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978-0-521-12453-9 - Early Brazil: A Documentary Collection to 1700

Edited by Stuart B. Schwartz

Excerpt

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THE "DISCOVERY" AND FIRST ENCOUNTERS
WITH BRAZIL

1. The Letter of Pero Vaz de Caminha

*Following the return to Portugal of Vasco da Gama in 1499 after his successful voyage to India around the Cape of Good Hope, a second fleet of thirteen ships set sail from Lisbon in March 1500, commanded by Pedro Alvares Cabral, to follow the same route. In late April of that year, it made a landfall on the Brazilian coast. After briefly exploring the coast and establishing some contact with the native peoples, the main fleet continued on its way to India, but a small ship was detached to return to Portugal. It carried two letters with details on the new land and its people. The letter of Pero Vaz de Caminha is often described as the foundational document of Brazilian history. Vaz de Caminha, of a noble family from Oporto, was most likely traveling to India to take up a post as the secretary at the trading post to be established there, but he was also serving as scribe for the fleet. In many ways, his report paralleled the first letters of Columbus from the Caribbean, providing details about the geography, peoples, and conditions in the new lands. The letter of Pero Vaz de Caminha disappeared from sight until the late eighteenth century, when it was uncovered in the Portuguese royal archive. It was first published in 1817 (Aires de Casal, *Corografia Brasilica* [Rio de Janeiro, 1817]) and subsequently has been published in innumerable editions. (The excerpted translation presented here is from Charles David Ley, ed., *Portuguese Voyages, 1498–1663, Everyman's Library*, No. 986 (New York: Dutton & Co., pp. 42–45, 53–54, 56–59.)*

This same day, at the hour of vespers we sighted land, that is to say, first a very high rounded mountain, then other lower ranges of hills to the south of it, and a plain covered with large trees. The admiral named the mountain Easter Mount and the country the Land of the True Cross.

He ordered them to drop the plumb-line, and they measured twenty-five fathoms. At sunset, about six leagues from the shore we dropped anchor in nineteen fathoms, and it was a good clean anchorage. There we lay all that night. On Thursday morning we set sail and made straight for land, with the smaller ships leading the water being seventeen, sixteen, fifteen, fourteen, thirteen, twelve, ten, and nine fathoms deep, until we were half a league

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from the shore. Here we all cast anchor opposite a river mouth. It must have been more or less ten o'clock when we reached this anchorage.

From there we caught sight of men walking on the beaches. The small ships which arrived first said that they had seen some seven or eight of them. We let down the longboats and the skiffs. The captains of the other ships came straight to this flagship where they had speech with the admiral. He sent Nicolau Coelho on shore to examine the river. As soon as the latter began to approach it, men came out on to the beach in groups of twos and threes, so that, when the longboat reached the river mouth there were eighteen or twenty waiting.

They were dark brown and naked, and had no covering for their private parts, and they carried bows and arrows in their hands. They all came determinedly towards the boat. Nicolau Coelho made a sign to them to put down their bows, and they put them down. But he could not speak to them or make himself understood in any other way because of the waves which were breaking on the shore. He merely threw them a red cap, and a linen bonnet he had on his head, and a black hat. And one of them threw him a hat of large feathers with a small crown of red and grey feathers like a parrot's. Another gave him a large bough covered with little white beads which looked like seed-pearls. I believe that the admiral is sending these articles to Your Majesty. After this, as it was late, the expedition returned to the ships, without succeeding in having further communication with them, because of the sea.

That night there was such a strong south-easterly wind and squalls that it dragged the ships out of their position, more especially the flagship. On Friday morning at about eight o'clock, by the pilot's advice, the captain ordered the anchors to be weighed and the sails hoisted. We went up the coast to the northwards with the longboats and skiffs tied to our sterns, to see if we could find a sheltered spot to anchor in where we could stay to take in water and wood. Not that these were lacking to us, but so as to be provided with everything now, in good time. At the hour when we set sail, about sixty or seventy men had gradually come up and were seated near the river. We sailed on, and the admiral told the small ships to run under the shore and to slacken sails if they found a sufficiently protected spot for the ships.

Thus we sailed along the coast, and, ten leagues from the spot where we had weighed anchor, the aforesaid small ships found a ledge of rock which contained a very good, safe port with a very large entrance. So they went in and struck sails. The bigger ships came up behind them, and, a little while after sundown, they struck sails also, perhaps at a league from the rocks, and anchored in eleven fathoms.

