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## **Jesuit documents on the Guinea of Cape Verde and the Cape Verde Islands, 1585-1617 in English translation.**

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[Liverpool?]: Dept. of History, University of Liverpool, 1989

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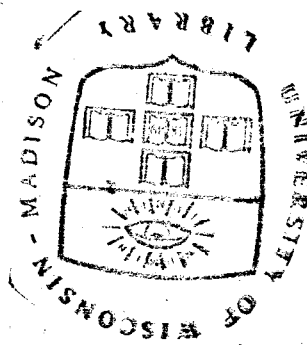
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**JESUIT DOCUMENTS**  
**ON**  
**THE GUINEA OF CAPE VERDE**  
**AND THE CAPE VERDE ISLANDS**

**1585 - 1617**

**in English translation**





JESUIT DOCUMENTS  
ON  
THE GUINEA OF CAPE VERDE AND THE CAPE VERDE ISLANDS  
1585 - 1617  
in English translation

The documents assembled by the late Avelino Teixeira da Mota  
and translated by

P.E.H. HAIR

Issued for the use of scholars by the

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

January, 1989

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## INTRODUCTION

As part of a projected series of edited early Portuguese texts on Guinea, in the early 1960s the late Vice-Admiral **Avelino Teixeira da Mota** began to assemble, partly from archives, documents for a volume he intended to call 'Jesuit Reports'. As it happened, many of the documents, especially those from Jesuit sources, were published in 1968 by another Portuguese scholar, the late **P. António Brásio**. But Teixeira da Mota did not abandon his project, partly because he considered that Brásio did not always take account of all copies of a document and all variant readings, and partly because Brásio was unable to accompany the documents with informed Africanist annotation. In the 1970s Teixeira da Mota sent me his own collection of documents to translate into English - and also so that I could ultimately contribute part of their annotation. My translations were completed just before Teixeira da Mota died in 1982; and I have since translated a number of other documents, all from Brásio, which help to round out the picture. Not all of the documents were written by the Jesuits themselves, but most were.

When it became clear that the publication of Teixeira da Mota's series would proceed at best very slowly, I began to publish those of the translations which were of material in the public domain, beginning with the material printed in the early seventeenth century by Guerreiro. Since much of the material related to Sierra Leone, I published in the **Africana Research Bulletin** of the Institute of African Studies at Freetown, and am much indebted to the organisers of that journal for providing an outlet. The circumstances of the production of ARB however militate against its wide circulation, and also entail its appearance in a form which is not as ideal as an author would wish. Since contributions are not proof-read by the author, errors slip in - moreover, in the thirteen years since the first contribution appeared I have learned more about the Jesuit mission and can now correct some mistakes in the earlier articles. In the List of Documents I indicate those which have already appeared in ARB, and I seize the chance to present in the present volume a table of Errata.

Brásio's volumes are fairly widely available, and scholars with Portuguese will of course prefer to work directly from those Portuguese texts which Brásio published. However, many Africanists have little or no Portuguese, and increasingly students of world history, who cannot be expected to be all gifted polyglots, will want to examine the primary material on Black Africa in the early period of its modern contact with other continents. It therefore seemed to me to be unfriendly to keep any of these English translations of Portuguese texts mouldering in the drawer, and more sensible to issue all of them, including those that have already appeared in ARB, in a reasonably accessible - albeit raw and inelegant - form. Sensible, that is, provided that those who use them do so with caution, and preferably only as a crib to the original Portuguese. My translations certainly contain errors and slips, arising in part out of my own distinctly limited knowledge of Portuguese, while any translation is of course subject to difficulties caused by semantic non-correspondances. A preliminary translation of the Portuguese was prepared for me by a faithful assistant, Mrs Pamela Horner, but subsequently I checked over the material in detail and revised the wording of the translation considerably, not least because some knowledge of the African background, as well as of the historical context, is sometimes required in order to grasp what is being stated. I have not found time to re-check the translations, or indeed even to tidy up the the typescripts of the translations, before issuing this volume - therefore all errors and inelegancies are mine.

The material is in the form in which it was originally typed up over a period of years, and hence is not always consistently presented. Almost all the documents are individually paginated. I have prepared a list of the documents and numbered the items. The numbers are given on the coloured sheet preceding each document - the series of J numbers (JB, JS, JAA, etc) should be ignored. My list indicates all the documents whose original is to be found in Brásio, and the additional documents contributed by Teixeira da Mota normally supply a statement of their provenance. But in one or two instances (notably the important Álvares letter of 1616) I do not know exactly where the original is to be found. It should be noted that sometimes Teixeira da Mota did not use the same copy of a document as Brásio did (or the same system of transcription or the same degree of modernisation of the language), and occasionally was able to contribute additional material from another document, points normally explained in footnotes (and commented on in more detail in my articles).

P.E.H.H.

# LIST OF DOCUMENTS

\* = document in Brásio

\*\* = document added from Brásio

(vol.no./item no. in Brásio)

DONELHA, GUERREIRO, SOURCES - for full titles, see below.

- <-> 1585 Account of the coast from information supplied to the Jesuits by António Velho Tinoco (already printed, in DONELHA 1977, 345-357)
- <1> 18.4.1587 P.Sebastião de Morais, letter to the Jesuit General, on a Guinea mission proposal
- <2> c.1595 Lopes Soares de Albergaria, Account of Guinea of Cape Verde and the proposed College \* (4/1)
- <3> 22.7.1604 P.Baltasar Barreira, letter on arrival at Santiago \* (4/18)
- <4> GUERREIRO, arrival of the mission, account of the coast (from Almada) (1605/4/8,9)
- <5> 19.4.1605 P.Manuel de Barros, letter from Santiago
- <6> 13.4.1605 Barreira, letter to the Meirinho-Mor, from Biguba \* (4/23)
- <7> 13.5.1605 Barreira, letter to King Philip II/III, from Biguba \*\* (4/69, wrongly dated to 1607)
- <8> 15.5.1605 Barreira, letter to P.João Álvares, from Biguba \* (4/24)
- <9> GUERREIRO, Barreira at Biguba, letter of 28.1.1605 (1605/4/10), also extracts from letters of Barros to P.André Alvares, 17.3.1605 and 22.4.1605
- <10> 4.3.1606 Grant of captaincy of Sierra Leone to Pedro Álvares Pereira \* (4/37)
- <11> 8.3.1606 Barreira, letter to P.André Álvares, from Sierra Leone \*\* (4/38)
- <12> 31.3.1606 King Philip II/III, letter about Sebastião Fernandes Cação \* (4/41)
- <13> 1.8.1606 Barreira, Description of the Cape Verde Islands and Guinea \* (4/45) [see SOURCES <9>]
- <14> 12.8.1606 King, letter to Sebastião Fernandes Cação \* (4/46)
- <15> 20.9.1606 King, letter to King of Biguba \* (4/47)
- <16> ? 1606 Barreira, Concerning slaves and just enslavement [see SOURCES <6>]
- <17> GUERREIRO, Barreira at Sierra Leone, letter of 23.2.1606 (1607/4/8, dated 20.2.1606), with letters to the King of 20.2.1606 from Bartolomeu André and 25.2.1606 from King Philip of Sierra Leone, all from Sierra Leone \* (4/35) [see SOURCES <5> and <8>]

- <18> c.1606 Anon., Account of the Portuguese settlements in Guinea \*\* (4/55)
- <19> 26.2.1607 Jesuit General, letter to the King, about the proposed College \*\* (4/56)
- <20> 4.3.1607 Barreira, letter to P.João Álvares, about the settlement of Sierra Leone, from Sierra Leone \* (4/57)
- <21> 5.3.1607 Barreira, letter to the Provincial, from Sierra Leone \* (4/58)
- <22> 9.3.1607 Barreira, letter to the Provincial, from Sierra Leone \* (4/59) [see SOURCES <7>]
- <23> 3.5.1607 P.Manuel Álvares, letter to the King, containing letters of 24.4.1607 and 1.5.1607 from the kings of Biguba, Guinala and Bisege, and a certificate of 1.5.1607 from the Visitor \* (4/64,66-68)
- <24> 20.4.1607 Sebastião Fernandes Cação, letter to the King, recommending conquest of the Bissagos Islands \*\* (4/63)
- <25> 11.6.1607 P.Manuel de Almeida, arrival of more Jesuits, from Santiago \* (4/72)
- <26> 12.8.1607 Almeida, letter from Santiago \* (4/73)
- <27> 6.12.1607 Council of Portugal, deliberation on conquest of the Bissagos Islands \* (4/76)
- <28> GUERREIRO, on the mission to Biguba (1609/4/ff.193-196)
- <29> GUERREIRO, Barreira's mission to Bena, including his report of 15.4.1608 from Sierra Leone (1611/4/1-5) [see SOURCES <13>]
- <30> ? 1608 Memorandum on the proposed College
- <31> GUERREIRO, Barreira at Sierra Leone, including his report dated 1.1.1610 (1611/4/parts of 5-8) \* (4/100) [see SOURCES <19> and <22>]
- <32> 16.2.1609 Barreira, letter on the College to the Provincial, from Santiago \*\* (4/90)
- <33> ?.2/1609 Barreira, letter to the Provincial \*\* (4/92)
- <34> 9.5.1609 Barreira, letter on the College to P.André Álvares \*\* (4/95)
- <35> 11.5.1609 Barreira, letter to P.André Álvares \*\* (4/96)
- <36> 15.7.1609 King, acknowledging 1605 letter from Barreira \*\* (4/98)
- <37> ? 1610 GUERREIRO, Barreira and Álvares at Sierra Leone, from a letter (1611/4/7,8)
- <38> 8.1.1610 Barreira, letter on the College to P.André Álvares \*\* (4/101)
- <39> 6.5.1610 Barreira, letter to the Provincial \*\* (4/102)
- <40> 13.11.1610 Jesuit memorandum on the Guinea mission \*\* (4/105)

- <41> 17.7.1611 Barreira, letter including report on Sierra Leone 1610-1611 forwarded by P.Manuel Álvares from Sierra Leone, from Santiago \* (4/11)
- <42> 19.11.1611 King, letter to Barreira, in reply to his of 1605 \*\* (4/113)
- <43> c.1611 Jesuit anon., Account (in Spanish) of Sierra Leone and the proposed settlement
- <44> 19.3.1612 Barreira, letter to the Provincial, on quarrels with the governor, from Santiago \*\* (4/117)
- <45> ? .10.1613 P.Sebastião Gomes, letter including report dated 11.4.1613 from Álvares in Sierra Leone, from Santiago \* (4/127) [see SOURCES <17>]
- <46> 29.2.1616 Álvares, report on events at Sierra Leone
- <47> 13.3.1616 Gomes, letter (extract), reference to the Sierra Leone situation
- <48> 27.6.1617 Gomes, letter on the Sierra Leone situation to the Jesuit General \* (4/149)

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DONELHA - André Donelha, *Descrição da Serra Leoa e dos Rios de Guiné do Cabo Verde (1625)/An account of Sierra Leone and the Rivers of Guinea of Cape Verde (1625)*, ed. A.Teixeira da Mota and P.E.H.Hair, Lisbon, 1977

GUERREIRO - Fernão Guerreiro, ed., *Relacam anual das cousas que fizeram os padres da Companhia de Jesus nas partes da India Oriental en emalgũas outras ... Tirado tudo das Cartas dos mesmos Padres ...*, Evora-Lisbon, in parts 1603,1605,1607,1609, 1611, reprinted in modernised spelling in 3 vols., ed. A.Viegas, Coimbra, 1930-1942: the volumes are signalled by their publication dates, followed by the number of the book and the number of the chapter (i.e. 1607/4/5 = chapter 5 of Book 4 of the 1607 volume).

SOURCES - P.E.H.Hair, "Sources on early Sierra Leone", a series of edited, translated texts appearing in *Africana Research Bulletin* (Institute of African Studies, University of Sierra Leone), as follows.

- <5> Barreira (letter of 23.2.1606): 5/4 (1975),81-118
- <6> Barreira on Just Enslavement: 6/1 (1975),52-74
- <7> Barreira (letter of 9.3.1607): 6/2 (1976),45-70
- <8> Bartolomeu André's letter, 1606: 6/3 (1976),34-60
- <9> Barreira's 'Account of the Coast of Guinea',1606: 7/2 (1977),50-75
- <13> Barreira's report of 1607-1608 - the visit to Bena: 8/3-2 (1978),64-108
- <17> Álvares at Mitombo,1611: 11/1-2 (1981),92-140
- <19> Barreira's report 1607-1608 - the deeds of King Pedro alias Tbra: 12/1-2 (1983),55-97
- <22> Barreira's report 1607-1608 - the deeds of King Philip: 16 (in press)



## THE JESUIT MISSION TO WESTERN GUINEA

The Jesuit mission to western Guinea - the stretch of the coast of West Africa contemporaneously known to the Portuguese as the 'Guinea of Cape Verde' - was eventually in essence a two-man mission to Sierra Leone. From the 1570s a mission to Guinea was discussed in Jesuit and Portuguese crown circles - as explained in detail in an exemplary article by Thilmans and Moraes.<1> But the first party of missionaries reached Santiago in the Cape Verde Islands, chosen as the base camp, only in 1604. One man, Father Baltasar Barreira, pressed on to the mainland. Barreira was an old hand at mission activity in Black Africa, being skilled not least in handling the often stormy relations between the mission and the Portuguese civil authorities. After visiting the area of modern Guiné-Bissau and calling for a conquista of the Bissagos Islands, Barreira reached the Sierra Leone estuary and worked in, and from, there during the next four years. During this period he converted certain local rulers and participated in a proposed conquista; he made a dramatic but unproductive sortie inland to the Susu polity of Bena, North of the middle Scarcies River; and he wrote incessant reports, letters and discussion papers. (For Barreira's role in the proposed conquistas, see my recent article.<2>) In 1607 Barreira was joined by a younger, inexperienced and more emotional man, Father Manuel Álvares, who had also visited the Guiné-Bissau area on his way to Sierra Leone.

Barreira's plan for the extension of the Guinea mission in general and its reinforcement at the heathendom face, in Sierra Leone, was frustrated by the almost instant deaths of new arrivals - subsequent parties of Jesuits doing no better than the first party, and the deaths occurring mainly at Santiago before the missionaries had had time to set foot on the mainland. In 1608 Barreira made his way back to Santiago, where he unprofitably spent the remaining years before his death in 1612, trying to organise the establishment of a seminary College and quarrelling with the governor. Álvares continued at Sierra Leone, and made minor sorties up the Sierra Leone and Scarcies rivers, until his death in situ in 1617. The younger man had had to deal with the final episodes in the conquista fiasco, and consequently had had difficulty in living up to the early optimism of Barreira. His reports received less attention from the mission authorities than had Barreira's, and some were lost, while a very lengthy if rambling account of the greater part of the 'Guinea of Cape Verde', very detailed on Sierra Leone, which he composed in his latter days, remains unpublished to date. After his death, the Jesuit mission was represented at the Santiago base by Father Sebastião Gomes and Father António Dias, who hung on for some twenty and some thirty years respectively, doing a certain amount of teaching and trying to get the finances straight. Two Jesuits of yet another party of reinforcements reached the mainland in 1628, but the effort soon petered out; and after Álvares' death no further mission to Sierra Leone was ever attempted. The Guinea mission was finally wound up in 1642.

Barreira's annual reports from Sierra Leone were published, together with a few additional reports from colleagues who managed to produce them before they died. These writings appeared, almost instantly, in the biennial volumes of a series of letters from Portuguese Jesuits in all exotic missions, published between 1603 and 1611, and edited by a home member of the Society, Father Fernão Guerreiro. The Sierra Leone reports were little doctored by the editor, but did not need to be, since Barreira well knew how to produce - as Jesuit missionaries were so instructed - edifying copy. Given the enthusiasm and optimism of the early years of the mission, this

was not difficult to do. But it made Álvares' report-writing in stickier times more difficult, and helps to explain why his reports were given less publicity. Barreira's, on the other hand, were soon available, in one shape or another, in most of the readable languages of western Europe.

Apart from the haze of rose-tinted edification, the reports of both men, and even some of Barreira's more confidential letters, are often vague on factual details of the African background (but not on such business matters as finances and the plans for constructing a College). Hence they are somewhat disappointing to the critical historian, Sierra Leone being seen to some extent through a barely penetrable gauze. Nevertheless, given the paucity of sources on the pre-literate sub-continent at this period of time, the Jesuit sources are invaluable for giving historians a large part of such understanding of the Sierra Leone district as it is now possible to gain. In fairness, it needs to be added that, for a final judgement, account needs to be taken of Álvares' description of Sierra Leone, still unpublished. When it does appear - and I hope to make it available in a similar raw form soon - it will be seen that the Jesuits were capable of providing a fair modicum of factual information, and that the somewhat obscure Álvares is more valuable as a source than the colleague who overshadowed him in his lifetime.

Most of the Jesuit documents in this volume relate to Sierra Leone, but a number relate instead to the Cape Verde Islands or to the Guiné-Bissau region. On his way back from Sierra Leone, Barreira visited the latter region and also the coast of Senegal, and he briefly described these visits.<3> Finally, there are several accounts of the whole coast of the Guinea of Cape Verde.

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<1> Guy Thilmans and Nize Isabel de Moraes, 'La description de la côte de Guinée du père Baltasar Barreira (1606)', *Bulletin de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire*, sér B, 34, 1972, 1-50

<2> P.E.H.Hair, 'The abortive Portuguese settlement of Sierra Leone 1570-1625', in [no ed. named], *Vice-Almirante A.Teixeira da Mota in memoriam*, Lisbon, 1987, 171-208

<3> B.Pinto-Bull and J.Boulègue, 'La mission de Baltasar Barreira à Joal et Portudal', *Notes Africaines*, 130, April 1971, 44-46

## Summary Chronology of the Jesuit mission

A fuller chronology of the Sierra Leone part of the mission, with references to sources, can be found in two of my articles - see SOURCES, <13> and <17>. From the latter I reproduce below an appendix setting out, chronologically, the wider context of the Guinea mission.

