoo vermits het hooge water de Revier niet hadden kunnen passeeren.

Maandag 26. Maphumbo was heeden hier met nog eenige inlanders, van welke wij kogten

1 Eliphands tand v̄ 50 à 55 lb. swaar,  
voor 1 p<sup>a</sup> bruijn blauw guinees, en  
2½ „ beng<sup>a</sup> zijkleeden  
½ „ do. wierd uijtgereijkt

tot copen van klenigheeden voor de cajuijt.

Opgem: Neegers hadden nog een tand van omt: de 60 lb., dog daar wilden zij blauwe en geele coralen voorhebben: op het afscheid moest den Cap<sup>m</sup> Maphumbo, die de meesten tijd voor makelaar ageerde, wat toebacq en pijpen hebben, mitsgr: sijn leedige flessen gevult met aracq dog alsoo hij het al te met wat grof maakten, wierd hem de maat van aracq, niet altijd vol gemeeten.

Dingsdag 27. is omt: den handel niets voorgevallen, soo ook niet den 28, 29 en 30 deeser maand, alsdat de soon van Machaja, met groote beloften van Eliphands tanden te sullen brengen bij ons was, dit kosten, op goede hoop af, al weederom eenige aracq, toebacq en pijpen.

Saterdag 1 December, op dato was meede niet te doen, alleenig wierd tot ververssing voor het volk van Maphumbo gekogt 1 p<sup>a</sup> koebeest voor

1 p<sup>a</sup> beng<sup>a</sup> zeijklreed.

Sondag 2. hadden huijden den Cap<sup>m</sup> Maphumbo, met twee broeders van Tembi bij ons, beneevens nog een goede partij van hunne hovelingen. Zij vereerden ons 2 stux Runderbeesten, gelijk wij hun een contra present deden van 2 p<sup>a</sup> beng<sup>a</sup> zeijklreed, vervolgens wierd nog van haar gekogt

1 Eliphandstand van 24 à 25 lb.,  
voor 3 p<sup>a</sup> beng<sup>a</sup> zijkleeden, en  
1 slavin voor 2 p<sup>a</sup> zijkleeden, en  
1 „ b<sup>r</sup> blauw guinees.

Voorts tot een toegift, cenige kannen aracq, beneevens wat toebak en pijpen; sij klaagde dat haar een slave jongen, die zij meede mejnden aan ons te verkoopen, op de weg was ontloopen;

als meede dat sij weijnig slaven hadden, of wisten te krijgen, dewijle thans in geen jaar oorlog hadden gehad, en alsoo geene gevangene konnen bekomen; die heere bleven voorts bij ons wat te eeten, en dronken in tusschen nog al eenige soopjes, en pijpjes toebacq, gaande teegens den avond met ligte voeten na de wal.

Maandag 3. Is niets voorgevallen, als dat den portugeesen tolk kaher, siekelijk en buijten staat van dienst te konnen doen, naar land ging; voor zijne moeijte tot dato, wierd hem gegeeven 1 p<sup>s</sup> beng<sup>s</sup> zeijklkleed.

Dingsdag 4. als meede.

Woensdag 5. had men weijnig neegers aan boord, alsoo het wat buijagtig was, en somtijds fris op koelden.

Donderdag 6. was het nog al buijagtig weer, ons thuij touw brak, en het plegt viel in de plaats; nademiddag quamen drie Soonen van den Cap<sup>m</sup> Matekij, beneevens eenige andere neegers bij ons aan boord, kogten van haar

1 slave jonge voor 4 p<sup>s</sup> beng<sup>s</sup> zeijklkleeden, beneevens

1 slavin voor 2 p<sup>s</sup> beng<sup>s</sup> kleeden

toen moest nog een soopje aracq gedronken werden, mitsgaders een flesje à 3 gevult, en wat toebak en pijpen gegeven, waarnaar die Heeren vertrocken.

Vrijdag 7. heeden liet den Cap<sup>m</sup> Tembi weeten dat eenige machicossers met Eliphandstanden bij hem waren aangekomen, en dat hij deselve over een dag à drie bij ons soude brengen: deese boodschap geschiede niet sonder versoek om aracq, toebacq en pijpen voor dien Cap<sup>m</sup>, die wij hem ook lieten toekomen.

Van een onder cap<sup>m</sup> van Matekij kogt men 's avonds

1 slave jongen voor 4 p<sup>s</sup> beng<sup>s</sup> zeijklkleeden, en

1 slavin „ 2 „ do.

buijten een boutellie aracq à 3, en wat toebacq, pijpen, tot toegift.

Saturdag 8. was het seer warm weer, tot op de midd: dat een fris zee windjen het wat koelder maakten: kooplieden hadden wij heeden niet aan boord, dan met hoenders, eijeren, melk, &<sup>a</sup>.