Our pilot, Afonso Lopes, was in one of the small ships, and he received orders from the admiral to go in the skiff to take the soundings inside the

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port, for he was a lively and capable man for the work. He took up two of the men of the country from a canoe. They were young and well formed and one of them had a bow and six or seven arrows. There were many others on the shore with bows and arrows, but they did not use them. Later, in the evening, he took the two men to the flagship where they were received with great rejoicings and festivities.

They are of a dark brown, rather reddish color. They have good well-made faces and noses. They go naked, with no sort of covering. They attach no more importance to covering up their private parts or leaving them uncovered than they do to showing their faces. They are very ingenuous in that matter. They both had holes in their lower lips and a bone in them as broad as the knuckles of a hand and as thick as a cotton spindle and sharp at the end like a bodkin. They put these bones in from inside the lip and the part which is placed between the lip and the teeth is made like a rook in chess. They fit them in in such a way that they do not hurt them nor hinder them talking or eating or drinking.

Their hair is straight. They shear their hair, but leave it a certain length, not cutting it to the roots, though they shave it above the ears. One of them had on a kind of wig covered with yellow feathers which ran round from behind the cavity of the skull, from temple to temple, and so to the back of the head; it must have been about a hand's breadth wide, was very close-set and thick and covered his occiput and his ears. It was fastened, feather by feather, to his hair with a white paste like wax (but it was not wax), so that the wig was very round and full and regular, and did not need to be specially cleaned when the head was washed, only lifted up.

When they came, the admiral was seated on a chair, with a carpet at his feet instead of a dais. He was finely dressed, with a very big golden collar round his neck. Sancho de Toar, Simão de Miranda, Nicolau Coelho, Aires Correia, and the rest of us who were in the ship with him were seated on this carpet. Torches were lit. They entered. However, they made no gesture of courtesy or sign of a wish to speak to the admiral or any one else.

For all that, one of them gazed at the admiral's collar and began to point towards the land and then at the collar as if he wished to tell us that there was gold in the country. And he also looked at a silver candlestick and pointed at the land in the same way, and at the candlestick, as if there was silver there, too. We showed them a grey parrot the admiral had brought with him. They took it in their hands at once and pointed to the land, as if there were others there. We showed them a ram, but they took no notice of it. We showed them a hen, and they were almost afraid of it and did not want to take it in their hands; finally they did, but as if alarmed by it. We gave them things to eat: bread, boiled fish, comfits, sweetmeats, cakes, honey, dried figs. They would hardly eat anything of all this, and, if they tasted it, they spat it

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out at once. We brought them wine in a cup; they merely sipped it, did not like it at all, and did not want any more of it. We brought them water in a pitcher, and they each took a mouthful, but did not drink it; they just put it in their mouths and spat it out.

One of them saw the white beads of a rosary. He made a sign to be given them and was very pleased with them, and put them round his neck. Then he took them off and put them round his arm, pointing to the land, and again at the beads and at the captain's collar, as if he meant they would give gold for them.

We took it in this sense, because we preferred to. If, however, he was trying to tell us that he would take the beads and the collar as well, we did not choose to understand him, because we were not going to give it to him. Then he returned the beads to the man who had given them to him. Finally, they lay on their backs on the carpet to sleep. They did not try to cover up their private parts in any way; these were uncircumcised and had their hairs well shaved and arranged.

The admiral ordered one of his cushions to be put under either of their heads, and the one in the wig took care that this should not be spoiled. They had a cloak spread over them. They consented to this, pulled it over themselves, and slept.

On the Saturday morning, the admiral ordered the sails to be hoisted. We approached the entrance, which was very broad, and some six or seven fathoms in depth. All the ships entered it and anchored in five or six fathoms. The anchorage was so good and fine and safe inside that more than two hundred ships and vessels could lie in it. As soon as the ships had taken up their positions and anchored, all the captains came to this flagship. Now the admiral ordered Nicolau Coelho and Bartolomeu Dias to go on shore and take the two men and let them go with their bows and arrows. He also ordered each of them to be given a new shirt, a red bonnet, a rosary of white beads of bone, which they put on their arms, a varvel, and a bell. And he sent with them, to remain there, a banished youth of the household of Dom João Telo, named Afonso Ribeiro, who was to stay with them there and learn about their lives and their customs. I, also, was told to accompany Nicolau Coelho.

We saw them closer to and more at our leisure that day because we had nearly all intermingled. Some were painted in quarters with those paints, others by halves, and others all over, like a tapestry. They all had their lips pierced; some had bones on them, though many had not. Some wore spiky green seed-shells off some tree, which were colored like chestnut shells, though they were much smaller. These were full of little red berries which, on being squeezed, squirted out a very red juice with which they dyed themselves. The more they wet themselves after being dyed with this red, the

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redder they become. They were all shaven to above the ears; likewise, their eyelids and eye-lashes were shaven. All their foreheads are painted with black paint from temple to temple. This gives the impression of their wearing a ribbon round them two inches wide.