### 1604

- 5.7 Barreira and party arrive at Santiago
- 11.12 Barreira leaves Santiago

### 1605

- 2.1 Barreira reaches Biguba, after touching in at Bissao and Guinala
- 13.7 Barreira leaves Biguba
- 25.7 Barreira at port of Pogomo
- 23.9 Barreira reaches Sierra Leone
- ? Barreira baptizes a ruler as Philip
- 29.11 last Jesuit remaining at Santiago dies

### 1606

- ? before Lent Barreira visits a ruler, Tora, whose baptism is delayed while European clothes for him are sought
- 1.8 Barreira writes to Rome, enclosing his account of the coast and his paper on just enslavement

### 1607

- 1.2 Barreira receives official news of the award of the captaincy of Sierra Leone, and subsequently visits King Philip to discuss
- 25.1 Barreira baptizes Tora as Pedro
- ? 2. Álvares and other Jesuits of a second party arrive at Santiago
- 8.3 Álvares leaves Santiago
- 27.3 Álvares after touching at Bissao arrives at the port of Santa Cruz, Guinala
- 1.5 Barreira leaves for Bena
- 3.5 Álvares leaves Biguba
- ? Álvares arrives at Sierra Leone and meets Barreira returning from Bena
- 20.9 Barreira writes a letter to English ships in the estuary
- ? Barreira hears of deaths in August-September of Jesuits at Santiago

### 1608

- 31.3 - Holy Week celebrated at Sierra Leone
- 6.4
- 6.5 Barreira discusses with Álvares invitation to be proposed as bishop of Santiago
- ? Barreira ill for two months
- ? 9. Barreira leaves for Santiago
- 29.9 Álvares baptizes son and heir of King Pedro
- 4.10 Barreira arrives at Joala, then goes to Ale
- ? Barreira arrives at Cacheu
- ? Barreira arrives at Santiago
- 25.12 Álvares baptizes heir of a ruler, Fatema

### 1609

- 1.1 Álvares celebrates Feast of the Circumcision with King Philip
- ? 2. Gomes and Dias leave Santiago
- ? Gomes and Dias reach Cacheu
- ? Gomes reaches Sierra Leone, Dias returns to Santiago
- 28.5 Álvares and Gomes baptize on Ascension Day

- ? arrival at Sierra Leone of enemy ships, Jesuits hide
  - ? Gomes leaves Sierra Leone
- 1610
  - 28.1 death of King Pedro
  - ? 3 Gomes at Guinala/Biguba, then Cacheu, before reaching Santiago
- 1611
  - 24.2 Álvares dedicates a church at Mitombo
  - 27.3 - Holy Week at Sierra Leone attended by Vicar of Cacheu
  - 3.4
  - 29.9 illness of King Philip cured
  - ? 10 Álvares disputes with a Calvinist sailor
- 1612
  - 4.6 death of Barreira at Santiago
- 1613
  - ? arrival of Portuguese captain at Sierra Leone
  - 26.5 Álvares baptizes in presence of the captain
  - 23.6 the captain drowned
  - 27.12 Álvares celebrates a festival at Mitombo
- 1614
  - ? Álvares baptizes son of a ruler, Farma
- 1615
  - ? arrival of more Portuguese, including Augustinian friars
  - 6.6 Álvares disputes with an English captain
  - ? 12 Álvares and an Augustinian visit the Scarcies district
- 1616
  - 8.2 Álvares ill
  - 27.4 Álvares and a Portuguese travel from Mitombo
  - 29.4 two English ships arrive
  - 2.5 Álvares baptizes a Scarcies chief, with King Philip present
  - 15.5 Álvares establishes truce among Portuguese
- 1617
  - ? Álvares dies

APPENDIX: THE CONTEXT OF THE SIERRA LEONE MISSION 1605 - 1650

- pre 1605      The Jesuit mission to the CVI and Guinea was discussed for several decades before it was actually established, but Sierra Leone was not specified as a mission field up to the time that the first missionaries arrived in the CVI in 1604. However when Barreira left for the mainland in December 1604, his intention was to visit not only the Rio Grande de Balola district (Bibuba, etc.) but also Sierra Leone, his attention having been drawn to the latter probably by reading Almada's manuscript, which praised it highly (Guerreiro 1605, f. 138; 1607, ff. 148v- 149).
- May 1605      Having reached the Rio Grande district in January 1605, Barreira wrote to the King of Portugal (letter not extant, mentioned in another letter of 13.5.1605, Brásio 4, p. 69) and organised letters from others to the king, calling for a conquista of the Bissagos Islands. The letters were received in December 1605, considered by the Council of the Indies in March 1606, and replies to the other writers were sent in September 1606, though no direct reply seems to have been sent to Barreira until 16111 (ibid., items 33, 41 (wrongly described by the editor), 46, 47).
- February 1606      Having reached Sierra Leone in September 1605, Barreira was so impressed that he failed to return to the Rio Grande District, as he had promised; and he began regular missionary activities. In August 1606 he was still pointing out difficulties but by March 1607 he was minimising them (Brásio 4, pp. 172 - 3, 227). He wrote a letter (not extant) to the King of Portugal, perhaps at the same time as he organised the letters of February 1606 to the king from Bartolomeu André, a Portuguese trader, and from the King of Sierra Leone, the latter letters calling for a conquista (Guerreiro 1607, ff. 155v - 158v).

The letters from Barreira and the king appear not to have been received until June 1609 (Brasão 4, item 98), which is the odder inasmuch as they had then been available in print for two years (can it be that the editor has misread the date of item 98?). However the king's reply is at the same pace, being dated 19.11.1611, and is almost as odd, since it replies to three letters from Barreira at once - the 1605 letter from the Rio Grande, the letter describing early success in Sierra Leone, and a later letter, non-extant but probably written in 1609 (ibid., item 113). It is uncertain whether this tardy reply reached Barreira before he died, in June 1612.

4.3.1606

The King of Portugal makes a grant of the Sierra Leone district to Pedro Álvares Pereira (hereafter PAP), on this date, in order to form settlements, etc. (Brasão 4, item 37). The grant states that the matter was first discussed under the previous king, that is, before 1598, which might refer to the proposal for conquista rather than to a specific grant to PAP. However a Jesuit document of c. 1612 states that PAP applied to the previous king for a grant of Sierra Leone ('Anonymous Jesuit paper, in Spanish, on the Sierra Leone grant', R.A.H., Pap. Jes., t. 185, doc. 16, transcript shown me by A. Teixeira da Mota). Be that as it may, did PAP know about the Jesuit activity at Sierra Leone when he finalised the grant in 1606? - and were the Jesuits behind the royal action? Writing to Rome on 4.3.1607, Barreira inferred that PAP had contacted him out of the blue, to inform him about the grant; but in a letter the next day to his Provincial, Barreira stated that 'after the letters I wrote last February and March had reached Portugal, and PAP received a letter I sent him ... he arranged to conclude the religious aspects (padrão) of the grant of the conquista', which might be read as implying that Barreira had known before March 1606 that the grant was in the wind (Brasão 4, pp. 221, 225).

Letters despatched from Sierra Leone in February - March 1606 cannot have affected the terms of the grant, and PAP can only have been influenced if Barreira wrote to him much earlier, shortly after reaching Sierra Leone, or if he saw some of the letters which Barreira certainly then wrote to others. On balance, it looks as if the Jesuit arrival in Sierra Leone and the grant to PAP were largely coincidental rather than related events. Probably PAP applied for the grant before Jesuit activity began and had gained royal consent before he knew about Barreira's arrival in Sierra Leone; and only in the very last stages of finalising the grant could either the crown or PAP have been influenced by knowledge of the Jesuit presence or by communication from Barreira. As for Barreira, he probably went to Sierra Leone for reasons unconnected with the forthcoming grant and it is uncertain whether he had even a hint about PAP's interest in the territory. It is plausible that, though he had called for conquests, when he heard about the grant to PAP he was less than enthusiastic if not somewhat dismayed; but if so, he covered up by congratulating PAP warmly, by working for him, and by claiming to have influenced the final decision.

1.2.1607

Barreira probably first learned about the grant in a letter from his Provincial dated 28.3.1606 which reached him on 16.1.1607 (Brásio 4, p. 223); but within a fortnight he also received a direct communication from PAP and from a relative in the Council of India, dated December 1606 - by which date PAP had certainly heard about the Jesuit activity (ibid., p. 226). The grantee said nice things about the Jesuits; and Barreira christened a Sierra Leone king 'Pedro Álvares Pereira' and wrote back about the need for priests for the settlement (ibid., pp. 221, 227). Barreira then announced the grant and the imminent arrival of Portuguese settlers and soldiers to the King of Sierra Leone (ibid., pp. 231 - 2; Guerreiro 1611, f. 246).

According to a later Jesuit document (in Spanish) which may exaggerate Barreira's role, PAP gave Barreira authority, not only to notify the local kings and the local Portuguese, but also to appoint some of the latter to various offices provided for in the grant (Anon. Jesuit paper', f. 2); and this may explain why Bartolomeu André is referred to by Barreira in 1607 as 'capitão e ouvidor geral desta conquista' ('governor and chief judge of the conquista') (Brasão 4, p. 232). According to the Jesuit source, Barreira sent the papers regarding his activities to PAP em um navio que llego estando el ya preso. Y por el suceso de su prision y haver quatro anos que dura su causa ('in a ship which arrived when he was already in prison and on account of his being imprisoned and the case lasting four years'), the settlement was held up. (This account has not yet been verified from Portuguese sources.)\*

27.2.1607

When Barreira left CVI in December 1604, the only Jesuit remaining there was Father Manoel de Barros; and he died on 29.11.1605. When Barreira learned this, he ordered back to CVI a Jesuit Brother he had left at Biguba, but for a period Barreira was without an agent in CVI to forward mail and provisions (Brasão 4, pp. 224 - 5). To his Provincial Barreira argued in March 1607 that he could not leave Sierra Leone, because his work was so successful, until another priest could relieve him (ibid., p. 227); in view of the difficult situation in CVI, Barreira may have been influenced by his role as agent for PAP and the conquista. However a second party of Jesuits reached CVI in late February, and one of them, Father Manoel Alvares immediately set out for the Rio Grande.

April - May  
1607

In March Alvares arrived in the Rio Grande district and by April - May he had organised the writing and sending of a further batch of letters and documents directed to the King of Portugal, again calling for a conquista of the Bissagos Islands (Brasão 4, items 60-62, 65-68, 70, 71).

\* PAP, a pro-union Portuguese,<sup>135</sup> servant of Philip III in Madrid and a member of the State Council, was accused of corruption in 1606-7 and temporarily disgraced and imprisoned: Joaquim Veríssimo Serres, *História de Portugal*, 2nd. ed., Lisbon, 1979, vol. 4, p. 68. Barreira was a (late) friend of his.

But the Council of Portugal when it discussed the matter in December, though it began by favouring the despatch of a fleet to 'clean up' the coast and conquer the islands - it had just discussed a similar request for a fleet to 'clean up' another stretch of the West African coast and reinforce Mina (Brásio, first series, vol. 5, items 126, 127) - eventually decided to recommend doing nothing, on the grounds that perhaps the Ilhasagos Islands were part of the territory just granted to PAP ... which they were not (Brásio 4, item 76). So the Jesuit attempt to persuade the crown to support and underwrite a conquista of these islands was quite fruitless.

20.9.1607

Álvares reached Sierra Leone/met Barreira in /and August (?) 1607; and writing to the captain of English vessels lying in the estuary Barreira stated he was leaving shortly for CVI - which he was now free to do, because of Álvares' arrival. Moreover, news of the deaths in August and October of the two Jesuit priests left in CVI reached Barreira, probably late in 1607 (Guerreiro 1611, f. 239v). Nevertheless, Barreira did not leave Sierra Leone until September 1608. The reason he gave for staying was that, though he had general instructions to 'safeguard the progress of our affairs on Santiago Island', he had not received specific permission from his superiors to leave Sierra Leone (at least this was stated by Álvares in his obituary of Barreira, Álvares MS, f. 120). In fact he left before the instructions arrived but met them on the way, at Cacheo (Guerreiro 1611, f. 258). It seems likely that Barreira stayed on in the expectation that ships would arrive to establish PAP's settlement.

6.5.1608

According to Álvares (who dated the episode wrongly to 6.5.1609), Barreira discussed with him on this date a proposal from the inhabitants of Santiago, CVI, that Barreira should be nominated as their bishop, and complained

'What Joao Palha has said to me has caused me great pain and has produced in me the desire to undertake the journey, which previously I had barely resolved to do' (Alvares MS f.120v). The bishopric had been vacant since December 1606, but a nomination had been made in Madrid in December 1607, and this was confirmed at Rome in November 1608 (Brásio 4, items 49, 79); though Barreira cannot have known about the nomination, he must have known that the views of Santiago citizens on who should succeed to the see counted for nothing at Madrid. Apparently he wanted to return to CVI to dissuade his supporters and explain his unsuitability, but the reasons he gave to his superiors were that he wished to moderate the fervour of newly-arrived missionaries, in order to prolong their lives (ibid., p. 455) and to discuss the site for a convent (Guerreiro 1611, f. 258). Barreira may have had word that more missionaries were coming, though the third party of Jesuits did not reach CVI until December. His departure from Sierra Leone was finally delayed by an illness lasting two months (Alvares MS, f. 121c).

1609 onwards On his way to CVI, Barreira visited the Senegal coast and Cacheu, and reached Santiago in December 1608. Thereafter the correspondence of Barreira up to his death in 1612, and that of his successor Gomes, relate principally to CVI affairs, particularly to the proposal to establish a college and to the financial problems of the mission, and there are few references to mainland activities or plans.

early (?)  
1609 A violent dispute in the town of King Peter in Sierra Leone between a sea-captain and um capitão da terra may refer to Bartolomeu André (Brásio 4, p. 440). In 1612 a royal pardon was issued to one Bartolomeu André (V. Rau, 'Uma tentativa de colonização da Serra Leoa no século XVII', *Las Ciencias* (Madrid), 1946, pp. 607 - 631, on p. 608). Barreira, in a letter of 8.1.1610, made the following enigmatic comments:

'If PAP does not send to Sierra Leone a magistrate and locum-tenens in order to help the Christian community, it will be wise not to prevent Bartolomeu André's return there ... If he or someone else in his place does not assist the conquista, all the responsibility of conversion and the expenses incurred will fall on us ... I wish to know the state of affairs as far as PAP is concerned, and whether Bartolomeu André has been having dealings with him. The nobleman of Sierra Leone, D. Manoel, was well justified in sending him to see the world' (Brásio 4, p. 401). This perhaps means that Bartolomeu André was persuaded to leave Sierra Leone and that he went to Portugal to consult PAP.

May - July  
(?) 1609

Of the four priests in the third party of Jesuits, two were sent to Cacheo, where one soon died; António Dias, the second, returned in 1610 to CVI where he remained until 1642 when the mission closed, but as the last survivor of the early parties of missionaries he supplied information a few years later to the historian of the Portuguese Jesuits (E. Tellez, *Chronica da Companhia de Iesu em Portugal*, 1647, p. 646) and in 1648 argued against the re-establishment of the mission (Brásio 5, item 214). The other two priests set off for Sierra Leone but only Gomes reached there, the other priest returning to CVI and to Portugal. Gomes spent part of 1609 in Sierra Leone, but after his return to CVI in 1610 he appears not to have visited the mainland again before he finally left in 1632, although in 1624 he offered to accompany the Governor of CVI on a journey to the mainland which never came about (Brásio 5, p. 53; A. Donelha, *Descrição*, p. 363).

November  
1610

In negotiations with the Crown for support, the Provincial held out the possibility of sending a fourth party of missionaries, six of them to go to the mainland, including three to Sierra Leone (Brásio 4, p. 411). The party was never sent.

1611 - 1612

When the Portuguese failed to fulfil their promises to send ships and settlers to Sierra Leone, there was a reaction against Christianity (Álvares IS, f. 56v). The Jesuit document in Spanish of c. 1612 reported that PAP remained in possession and that jurisdiction was being exercised on his behalf, but it suggested that the King should resume the grant, by agreement with PAP, and that the organisation of the settlement at Sierra Leone should be entrusted to the Jesuits ('Anon. Jesuit paper', f. 3).

1613 - 1616

Representatives of PAP arrived in Sierra Leone including Father Frei João Pereira and at least one other Augustinian friar, and on the surface at least Alvares seems to have had amicable relations with them. In a letter of 13.3.1616 (ANTT, Cart. Jes., maco 60, no. 387, transcript shown me by A. Teixeira da Mota), Gomes referred to 'a youth ... one of those who went to Sierra Leone in the company of Frei João Pereira, the relative of Pedro Álvares, who came here when robbed. He can give Your Reverence clear information about what has happened here and give news of Father Manoel Álvares'. It is not clear what this tells us about the Augustinian mission or the situation of Álvares in Sierra Leone.

27.6.1617

In a letter of this date, and writing before he knows about the death of Álvares, Gomes makes a final reference to PAP. The friars have left again. 'As for Sierra Leone, it will continually decline in importance unless the King takes it away from the person to whom he granted it' (Brásio 4, p. 616).

30.5.1627

Arguing against the continuance of the CVI mission, Gomes includes a reference to the inconstancy of Guinea Christians who 'return with ease to their heathen rites, as we notably experienced in Sierra Leone' (Brásio 4, p. 192).

1628 - 1631

Five Jesuit missionaries arrived in CVI and two went on to the mainland, but if either visited Sierra Leone, before all died or returned to Portugal, there is no record of it.

1639, 1648

Jesuit documents stating in 1639 why the order cannot extend its activities and in 1648 why it cannot resume its CVI mission include passing references to Sierra Leone (Brásio 5, pp. 334, 542).

1647 - 1650

Spanish Capuchins claim Sierra Leone as a mission field, and in 1650 report that 'many churches which were in ruins have been re-built' (Brásio 5, p. 581). Probably the Capuchins were attracted to Sierra Leone by Jesuit publications - certainly the churches they found in ruins had been built by the Jesuit.