Zondag 9. deesen morgen liet den Cap<sup>m</sup> Madommedom of Tembi weeten dat hij in de neegerij van Maphumbo was, en versogt dat men hem met onse schuijt wilde laten afhaken, gelijk gedaan wierd: deesen Heer bragt een stoet van meer dan 30

neegers, buiten Maphumbo, en een stuk à 7 van zijn heele en halve broeders; wij ontvingen hem na zijn staat, en wilden hem met een soopje aracq tracteeren, dog die was te slegt voor hem, hij moest wijn hebben, zijn trawanten souden aracq drinken, toebacq en pijpen wierd hem en de principaalste meede voorgelegt, na het drinken van een glaasjen à drie, begon men te spreken van den handel, waarop dien Heer seijde dat er weijnig slaven te becomen waren, dewijl geen oorlog voerden, Eliphands tanden hadde hij veel, dog wilde die niet alle verkoopen, ten zij hij blaauwe en geele Coralen daarvoor konde krijgen; lijwaat was wel goed, maar zij wisten het landwaart in niet weeder quijt te worden, maar de gem: soort van Coralen, konden zij meede handelen met hun nabuuren. Wij antwoorden hem, dat wij soodanige coralen niet hadden, seggende voorts wat soorten in het schip waren, lieten eenige soorten monsters van sien, maar waren van geen trek. Eijndelijk resolveerden hij om Lijwaat voor zijn meede gebragte goederen te neemen, kogten daarop van hem

1 slavine met 1 kind te samen voor 4 p<sup>e</sup> beng<sup>e</sup> zeijklleden en nog

1 Eliphandstand  $\bar{v}$  30 à 35 lb. swaar,

voor 2 p<sup>e</sup> beng<sup>e</sup> zeijklleden, en

$\frac{1}{2}$  „ bruijn blauw guinees

voorts wierd hem tot contra present voor 1 koebeest ter hand gestelt 1 p<sup>e</sup> beng<sup>e</sup> zeijklleed.

Dit gantsche geselschap hielden w' aan boord tot op den avond, wanneer den Cap<sup>tn</sup> begon te praaten van gaan, wes w' zijn leedige flesjes vulden, en deelden wat toebacq en pijpen uijt, verblijd sijnde dat onse gasten wouden vertrecken, dog den Cap<sup>tn</sup> schielijk een bier glas drie à vier met roode wijn baard geslagen hebbende, veranderde van humeur, en resolveerde deese nagt te blijven, egter sond hij zijn geselschap, op ons versoek naar land, op twee à drie naar.

Maandag 10. des morgens wanneer dien Cap<sup>tn</sup> Tembi voor den dag quam, konden men wel sien dat hij, schoon kleederen aan hebbende, weijnig moeijten hadde gehad om sig te kleeden of te ontkleeden, klaagden over pijn in het hoofd, wes geen beeter raad vonden, dan hem een glas wijn of twee te laten geeven, Intusschen quamen sijne hovelingen ook weeder aan boord, benevens den Cap<sup>tn</sup> Maphumbo en ses à seven machicossers met



eenige Eliphandstanden bij haar, onder welke ook twee van Madommedom waren, die wij van hun ruijlden, als

1 p <sup>a</sup>	Eliphandstand van 30 à 32 lb. swaar	voor 2 p <sup>a</sup> bēnga <sup>a</sup> zeijkleeden, en
		½ „ b <sup>r</sup> b <sup>i</sup> guinees
1 p <sup>a</sup>	do. van 24 à 26 lb. swaar	voor 3 p <sup>a</sup> beng <sup>a</sup> zeijkleeden

met de machicossers had men meerder moeite alsoo die eerst blaauwe Coralen wilde hebben, hoorende datter die niet waren, eijsten zij papegaj groene, na deese wierd gesogt, en al de vaten op ons schip geboord dog waren niet te vinden, wes na de Zeepost sonden om die vaten in dien bodem sijnde meede te visiteeren, hier wierden se gevonden, en kreegen in de namiddag het monster, dat haar wel aanstond; dog was te laat om deselve op heeden te laten halen, en met die menschen te handelen, wes haar versogten weederom te willen komen, als wij van de bank quamen, daar wij op morgen, na lang marren naar toe stonden te gaan, om ons schip van onderen wat schoon te maken, het welke zij aannamen en vertrocken.

Dog Tembi met zijn pleijsierig geselschap konde nog niet scheijden voor den avond, intusschen wierd een helder glas wijn aan hem geschonken, en aan sijn volk somtijds een soopje aracq, eijndelijk resolveerde dien Heer om te vertrecken, setten zijn paruijk op, zijd geweer op zij, en rotting in de hand hebbende, maakte hij een halfsleete grijse rok, die ik aan hem gegeven had aanhebbende, soo een goed postuur, dat ik niet geloof, dat don quichat, het in sijn tijd, zoude kunnen verbeetert hebben; trad soo met sijn gevolg in haar berquen, niet sonder eenige flessen aracq, beneevens toebacq en pijpen meede te neemen, onder tusschen waren wij blijde, dat van die gasten ontslagen waren.