The admiral ordered the exile, Afonso Ribeiro, and the two other exiles to mix in amongst them. And he told Diogo Dias, of Sacavém, to do the same, since he was a merry fellow and knew how to amuse them. He told the exiles to stay there that night. So they all went in amongst those people.

As they afterwards related, they went a good league and a half to a hamlet of nine or ten houses. They said those houses were each as big as this flagship. They were made of wooden planks sideways on, had roofs of straw, and were fairly high. Each enclosed a single space with no partitions, but a number of posts. High up from post to post ran nets, in which they slept. Down below they lit fires to warm themselves. Each house had two little doors, one at one end and one at the other. Our men said that thirty or forty people were lodged in each house, and they saw them there. They gave our men such food as they had, consisting of plenty of *inhame* and other seeds there are in the country which they eat. It was getting late, however, and they soon made all our men turn back, for they would not let any of them stay. They even wanted to come with them, our men said. Our men exchanged some varvels and other small things of little value which they had brought with them for some very large and beautiful red parrots and two small green ones, some caps of green feathers, and a cloth of many colors, also of feathers, a rather beautiful kind of material, as Your Majesty will see when you receive all these things, for the admiral says he is sending them to you. So our men came back, and we returned to our ships.

After our meal on the Tuesday, we went on shore to fetch water and wood and to wash our clothes. There were sixty or seventy on the beach without bows or anything else when we arrived. As soon as we landed, they came up to us straight away and did not try to escape. Also many others came up later, a good two hundred, and all without bows. They came in amongst us so readily that some of them helped us to carry out the wood and put it in the boats. They vied with our men in doing this, and it gave them great pleasure. Whilst we were gathering wood, two carpenters formed a large cross out of a piece which had been cut for the purpose the day before. Many of them came and stood around the carpenters. I believe they did so more to see the iron tool it was being made with than to see the cross. For they have nothing made of iron and cut their wood and sticks with stones fashioned like wedges which they fit into a stick between two laths which they tie up very tightly to make them secure. (The men who had been to their houses told us this, because they had seen it there.) They were by now so intimate with us that they almost hindered us in what we had to do.

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The admiral sent the two exiles and Diogo Dias back to the village they had visited (or to others, if they should obtain knowledge of any others), telling them not to come back to the ship to sleep in any case, even if they were sent away. So they went off.

Whilst we were cutting timber in the wood, some parrots flew through the trees. Some were green, others grey, some big, others little. It seems to me, after this, that there must be many of them in this land, even though there cannot have been more than nine or ten of those I saw, if so many. We did not see any other birds on that occasion, except some rock pigeons which seemed to me considerably bigger than those in Portugal. Many say they saw doves, but I did not see them. However, as the trees are very tall and thick and of an infinite variety, I do not doubt but that there are many birds in this jungle. Near nightfall, we returned to the ships with our wood.

The admiral had said when we had left the boat that it would be best if we went straight to the cross which was leaning against a tree near the river ready to be set up on the next day, Friday; we ought then all to kneel and kiss it so that they could see the respect we had for it. We did so and signed to the ten or twelve who were there to do the same, and they at once all went and kissed it.

They seem to be such innocent people that if we could understand their speech and they ours, they would immediately become Christians, seeing that, by all appearances, they do not understand about any faith. Therefore, if the exiles who are to remain here learn their speech and understand them, I do not doubt but that they will follow that blessed path Your Majesty is desirous they should and become Christians and believe in our holy religion. May it please God to bring them to a knowledge of it, for truly these people are good and have a fine simplicity. Any stamp we wish may be easily printed on them, for the Lord has given them good bodies and good faces, like good men. I believe it was not without cause that He brought us here. Therefore, Your Majesty who so greatly wishes to spread the Holy Catholic faith may look for their salvation. Pray God it may be accomplished with few difficulties.

They do not plough or breed cattle. There are no oxen here, nor goats, sheep, fowls, nor any other animal accustomed to live with man. They only eat this *inhame*, which is very plentiful here, and those seeds and fruits that the earth and the trees give of themselves. Nevertheless, they are of a finer, sturdier, and sleeker condition than we are for all the wheat and vegetables we eat.