**1**  
**2**





Lopes Soares de Albergaria, Account of Guinea of Cape Verde and the College it would be appropriate to establish here, c.1595

ARSJ, Lus.83

/f.345/ Although the Guinea of Cape Verde was an earlier discovery than all the kingdoms of the Congo, Brazil and India, and the first discovery to bring profit to the Crown of this kingdom, and although it so greatly helped in the discovery of the other kingdoms since the fleets bound for them went there to obtain supplies and to water, as can be seen from the inscriptions carved in living rock at Serra Lioa, on the Rio do Matimbo - although this was the case, today Guinea remains forgotten as far as its Christian state and the conversion of its people are concerned, to such an extent that it seems a service to Our Lord and to His Majesty to remind Your Lordships of it, in order that, if it seems so to you, you may choose to inform His Majesty, so that he may order such measures as please him.

In 11° 02' is found Rio de São Domingas, along which are grouped the following nations of blacks : Banhus, Casangas, Buramos. Through the contacts these peoples have had with we Portuguese, they are very ladino (willing to be civilized) and many speak Portuguese, and of their own free will many of them receive the water of baptism, by travelling to Santiago Island to become Christians. Today there are additional means of producing spiritual fruit in this river and with less trouble, since the Portuguese who live there have established their settlement alongside the river in the port called Cacheu, and (also) nowadays Bom Vencimento (Fine Victory), the most healthy spot on that river, because it is clear of trees and forest, seven leagues from the bar. The country is well-supplied with excellent foodstuffs, with meat as well as fish, and with everything sufficient and plentiful.

Here a fort has been constructed which will protect the Portuguese from the blacks. And they have built beside the river a very fine church, with a chapel, a chancel, a sacristy, a courtyard, and a double-storied clergy-house. Offices are celebrated in this church when priests are available. In some years, 600 persons, white and black, make their Lent confessions. They have an alms-guild (confraria da misericordia) which makes provision for the poor, and apart from this they assist the misericordia (alms-house) on the Island with generous alms. Here there could be built a house or retreat for padres who are religious of the Society or for virtuous friars, who, by the instruction of their preaching, would draw forth and produce much spiritual fruit.

/f.345v/ In this same land there is a village of Cape blacks, whose king is a Christian, and he makes all the children born there into Christians. Nightly in this town, instruction in Christian doctrine is given publicly, and other heathen blacks learn from this.

It seems to the Bishop of Cape Verde that a seminary or college could also be established on Santiago Island for the padres of the Society, although for not more than six or seven; and from this seminary they could go out to preach and could form a station on Rio de São Domingos and at such other settlements as seemed necessary. For the upkeep of this seminary or college, there is no need for His Majesty to make any disbursement, or make any further provision from his Treasury, since the 200 milreis which His Majesty gives for the seminary for youths which was to have been established on this island - but which to date has not been, because of lack of youths and lack of success in building accommodation for it - from which about 60 milreis goes in stipends to administrators and instructors, could all be applied to this college. The instructors would be the padres themselves, and four or five young men would be trained, a number sufficient for the land and not more than it can provide. The further 300 milreis which His Majesty sets aside as stipends in the contrato of Cape Verde, which could and should be used for this college because it derives from the income from this land, could be employed for the upkeep of the college, and for the time being accommodation could be maintained with 3,000-4,000 cruzados which form part of the accrued rents for this seminary, rents which have been received and have accrued without being spent other than on administrators, as already stated. To this end no more is necessary now than for His Majesty to will it to be done, and for Your Lordships to remind him about it and to choose someone who will effectively give orders to have it put in hand.

LETTER FROM FATHER SEBASTIAO DE MORAIS TO THE PADRE-GERAL OF THE  
SOCIETY OF JESUS (Excerpt)

Lisbon, 18 April 1587

Very Reverend Our Father in Christ

Pax Christi

..... In a letter which Your Reverence wrote to Father Fernã Rabello, you told him to inform me about a certain mission to the Coast of Guinea, since he had an account to the effect that some kings of those parts desired and sought baptism, in order that (after considering this) I should advise Your Reverence. This was proposed at the Mesa de Consciencia (Moral Issues Board), and the sending of some religious brothers was considered, but was not carried out. Now there is a priest here by the name of Juã Pinto, who has studied Latin and morals in this Kingdom with our (instructors). Although of the Jalofo nation, he is a good-living man of excellent common sense, virtue and zeal for souls. Moved by this zeal he came from Santo Thomé, where he held a canonry, in order to persuade His Majesty to send him to the coast that I have mentioned, and give him the support of a passage and a commission to take two priests with him, so that there they could be used in the conversion of souls, all of which the King granted. This good man greatly desires and insistently begs, because of the affection he has for those of this Society and the example they have provided for him, that two of our men go with him to form a mission, in order to help those souls and to proclaim the gospel there.

However, since past experience shows that as long as this race of blacks is not subject to the dominion of the King of Portugal not much spiritual fruit is gathered by their conversion, it appears that for the time being this should not be attempted, both for the above reason, and also because it seems that such a project should not be undertaken without first advising Your Reverence and before more information about the state of

the land can be obtained. This response has been communicated to the priest and he has been entrusted with sending news about how things proceed there.

I give Your Reverence this account so that you know what is happening.

.....

I commend myself to the blessing and holy sacrifices of Your Reverence.

From Lisbon, 18 April, 1587

Sebastião Morales.

Address: To Our Reverend Father Claudio Aquaviva, Preposito General of the  
Society of Jesus, Rome.



**3**





LETTER FROM FATHER BALTASAR BARREIRA (TO FATHER ANTONIO COLACO?).Santiago, 22 July 1604

ARSJ, Lus. 83, ff. 362-4

/f.362/

Pax Christi

It was Our Lord's will to bring us to this Island of Cabo Verde safely and in good health, and through His goodness and mercy we are preserved in health and very much hope that it will continue to be the case. For although it is normal for the land to put strangers to the test, people say that things are much changed in recent years in this region and that because good care is taken of those who fall ill, they are rarely in danger, and after the first sickness are (as healthy) as if they were natives.

We made our journey in fifteen days without adjusting the sails, for the wind always served us astern, and we would have spent three or four days less if the crew had not gone to fish on the Barbary coast, on account of the abundance there of snappers of extraordinary size.

We were welcomed with great acclamation and joy by all ashore, and especially by the governor, Fernão de Misquita, whose sympathy and benevolence towards us I shall never be able to do justice to, no matter how much I say. He has taken our affairs into his hands in such a way, and is so concerned about our arrival and health, that even if he were one of the Society he could not have treated us with more tokens of affection. He immediately vacated and prepared part of his residence for us to lodge in while a suitable place for our accommodation was being negotiated, but after we had explained to him the custom of the Society, we took up our quarters in the building of the Santa Misericordia, which is joined to the hospital.

We were received there with great [joy] and satisfaction not only by the superintendent and the other officials but also by the whole city. They straightway provided us with beds, which they ordered to be brought from their own houses, and with everything else we needed, and would not allow us to pay for anything.

In this way we spent several days discussing a location and residence to which to move. After having seen over all parts with the governor and the leading people of the land, it seemed to us that we were at the beginning of the rainy season, which is the most unhealthy period in this land, and as the city is set between steep rocks and is therefore less healthy, we should lodge in the fortress, which is in an elevated position, well ventilated and wholesome. Here we immediately set up a chapel in order to say mass and administer the sacraments, and we arranged our quarters so that we were well suited.

All these mercies which God shows us we attribute to the prayers and sacrifices of Your Reverence and the other fathers and brothers of the Province, because we clearly understand that the devil deliberately took up arms against this mission, and the evil he is unable to do us because God prevents it he has done to others, both in Portugal at our departure and here on our arrival. For at Lisbon, as soon as we started to organize our embarkation on the ship which was to come to these parts, there immediately began such a persecution of its owner, Diogo Ximenes, the procurador of this island, that had it not been for the great efforts made on the part of the Society to deliver him, and if the Lord Viceroy and the other lords of the Government had not resisted very resolutely the vehemence of his opponents, I do not know how he could have escaped from their hands and come to us aboard his ship.

/t.362v/

What happened on our arrival was this. The day we arrived was very calm and still, and the weather had been like this for many days - as it was also all the following days we were there. But from four in the afternoon onwards,

heavy showers began to arrive with such a strong wind that it was necessary for us to disembark at all speed; and by this time there were such high seas that we owe it to the great mercy of God that we were able to come ashore without the boat foundering, as happened to others. The fury of the wind was increasing so much and raising up such huge waves that in a short time a ship which was alongside ours drove sideways on to some reefs of rocks in the port. We saw the ship (do this) while we were making our way to the Misericordia, as did all the people who were accompanying us, without their being able to help, seeing that it was simply a matter of the ship touching the rocks and the sea swallowing it up, to the great grief of all. It was not many days since it had arrived from Guinea - which is what they call the mainland here - and it had been travelling more richly laden, because it was bringing many slaves, and much ivory, ambergris, musk and other local products, when the French - who are once again infesting these parts - attacked it and took everything it carried, leaving only some ladino slaves. And the reason they left these is that they take what they steal in these parts to sell in certain ports which lie at the back of the Island of Santo Domingo, in the Indies of Castile, and in certain other concealed places, and they do not wish to take slaves who can speak Portuguese lest they reveal (to the Spaniards that what they offer for sale was obtained from the Portuguese by piracy). After this particular ship had been lost, the remaining ones in the port, which is small, began to be overwhelmed, and there were eight of these at this time. One of them immediately ran aground, fully laden, because it was getting ready to sail to Guinea. The others kept losing their hawsers and colliding with our ship, with such force that three of its own hawsers were broken and it was unrigged and left without forepeak and bowsprit, and was pushed so close to the reef where the other ship had been lost that the sailors abandoned it and came ashore, leaving it for lost. They brought this news to us and to the ship's owner; yet we could never be convinced that the saints, whose holy relics we were bringing

to this land and had aboard the ship, would forsake it. And so it was that, when the ship was already above the reef, a great wave came up from the sea and over the top of those same rocks, which drew the ship off and forced it from them, without any damage being caused. This encouraged the sailors to go to its aid and bring it to safety, although at great risk to their lives, and (only) by working on it the whole night. This happy outcome everyone attributes to the holy relics and it is considered a manifest miracle. The pain and suffering which this trouble caused us, especially during that night until we learned the next morning that the ship was safe, was added to by (concern about) a youth whom we had brought from Portugal. He came to us from the ship with his head split open by a beam that had broken and struck him. However, we were immediately told that since the land was a very good one for (healing) heads, there was no reason to fear, and we have seen the truth of this, because he is now recovered from the wound.

Although we are staying in the fort, as I said, we regularly go, almost every day, some or other of us, to the Misericordia, which at the present time serves as the Cathedral, so that those people who so desire can avail themselves of our ministries. On the first Sunday after our arrival we had it announced at the estacao that in the afternoon there would be religious instruction. For this we prepared two banners which were carried by two white youths, and /f.363/ after having carefully instructed those who were to sing, we set out with our wands (?). When we had sung the Ave Maria on our knees at the door of the church, we began to make our way through the streets, the singers alternating with the shawns. We were accompanied by the Provisor, who is the governor of the Bishopric, and by the dignitaries and canons of the Cathedral and all the gentlemen in the city, together with such a crowd of all kinds of people that it could hardly get through the streets. We returned to the very courtyard of the Misericordia, which is extremely capacious, and there, in order to listen, the principal people occupied many of the windows. At one of

them was the governor, Fernão de Misquita, and at the remainder other people of high rank, both ecclesiastical and lay. The courtyard is overlooked by a veranda, with a flight of steps on the outside ascending to the prison. This veranda proved to be very suitable for giving instruction from, because there was no space among the people down below, and also because this enabled the prisoners to listen. I proceeded by asking questions of some of the young persons, both white and black, and seized the opportunity afforded by their answers to give instruction to the adults. To those who answered well we gave rewards, to the great joy, acclamation and satisfaction of all. The people did not tire in giving thanks to God for bringing the Society to this land, and they asked on our behalf for life and health so that we might continue there, while declaring, in any manner they could, how much they valued this particular mercy which God had granted them. What they wholly dread and fear is lest we become discontented with the land and return to Portugal. However I trust in the Lord that it will not be so, but rather that, when others come, this work, which is of such glory to God and such benefit to souls, both the souls of those who are already Christians and (yet) have great need of instruction, and the souls of the heathen of Guinea, will be perpetuated. I intended to go over to Guinea next, but I was unable to persuade the governor to consent to my doing this until the rains had passed. All those with experience in these parts put up the same opposition to my proposal, and they have given so many reasons for this that these have convinced the padres, which has made it a matter of conscience that I should not concern myself about it until the rains have passed. And so, although against my will, I am awaiting the month of October, in order to go then with everyone's consent and approval. From Guinea I hope to send such good reports of the disposition of those kings and heathen in respect of receiving our holy catholic faith that assent is given to our staying and continuing in these parts.

From what I have already seen on this island I have no doubts about (the propriety) of our remaining here, because as far as health is concerned, which is what is chiefly noted in Portugal, in recent years, since the northeasterlies began to blow here, this region is much less unhealthy than it was previously. I find it more tolerable than Angola, both in this (windy) season and in the hot season, which is now the most unhealthy and sultry time of year. It also has a great advantage in respect of other comforts. Add to this the good nature of the people, and the hope which this gives for the production of excellent spiritual fruit among them, since they are meek, pious and receptive to all that one wishes to impress on them. It is said that this same meekness and good nature is shared by the heathen of the mainland, especially those of Serra Leoa, where the accursed sect of Mohammed, which has infected most of the other kingdoms, has not yet reached.

/f.363v/

Now I shall recount what else I have found out about this island. It is 18 leagues long and 9 wide. Viewed from a distance as we approached, it seemed to have nothing but mountain ranges and bare hills, but they say that when it rains it will appear to us like a pano de armar throughout. Inland it has various streams and most pleasant valleys. Apart from what the local people state, I deduced this from the valley we see from the present locality, through which flows the stream we drink from, and which seems to me as green as the most attractive in Portugal. They nevertheless affirm that other valleys which lie inland have the advantage over this one. The trees and plants which make these valleys pleasant comprise, as well as sugar-cane, coconut and date-palms, trellis-vines, quince trees, fig trees, senna bushes, pomegranate trees, orange trees, lemon trees and all the other citrus fruit trees, together with other (exotic) trees belonging to these parts and to the Indies of Castile; for everything they care to plant and sow yields very richly, even wheat and other earth-crops and garden-vegetables. The fruits I have seen, such as melons, grapes, figs, quinces, oranges, etc., are

like very good ones in Europe.

The inhabitants have their estates inland, with farms which are extremely fresh in appearance and much healthier than this city. They raise large herds of cows and goats; a heifer costs a cruzado and a cow two, and at the butchers five arratels (of meat) cost a vintem, the meat being tasty and more tender than mutton. There are many domestic hens which are as large as the largest in Portugal; in the market these cost three vintems and if they are pullets, one vintem. The wild fowl are innumerable; many are killed and sold for two vintems each, even though they are larger than the domestic ones. I will not go into details about other things since time will not allow me; (but) I shall do so, God willing, (in letters carried) on other ships, with (the benefit of having gained) more experience than I have now.

Returning to what else has happened since our arrival; when we had announced that there was to be a sermon the Sunday following the first one, the one on which we gave religious instruction, and that the holy relics we had brought were to be carried in procession, we realized that on this day, being the third Sunday in July, there would have to be two festivals, one of the Most Holy Sacrament and another of the Guardian Angel, with a solemn procession. Because the people of the Misericordia made a request to us that the sermon should take place at the Most Holy Sacrament, and the people of the city that it should also take place at the festival of the Guardian Angel, we left the procession of relics until the evening, and at the sermon which Father Manoel de Barros gave, at both the festival in the Misericordia and the festival in the city, as well as before the holy relics, he prepared the people to receive them with fitting reverence and solemnity. At the same time, using the opportunity provided by the passages which dealt with the most holy sacrament, he stated certain points about our institution, inciting the listeners to the frequent acceptance of this divine invitation and the frequent use of the sacrament of confession,

adding that they would always find us prepared (to hear confessions), not only from themselves but also from their slaves, etc. They all heard this with signs of great satisfaction, and they gave thanks to God /f.364/ that they had in their land an individual to whom they could turn in their spiritual needs. By means of this sermon they were encouraged to keep us more occupied in our ministries than they had before, to the notable profit of their souls.

For the procession the city ordered all the features deployed on the day of Corpus Christi, such as dances, buffoonery, ball-playing, a St. George armed on horseback, a serpe, trumpets, shawms, etc. The procession was accompanied by the governor, the Chapter, and the Council, with all the rest of the people, gentlemen and commoners, in such numbers that, according to what I was repeatedly told, never had so many people been seen in this city. The containers in which the holy relics travelled numbered six; these were carried by six priests of the Chapter, some of whom were dignitaries wearing the richest cloaks belonging to the Cathedral, three of them (walking) under one canopy and three under another, with a space between the two. There was beautiful music which alternated with the shawms. Artillery was fired, and all the bells of the city were rung. In any way they could and were capable of, they declared the esteem in which they held the holy relics, and with signs of extraordinary happiness and devotion they gave us thanks for the treasure with which we are enriching this land. We decided not to present the relics to be kissed this day as we had intended, both because it was already late when the procession finished, and also through fear that many persons might be trampled down and some suffocated, since the crowd was large and was eager to reach the holy relics, to touch them with rosaries etc.

This is what has happened to date since we left the port of Lisbon and reached this island. We are all in good spirit, and fully confident that, in the mercy of the Lord, this work of His will daily grow and extend to His

glory and honour, and to the benefit of these souls and to the benefit of the heathen of Guinea, (a region) which suffers extreme spiritual need. For this work we ask to be commended in the holy sacrifices and prayers of Your Reverence and of our most loving fathers and brothers of the Province.

From Santiago da Ilha de Cabo Verde, 22 July 1604,

Your Reverence's unworthy son in the Lord,

Baltasar Barreira.