Dingsdag 11. deesen morgen vroeg liet men uijt de Zeepost haalen de corale waarvan gisteren de monsters hadden gesien, bestaande in drie genommert 29, 10, en 9, dog deese laaste N<sup>o</sup> stond soo duijster, dat men se niet ter deege konde bekennen.

Op de midd: seijlden na de bank, en was deese nagt om 12 uren, d' eene zijde van het schip (: dat niet seer vuil was :) al schoon.

Woensdag 12. heeden voormidd: raakte bakboords zijde meede schoon, en om 3 uren na de middag wij weeder vlot en

van de bank, zeijlende vervolgens afwaard en komen bij de Zeepost ten anker.

Hadden in dees tijd al eenige sieken, van deselve overleed deesen avond den mattröos Matthijs Stelhoorn van Staden.

Donderdag 13. viel er niet voor, alsoo het reegenagtig weer was.

Vrijdag 14. heeden quamen de machicossers weeder aan boord met haar Eliphands tanden, en een partij tin, w' kogten van haar

1 p <sup>a</sup>	Eliphands tand	van 50 à 52 lb.	voor 52 lb.	Coralen
1 „	do.	„ 48 „ 50 „ „	50 „	do.
1 „	do.	„ 40 „ 42 „ „	42 „	do.
1 „	do.	„ 30 „ 35 „ „	35 „	do.
1 „	do.	„ 30 „ 35 „ „	35 „	do.
1 „	do.	„ 25 „ 30 „ „	30 „	do.

benevens 56 staven thin, als

20 p <sup>a</sup>	grootte plat ronde en
36 „	kleene lange ronde

—

56 p<sup>a</sup> staven thin kosten te samen Coral: lb. 103.

nog wierd aan den principaalsten dier buitenlanders vereert

$\frac{1}{2}$  p<sup>a</sup> beng<sup>a</sup> zeijlkleed, Item aan

Maphumbo  $\frac{1}{2}$  „ do. alsoo te samen 1 p<sup>a</sup> beng<sup>a</sup> zeijlkleed, boven dit moeste den Cap<sup>m</sup> Maphumbo nog wat aracq toebacq en pijpen hebben, voor zijn makelaardij: egter konde hij de machicossers niet bepraaten om Een Eliphands tand  $\bar{v}$  omt: 90 lb. aan ons te verkoopen, die zij weeder meede namen alsoo hun geen blaauwe coralen daarvoor konde geeven.

Saturdag 15. heeden wierd van den meergeën: Chicambe, onder Cap<sup>m</sup> van Tembi gekogt

1	Eliphands tand	van 56 à 58 lb. swaar
		voor 6 p <sup>a</sup> beng <sup>a</sup> zeijlkleeden en
		$\frac{1}{2}$ „ b <sup>r</sup> blaauw guinees
1	do.	van 50 à 55 lb. swaar
		voor 5 p <sup>a</sup> beng <sup>a</sup> zeijlkleeden, en
		$\frac{1}{2}$ „ b <sup>r</sup> b <sup>l</sup> guinees,
1	do.	van 26 à 28 lb. swaar
		voor 2 p <sup>a</sup> beng <sup>a</sup> zeijlkleeden, en
		$\frac{1}{2}$ „ b <sup>r</sup> b <sup>l</sup> guinees
1	do.	van 26 à 27 lb. swaar
		voor 2 p <sup>a</sup> beng <sup>a</sup> zeijlkleeden, en
		$\frac{1}{2}$ „ b <sup>r</sup> b <sup>l</sup> guinees

1 Eliphands tand van 22 à 23 lb. swaar  
 voor 1 p<sup>a</sup> beng<sup>a</sup> zeijklkleed, en  
 $\frac{1}{2}$  „ b<sup>a</sup> b<sup>a</sup> guinees  
 1 do. van 23 à 24 lb. swaar  
 voor 3 p<sup>a</sup> beng<sup>a</sup> zeijklkleeden  
 wijders diende wat aracq, toebacq en pijpen tot toegift.

Zondag 16. nog

Maandag 17. is niets voorgevallen.

Dingsdag 18. hadden heeden de Cap<sup>m</sup> tembi en Maphumbo weeder bij ons, met den heelen Hofstoet, de soon van den Cap<sup>m</sup> Matekij quam meede hier, van deese kogten wij

1 Eliphands tand van 35 à 36 lb. swaar  
 voor 5 p<sup>a</sup> beng<sup>a</sup> zeijklkleeden en  
 vervolgens van Madommedom of Tembi  
 2 slavinnen te samen

voor 3 p<sup>a</sup> beng<sup>a</sup> zeijklkleeden en

1 „ bruijn blauw guinees.

deese gasten kosten ons nog vrij wat aracq, toebacq en pijpen, bleeven deese middag bij ons om haar buijken te vullen, en vertrocken tegens den avond, gaande naar de Zeepost, behalve de soon van Matekij die naar land ging.

Op dato overleed den soldaat Willem Gallas van paderborn, en waren nog 8 man siek.