While they were there that day, they danced and footed it continuously with our people to the sound of one of our tambourines, as if they were more our friends than we theirs. If we signed to them asking them if they wanted

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to come to our ships, they at once came forward ready to come. So that if we had invited them all, they would all have come. We did not, however, take more than four or five with us that night. The admiral took two, Simão de Miranda one whom he took as a page, and Aires Gomes another, also as a page. One of those whom the admiral took was one of the guests who had been brought him when we first arrived here; on this day, he came dressed in his shirt and his brother with him. That night they were very handsomely created, not only in the way of food, but also to a bed with mattress and sheets, the better to tame them.

To-day, Friday, 1st May, in the morning, we went on shore with our banner. We made our way up the river and disembarked on the southern bank at a place where it seemed best to us to set up the cross so that it might be seen to the best advantage. There the admiral marked the place for a pit to be made to plant the cross in. Whilst they were digging this, he and all of us went for the cross, down the river to where it was. We brought it from there as in a procession, with the friars and priests singing in front of us. There were a quantity of people about, some seventy or eighty. When they saw us coming, some of them went to help us to support the cross. We passed over the river along by the beach. We then went to set up the cross where it was to be at some two bow-shots from the river. When we went to do this, a good hundred and fifty of those people and more came up. The cross was then planted, with Your Majesty's arms and motto on it, which had before been fastened to it, and they set up an altar by its side. Friar Henrique said Mass there, and the singing and officiating was done by the others who have been already mentioned. About fifty or sixty of the people of the place were at the Mass all on their knees as we were. When the Gospel came and we all stood with uplifted hands, they arose with us, lifted their hands, and stayed like that till it was ended. After which they again sat, as we did. When God's Body was elevated and we knelt, they all knelt and lifted their hands as we did and were so silent that I assure Your Majesty it much increased our devotion.

They stayed with us thus until the Communion was over. After the Communion, the friars and priests communicated, as did the admiral and some of us. Since the sun was very strong, some of them arose whilst we were communicating, but others stayed to the end. Amongst those who stayed was a man of fifty or fifty-five years old – or rather he came up amongst those already there and also called others to come. He went in amongst them and spoke to them pointing to the altar and afterwards at Heaven, as if he were speaking to a good purpose. We took it so.

When Mass was over, the priest removed his vestments, and mounted on a chair near the altar in his surplice. He preached to us on the Gospel and about the Apostles whose day it was. At the end of the sermon, he

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referred to the aim of your most holy and virtuous quest, which caused much devoutness.

The men who stayed all through the sermon looked at him as we did. The one I have spoken of called others to come. Some came and some went. At the end of the sermon, Nicolau Coelho brought a number of tin crucifixes which had remained over from his former journey. It was thought well that those people should each have one hung round their necks. Friar Henrique stood beside the cross for this purpose. There he hung a crucifix round each of their necks, first making him kiss it and raise his hands. Many came for this. All who came, some forty or fifty, had crucifixes hung round their necks.

At last, a good hour after midday, we went to the ships to eat. The admiral took with him the man who had pointed out the altar and Heaven to the others; he also took a brother of his. The admiral did him much honor and gave him a Moorish shirt and his brother a shirt like the others had had.

My opinion and every one's opinion is that these people lack nothing to become completely Christian except understanding us; for they accepted as we do all they saw us do, which makes us consider that they have no idolatry or worship. I believe that if Your Majesty could send someone who could stay awhile here with them, they would all be persuaded and converted as Your Majesty desires. Therefore, if any one is coming out here, let him not omit to bring a clergyman to baptize them. For, by that time, they will have knowledge of our religion through the two exiles who are remaining with them, who also communicated to-day.

Only one woman came with those who were with us to-day. She was young and stayed throughout the Mass. We gave her a cloth to cover herself with and put it around her. But she did not pull it down to cover herself when she sat down. Thus, Sire, the innocence of Adam himself was not greater than these people's, as concerns the shame of the body. Your Majesty will judge if people who live in such innocence could be converted or no if they were taught the things that belong to their salvation.

Our last action was to go and kiss the cross in their presence. We then took our leave and went to eat.

I think, Sire, that two cabin-boys will also stay with the exiles we are leaving here, for they escaped to land in the skiff to-night and have not returned again. We think, I say, that they will stay, because, if God be willing, we are taking our departure from here in the morning.