On the reverse in another hand:

Father António Colação

Let the brother see what Father Barreira writes about Cabo Verde, and he will see how we can be excused from establishing the college there as the King has requested. The padre thinks it a good idea.

Father António Colaco to Father Alvares, assistente

The letter is not written in the hand of Father B. Barreira, nor is it his signature.

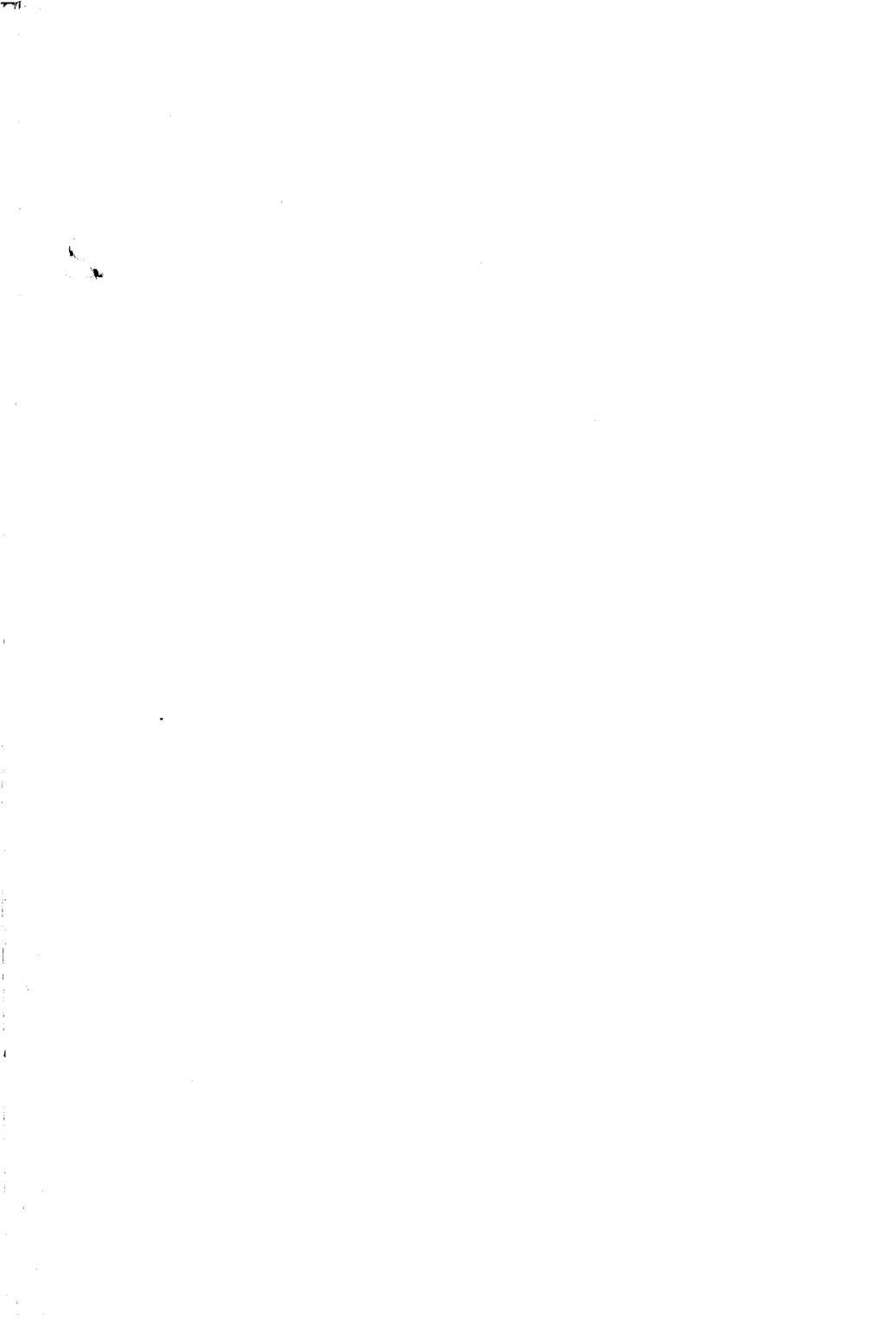














## Chapter 8

The mission to the Cape Verde Islands and the Mainland of Guinea

Some years ago His Majesty King Philip the Third, our lord, expressed the desire that padres from our Society should form a mission to go to the Cape Verde Islands and from there pass over to the mainland of Guinea. He did this because he was told of the many great services which the Society could perform in those parts for Our Lord and for the royal crown, both in the instruction and improvement of the Portuguese, his subjects, who live and travel throughout the region, and in the conversion of the heathen natives of those kingdoms. He was further greatly encouraged in this by the ministers of his Council of State for Portugal, both those here (in Lisbon) and those attending him at Valladolid, in view of the zeal all of them have for the common good of our holy faith and for its propagation. They increased their commitment to this mission the more they realised how unreasonable it was that, while the padres of our Society and other religious, through the means afforded by the Crown of this realm, were seeking out souls (to save) among peoples as far away as India, China, Japan and other nations of the East, they were however failing to convey the same benefit to a people near at hand, to whom Portugal had owed this duty for so much longer.

Over the years His Majesty several times ordered a recommendation to be made to the Padre Provincial of the Province, to the effect that he should depute some padres for this mission. But although some were nominated (on each occasion), because of certain difficulties of the sort which always arise, their departure could not be effected, (and this continued) until last year, 1604, when His Majesty wrote to the General of the Order, at Rome, and recommended him, most insistently, that /f.129/ the mission should be immediately proceeded with. The most reverend Father granted him this, and straightway three priests and one brother were selected. The priests, all of them theologians and preachers, included the Superior of the mission, Father Baltazar Barreira, a religious of great capacity, nearly 60<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> years of age with 50 years of service in the order, many of them as a Superior and more than 14 spent in the kingdom of Angola, a man of great virtue, experience and zeal for souls. The second priest was Father Manoel de Barros, a religious of very exemplary life and with a special vocation from God for this mission, the opportunity to serve in which he most devotedly and determinedly sought out and grasped, his desire being

great to undertake through the mission many services for Our Lord, services which in fact he did perform. The third priest was Father Manuel Fernandes, young in years but old in edifying ways and in virtue.

The party left Lisbon in June 1604. When they reached the Island of Santiago, the capital of the Cape Verde Islands, they were received by the governor, Fernão de Mesquita de Brito, and by the whole land with great affection and joy since everyone saw what he had long hoped for. They were at once given accommodation and provided with all they required, most charitably and generously; and the padres began to exercise their various ministries by hearing confessions, preaching, giving instruction and catechising, bringing about reconciliations, and performing all the other works of mercy for the good of mankind which our Society is in the habit of undertaking. These produced an edifying fruit of souls which was the greater because the land was much in need of all these activities, on account of the previous lack of instruction and workers. The instances of service to God which resulted, both in the city (of Santiago) and in the town of Praia where the padres also spent some days, would be difficult to specify : (but in sum they were represented by) the crowds attending sermons or even more the sessions of instruction which were held in the streets and squares of the city; the number of souls who by means of these exercises and their confessions returned to God; the sins which were extracted, the wickedness which was prevented, the spiritual and corporal ills which were remedied, the great abuses and superstitions which were uprooted. /f.129v/ One superstition in particular, emanating from the mainland of Guinea, had thrown out many roots here, not only among the black people, of which there are a very large number, but also among many whites. This superstitious practice involved the presence here of many feiticeiros (magicians/witches) and diviners, known here as jabacouces. Their teaching persuaded the people that when anyone fell sick and was dying, other feiticeiros, whom they could name, though they did not, were consuming the person's body, and extracting his soul and placing it where they wished; but if they were well paid they would put the soul back again. When individuals fell sick these were the doctors who offered cures, by giving them remedies taught them by the devil. At times the devil spoke to them openly, in a voice which bystanders could hear, and he put into their heads many other notions of brutish confusion and imbecility. The padres assaulted this superstition with great success, not only in general

terms in their sermons but also specifically in private discussions. The populace was so enlightened and gained such an understanding of the errors in which they were living that they gave great thanks to God for their deliverance from such depths of blindness, and now it is rare to hear mention of these superstitious practices.

Among the many abuses practised in this land, a very serious one relates to the baptism of the blacks who arrive from Guinea. Because they reach here in large numbers they are immediately baptised in groups of 300, 400 or 700 at a time. And because the majority go from here to the Indies, Brazil, Seville or other overseas parts, it often happens that, on account of the speed with which they are embarked by their masters so that a suitable opportunity provided by the weather will not be lost, there is no time for these poor wretches to be catechised and instructed in the faith to the extent that they should be, if they are to have any sort of understanding of the baptism they receive. So they are baptised without being further catechised, and indeed there is no-one to undertake this task. When the padres observed this, they considered it clearly their responsibility to instruct the slaves fittingly, and they gave particular attention to seeing that there should be no defect in a sacrament so important because on it depends the salvation of souls. /f.130/.

The padres also served God to no small extent in helping to liberate many slaves who, although free men, had been unjustly taken as slaves from the mainland of Guinea by Portuguese merchants who deal in that trade. This was principally done when testimony showed the injustice of the enslavement of particular slaves, that is, when they had been stolen and put aboard the ships by force, or had been procured from other blacks who had unjustly assaulted them and made them prisoners - for when two blacks come to blows or merely assail each other without reason, this is enough for the winner to enslave the other and sell him - or had been procured from the tangosmaus. The tangosmaus are those who throw themselves (lançados) among the blacks and who travel about in the interior to conduct this trade, and they are a sort of people who, although Portuguese by nation and Christian by religion and baptism, nevertheless live as if they were neither Portuguese nor Christian. For many of them go naked, and in order to get on better with the heathen of the land where they trade by appearing like them, they score their whole body with an iron blade, cutting until they draw blood and making many marks which, after they have been anointed with the juice of certain plants, come

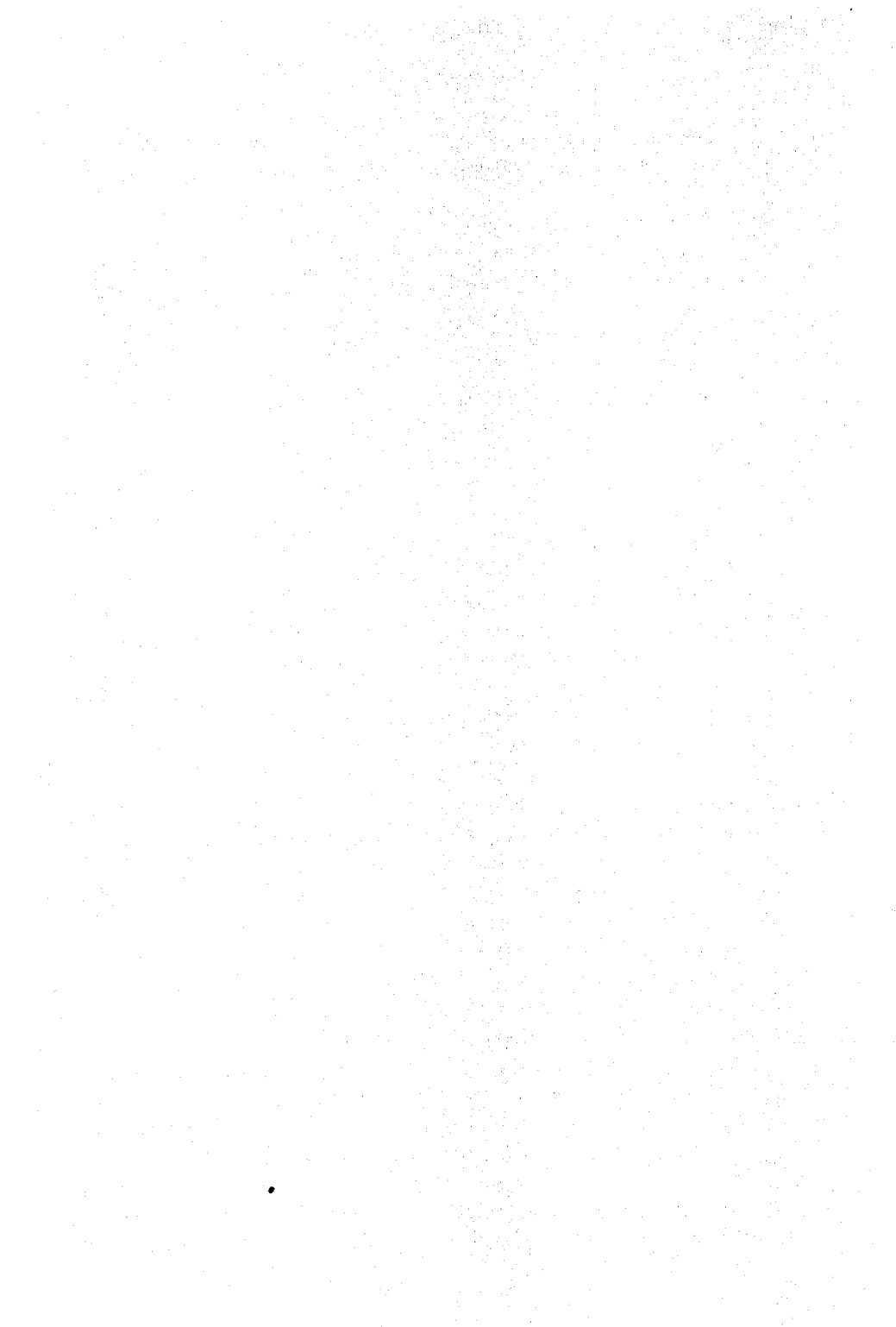
to resemble various designs, such as figures of lizards, snakes or any other creatures they care to depict. The tangosmaus make their way through the whole of Guinea in this way, trading in slaves and buying them wherever they can obtain them, (but) without inquiring into the moral position, that is, whether they have been enslaved justly or otherwise. The tangosmaus live so forgetful of God and their salvation that they might be blacks themselves and the heathen of the land, for they spend 20 or 30 years of their lives without making a confession or bearing in mind any other form of life or any world other than this one. Indeed, even if they wanted to make a confession (in the interior) they have no confessor whom they could attend; nor can they be sure of finding a confessor even when they come to the settlements where there are churches. So all that can be done is to direct them in the right way, pointing out to them the wicked state in which they are living, and converting them to a better way of life. The padres heard the confessions of some of these tangosmaus who came to this island.

Santiago Island is 19 leagues in length and between 10 and 12 in width. It lies in  $14^{\circ} 3'$  and is very mountainous, with great rock outcrops. It rains there /f.130v/ only in the months of August, September and October, which form its winter. However it is very fertile on account of its very green valleys which are extremely productive in all kinds of fruits and ground crops. In all months of the year it produces <sup>excellent</sup> ~~melons~~ and a fair amount of sugar, meat of all kinds in quantity, and many hens. Horses are bred there in large numbers. But what is especially surprising is the size of the human population living there. The climate is not very healthy, above all in the city, which, though it has many streets of houses, is badly located, since its site is so unhealthy. Only two leagues away is a town called Praia, with few houses but a much better site in terms of winds, its harbour, and other good points affecting the lives of its residents. Praia stands on a height and is circled by two streams which run into two bays on the seacoast. One of these streams is very capacious, <sup>attractive</sup> ~~pretty~~, and free from rocks; and it has an island at its mouth which protects it from the winds coming from the sea, so that ships can lie in it as in a quiet stretch of river and be out of any danger of being wrecked, whereas ships are daily lost in the bay and harbour of the city (of Santiago) because (the anchorage) there is very bad and fairly rocky. However the town (of Praia) is subject to frequent attacks from Dutch and heretic enemies when these seek meat and a harbour on Maio Island. From this island they can sail here in one night, and they have done just this at times, in order to sack

the town and commit many other outrages against it. The danger could be reduced if the town had a more substantial population, including men who could act as look-outs and could defend it, and if its only entrance were fortified and a strongpoint built on the island which lies where one stream enters the bay, to protect it from enemies. The removal of the city to this site has often been discussed, and if it had been carried out it would have been a great benefit, since the ships which regularly are lost in the present port would have been saved, and a great many persons would not have fallen sick and died.

Santiago Island has near it seven or eight other islands, called the Windwards, and these include the islands of Maio, Boavista, São Nicolau, Santo Antão, São Vicente, Santa Luzia and Sal. On these islands there are large numbers of stock animals which breed there, and hence they all have hunters living on them, whose job is to obtain meat and produce dried meats, both of which are exported to various parts, together with hides. The Dutch and other heretics come to Maio Island not only to obtain meat and load with salt for their own countries, but also as a stopping-place on the way to the Indies, to Brazil, and to other destinations, and no-one prevents them doing this. Two more islands lie further West, Fogo Island which has good vines, and Breva Island where again meat can be obtained. In all these islands, if we had workers, much fruit could be gained among souls which live so deprived of relief.

A few weeks after the padres arrived on Santiago Island, the land began to put them to the test of its habitual diseases, and Father Baltazar Barreira and Father Manoel Fernandes fell sick. The latter, although a young man, God took to himself, to the great sorrow of all in the land, who had been extremely edified by his holy example and had drawn great satisfaction from his style of preaching. Health was restored to Father Barreira so that he might employ it to journey to the mainland of Guinea and convey the mission there, 90 leagues from this island; and he left for the mainland in December 1604. But before we deal with this journey of his, it will be wise to supply a brief description of the whole mainland, so that the multitude of people living there and the wide field for the sowing of the Gospel and for the conversion of many millions of souls can be appreciated, and the motives of His Majesty in so zealously initiating the despatch of workers to begin the cultivation of such a large section of Christ's vineyard can be understood.



## Chapter 9

A brief description of the coast and mainland of Guinea and Serra Lioa and some ceremonies and customs of the people there.