Woensdag 19. nog ook den 20, 21, 22, is niets voorgevallen.

Zondag 23. heeden kogten wij van de soon van den Cap<sup>m</sup> Matekij, het volgende als

1 Eliphands tand van 45 à 50 lb. swaar  
 voor 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  p<sup>a</sup> beng<sup>a</sup> zeijklkleeden  
 $\frac{1}{2}$  b<sup>a</sup> b<sup>a</sup> guinees

1 do. van 15 à 16 lb. swaar  
 voor 1 p<sup>a</sup> beng<sup>a</sup> zeijklkleed

1 slave jongen voor 4 do. kleeden

1 slavin „ 3 do.

1 do. met 1 kind voor 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  do.

aracq, toebacq en pijpen, moest na ouder gewoonte tot toegift dienen, en de verkoopers bovendien met een soopje beschonken.

In de voornagt overleed den Matt<sup>s</sup> Jan Engelse de Swaan van Sevenhuijsen, en waren nog 9 sieken.

Maandag 24. Hadden op dato eenige Inlanders aan boord bij hun hebbende 6 à 7 mooie Eliphands tanden, maar alsoo sij niet

als blaauwe en geele coralen wilde hebben, konden wij geen meester daarvan worden.

Den gesaghebber van de hoeker de Zeepost Jochem Otto quam deese voormidd: bekent maken, dat zijn gewezen Bootsman voor een dag à drie na de wal gegaan zijnde thans niet te vinden was, en soo hem door de neegers was gesegt, landwaart ingelooopen: Maphumbo bij ons zijnde wierd versogt den weggelooene op te laten zoeken, en bij ons te brengen, dat hij aannam te sullen doen.

De schipper seijde vervolgens teegens genoemde gesaghebber, dat bezig was om klarigheid tot zeijlen te maken, en eerst daags de vertrek dag meijnde te beramen en bequam ten antwoord: dat het wel was, en hij gesaghebber na de Bank soude gaan om schoon te maken, zijnde thans omt: springvloet en hoogste water.

Dingsdag 25. heeden quam een soon van den Cap<sup>u</sup> hier, en verkogt aan ons

1 slavin met

1 kind, en

1 meijsje van 5 à 6 jaren

te samen voor 9 p<sup>s</sup> beng<sup>s</sup> zeijklleeden,

wijders wat aracq toebacq en pijpen na uso.

Woensdag 26. hadden heeden eenige neegers met Eliphands tanden, dog alsoo de meeste blaauwe en geele coraalen wilde hebben, konden wij met haar niet te regt komen, kogten egter nog, van den voorwaard meergenoemde Chicambe

1 Eliphands tand van 50 à 55 lb. swaar

voor 4½ p<sup>s</sup> beng<sup>s</sup> zeijklleeden, en

½ „ br. b<sup>l</sup> guinees

1 do. do. van 48 à 50 lb. swaar

voor 5½ p<sup>s</sup> beng<sup>s</sup> zeijklleeden

bovendien een flesch aracq, wat toebacq en pijpen.

Donderdag 27. op heeden ging de Zeepost na de Bank, senden heeden na tembi om wegens den weg gelooene Bootsman v̄ de Zeepost te spreken.

Vrijdag 28. deese morgen quamen twee Machicossers hier, aan ons verkoopende

1 Eliphands tand van 48 à 50 lb. swaar

voor 50 lb. coralen, en

1 do. do. van 22 à 24 lb. swaar

voor 24 lb. coralen.

van een ander Inlander kogten wij nog

1 Eliphands tandje van omt: 12 à 14 lb.

voor 1 p<sup>a</sup> beng<sup>a</sup> zeijklreed

aan deese laatste neeger moest een soopje en een pijp toebak gespendeert, dog de machicossers zijn geen Liefhebbers van 't een nog ander, maar hun bij hebbende makelaar Maphumbo, vergat daarom niet, zijn loon te vragen.

Saterdag 29. quam de afgesondene Neeger van Madommedom terug met bescheid dat dien Cap<sup>m</sup> den Bootsman niet had gesien, ook niet wiste waar hij was: alsoo ons in voorraad gehad hebbende rundvee geconsumeerd was, kogt men heeden tot verversing wederom een koebeest voor 1 p<sup>a</sup> beng<sup>a</sup> zeijklreed.

Sondag 30. nog

Maandag 31. is niets voorgevallen als dat men met Maphumbo, en een oppasser van Tembi eenige reedenen had wegens den absente bootsman van de Zeepost, dog zij seijden van hem niets te weeten.

Dingsdag 1 January 1732 is niets gepassert soo ook niet

Woensdag 2.

Donderdag 3. was Maphumbo bij ons met eenige neegers en kogten van haar

1 slavin met

1 kind voor 4 p<sup>a</sup> beng<sup>a</sup> zeijklreed

en van den onder Cap<sup>m</sup> Chicambe

1 Eliphands tand van 24 à 25 lb. swaar

voor 3 p<sup>a</sup> beng<sup>a</sup> zeijklreed

beneevens de ordinaire costumade van aracq toebacq en pijpen.