It appears to me, Sire, that the coast of this country must be a good twenty or twenty-five leagues in length from the most southerly point we saw to the most northerly point we can see from this port. In some parts, there are great banks along by the shore, some of which are red and some white; inland it is all flat and very full of large woods. All the coastal country from one point to the other is very flat and very beautiful. As to the jungle, it seemed very

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large to us seen from the sea; for, look as we would, we could see nothing but land and woods, and the land seemed very extensive. Till now we have been unable to learn if there is gold or silver or any other kind of metal or iron there; we have seen none. However, the air of the country is very healthful, fresh, and as temperate as that of Entre Douro e Minho; we have found the two climates alike at this season. There is a great plenty, an infinitude of waters. The country is so well-favored that if it were rightly cultivated, it would yield everything, because of its waters.

For all that, the best fruit that could be gathered hence would be, it seems to me, the salvation of these people. That should be the chief seed for Your Majesty to scatter here. It would be enough reason, even if this was only a rest-house on the voyage to Calicut. How much more so will it be if there is a will to accomplish and perform in this land what Your Majesty so greatly desires, which is the spreading of our holy religion.

Thus, I have given Your Majesty an account of what I have seen in this land. If at some length, Your Majesty will pardon me, since my desire to tell you all made me relate it with such minuteness. And since, Sire, Your Majesty may be sure of my very faithful service in my present duties as in whatever may do you service, I beg of you as a signal favor that you send for Jorge de Ossório, my son-in-law, from the island of São Tomé – I should take this as a great kindness from you.

I kiss Your Majesty's hands.

From this Pôrto-Seguro, in Your Majesty's island of Vera Cruz, to-day, Friday, 1st May 1500.

2. An Early Report of Brazil

*After Cabral's landfall in 1500, a number of Spanish- and Portuguese-sponsored voyages visited the eastern coasts of South America as far south as the Straits of Magellan. News of these explorations and of the flora, fauna, and peoples they encountered began to circulate in Europe, often in the form of published correspondence or in inexpensive newsletters. The famous 1504 letter of Amerigo Vespucci is an example of the wide diffusion of information that such notices could achieve. The following text, originally published in German as *Copia der neuen Zeytung ausz Presillig Landt*, had a more limited impact, but it is a good example of this type of literature. Probably written by a German merchant resident in Madeira in 1514, it describes the results of an expedition to the coasts of southern Brazil and the Rio de la Plata region of South America. Filled with a combination of erroneous, accurate, curious, and fanciful information, the document contains notable references to the indigenous peoples and their customs and to the purported existence of gold and silver. The final paragraph also reveals the reality of*

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a commerce already developing in the export of brazilwood and indicates that some enslavement or hostage-taking of the inhabitants of the new land had already begun. The text was originally published by John Parker, ed., Tidings Out of Brazil, trans. Mark Graubard (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957), pp. 28–34.

TIDINGS OUT OF BRAZIL

KNOW ye that on the twelfth day of the month of October a ship arrived here from Presillg (Brazil) to obtain provisions. This ship had been equipped by Nono and by Cristoffel de Haro and others. There were two ships which were given permission by the king of Portugal to chart or explore the land of Brazil, and they have charted the land for six or seven hundred miles in extent beyond any knowledge previously held. When they came to the Capo de Bona Speranza (Cape of Good Hope) which is a point or promontory jutting out into the ocean at the level of Nort Assril and perhaps one degree higher or further in latitude, and when they had arrived in such climate or region, namely around forty degrees of latitude, they found Brazil with a cape which is a point or place extending into the ocean. And they sailed around or passed this very cape and found that the same gulf lies as Europe does, with the side lying *ponente levante* (west to east), that is, situated between sunrise or east and sunset or west.

Then they saw land on the other side as well when they had sailed a distance of sixty miles along the cape in the same manner as when one travels toward the east and passes the Stritta de Gibilterra (Strait of Gibraltar) and sees the land of the Berbers. And when they had come around the cape as stated and sailed or traveled northwestward toward us, there arose so great a storm and also such a wind that they were unable to sail or travel further. Hence, they had to sail through *tramontana*, that is, northward or midnight, and back again to the other side and coast which is the land of Brazil.

The pilot, namely the ship's guide who sails with this ship, is a very good friend of mine. He is also the most famous in the service of the king of Portugal. He has made several journeys to India. He tells me he believes that from this cape of Brazil, which is the outermost part of Brazil, it cannot be more than six hundred miles to Malacca. He contemplates also in a short time to undertake such a voyage from Lisbon to Malacca and return, which will bring to the king of Portugal much profit with respect to his spice trade.

They discover also that the land of Brazil extends toward Malacca, and as they came again to the coast or side of Brazil toward the westward, they found many good rivers and harbors which they then navigated. All of this region is full of people and very habitable, and they say the nearer the cape the more prosperous are the people, being of good manners and honorable