/f.131v/ This region of Africa, to which our people give the specific name of Guinea, begins at river Senegal on the North, and continuing to the South for about one hundred and eighty leagues, finishes at Serra Lioa. The whole contract (for this region) belongs to the captaincy of Cape Verde, whose headquarters is (on) the island of Santiago. This land is inhabited by various nations of blacks, the first of whom (geographically) are the Jalofofos. To the North they are divided by the river Senegal from the Alarve Moors. To the East they are encircled by the black Jalofofos (sic) called Fulos Galalhos - whose kingdom is very great and their king very powerful and extremely rich in gold, of which they say he has a great quantity in his royal city called Tubacutum, gold which travels from there to Mina and the whole Guinea coast. To the South the Jalofofos finish (where they meet) with the blacks called Berbecins. Thus they inhabit the most western part of Africa, the part which bulges into the sea in a great headland called Cape Verde. This faces West, towards Santiago Island and the other neighbouring islands, so that all of them are called the Cape Verde Islands. The Jalofo kingdom is very large and is well-supplied with staple foodstuffs and various fruits. The Jalofofos are finely proportioned, and are generally brave in war and great horsemen. Along the coast they have some good ports, the chief one being the bay and port of Beziguiche. This is very beautiful and capacious and it is sheltered from the winds by a small island, the bay lying between the island and the mainland. Formerly there was great trade here between our people and the people of the country, in which the former made great profit; but this profit now wholly goes to foreigners from the North, who careen their ships and repair their boats here, as if they were in a secure port or road in their own land. The bay serves the foreigners as a stopping-place (escala), so that thereafter they can make their way along the whole coast of Guinea, of Serra Lioa, of Malagueta, and of Mina, and can go on to Brazil and the Indies of Castile. Trade and commerce with the foreigners is mainly kept going by the tangomaos and the langados, that is, those who adventure among the blacks. These persons travel all over Guinea in order to bring to the foreigners cargoes of the commodities they come to seek and to exchange for their trade-goods. They obtain many hides, and much

ivory, /f.132/ wax, gum, <sup>music</sup> ~~civet~~ perfume, gold, and ambergris, there being a large quantity of the latter along this coast. Although these Jalofofos practise many rites of the sect of Mohammed, for they are neighbours to the Moors, nevertheless the ordinary people embrace our holy religion with ease, and if there was anyone to preach it there could not fail to be produced among them a very great fruit of souls.

After the Jalofofos, and further down the coast, follow two kingdoms called Ale and Broqalo, which are inhabited by a nation of blacks called Berbecins. In times past the Portuguese traded in their ports, the chief of which are Ale and Joala, which now they do not do, because the foreigners from the North, with the help of the tangomaos, have seized for themselves this trade. These blacks worship the new moon, and their temples are certain trees, which they daub with rice-flour and with the blood of animals they sacrifice. In the kingdom of Ale, when the king wishes to undertake any war, he assembles his captains and councillors and goes with them into a wood which is near his palace. Here they make a round hole in the ground three palm-spans deep, and placing themselves all around the hole, with heads lowered, they talk about the enterprise and vote on it. Then, when the decision is taken, they fill the hole in again, the king saying that the hole will not reveal the secret since it is buried in it. A decision taken in this way they keep (to themselves) so strictly, because they fear the punishment (for revealing it) that their enemies never come to know of it. Hence, they are usually conquerors in all the wars they undertake. The black women of this kingdom suffer a great torment before they marry. They cut their flesh, scoring the whole face and body to form patterns, because they consider these represent great elegance; and for the same reason they enlarge their lips, especially the lower lips, by piercing <sup>the</sup> with fish-bones, and in order to make them turn out more, they insert in them little sticks as props, which keep them apart.

The kingdom of Broqalo is much bigger than that of Ale, and it borders upon the river Gambia, which is so deep and large that it flows as fresh water thirty leagues out to sea. It may be considered certain that this river and the river Canaga both come /f.132v/ from a single source, but they separate later and plunge into the ocean sixty leagues apart from each other, with Cape Verde in between and equidistant from each. This river is five leagues wide at the bar; and from there up-stream for more than two hundred leagues, on each

side, its streams are peopled by a nation of blacks called Mandingas, a very barbarous people, treacherous, idolatrous, and very superstitious on account of having among them many bexerins. These are their priests and holy men, for <sup>the</sup> bexerins are great magicians, and are agents of the devil in deceiving this blind set of heathen. The river is navigable for more than one hundred and sixty leagues, and would be for many more if a high cataract, or fall of water down a rock, did not obstruct it. If one had small boats it would still be possible to sail many leagues further. The river has in it a large number of fertile islands, one to two leagues in size, and their woods contain a great variety of birds such as turtle-doves, pigeons, gansas, and ducks. There are also gazelle, deer, and other animals. Trade in the river is very substantial, and as well as other goods much gold is exchanged. The blacks use such large canoes that they can attack our ships. The many villages along the river on one side or the other are large and well-situated. The land is very fertile, and produces a great variety of food-stuffs.

Between the headland at the mouth of the river on the South side, which is called Cape St Mary, and River São Domingas, a distance of about thirty leagues, the land is inhabited by two nations of very brutish blacks, called Arriatos and Falupos. Their occupations are fishing, breeding livestock, and cultivating the soil. They have no trade with the Portuguese. Through (the land of) these blacks emerges the river called River of the Casamanca. Along it, on the North side, live the Jabundos, and on the South live the Bunhuns. The latter are enclosed on the West by the Casangas, whose land is very large and watered by many streams, so that it is very fertile and produces food-stuffs abundantly. The Portuguese have commerce and a trade in slaves with all three nations, but chiefly with the Casangas. Their king is called the king of the Casamanca /f.133/, from the name of the river mentioned earlier which flows from this kingdom and by which we Portuguese traded and communicated with it in past years. But today the traders do this by way of a tributary of River São Domingos, which lies further on than the Casamanca and of which we shall speak shortly. This tributary finds its way into the king's lands, to a place where our Portuguese traders have had, for some years past, a settlement given the name 'São Felipe'. The Casanga king pays obedience to another king, his neighbour, called Farim; and this one (in turn) obeys another further away; and so on; one recognising

another (as superior) until it reaches the great emperor of all these immense regions, who is called Mandimanga, whom all the blacks of Guinea recognise as lord and to whom they pay vassalage.

These Casanga blacks are idolaters. Their idol, which they call china, is a bundle of wooden staffs tied together and driven into the ground at one end, and it is daubed with a paste of rice-flour and grain and sprinkled with the blood of cows and goats. The temples for these gods are large and shady trees, beneath which they place the idol and worship it, offering it palm-wine and grain. And so that it may guard their fields, they place along them some of these staffs fixed in the earth.

Although the trade in slaves in all this Guinea is generally very unjust, or at least doubtfully just, in the case of the Casanga blacks its injustice is more evident than in any other district. This is because of the unjust means by which this king imprisons blacks, and condemns and sells them as slaves, which are as follows. A crime is committed and the person who did it is not known, so His Majesty pretends that he wishes to punish (someone). He calls to judgement those he thinks might have committed the crime and those whom he pretends to suspect. The latter are always noble and rich blacks whom for some whim he wishes to kill, or whose possessions he greedily wishes to seize. To achieve his end he uses the following test of guilt, a judicial proof which is common throughout Guinea. He orders a basin of 'red water' to be brought, (a liquid) made from the crushed bark of trees, and he forces all who are being judged to drink this. If they do not vomit, they are freed; if they vomit, they are immediately judged guilty. But he (also) makes use of a wicked trick when the (red) water by itself /f.133v/ is not strong enough to make them vomit, <sup>for</sup> he has the executioner, or whatever official presents the drink, carry a certain poison behind the nails of two of his fingers, which for this purpose are grown long. Before those on trial drink this water, the official stirs it with his hands, but in such a way that when it is the turn to drink of those whom the king does not wish to find guilty, he takes care that the water does not touch his poisoned fingers, however when it is the turn of others, he secretly touches the water with them, so that when the unhappy wretches drink it, they immediately begin to feel queasy and are sick. When this happens not only do the victims die, but all their goods pass to the king, and all their wives, children and families become

his slaves, and these he sells to the Portuguese. In order to have more slaves to sell so that in exchange for them he can have more of the goods which he needs, as well as this (trick) he also employs other tyrannical devices which they call 'laws'. One of these laws is that when any black dies, the jabacouche or diviner says that So-and-So killed him, and 'ate' him or removed his soul. The king's officers then order the man to be seized as a murderer and witch, and they enslave and sell as slaves <sup>the man</sup> himself and all his clan and family. As a result, the poor black has no more freedom than the will or malice of the jabacouche allows, for when a black dies, the jabacouche slanders whoever he wishes, either out of ill-will or because of a bribe from a friend, asserting that this person ate the dead man and drew away his soul from him. Another law is that any black who falls from a palm-tree and dies is considered a witch, and as such he loses his possessions, and his wives, children and relatives become slaves. Since this land has many palm trees, and the blacks are very fond of wine and often go up the trees to get it, it happens that many of them do fall and some of them die, in which case this tyrannical law is applied immediately to their goods and families.

The Casangas are neighboured by blacks called Buramos, who are subjects of many kings, the less powerful obeying those who are more powerful. These people live along River São Domingos, otherwise called Farim, one of the most renowned rivers and the leading one in Guinea for trade in slaves, a river which produces an abundance of food-stuffs and good fish./f.134/ The bar (of the river) is somewhat dangerous, since it has many shoals. The Buramos blacks who live along the river extend as far as the mouth of Rio Grande, which is further to the South, and even carry over to the other bank. As regards the red water ordeal and the two laws cited above, and consequently as regards injustice in enslavement, their practice is the same as that of the Casangas their neighbours. Men and women file their teeth; and the latter, in order to avoid becoming chatterboxes, in the early morning take a mouthful of water which they retain until dinner-time, and in order not to swallow it while they are carrying out all necessary tasks, during the whole of this time they neither speak nor eat.

The first settlement of these Buramos is eight leagues from the bar of the river. In it lives a king, who is the chief king of this nation; its houses are of wattle, covered with clay. At one time the Portuguese lived in this town with the blacks, but because on occasions the blacks were inhospitable and plunderous, a certain Manoel Lopes Cardoso, an inhabitant of Santiago Island, gained permission from the king to build a fort on a convenient site lower down (the river), by saying that it was in order to defend ships from the English, who were then at war with us, and had several times entered this port. When the fort was finished, he put artillery in it and built houses near it, and little by little this grew into a fine settlement, into which those who had lived in the blacks' town removed themselves. The blacks, realising that they had been tricked, in the year '90 decided to throw our people out and seize the fort. To this end ten thousand men assembled with great secrecy. However, our people were warned by some friendly black women that they intended to come on a certain night, and they waited for them, fully prepared. During the three days the attack lasted, our people killed many of the blacks, so that with great loss to themselves they withdrew. Then, repenting of what had occurred, they made peace with our people. This peace still holds, so that the settlement continues to grow larger all the time. But those who now live in it seem to be no more than Christians in name, since in all else they behave like the other lançados or tangomaos. Here in particular one sees how much fruit is being lost through lack of Christian workers to gather it, when one takes into account the friendly disposition of these blacks and their willingness to receive our holy religion. For their king, when /f.134 he comes to the fortress of the Portuguese and it happens to have within it a priest saying mass, himself hears mass very attentively. He rebukes anyone who talks while it is being said, he crosses himself and participates in the Offertory, and he kneels to worship the Most Holy Sacrament. When a black cleric was staying there, the king observed that the factor (trading agent) treated the cleric with great courtesy and gave him his chair; and the king was astonished that he was respected so much despite being black. The king and his followers came to the conclusion that all this was done, as it ought to be, because a cleric speaks to God.

Lying off River São Domingos and inhabited by the same Buramos there are some islets with a separate king. Beyond these, also to the South, lie other islands, a large number of them, inhabited by another nation of blacks called Bijagos. All these islands are very fresh and cool, being watered by many streams and covered with trees; and they are very fertile and productive.

Between one (group of islands) and the other, the Rio Grande emerges into the sea, one of the chief rivers of Guinea for trade and for slaves. By an arm of this river coming from the North and called Guinala the port of the same name is reached. This is the chief port, and here there is much trade and the Portuguese have a settlement with a fort. This is also called Porto da Cruz (Port of the Cross). The region is wholly inhabited by a nation of blacks called Beafares, who are subjects of many lords, and are very great thieves, since one group steals blacks from another in order to sell them to Portuguese vessels. The land is healthy here, because it is cleared and free from forest, and because excellent food-stuffs are available. Although the blacks keep their heathen rites, they are easily converted to our Holy Faith, as is well shown by what happened some years ago. To this port came a number of Barefoot Carmelite friars, who stayed there five or six months, and through their preaching they converted many heathen. As a result there are now many Christians among the free (blacks) who live with the Portuguese in this settlement of Guinala. However, for lack of anyone to preach to them, little spiritual fruit has been gathered among this people, and this is equally the case in other parts of Guinea. The king of Guinala maintains a greater measure of royal state than the other kings of these lands, and when he goes out he is closely accompanied and guarded by many archers. When he dies, it is the custom /f.135/ to kill his wives and his most attached and intimate servants, and to bury them with him, together with his horse, since it seems to the Beafares that he will have need of all these in the other world to serve him. Hence, when he is about to die, many of these persons flee and hide themselves away as well as they can.

By another arm of the Rio Grande, also coming from the North, but up-stream from the Guinala branch, the port of Biguba, and the port of Balola lying further on, are both reached. The lançados and tangomaos usually live in the port of Balola. The port of Biguba is one of the main ports in Guinea for our people. The blacks there are also

Beafares and they have a king like the blacks of Guinela. When he dies he is succeeded by the most powerful of his relatives; and therefore war breaks out everywhere on the king's death, and the relative who comes off best gains the kingdom. From the South point of this river as far as the cape called Cape Verga, at which the captaincy of Cape Verde ends, the land is inhabited by three more nations of blacks, called Nalus, Bagas and Cocolins.

The renowned province of Serra Lioa has its start at this cape and continues on from it. It is so called because at a headland running out into the sea, called Cape Joyous, it has caves in which the waves so resound that a roaring noise is produced similar to that produced by a lion, and for this reason Serra Lioa was given its name. This Serra [? terra, land] is the best, the most healthy, the most refreshing, and the most productive in all Guinea. For it produces every kind of citrus fruit in large quantities, grapes - being wild they have large pips, but if cultivated, they would be as good as ours -, bananas, and many sugar-canes growing wild; and it has the materials and means to build sugar-mills. It has much cotton, and much Brazil-wood of a quality better than that which comes from the region of that name, so that seven dyes can be obtained from it. There are two or three kinds of malaguetta pepper, and much rice in the husk, white milho, wax, and ivory. It has much cola, which is a fruit like a chestnut, very highly esteemed in all parts of Guinea but only to be found here. Cola is loaded aboard ships and carried from here, and it forms one of the /f.135v/ commodities the Portuguese use for trade in the rivers, exchanging it against slaves, gold, cloth, foodstuffs, and all the other products on offer in the lands they visit. The trees that carry this fruit are like chestnut-trees, and the fruit similarly grows on them in burrs, but without thorns. In this land there are also all kinds of palm-trees, from some of which the blacks obtain their wines and oils, and from the leaves of others they make baskets. All the species of birds and animals found in other parts of Guinea are found here, and among the many types of monkeys are the ones called daris. The daris are well-built and large-limbed, and their nature is such that, if trained from their early years, they will perform domestic duties as if they were humans. For they walk upright in the normal way, they pound foodstuffs in mortars for the blacks, and they go to the river to fetch water in casks which, when full, they carry back on their heads. But if the

casks are not taken from them immediately they reach the door of the house, they let them fall on the ground; and if the water is spilled and the casks are broken they begin to wail and shriek. In this land there are also many useful timbers of various sorts, among them angelim, and from these any number of ships could be made. A material for caulking ships is made from the bark of the tree which gives malaguetta, and this is also used as tinder for hand-guns. The rivers have much good fishing, and along the shores there are many shell-fish better than those in our lands. Iron-mines are found here. Gold is obtained by trade and comes from the hinterland, from the land of the Conchos, where it is found in large quantities.

Furthermore, in the space of this district of Serra Lioa thirteen rivers enter the sea, most of them large and deep-flowing. They run from the interior between most luxuriant forests of orange-trees, and are inhabited along all their streams by people living in well-sited towns and villages. Trade comes down these streams and ships go up them many leagues. The first is just past Cape Verga and is called the River of Stones. It is large, and divides into many channels which cut up the land through which it passes, making many islands called 'Os Cagaçais' (The Bogs). On these islands much ambergris is found. Many years ago, a Portuguese named Bento Correa da Silva, a native of the island of São Tomé, finding himself in a channel round one of these islands, and recognising the bounty and /f.136/ excellence of the land, and its advantage over all the other lands, settled there with his brother, João Correa da Silva, and other relatives and friends. They established a village which grew until it has (today) some 500 Portuguese inhabitants, and counting blacks with whites, 3,000 persons in all. (But) for lack of anyone to teach them or administer the sacraments to them, all of them live and die like heathens.

Further on from this river there follow the rivers of Capor and Tambasira, which come from hills called the hills of Machamala, where there is a large range wholly of the finest bright crystal. Three or four other rivers then follow, (along an area of coast stretching) up to the river of Tagarim, alias Mitombo. This river encircles on the North side the 'serra' specified as 'Lioa', from which the whole region gets its name. On the South side of the serra runs another river called Bangué River, and these two rivers run so close together as they twist around that the whole serra is almost an island, the distance between the two rivers (at the point where they are close

together) being so little that the blacks carry their boats on their backs from one river to the other. Hence it would be possible to make this land a beautiful island with very little effort, by cutting through this area. After Bangue River has been passed five more very beautiful rivers reach the sea, all of them (with banks) covered with citrus trees and palm-trees, and all as delightful to the sight and suitable for navigation and trade as they are rich with innumerable souls that might be gained for Christ.