Vrijdag 4. viel niets voor, en

Saterdag 5. alleen tot verversing van het volk gekogt 1 koebeest voor 1 p<sup>a</sup> beng<sup>a</sup> zeijklreed.

Zondag 6. wierd doorgebracht sonder eenige negotie te sien.

Maandag 7. kogt men van een onderdaan van Tembi 1 Eliphands tand van 24 à 25 lb. swaar voor 25 lb. coralen en d' ordinaire toegift van een bottellie of een fles aracq soo het groete hanse als tembi en maphumbo, Matollo &<sup>a</sup> waren meer, beneevens wat toebacq en pijpen.

Dingsdag 8. hadden thans ons nodig water en brandhout meest in, wes de schipper Marinus dringe den scheepsraad beleijde, waarin geresolveerd wierd, om reedenen, in het breede, bij de neevens gevoegde resolutie te sien, den 27 deeser loopende maand

van hier te zeijlen, om de kust van terræ de Natal te gaan bezoeken. Weesende ons volkje thans meest in gezondheid hersteld; soo ook op den hoeker de Zeepost, volgens zeggen van den gesaghebber Jochem Otto.

Woensdag 9. als ook den 10 niets voorgevallen.

Vrijdag 11. quam de gesaghebber van de Zeepost Jochem Otto hier bekend maken dat den soldaat Louis Lafebre al vier dagen absent was geweest, en hij niet hadde kunnen verneemen waar denselven beland was.

Saterdag 12. Op dato overleed een slave jonge, en kogten van een onderdaan van Matekij

1 slave jonge voor 3 p<sup>a</sup> beng<sup>a</sup> zeijklleeden

en  $\frac{1}{2}$  p. b<sup>r</sup> b<sup>i</sup> guinees

sonder nog wat aracq, toebak en pijpen, raakten men de verkoopers nooijt quijt.

Zondag 13. tot ververssing voor t' volk kogten w' heeden een koebeest tot 1 p<sup>a</sup> beng<sup>a</sup> zeijklleed de brengers van dien seijden ons, dat Mangobe, zijnde de oom van Tembi, dog voor eenige tijd  $\bar{p}$  zij niet konde accordeeren uijt zijn land na dat van Machavane getrocken, eergisteren nagt in het land van zijn neef was gevallen, een partij vee gerooft, en 18 à 20 soo mans wijven als kinderen gedood.

Maandag 14. nog ook den 15, 16, 17, nog 18, viel niets van belang voor, als dat men vernam dat de Bootsman van de Zeepost bij Madommedom, en den soldaat Louis Lefebre bij Matollo sig ophield, dog wanneer daarna gevraagd wierd bij de Capitainen negeerden die zulx, en seijde niets van die menschen te weeten.

Saterdag 19. wierd tot ververssing voor het volk gekogt 1 koebeest voor 1 p<sup>a</sup> beng<sup>a</sup> zeijklleed.

Sondag 20. alsmeede den 22 en 23 passeerden niets aanmerkens waardig.

Donderdag 24. heeden wierd van een onderdaan van Matekij nog gekogt 1 slavin met 1 kind voor 3 p<sup>a</sup> beng<sup>a</sup> zeijklleeden wat aracq, toebacq en pijpen, dienden altijd tot bevestiging van de koop.

Vrijdag 25. viel niets voor en

Saterdag 26. kogt men alleen een koebeest van den Cap<sup>an</sup> Maphumbo daar dien heer versogt voor te mogen hebben  $\frac{1}{2}$  p<sup>a</sup> b<sup>r</sup> bl. guinees, dat aan hem gegeven wierd.

Zondag 27. heeden was de bestemde zeijldag, dog alsoo de

schipper een dag a drie niet wel gesteld was geweest, den onderstuurman Jan pentz siek te bed lag, en den opperstuurman Harmanus Nieuwland wel gezond dog nog swackelijk, bleef men heeden nog leggen, egter wierd teegen den avond het thuij anker te huijs gehaalt.

Hebben thans buijten den onder stuerman Jan pentz nog ses man siekelijk en de kooij houdende, d' overige zijn alle weeder op de Been.

Den gesaghebber van den Hoeker de Zeepost bragt heeden een reecq: van het geconsumeerde rundvee, geduurende sijn legdaagen alhier, tot ververssing van het scheepsvolk van dien bodem, ingekogt weesende, namentlijk

18 p<sup>r</sup> runderbeesten bet: tot 1 p<sup>r</sup> beng<sup>a</sup> zeijklkleeden het stuk maakt alsoo 18 p<sup>r</sup> zeijklkleeden.

Maandag 28. des morgens hadden een labber noordelijk lugje ook stil, ligten anker en deeden met boegseeren ons best om buijten de roodehoek te geraaken, dog konden het soo verre niet brengen maar moesten soo wel als de Zeepost het anker laten vallen, even binnen gem: hoek en in de mond der Revier, alsoo de sterke uijtlopende ebbe, ons te veel na de kant van Tembi setten.

Op huijden overleed een slave kind van 4 à 5 jaaren oud.

Kogten op dato nog een koebeest van Maphumbo alsoo het geene eergisteren was gekogt, door het heete weer bedorven en oneetbaar is geworden, betaalden voor hetselve op versoek van dien Cap<sup>tn</sup> ½ p<sup>r</sup> bruijn blauw guinees.

Hij versogt ook om nog wat aracq, toebacq en pijpen, van deese laatste had men geene meer, maar van de aracq en toebak een restandjen, dat aan hem vereerden, hij deed vervolgens nog een goede afscheidj dronk met sijn geselschap, en vertrok content.

Dewijle van de aracq, toebacq en pijpen, geene dagelijxe reecq: heeft konnen gehouden worden, vermits bij twee, drie, vier flessen somtijds minder, altemets ook maar een soopje vijf ses te gelijk verstrekt of gegeven wierd, en de toebacq bij endjes van een, twee of meer span, soo ook de pijpen, bij twee, drie &<sup>a</sup> te gelijk, werd alhier in een zomma gestelt, het geene geduurende het leggen op Rio de Lagoa, tot defrayement der Inlanders, van opgem: goederen is g'employeert geworden, namentlijk

56½ lb. toebacq,

5 gros korte toebacqspijpen, en

1 legger of 408 kannen aracq.

Ingelijker voege stelle hier bekend de verdere goederen welke gedurende deese vojagie, tot dato verbruikt zijn geworden, namentlijk

8 lb. kaarsen  
22 boeken gesort: papier  
6 bossen schagten  
6 p<sup>a</sup> potlood pennen  
2 p<sup>a</sup> penne messen  
6 lb. Inktstof  
 $\frac{1}{2}$  „ ruw garen  
12 p<sup>a</sup> trek penceelen  
12 „ kleene do.  
1 once Indigo  
1 do. vermilioen  
1 do. guttegambe  
2 do. gomme  
2 do. best blauw  
2 do. Chineesen Inkt  
25 vellen Imperiaal papier  
2 p<sup>a</sup> Inktkokers

Dingsdag den 29. hadden heeden een noordelijk koeltje, daar meede onder zeijl gingen, en quamen op de middag weeder ten anker, alsoo de vloet ons teegen quam, op  $6\frac{1}{2}$  vadem water, zijnde omtrent 2 mijlen van het Eijland S<sup>t</sup> Mary of Injaca.

Den Opperstuurman Harmanus Nieuwland kreeg terwijl nog onder zeijl waren een schielijke overval, soodat na zijn kooij gedragen moest werden, dog was na de midd: weeder wat beeter.

Op dato overhandigde ik weederom aan den schipper Marinus dringe, het restant der goederen, welke ik gedurende de vojagie tot het doen der negotie, onder mij heb gehad, en uijt het ruijm zijn geligt geworden, namentlijk

1 rol toebak wegende  $14\frac{1}{2}$  lb.

5 p<sup>a</sup> heele of 10 halve bruijn blauw guinees

107 „ heele smalle souratse baftas

615 lb. gesort: coralen, zijnde de vaten No. 9 en 29, welke uijt de Zeepest zijn geligt geworden wesende No. 10 ongcopent gebleeven en beneevens het oevengeen: restand der 2 vaten uijt de Snuffelaar uijtgeleevort werden.

Woensdag 30. ligten anker en loopen na buijten, passeerde op het droogste, de diepte van 5 vadem hadden toen het Eijland S<sup>t</sup>



Marij, te weeten de Noordelijkste hoek in het Z. ten O<sup>te</sup> van ons 1½ à 2 mijlen; buijten sijnde wierd de cours Z.Z.O<sup>t</sup> heen gestelt, om soo te blijven loop tot op 27-graden, om dan de wal nader te loopen, het gœen aan den besaghebber Jochem Otto meede wierd bekend gemaakt.

Onse opperstuurm: Harmanus Nieuwland, was heeden eenigen tijd op de been, dog moest weeder gaan leggen, en den onderstuurm: Jan Pentz bleef meede de kooij houden, soodat de schipper deese nagt alleenig de wagt moeste waarneemen.

Donderdag den 31. konde de wal heeden nog sien, gisten 8 à 9 mijlen buijten deselve, en bevonden dat de stroom ons daar naar toe setten.

Onse beijde stuurlieden bleeven de kooij houden, wes wij de Zeepost preijden, den gesaghebber Jochem Otto quam aan boord, en wij vraagden om den onderstuurm: Hendrik Mansveld voor een dag à ettelijk, tot men sag waar het met onse stuurlieden heen wilden, weesende het onmogelijk voor den schipper, dag en nagt de wagt alleenig waar te neemen, gem: onderstuurm: aan boord hebbende gingen wij weeder onse cours.