To perfect its adornment and beauty, this land does not lack attractive and rich islands along its coast to decorate it with their variety and splendor. A little more than twenty leagues to the South of Cape Verga there are three islands called the Idols. Only one of these, a very hilly one which is covered with trees and watered with cool streams, is inhabited; but from this one the blacks go to the other two to cultivate crops, this being their only use. Facing Cape Joyous there are two islands abounding in orange-trees, citron-trees, lemon-trees, sugar-cane, banana-trees and palm-trees. No less productive are the islands called the islands of Toto, which lie in the shoals of St. Anne, and on which pearls are found in oysters. Between these shoals and the mainland, at the entrance to the River of Butebum and the River of Alliances, stands the island of Taucente /f.136v/, twelve leagues long and ten broad, which produces a great quantity of cola, milho, and rice, as well as citrus trees and palm-trees.

All those who have experience in this region consider it well-established that it has more advantages than Brazil, not only because of the shortness of the route from Portugal, which is no more than twenty days distant, but because of its fertility and productiveness in everything. For it has better wood than that in Brazil; an excellent supply of cotton of a very fine kind; as much sugar as one might wish to buy there; and such benefits as sugar-canes which spread naturally, a population available for the mills and plantations, immeasurable abundance of food-stuffs, timber for ships and all requirements, and iron and other materials to an incomparably greater extent than in Brazil. Therefore, if this land were to be settled with some colonies of Portuguese and were to have within it ministers of the Gospel to preach to the heathen, there is no doubt that there would be added to the crown of this kingdom of His Majesty a great and very rich estate, and to the Catholic Church innumerable sons.

Two races of blacks inhabit this region, one ancient and native, called Sapes, a people with the highest intelligence and finest judgement of all the peoples of Guinea, so that they can acquire with great ability all that is taught them. They have their own kings whom they obey. These kings have round porches called funcos attached to the houses in which they live, and on these funcos they give audience and administer justice. The funcos are very beautifully decorated with fine mats, and each one has a high seat on which the king sits himself and lower seats on each side for the nobles who govern with him. The nobles are called solatequis, which is the same as 'councillors'. Parties come here to demand justice, accompanied by their advocates, called arons, who are dressed in various costumes of feathers and bells and who carry spears in their hands on which they lean when stating the case and making pleas for their clients. While they do this they also have their faces covered with ugly masks, in order that they may not be ashamed of speaking before /f.137/ their king, in which case their clients might lose their case, since it is determined wholly on the soundness of the arguments of these advocates. Once the arguments have been given on each side, followed by the opinion of the solatequis or councillors, His Majesty gives sentence, and this is immediately carried out on those condemned. The way in which the king awards this rank of solatequi to a person who deserves it is as follows. He leads the black to the funco, he orders him to sit on a seat of carved wood which is used for this ceremony, and taking a goat's pluck, he strikes him with it across the jaws, covering his face and chest with blood. He then throws rice-flour over these parts, and puts a red cap on his head. After this the man is a solatequi and one of the council of state. The succession to the kingdom goes to the son or brother or nearest relative of the dead king. To initiate him and to give him their recognition, they go to his house, find him, tie him up, and bring him back to the royal palace. There they flog him a few times. Then they unloose him, and after dressing him up in the royal robes, they lead him to the funco, where the leading men of the kingdom are assembled. The oldest solatequi harangues them all, expounding the claim of the new king to succeed, and declaring that, in order to ensure that the king will govern his vassals well and carry out strict justice, it was necessary that he should learn for himself the pains and penalties (inflicted on criminals). After this address,

the solatequi places in the man's hand the royal insignia, a weapon with which those condemned to death are decapitated. Once this ceremony is completed, the man is king, and he is quietly and peacefully obeyed and served by all. These villages possess a large house like a monastery, set aside from the other houses, and in this all the unmarried girls of the village are kept for a year, to be indoctrinated and instructed during that period by an old noble, a man of sound principles and virtuous after their fashion. At the end of the year, the girls leave this house in a group, beautifully dressed. They go to the open place (in the village), where they dance to the sound of the local instruments. Their fathers come there to see them; and young nobles select those they want as wives from among them, and make a payment to the girls' fathers for the marriage and to the old man for the trouble he had in teaching them and guarding them. Then the young men lead the girls to their houses. Among these Sapes magicians (or, witches) are punished very severely, since they cut off their heads and throw their bodies to wild beasts. /f.137v/ Those condemned to death for other crimes they sell to us. Although the Sapes are by nature not very war-like, for the entrancing fertility of the country makes them feeble and effeminate in spirit, yet the continuation of the war with the Sumbas is turning them into soldiers. The dead they bury within their own houses, with gold bracelets on their arms, and rings called maucucos in their noses and ears. These rings are the weight of twenty or thirty cruzados. In keeping with the rank of the dead person they make wailings in the open place (in the village), and collect together for this purpose great quantities of food. Kings they bury outside the village and beside the road, in a grave dug within a straw hut, and they give as the reason for this that it is appropriate to bury in a public place a royal person whose judicial office was performed in public places.

The other nation which inhabits this region is one of certain very barbarous and inhumane blacks called Sumbas, meaning 'eaters of people'. Fifty years ago the Sumbas made their way across this land and destroyed and conquered the greater part of it; but finding it so luxurious and productive, as we said above, they decided to make their home in it, by throwing out the Sapes, its former inhabitants.

Of the ones they captured, they ate the kings and those who were important and noble people; and after sparing the young men (to serve them) as soldiers, they sold the remainder to the Portuguese. During that period the Portuguese used to travel up the rivers to collect in their boats those fleeing from the Sumbas and to buy (prisoners) from the latter. The price was so low that the Portuguese gave (only) a belt or a red cap for a black man; and the Sapes themselves (were so eager to escape the Sumbas that they) most insistently begged our people to buy them. However these Sumbas are by now very different, the mildness and delights of the land having transformed them from their former ferocity. Now they are of a gentle disposition and are ready to receive our holy faith like the other natives of the land, as soon as there is anyone to preach to them.





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Letter from Father Manuel de Barros

Santiago, 19 April 1605

(ARSJ, Lus.83, ff.349-352v)

.349/

Pax Christi.

Because of my limited experience of the land, which resulted in my not being able to write (about it) as I would have wished, I have not written earlier to Your Reverence.

We reached this island of Santiago do Cabo Verde on the 5th of July of last year and were extremely well received and welcomed here, so great are the joy and relief of the people today at finding padres of the Society in their country, an event which their forebears and they themselves had intended to bring about, and had attempted to do so by various means. Daily they are gaining from the padres, in the light of Christian instruction, new knowledge of the many graces and gifts which God is bestowing on them by bringing us to the island, and they are declaring, with many words of gratitude, the great mercies which the Lord has shown them in this respect. To Him be the praise, through all centuries, periods and eras, because in His great plan He wishes to be served by agents so little suitable and so rough-hewn.

A few days after we reached here Our Lord was pleased to take to Himself Father Manoel Fernandes, whose dying was like his living. Indeed the people were so edified by meeting and conversing with him during the five weeks he remained alive in this land that in common parlance he became known as 'the little saint'. When it became known throughout the land that God had taken him away, the blacks said that "the little saint must have gone to heaven to ask God to send us rain". And so it was - there reached them a greater quantity (of rain) than they had ever been able to hope for, since the rains were much heavier than this land had experienced for many years, and <sup>hence</sup> ~~so~~ the harvest of crops and the grazing were far superior to those of previous seasons. During the same period Father Baltesar Barreira also took to his bed with a very unyielding attack of fever, the spasms being so severe that in truth I was disturbed in mind and pleaded with Heaven to keep him here (on earth) for our comfort and the good of the whole mission. Since the sickness got worse after Father Barreira came away from the burial of Father Manoel Fernandes, with the consent of the doctor I decided to carry him down to a lower level. At that time we were living in the fort, which stands on a steep hill some distance from

the city and is not very convenient for domestic arrangements and in particular for looking after a sick man. The doctor, the blood-letter and other persons were not able to attend regularly on time (?), so we carried him in our arms to the city, where a friend of ours had given me some very well-shaded houses, his idea being that this gift would help the padre's health. Eventually, as a result both of the healthy situation of the houses and of the careful attention of the doctor and the care shown by all, the Lord was pleased to restore health to the padre, as we had besought Him and had desired of Him. Although he afterwards had another attack, for which he was bled four or five times, nevertheless, spurred on by his desire to travel to the mainland, he recovered within a few days; and when the ship was ready he embarked on the 11th of December last, taking with him Brother Pero Fernandes. The latter, like myself, the Lord was pleased to keep in good health, although - as the padre writes to me in a letter which I enclose for Your Reverence - the brother has since been ill, but not severely. I myself still continue in good health and improved strength, God be praised, yet I sincerely request Your Reverence to send me a companion from the Society, for I have now been on my own, without a fellow, in this Cape Verde (Island) /f.349v/ for five months, although I have had with me a youth called Pero Luis whom we brought from Portugal and whose behaviour I find very satisfactory.

As far as health and strength goes, in truth I say to Your Reverence that because I am committed to the complete service of a God so good, I find myself making use of His many mercies (to me) which I little deserve. For if the Lord himself did not supply (what is missing) my feebleness could not adequately cope with the number of sermons which the amount of popular devotion demands, with the confessions of great moment, with the necessities of those who have been robbed, as charity obliges; (or with such problems as) open occasions for sin, maidenhood in peril, slaves who unfairly are held in usurious contracts, persons in prison, and men who have to go aboard ship when they have neither provisions nor goods. All praise to the Lord, for He has of His goodness looked in mercy on a land so greatly in need of it - Guinea indeed is a jungle of wild beasts and savages, that is, of all kinds of vices and sins - by bringing the padres of the Society to it in order to save many souls, and even many bodies. And they say other things about the extent of God's gifts and the Society's works, making comparisons with all other religious bodies. If I make this point, which modesty and religious humility do not hear without shame, it is in order that the Society's sons should be encouraged above all to

advance the good name which our good and holy fathers have so honourably gained. Yet what brings me comfort are the sounds ringing out in the airs of Guinea. 'Every faithful Christian' and the other songs and prayers of the primer are so unpractised in these parts that the people come to hear and watch them as if they were something out of the ordinary. In truth, Your Reverence, I could not exaggerate the quantity of spiritual fruit which is being gathered here, and the great work of edification in this aspect among this people, as they raise their hands to Heaven and praise the Lord in a new tongue. Already the young blacks are so practised in their primers, in stories of the saints, and in correcting oaths, that I seem to be in Portugal.

To come to details, first I must state that as regards the baptism of newly converted heathens, I make a point of not undertaking these because of the considerable income for the parish priest which arises from them. Often 300, 400 or 600 (slaves) have to be baptised and for each one he has 2 vinteis, and if this (duty) came our way he would be robbed of all the income. However I have taken on myself the catechism of the adults, while making very necessary and essential representations to the parish priest, for since at intervals many heathen from the mainland arrive here, bound for the Indies, Seville and other parts, there is sometimes great haste when the wind is right to get the ships which carry them away, even though the water (of baptism) has not reached, as many as it should. When I have heard of this I have warned the parish priest and indicated to him the importance of the matter, so what ought to be done in this respect may be done better.

I cannot tell Your Reverence the number of confessions relating to a whole lifetime or to a period of many years (I have heard). I will only say that it is a great comfort to see so many souls kneeling before a priest, bathed in tears and unable to speak because of sobs; and to hear that the first thing they say is - "Welcome, padre, for God has brought you to this land for my salvation. I have longed to see you for many years, so when I learned /f.350/ of your arrival I straightway sensed a new light illuminating the condition in which I had been." This is a typical statement from the souls I have heard in confessions. Another kind of person from whom there has been no less profit in confession is the Portuguese who has been wandering deep in Guinea for some 20 or 30 years, tiguilando (?) and buying slaves, without making his confession once, not only because such men are corrupt but because in those parts there is no-one to confess them.

These people are called tangos maus, a suitable name for them on account of the life they live, which makes them so forgetful of their salvation; that many of them go around naked, their skins marked and incised by means of an iron blade until blood is drawn, and then a lizard or a snake - most commonly - or anything else they prefer is drawn on them with the juice of a certain plant. All this is done merely in order that they may go native among the heathen of the lands in which they are trading. These persons, as I say, have profited greatly from our arrival, their souls being no less black and injured than their bodies. This Lent it was so necessary to remain in the confessional that many times I found myself there at ten or eleven at night; and Your Reverence should not think that I was doing (too) much. For I am sure that had any other of us been here and seen the church full and as brightly lit as if it were Holy Week, and the demand for confession, (he might well have thought) that they were taking it by force (?) . Sermons are preached twice in the week, on Sundays and Wednesdays, both times in the cathedral.

It can hardly be expressed how devoted these wretched people are to soothsaying, witchcraft and tricks of the devil. For these they have (specific) names, acts and rites; and to be brief, the jabacouce as they call him - is always the leader in these satanic activities. According to them, he devours bodies, drawing out the souls and placing them wherever he wills, moreover he replaces the souls in the bodies when they pay him well. These wretches are so credulous about these frauds and tricks that they consider that no-one dies unless he is devoured. This wickedness so thrives that even the whites believe and trust in it. When anyone falls sick they call the feiticeiro (magician, witch), of whom there are an astonishing number, and they obtain cures from them and treatment for life and health, the witches giving them the remedy the devil teaches them. According to what people say, sometimes the devil can be heard replying to them and speaking in a human voice, however these are generally, and almost always, tricks to take them in and win them over, since they are savages. This can be seen in many instances I pass over; and most clearly in (their belief in) the restoration of the soul to bodies, from which they say other witches by their art have removed it. Further, if a man is sick in bed, they send for the jabacouce, and the sick man asks him who it is that is devouring him and drawing out his soul. If a black who is sick is an important person with many slaves, and among these there are some with whom the doctor is on bad terms, he alleges that these slaves are (the witches). After they have been put in chains the slaves are tortured and

cruelly punished to the extent that many of them die, and at the same time they are told that they should confess where they placed the soul of the sick man. In order to escape they tell lies and say that they have put the soul down some well. Then the jabacouce goes there /f.350v/ very ostentatiously and seizes a small insect and puts it in a gourd with some water. He takes the insect to the poor invalid and at that point makes it disappear; and he states that the soul is now back in the body.

Another serious error which is common among blacks and slaves is that they consider that they can work on Sundays and holy days, and they say that God gives slaves such days so that they can work for their own needs, since what they spin, weave or dig out on days of observance is none of it for the Lord but is only for themselves. To understand this better, Your Reverence should know that there are whites and blacks who own 100 or 200 or so slaves and that they give them no clothes and only occasional food, and the slaves have to make and procure these things, so they work on their account on days of observance since they have no other way of doing this.

These errors are being attacked, both in sermons and in sessions of instruction, with solid and concrete arguments, so that the people gain an understanding (of the truth). As for what the sick say about being devoured and someone drawing out their soul, the error is being demonstrated to them by telling them how God Our Lord made the first man and put him in a place full of joys and delights, giving him two kinds of good things, some called natural - and these are life, health, senses, bodily parts, reason, and the freedom of the soul - and others supernatural - such as soul-grace, the obedience and subjugation of the flesh, exemption from death, from pain, from fear of punishment, etc. But by sin he lost the grace and friendship of God. Reason like the soul was averse to the divine law, and the body, lacking that proportion and balance of humours, was subject to sickness and illness, and death itself. And as we were all in Adam because he was our ancestor, so the punishment and chastisement of the father falls on the children. Hence, no-one should believe that, if a sick man is being consumed by fever and he dies of his illness, another person is devouring him or taking away his soul from him. It is a great and wicked falsehood, perpetuated by the jabacouces and witches, that they can not only devour (souls) but can do so to punish and kill those whom they hate. For experience has shown that the majority of those whom they treat with these medicines from the devil die, which God our Lord with great reasonableness permits, since they desert Him who is the author and

fount of all good things, and go off to the devil or to his assistants and hangers-on. Coming to a more speculative argument, I inquire from (those who believe this) how it can be that anyone can draw out the soul from people and that the jabacouce can lay hold of it and swallow it, since its substance is spiritual, incapable of being felt or touched. "Tell me - I say - when you see someone dying, so that the soul is separating from the body, do you see the soul and touch it ? Furthermore - and this is a different argument - when the soul separates from the body, can the soul-less body see and move, feel and speak and eat ?" They reply, "No". "Why not ?" "Because it has no soul". Then it is false for the jabacouce to say to the face of anyone who eats and speaks with him that he can search out the soul for people; and it is a great act of barbarity to say of the sick man that he has no soul and that it can be sought for him, seeing that he still eats, walks, feels and speaks. So how truly deprived of soul is the created being who is a baptized Christian and (yet) allows himself to be carried away by such tricks of the devil !

In reply to anyone who says that Sundays and holy days are granted by God to a slave for his own use, I say: "You are right. Because a slave cannot as easily say his prayers or commend himself to God on normal days as can his master or a free man, God gives him holy days and Sundays /f.351/ so that he can go to church, hear mass, pray for his own concern, and so on".

I declare to Your Reverence that there has been a striking spiritual gain in relation to these abuses and tricks of the devil, inasmuch as, by the Lord's grace, one now rarely hears mention of drawing out souls; and such ill-feeling against witches and jabacouces has been aroused that people say that until now these have deceived them and blinded them, yet the Lord Almighty has remembered them and has sent them someone to teach them (the truth). They add that it is true that a slave should say his prayers on a holy day, and should not work, which is a sin. And in order that the poor (slaves) should not continue without amendment to lack the wherewithall to cover themselves, I have arranged with the masters that they give (either them) this, or Saturdays (off), by explaining to the masters their responsibilities and stating that they should not consider (the slaves) mere cattle. Most of the masters now do this and give the slaves one day in the week, the Saturday, on which to work for themselves. Thus I have hope in Our Lord that, within a short time from now, a great reformation in life and manners, in this and other aspects, will come about.