Deesen avond overleed den matt<sup>a</sup>.

Verscheijde van ons volk waren ook weeder ingevallen, soo dat men maar een man of 10 had die dienst deeden: en moesten deese nagt alsoo het een frisse kouw waijde voor de wind om wenden, dewijl niet magtig genoeg waren, het schip, of liever de zeijlen, bij de wind om te krijgen. Ook vielen er nog een stuk à vier van het volk op in, soodat maar een man à drie op de wagt bleef.

Vrijdag 1 Februarij. sagen heeden weederom de wal die hier en daar tamelijk hoog scheen, gisten 4 à 4½ mijl buijten het naaste land, de g. g. Z. b<sup>te</sup> was op de middag 27 gr: 56 m: teegen den avond en des nagts waijden het fris.

Saturdag 2. hadden heeden tamelijk weer en habse koelte, op de midd: was de bevonde Z. b<sup>te</sup> 27 gr 47 m: gisten ons omtr: 8 mijlen buijten het naaste land, in de namidd: konde men het Land sien, van het N.N.W<sup>t</sup> tot omt: het Z.W<sup>t</sup> was van een tamelijke hoogte, en hier en daar heuvelagtig, wenden weeder t' zee, zijnde na gissing omt: 5 mijlen buijten de naaste wal; in de welke men ook een opening sag, dat men presumeerde de baaij van S<sup>t</sup> Lucie te weesen.

Zondag 3. het men goed weer de wind van 't Z<sup>d</sup> tot Z.O<sup>t</sup>, waren

des morgens omt: 10 mijlen buiten de wal; wonden daar na toe, en waren omt: een uur op son de selve tot op 3 à 4 mijlen genadert, dog wonden af, dewijl soo swak van volk waren, dat het schip qualijk konde regeeren, weesende maar drie mattsroosen op d' eene, en somtijds vier op d' andere wagt: beide onse stuurlieden hielden nog de kooij, met 9 à 10 gemeene; 4 à 5 anderen waren liepen met quaade beenen, soo dat meede niet veel konde uijt regten.

Toen men van de wal wonden, sag men deselve van 't Z.W<sup>t</sup> tot N.N.W<sup>t</sup>, en waren omt: deselfde plaats daar gisteren afwenden, sagen ook deselfde opening, en de Zeevaarende stelden vast dat het de baij van S<sup>t</sup> Lucie moeste weesen, te meer dewijl op de midd: de Z. b: van 27 gr: 49 m: hadden gehad dat met de breete waarop gem: baij legt zijnde 28 gr: geen of weijnig verschil is.

Maandag 4. hadden goed weer en een Z.Z.W<sup>t</sup> lugjen preijden de hoeker de Zeepost, en versogten den gesaghebber Jochem Otto bij ons aan boord te komen; gekomen zijnde wierd den scheepsraad door den schipper Marinus dringe belegt, en daarin overwoogen wat thans best te doen stond, dewijle wij ons schip qualijk meer konde regeeren, en in geen staat om de wal sonder gevaar aan te doen, hebbende maar een man à 8 op de been; waarmede selfs niet in staat waren de schuijt uijt te setten, of het anker gevallen weesende, het selfde te ligten: en wierd dien volgens goed gevonden, de steeven na Cabo de goede hoop te wonden, om schip, zielen en goed niet in pericul te stellen: mitsgē: dat men, om ons wat beeter te kunnen redden, bij de stuurm: die reeds aan boord hadden, nog drie mattsroosen uijt de Zeepost soude overneemen; het was omtrent 9 uren als men deese manschap overkreeg, en afbrasten, stellende met een zijdelijk koeltje, de cours O.Z.O<sup>t</sup> aan, hadden op de midd: de bevonde Z.b<sup>te</sup> van 28 gr 44 m:, en stieren O. ten Z. aan, het waijde 's avonds en des nagts fris uijt den Z<sup>d</sup> en Z.Z. oosten.

Dingsdag den 5. alsmeede den 6, 7, en 8, had men tamelijk weer, ook wel eens een stijve koelte.

Saturdag 9. overleed een slave kind; de hoeker de Zeepost was 's avonds nog in ons gesigt, dog een wijng agter uijt wierd ingewagt, dog raakten deese nagt egter uijt ons gesigt.

Zondag 10. wierd des morgens na de Zeepost uijt gesien, dog was niet te vinden: dus sukkelden wij alleenig voort met

tamelijken voorspoed, alhoewel somtijds wel eens buijg weer hadden, voornamentlijk op den 13 en 14 deeser, als wanneer het ook reedelijk donderde en weerligten.

Vrijdag 15. waijden het nog al fris met een donkere lugt, soodat geen gesigt hadden, moesten anders volgens bestek de wal gesiecht hebben, alhier overleed den onderstuurm: Jan pentz van

Saturdag 16. des morgens reedelijk weer, met den dag sien de tafelberg en Leeuwe cop in het N.O<sup>t</sup> en N.O<sup>t</sup> ten O<sup>ten</sup> van ons, maken zeijl en sturen daarop aan; komende des avonds met sons ondergang in de tafelbaij ten anker.

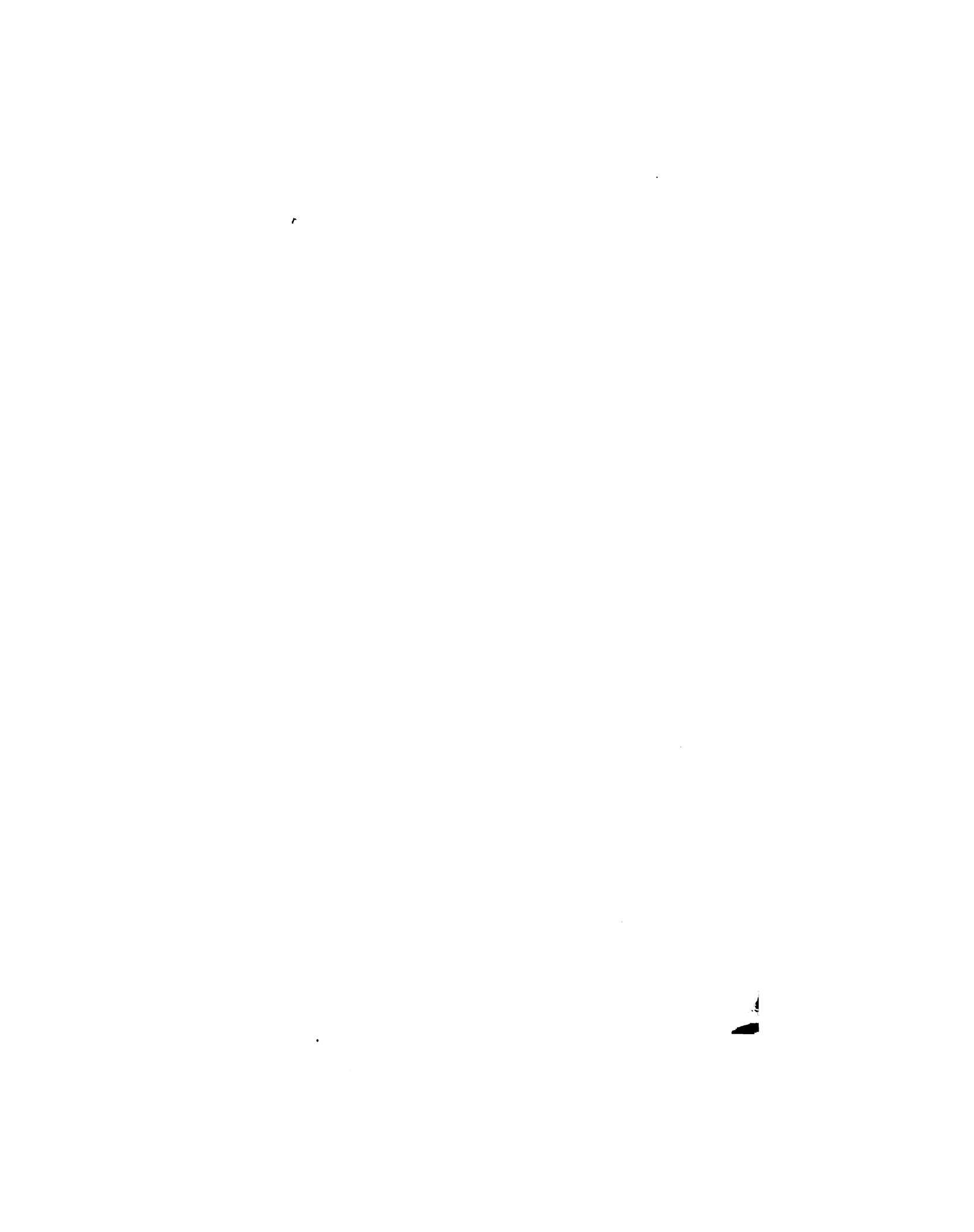
God dankende, voor dat hij ons tot hiertoe hadde geholpen.

W' hadden niet lang ten anker geleege als den schipper en Equipagiemeester d' E. Jacobus Moller aan ons boord quam, wiens schuijtsvolk, onse zeijlen hielpen digt maken.

Gedenkende hiermeede, Wel Edele gestr: Heer en E. Agtbare Heeren, naar vermogen aan mijne Commissie te hebben voldaan, neeme ik de vrijheijt van mij te onderschrijven (: onderstont :) Wel Edele Gestr: Heer, en E. agtb: Heeren, uwe Wel Edele gestr: en E. agtbare onderdanigen dienaar (: was geteekent :) J. v. de Capelle (: in margine :) Cabo de goede hoop den 17 febr. a<sup>o</sup> 1732.

Accordeert,  
(Geteekend) N<sup>o</sup> LEIJ,  
E. G. Clercq.

JAN 3 1918







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