Another seriously erroneous belief held by the whites in this country used to be that when a husband or wife died, the survivor was not bound to inventory all that was kept on his or her person with the result that all the valuable silverwork and gold jewel work was placed in the bosom, or up sleeves and into pockets if a man. When examined on oath, they used to swear that they would well and truly reveal and set down all that was possessed, and this they did, (but) excepted the valuables of any kind which the oath-taker had (on his person) at the time of taking the oath. Many times the heirs were defrauded of the best part of their inheritance; for since there are many of these valuables in this country, because of the extensive trade here with the Indies, none of those I am discussing used to reach the monte mor, however many letters of excommunication were sent out. Having inquired whence this wrong view arose, and what sower sowed such seed, I found that it was "inimicus homo" (sic) (the Enemy of Man), although by the mercy of the Lord this (state of affairs) did not apply to everyone, (especially) to those who swore scrupulously and regretfully and conformidine partis oppositae ( ), although, as I say, there was not lacking One to sow such error. God be praised, this is now set right, and many restitutions of property have been made.

These people are very pious in giving alms and naturally inclined to do good, to the extent that even the needy give when a necessity arises, which often happens. A Dominican padre from Grand Canary came here to seek alms, to help to restore a convent which the Dutch destroyed some years ago. He brought letters to the governor and to the provisor who is now in charge of this see, and when he landed he made inquiries about their residences. At the same time he explained to several men who had gathered round him why he had come, and they told him it would be better not to present the letters but to go to the Apostle, who would grant him a favour as he did to all men. However he presented the letters, and after the presentation came to our house; and he repeated what everyone had told him, which was this. What the padres of the Society were in the habit of doing would apply to him, and they would meet his need, which was great. I saw the papers he brought which were well put together, and in the pulpit and elsewhere I commended the giving of alms to him and instructed that he was to have (a share) when (the alms were collected). This benefited him, for they gave him 80 or so milreis in alms and charity. As he said /f.351v/ ; and he gave thanks to the Lord and most especially to the Society. A few days later this padre

took himself to the Casa da Misericordia (almshouse) and extracted some 50 milreis. A confraternity of the Most Holy Sacrament used to be so poor that it was without a monstrance and so carried the sacrament in a chalice. I spoke of what was needed to three different persons and they gave me 30 milreis, which I gave to the steward of this confraternity so that a monstrance could be obtained; and apart from this (I received) from the same group 12 milreis for candles and oil for the Most Holy Sacrament. A church in the hinterland used to be in a very ruinous state, and for long the parishioners had not attended it because it was in no condition for saying mass in. I spoke to the governor, Fernão de Misquita de Brito, a good friend of ours, and to the provisor, and immediately arrangements were made to restore the walls. Lime-kilns were set up - they make lime here, though with some difficulty - and timber was prepared, since the benefice had the money for all this, with some help from the parishioners. Now they are working on it and I hope that it will soon be completed.

No less profitable has been the emancipation of those slaves who were undoubtedly of free status in law but who by the great wickedness of Portuguese merchants were seized and without further consideration of justice and conscience were taken aboard ships, as is made clear by the testimony of witnesses. I pass over the illegality of the blacks capturing and selling other blacks, it is surely so evil that they should set on each other, without cause or reason, and that those most successful should seize others and sell them. A further custom among them is another invention of the devil. It is this. If a black king wishes to destroy and sell a powerful nobleman in his kingdom, he orders him to defend himself from an accusation relating to a certain crime which has (actually) been committed, although it is not known by whom. The nobleman comes to defend himself and argues that other persons and not himself are guilty. "Well now", says the king, "since after all the issue is in doubt, let us find out immediately who did it. Let (those accused) drink red-water, so that the guilty person must reveal himself by vomiting." At this a dish or vessel of water arrives, accompanying the executioner. He carries poison behind two finger-nails and for this ritual has a full stock of poison. The king tells the executioner to stir the water with the poison-laden fingers when it is (the turn of) the person whom he wishes to be blamed for the crime. Hence those come first who are to be acquitted, and they drink the water the executioner takes or stirs with unpoisoned fingers. Since the water does them no harm, he says that they are not guilty and can go away. But when it comes to the man who is to be

killed or seized, they treat the water so that it becomes poisoned, and when he drinks it he begins to feel ill and to vomit. "Aha", says the king, "just as I said." They seize him, and sell all the members of his household and family, his wives, children, and slaves. Do not think, Your Reverence, that the number is small, because there are nobles who have, counting wives alone, 300 or 400 of them, and kings have 600 and 700. This is the reason these countries of Guinea, so wide in extent, are well-populated. To conclude without discussing the slavery of those sold in that /f.352/ way, the number grabbed and robbed by these Portuguese is so large that one can hardly repeat what is said here about this. The Society will gain much spiritual fruit in the future from this, if it is the Lord's will that it should be planted in this place.

While Father Baltesar Barreira was here, I was able to make several very profitable visits to the inner parts of the island. The blacks in the hills there live almost like savages, and in truth are little more than Christians in name only. So that Your Reverence may learn about this land and its trade, I will give a brief description.

The Island of Santiago is 19 leagues in length, that is, from Ponta do Tarrafal to Ponta de São Francisce, this being, as I say, the greatest extent of the land. Its width is 12 leagues, although in some places it is less. The island lies in  $40^{\circ} 40'$  [error for  $14^{\circ} 40'$ ] and runs NNE-SSW. The sultriness of the climate is not excessive and according to the natives and those who have lived there many years is today ameliorated, after certain NE winds, which had not blown there for nine or ten years, have <sup>(again)</sup> crossed the island, making it healthier and more tolerable. The land is very rugged, with great ravines; and is bare the greater part of the year, on account of it raining only in August, September and October, and that in downpours. This is the winter season, or rainy season, as they call it; and at this time of year sickness is more dangerous and more persistent. However the fertility of this land, as with its form which I have described, only those who know about it can believe. For it has, first, many valleys, and these are green all the year round; and they contain many orange-, lime-, and citron-trees. There are no better anywhere and nowhere are they found in greater number. Water comes warm from the spring, yet drunk at any time of the day it does no harm, and it is there in abundance. Orchards contain all kinds of trees, (which produce) the whole year round. Apart from the local fruits of various kinds, there are figs, grapes and melons throughout the year. Although the grapes are on trestles, they are very sweet, and the melons are outstanding. There is plenty of sugar, and the

canes are well-trained. Groves of palms are frequent and large, as are groves of coconuts and dates. Cotton-plants are very productive, although they are so delicate that any wind damages them. The staple foodcrops are milho zaburro, as they call it, milho blanco, and potatoes. Meat of all kinds is available in quantity, although mutton is poor and in short supply. There are great numbers of hens. There is much horse-breeding. Above all, the size of the human population is surprising. The city of Ribeira Grande, as it is called because of a large water-course which runs through the centre, has many houses but is badly situated. There is also a town called Praia, with only a few houses, but much to be preferred to the city for its airy site. As well as the parishes of the town and the city, there are nine (other) parishes. This summarises what can be found on Santiago Island.

From here to the mainland is 90 leagues, and the mainland is the true Cape Verde, although the island is often called this because it lies in the same latitude as Cape Verde, in a line due West. Apart from this island there are seven neighbouring islands, as follows : Ilha do Maio, Boavista, S.Nicolão, Santo Antão, S.Vicente, Santa Luzia, Ilha do Sal. These islands are called the Windward Islands and they are inhabited by hunters, who go out slaughtering (animals to produce) dried meat which, together with hides, they transport from here to various places. Two more /f.352v/ islands lie to the West, Ilha do Fogo, which has good vineyards, and Ilha Brava, which is only three leagues across, where they also make dried meat. In order that much spiritual fruit may grow in all these Islands, for the people there are much in need of soul-care, let Your Reverence send workers, whom I believe would not be lacking to perform such a great work for the Lord. Meanwhile I beg Your Reverence to remember me, through the love of the same Lord in whose blessing and sacrifice I entirely commend myself.

From this Island of Santiago of Cape Verde, 19 April 1605.

In another letter

Manoel de Barros.

Specific cases of restitution of goods, of confessions, of animosities (reconciled), of marriages and other matters, are not detailed in this extract, although there are many of them, because it did not seem necessary. Only those matters are dealt with here which were detailed in this letter because they are those about which it is important to gain information so that a remedy can be applied.

Description of certain matters relating to Cape Verde which Father Manoel de Barros wrote on 19 April 1605. Addressed to the Padre Assistente and the Portuguese padres.

Written across a corner.





**6**





Biguba, 13 May 1605

(ARSJ, Lus.83, ff.296-297v)

/f.296/ Each time I recollect the holy zeal and invincible spirit with which Your Lordship envisaged, requested and attained this mission, when in the eyes of everyone all doors to its being permitted seemed closed, I have large hopes that God will be greatly served by it, as is being demonstrated, and that this undertaking will bring to Your Lordship a most glorious heavenly crown. Since I in particular feel grateful to Your Lordship on account of the mercies which the Lord has vouchsafed me in these parts, hence for this reason as well as for the joy with which Your Lordship will receive news of what the divine bounty is performing by means of this mission, so much your own, I desire very specially to tell you in writing everything about it. However, because the ship going to Portugal is not in this port but in another one far away, a launch which comes from there to carry the letters has caught me unprepared, for Lenten duties do not allow me the spare time to write. (Therefore) I am asking the Padre Provincial of the Province to give Your Lordship copies of a letter which I have written to the padres and of another I have written to His Majesty with a summary of evidence drawn up here. Concerning this, I state that if His Majesty were to grant any of the named islands to men of standing, it would perhaps be possible to conquer them at no expense to the royal treasury, and I say the same of other kingdoms on this coast which have done great damage to the Portuguese, after first examining what would have to be done to achieve this end.

The lands of this Guinea are extremely fertile, and within them sugar-mills could be built and large cotton-plantations established, especially in the Bijagos Islands and at Serra Lioa. But the inhabitants have little interest in agriculture and are more inclined to enjoy themselves than to work. They are encouraged by having many wild fruits which are collected and (then) eaten throughout the year, being dried for the period when they are not on the trees. From the Portuguese there is nothing to hope for in this direction, since they have nothing on their minds but trade. But if some of (the inhabitants) who have houses in the interior managed to sow seeds from Europe, there are no garden vegetables or earth-crops which would not bear fruit very abundantly. Citrus fruits and vines which the land produces without their being planted are found here in large quantities. When we have a suitable spot we aim to have plants from /f296v/ Cape Verde Island, to see if they grow satisfactorily here.

Some of the information I am gathering here does not agree closely with that in Your Lordship's cartapácio (map, scrapbook, folder). To set it right, I will send it to Your Lordship with corrections.

Priests of ill repute have done much damage in these parts, both to moral practices and to the authority and credit of our holy faith. It is very important that this should be remedied, and since it is said that a priest who was a soldier in India is being sent here as administrator, I want there to be a close inquiry into whether he is a person who can assist by his life and example and not one who will do harm.

I have been told that a captain from Angola named João de Viloria has gone to Portugal. He performed his duties for many years with such wisdom and effort that all the expeditions he led were successful. If His Majesty has to send men to these parts and can arrange with this man that he comes with them, I believe that it will make a great difference, on account of his experience in fighting blacks and his skill in dealing with them.

In these parts there grows very abundantly a certain plant from which blue dye is made, one (sort) shorter/darker and another so superior that the Portuguese consider it indigo, and call it that. They carry great cargoes of it from some districts to others, in a crushed form, in a shape like that of sugar-loaves. When I asked why the dye has not been carried to Portugal, they told me that this was forbidden so as not to bring down the price of the indigo from India. I do not understand why it could not be tested to see if it yields more, and if it does and is superior, why it could not be leased out to those who have the lease for indigo, so that they would then lose nothing, or they might organise (its import) for two or three years for His Majesty. If this should be done, it might be entrusted on behalf of His Majesty to Sebastiao Fernandes Cação, of the hábito de Cristo, captain and factor in this port, since he is a man of standing who has done great service to His Majesty in these parts and would be happy to do this.

Yesterday, 12 May, after having written this, a caravel from Santiago Island arrived at this port, and by it I had a letter from Your Lordship dated 2 December of last year. From this I received great comfort since it told me that Your Lordship had recovered from a recent illness and remained in good health. I have confidence in the Lord's bounty that He will preserve Your Lordship and extend to you many years of /f.297/ life, so that with your holy zeal you may

perform many services for Him, and see with great joy the fruits of this mission, whose foundations were laid by Your Lordship. Nothing further from me, since the launch wishes to leave and I am worn out with writing. May Our Lord, etc.

Biguba, 13 May 1605.

Baltasar Barreira.<sup>(1)</sup>

On the reverse : Letter of Father Baltasar Barreira to the Lord  
.. High Bailiff.

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1. The signature is an autograph, but the text is in a different hand.











BRASIO 4, 69

LETTER FROM FATHER BALTASAR BARREIRA TO THE KING, D. FILIPE II, 13.5.1605

(ARSI, Lus., cod. 83, ff.357-358)

My Lord

Of the four religious of our Society whom Your Majesty sent to these parts of Guinea in June 1604, God took one to Himself on the island of Santiago after he had begun preaching there. The two of us remaining who are priests, for the fourth man is not ordained, were occupied all the time we were together, in preaching, in hearing confessions, in teaching the catechism, and in the other ministries of our vocation.

Later we split up, the other padre remaining on the island and continuing the same work, while I, together with the brother, came to these parts of the mainland with the intention, not of traversing the other kingdoms of this Coast, but of embarking on the ships that here were getting ready to sail to Serra Leoa, and of going there in order to find out the disposition of that heathen people in respect of receiving our holy faith. For all those who have had dealings with them assure me that they are the best people in Guinea, and that their land is the most refreshing, fertile and healthy of these parts. But we were so much delayed on the journey by contrary winds that when we arrived here the ships had already left. During this journey I visited on the way the Portuguese of Bizau and heard their confessions: some of them had not fulfilled the obligation of this sacrament for many years, through lack of a confessor. From there I passed to the port of Guinala, where there is a settlement of Portuguese.

And because they also lacked a priest, I stayed with them nine or ten days during which I heard their confessions, administered the sacraments, and aided them by means of sermons, catechising, and good advice. But since the king of that land was ill just then and was staying up-country, I could not give him a letter I had brought, written by Fernão de Mesquita, the Governor of Cape Verde, on the orders of and on behalf of Your Majesty. However I sent a message to him to say that I had brought the letter, and he sent me his Larego, who is a kind of governor of the Kingdom, and his Counsellors, in order to welcome me and find out what I wanted of him and his Kingdom. I explained our purpose in coming, and informed them about our holy faith, at the same time proving to them that they could not be saved by their own religion; and I offered to them the protection and favour of Your Majesty if they became Christian.

They replied to me much to the point, and showed a great desire to receive holy baptism and to persuade their King to do the same. But when they went to give him an account of what they had discussed with me, they found him already without the power of speech, and they left the matter to be discussed with the king who would succeed him. In view of the impediment which the devil put in the way of the conversion of this Kingdom, I consoled this heathen people as best I could, and I also recommended to them that, when they had a new King, they should give him an account of what we had discussed, because if he showed a desire to become a Christian, I would go there immediately.

Having done what I could, I came to this Kingdom of Biguba, which borders on the kingdom just mentioned, with the intention of

establishing myself in the settlement that the Portuguese have here, as the governor of Cape Verde had advised me, since it is healthy and is in a location from which I would be able at appropriate times to depart for other kingdoms of this Coast. I desired to discuss immediately with the King of this kingdom what I had discussed with Guinala, but since the devil fears the loss that may follow from such discussion, it came about that he inflicted the King's throat with an illness so serious that the King passed some three months without being able to see me. And when he did see me, which was a few days ago, he was still in such a state that I felt sorry for him. I explained to him the purpose of my coming, and I gave him the letter from Your Majesty, which he immediately read. Although he responded to everything just as one might wish, I asked him to consider at his leisure what we had discussed, and to convey it to the leading men of his kingdom, and then to reply to Your Majesty's letter. I made it clear that even if he and his people had the desire to be Christians, they could not be baptized until he had sent his letter, and that I too was writing to Your Majesty and would await your reply. For I believe that this is the right way to go about it, so that the matter can be concluded with more authority and so that the conversion will be more sure. In the intervening period I will be able to catechize them, and also will be able to explain to Your Majesty how necessary it is that a governor or capitão-maior should come to these parts, one invested with the power that these kings fear, so that after baptism they will live according to our holy religion and will

not retrogress in the faith, and so that he can also defend them from a cruel enemy who is troubling them, as is explained in a summary of testimonies that is being made here and sent with this letter to Your Majesty.

The ships and soldiers that Your Majesty is asked to send will also serve to clear this coast of the French and Dutch who come here every year. Apart from the thefts they make from the Portuguese and the ships they steal from them, they are thoroughly damaging and injuring Your Majesty's vassals and your trade in these kingdoms, because they are bringing here the same goods the Portuguese used to bring, and selling them to the natives at a much lower price. Because of this the revenue from Guinea and its trade which is paid into Your Majesty's royal exchequer is diminishing more and more, and these (foreigners) are making themselves masters of the best ports.

Sebastião Fernandez Casão, factor and captain of this port, with some of his ships, fully equipped with men and munitions at his own expense, last year went out against these pirates from the North. He routed them, killing many of them, seizing one of their ships, and taking prisoner on it a number of Frenchmen, some of whom he sent to the Governor of Cape Verde, and the rest he holds here, to bring or send to Your Majesty, what they might be questioned about the orders on which they came to these parts. On a previous occasion he had performed a sally like this one, with as much or even more success, and hence he is greatly feared by them. I understand that if Your Majesty writes to him he will help a great deal in

the business of the Bijagos, with his person, his ships, and his men, and with the heathen of this land who will follow him completely. The ships that come must make their normal call at this port, and their captain should have orders to consult in all that has to be done with the above-mentioned Sebastião Fernandez and with the experienced Portuguese who are involved in (the campaign). They should not busy themselves in taking slaves to the island (of Santiago) and elsewhere, setting aside the purpose for which they are sent.

The newly elected King of Guinala has sent word that he wishes to become a Christian and do everything that I tell him. The king here in Biguba has sent word to me that he wishes to become a Christian, etc.; and that he wanted to reply to Your Majesty's letter immediately. But I do not know if it will be possible for it to travel with this letter, because the day after tomorrow a launch is due to leave this port for Cacheu, where a pataxo is waiting which is to go straight to Portugal.

After this an indisposition befell the King, for which reason he failed to return to see me. But he prepared the letter to Your Majesty, and sent it to me, through a Portuguese who wrote it for him in our language, so that I could despatch it by my route, as I now send with it this present letter of my own, to be given in to Your Majesty's royal hands.

Among the Portuguese of these parts and among their slaves and the free Christians who live with them, much spiritual fruit has been gathered, through the goodness of God. Such a great change in their lives and customs has followed that they are now beginning to appear Christians, whereas before there was

very little difference between them and the heathens. I trust in the Lord that He will carry this work forward, to produce a great growth in His holy faith, the benefit of souls, and an increase in the royal estate of Your Majesty.

From this Guinea and this port of Biguba, 13 May, 1605.

[In a different hand] Baltezar Barreira

ARSI - Lus., cod. 83, fls 357-358.







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LETTER FROM FATHER BALTASAR BARREIRA

TO FATHER JOÃO ÁLVARES.

Biguba, 14 May, 1605

Pax Christi etc.

Everything which Your Reverence has said to me in your letter of 24th July I believe to be the case, but I also think that if we consider the reasons there are for the Society to reach out to this heathen people and be made use of in converting them and showing them the way to Heaven, we shall find that this undertaking has been no less properly instituted, nor is it less to the glory of God, than those others which some regard as extremely glorious. When I see how everyone despises this undertaking because it concerns wretched people in a hot land which lacks the compensations other lands have, and in particular those of temporal honour and property with which many are moved to cultivate other nations inferior to this in capacity and understanding, I understand that if the <sup>Society</sup> ~~Company~~ does not take charge of this conversion, it will remain in perpetual oblivion, as it has been until now. I touch on some of this in the letter I am writing to our people in Portugal, a copy of which I am advising should be sent to our Padre Geral. I had intended to discuss this matter specifically and separately, but I have not done so, partly because I first wanted to experience for myself what I proposed to write about and partly because the many tasks I always have, especially during Lent, have not allowed me the opportunity; but I shall do it, God willing, when I can, and together with this I shall complete an already-begun description of the kingdoms of this Guinea known to the Portuguese. And I shall state what I have learned about the enslavement of these blacks, because there are many difficult points involved which ought to be closely examined.

What Your Reverence says about the Province, that it is a very heavy burden (?) and that help cannot be sent to so many places, I can see this very well, and I could already see it when I was in Portugal. Yet I must also confess that it pains my heart to see so many thousands of souls going to hell for lack of a remedy, souls located so near to Portugal and souls already under instruction by the cacizes of the cursed sect of Mohammed. If the Society does not provide them with the remedy, no one else will <sup>as</sup> I have already said. I also recognise that for this place any member who has virtue and good intentions will suffice, and that brothers who have enough Latin to be priests but have not been trained (?) can be sent, for here they will be learning (how to deal with) cases of conscience, and will become accustomed to the land while they help the padres to catechize and give religious instruction, etc; and when they are ready for it, they can take /f.292v/ orders on the Island. Also, Members (of the Society) from other Provinces, such as Italians, Aragonese and Spaniards, can come to these parts because there are lay people here from all these nations and the land suits them well. Above all, I add this: that, if the saying is true: "Quien todo lo miro, nunca con buyes arco", [ "He who looks at it all never makes off with the oxen". ] then we should leave something to the Providence of God, trusting in His infinite goodness; and since in this work we are seeking only His glory and honour, He will give to the Society the members and the capacity to carry it out.

In spite of what I have said, I am writing a letter to the Padre Provincial in which I state the doubts I have about our establishing ourselves in these parts, and I am asking him to send a copy to the General. Although I could have baptized many of the subjects of the kings of these parts, I have not done this, nor will I do so until His Reverence replies saying whether I should start this work, so that for the reason that it will be he gives the orders the Society will

be as it were pledged and obliged not to forsake the Christian community we form here. The King of Biguba, in whose lands we are staying, already wishes to become a Christian, and I have written a letter to His Majesty about this, a copy of which I shall try to send with the present one. But I shall not baptize him until His Majesty responds with the solution I am suggesting in a letter I am writing to him, and until our Padre Geral declares his wishes to me. Thus I intend to go forward slowly and carefully in this matter, so that time and experience may demonstrate which course of action will be to the greatest glory of God and the good of the Society.

Following the letter from Your Reverence (to which I am replying), on the 12th of the present month of May I received another letter of yours dated the 10th of November, and this greatly comforted me. In it Your Reverence again recommended to me the same course as in the previous one. Since I have already replied regarding the matter and the ship which is to take the letters is ready to sail, and I am exhausted with writing, I will go on no more. May Your Reverence send me your blessing from afar, and commend me to the Lord in your holy sacrifices and prayers.

From Guinea and the port of Biguba, 14 May 1605

Baltasar Barreira.

It will be necessary for Your Reverence to show this to the General, unless (?) there arrives with it the copy of a letter which I am writing to the Padre Provincial about the state of this mission, which letter so as not to repeat the same things and because time will not allow me (to do otherwise), I am asking the Padre to send to His Reverence the General.

Overleaf: To Father João Álvares, Assistant for the Province of Portugal of the Society of Jesus, at Rome. <sup>(1)</sup>

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(1) The whole letter is an autograph.











## Chapter 10

Father Baltazar Barreira's journey to the mainland of Guinea

Because of the very encouraging news and information about the land of Guinea, and especially about the land of Sierra Leone, received by Father Baltazar Barreira, he left Santiago Island for those parts, in December 1604, with great enthusiasm. He travelled in a ship which was going to Rio Grande, having been told that from there he could obtain a passage for Sierra Leone. Since his journey, its completion, and what happened on his reaching land, cannot be better told than in his own words, which are contained in a letter which he wrote on the subject to Father Manoel de Barros, his fellow Jesuit, who stayed behind on Santiago Island, we here quote what he said.

Letter of Father Baltazar Barreira to Father Manoel de BarrosBiguba, 28 January 1605<sup>(1)</sup> ]Pax Christi.

Although it took us nearly forty days to reach this port of Biguba, we give great thanks to God that on the journey He kept us in good health and preserved us from pirates and from dangerous reefs which we successfully avoided even though we lacked a pilot who knew them. The slow journey was due to contrary winds and windless periods, and to the captain of the ship<sup>(2)</sup> making calls at Bissao, where the ship stayed four<sup>(3)</sup> days, and at Guinala, where it stayed nine. But it seems that God intended it thus for the good of certain souls which were much in need of the remedy he was sending them. We reached Bissao on the second octave of Christmas [2 January 1605]. I heard the confessions of the Portuguese there, but since they had no church, and the sacramental vessels (I was carrying) were stowed below, I was

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(1) Hereafter Guerreiro's text is collated with a manuscript copy of Barreira's letter of 28 January 1605, to be found in ARSJ, Lus. 83, ff. 294-295v, hereafter cited as LUS.

(2) "...the captain, Pedro..." (LUS)

(3) "...forty days..." (Guerreiro)

unable to say Mass and administer the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, even though, for lack of a priest, they had not received the sacrament or made their confessions for many years past. It saddened me greatly to find how deprived these people were in spiritual terms, and how some of them were living in forgetfulness of God and their own salvation. I gave them such counsel and advice I deemed necessary for them and endeavoured to persuade them to live elsewhere in Guinea, where they would have priests who could say Mass and hear confessions, at least during part of the year. /f.138v/ They promised they would do this but I do not think they will, for I saw that they were very attached to this country and its trade. If the Lord wills that we stay in this region, it will be easy to visit them once a year. The king, a very old man who is a friend of the Portuguese, paid me a visit. I did not try to persuade him to become a Christian, for the same day that I landed in order to hear the confessions of the Portuguese, I had to return aboard, because the captain said that he had to leave the next morning<sup>(4)</sup>, and since with these people it takes much time to make the careful preparations which are necessary for their instruction, I postponed them until it pleased God that I should return there. The king's son and heir told me that he would have willingly have become a Christian but had not done so because, if he did, he would have to give up 'roping them in', that is, attacking and enslaving blacks, which he realised, though he still did it, was an unjust activity. A Portuguese who had lived there some twenty years made me very welcome and provided us with those things for the rest of the journey of which we were already much in need. We brought about reconciliations between some of the leading inhabitants, which was greatly to the service of Our Lord.

We left there, and God was very merciful to us on our way. For we had to pass two shoals which are the most dangerous in those parts and our pilot had no knowledge of them, so while we were passing them we intended to seek the assistance of a local pilot who was available.<sup>(5)</sup>

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(4) "...the next morning, although in fact he did not do this..."(LUS)

(5) "...no knowledge of them, but had brought a pilot of those parts who had been here before and knew the shoals, (to pilot the ship) until we passed the shoals..."(LUS)

But the Lord willed that this did not come about, in order to show that it was He who was our guide. A very remarkable thing happened. The wind failed as we approached the shoals and the current carried us to the most dangerous point, where many ships have been lost. Suddenly the very wind we needed (to save us) arose, and we passed safely by, sounding all the way. Moreover, though the coast was infested with French pirates who rob ships as they arrive or leave, the Lord willed that we met none of these. One evening we anchored in a river and at dawn saw a ship lying near us, which, when it approached us, we thought was a pirate vessel, but it slowly sailed out to sea and we later learned that it was Portuguese. (6)

We reached Guinala, which lies on an upper arm of Rio Grande<sup>(7)</sup>, on the morning of the day of the (Three) Kings, which I took as a good omen for the conversion of the heathen, the Three Kings having been the first fruit of that conversion. /f.139/ António Nunes, the factor and captain of the port, with some other Portuguese, immediately came to see us. When he left, our ship fired off its two guns, and from the land the fort replied with ten or a dozen shots. I found that all was prepared for me to say Mass, but before doing so, I preached on the subject of the feast day, suiting all I said to the spiritual needs of these parts. I preached again on the Sunday within the octave. The Lord willed that those there were moved to make their ~~own~~ confessions and I spent the whole nine days I was at Guinala chiefly engaged in hearing them, to my own great satisfaction and to the good of their souls. The first day after we disembarked I overheard that one of the leading Portuguese living there was sick and was making light of his illness. I asked the man who made this comment to inquire from the sick man whether he wished to make his confession and to tell him of my willingness to hear it. However as the reply was delayed I sent our brother to the sick man. The reply he brought back to me was to the effect that the man made courteous excuses and laughed at the offer. Then I went myself to the man's house, but again he was evasive in reply to what I said to him. However I pressed him at least to begin his confession straightway, which he did. Since I realised that he would not last long - although he made fun of anyone who said the

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(6) The last sentence (in English) is only in LUS.

(7) This clause is only in Guerreiro.

illness might be fatal - I carried through the confession until it was completed, to my relief and his satisfaction. It was (now) after dinner, and I would only give him the Most Holy Sacrament after Mass the next day, so I left him. He was well disposed to receive the sacrament in the morning, but his death during the night forestalled this and left him no time to receive it. Those who knew the man and had had dealings with him were astonished, and considered it miraculous that God had shown him such mercy, but I was strongly convinced that God had predestined this, and in order that the man might be saved had delayed (his death) until we had reached there and could persuade him to confess.

The King of Guinala was ill when we arrived. We hoped that he would recover so that he could have read to him the letter which I had brought from His Majesty. Meanwhile we had discussions /f.139v/ with the larego, the leading person after the king, and with the other leading men in the kingdom who assist the king and serve in his council, to induce them to accept our holy faith and persuade the king to do likewise. They agreed with all I said, manifesting great joy, and <sup>they</sup> stated that they wished to be the first to be baptized and that the king had the same desire. They added that each of them would retain only one wife, this (matter of wives) being the major obstacle to the conversion of these heathen. Further, they said that God had brought us there not only for the good of their souls but also for the preservation and increase of their kingdom and their temporal possessions. Their words, and the sincerity they showed, <sup>(8)</sup> gave much cause for praising God. Among the other points which I strove to persuade them to accept of their own free will was this : that if the king died, no-one should be killed. For it is their custom to kill many of a dead man's wives and servants, and even the horse on which he rode, because the devil has put it into their heads that they must do this so that in the next world the dead man again has wives, servants and a horse. I begged them to persuade the king to give orders before he died that no person should be killed, but that instead of wives and servants they should kill oxen, and with these celebrate the burial in the customary fashion of these parts. All of them gave me their word that this would be done, and they showed that they

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(8) "...showed, according to what I was told by those who understood the language,..."(LUS)

greatly approved. In particular the larego promised that if the king failed to give the order, he himself would not agree to the killing of any person for this reason.<sup>(9)</sup> Earlier we had sent a Crioulo, who was a good interpreter, with a message to the king, to announce my arrival and my purpose, and to tell him of the letter from His Majesty to him which I was carrying. He did this, and the king, ill as he was, gave signs of great satisfaction and accepted in good spirit all that was said to him. However it was his wish that the larego and the members of the council should first speak to me and then inform him of what I had discussed with them. He also secretly sent some of his closest servants to see me and to hear from my own mouth the reason for my coming, so that they could report everything to him, and they did this twice or thrice. But as the devil always tries to overturn good beginnings, it seems that he feared the good which might follow these. /f.140/ For when the larego and the other councillors went to the king, the day after our discussions together, in order to give the king an account of what each side had said, they found him speechless, and he continued in this state until he gave up his soul to the one who until then had possessed it. Hence, since we found that he was dying and we could achieve nothing in this matter until a new king had been elected, and since the captain wanted the ship to leave for the port of Biguba, it seemed pointless to delay my journey. I left instructions that there should be discussions with the new king after his election, and that if he made a favourable response I should be notified so that I could return there, which I could do in two days. Some days after I reached Biguba, I learned that the king was dead and another king elected, but to date I have had no further letters from the Portuguese living at Guinala and do not know if any persons were killed on the death of the king.<sup>(10)</sup>

After leaving Guinala, we reached the port of Biguba on the evening of the Eve of St Anthony. We had anchored the previous midnight so near the town that if it had been daylight we could have seen it and been seen from it, and could have landed the next day, a Sunday, to say Mass. But it was such thick fog that day that, though we were near the land on each side, we did not come in until the

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(9) This sentence (in English) is only in LUS.

(10) This sentence is only in LUS.

evening. Sebastian Fernandes, who was awaiting us, immediately sent out a rigged boat to find out if we were aboard, and as soon as this returned had the largest cannon fired from the fort, to indicate the pleasure our arrival gave and to summon the Portuguese who were scattered about so that all of them might receive us. But the good will was apparently so great that they overcharged the gun and it burst, though without hurting anyone, since the fragments fell to the ground instead of flying upwards.<sup>(11)</sup> Sebastian Fernandes came out to convey us from the ship, and when we landed there was no gun anywhere in the fortress that was not fired. The following day, after I had preached to them, I said Mass, to the great comfort of all since they had been without a celebration for a long period. Thereafter I continued in the same way, with sermons on Sundays and holy days, and the catechism daily, but the latter with more solemnity on feast days. I was given frequent occasion to praise God when I saw the fruit resulting from these ministrations and the changed lives of several persons, as well as the enthusiasm of the black inhabitants at catechism, and when they sang at nights in circles formed in various places, an enthusiasm assisted and encouraged by /f.140:/ the prizes I presented. Sebastian Fernandes was most affectionate in his dealings with us, and as soon as we arrived gave orders for houses to be built for us, near the church and suited to our style of living and our need for privacy, and this went ahead rapidly. For speed they built them of adobe and with an upper part midway,<sup>(12)</sup> but he later said that they will be rebuilt in stone and lime, which would have to be sent there from Santiago Island. Until they were completed and we were living in them, he did not wish us to speak to the king, or state to him the reasons for our coming. I do not think that there is a settlement of Portuguese in Guinea which can more properly be called Portuguese than this one at Biguba. The country seems to me a good one, and the vigour and healthy colour of the Portuguese living there proved how healthy it is. I have decided to stay here, with God's help, until at least Easter, to see if I can root out from among these people certain vices of an evil sort which since they are very common in Guinea are not thought out-of-place here, and instead of these

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(11) This last clause is only in LUS.

(12) This phrase ("and with...midway") is only in LUS.

vices plant in their souls Christian virtues and good customs. If the Lord is pleased to open the door for the conversion of the heathen, I desire to establish the faith thoroughly in one of these kingdoms, so that from there it can extend to others. It is true that one of the major obstacles to the extension of the faith which can exist in these parts, is present here, in that there are already in this kingdom black strangers whose task it is to spread the cursed sect of Mohammed, but God is powerful in overcoming this and any other difficulty.<sup>(13)</sup>

I could write down many more things, but it is midnight and the ship must leave at dawn, and I have scarcely time to hear the confessions of those who have asked me to do this. Brother Pero Fernandes has been recently ill, today being the seventh (or crisis) day, but he is better than on previous days and almost without fever. I am very concerned about the health of your good self, and in conclusion I desire the Lord to give you health to advance the great quantity of spiritual fruit you are gathering, when ~~is good~~ <sup>you are</sup> ~~well~~ <sup>well</sup> ~~health~~, in the land where you are. I commend myself to your holy sacrifices and prayers.

From Biguba, 28 January 1605

In another hand Land of Rio Grande near Sierra Leone

Baltezar Barreira

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- (13) Guerreiro's transcription of the letter stops at this point, and he adds : "Up to here (I have followed) the letter of Father Barreira, written in Biguba, in the land of Beafares, on 28 January 1605".

Appended to the copy of Father Baltazar Barreira's letter in LUS  
are the following two extracts from other letters.

Section of a letter from Father Manuel de Barros at Cape Verde to Father André Álvares, dated 17 March 1605

I have been alone on Cape Verde (Island) for four months, that is since Father Baltazar Barreira and Brother Pero Fernandes left for Rio Grande and then Sierra Leone. I have had no letters from them yet. Because I had news that their ship had been to Bissao and had left there, (and thus was travelling) where the shoals are very dangerous. I have been hourly awaiting letters from (Father Barreira). I am awaiting them with some anxiety, for he had another illness as well as the first one I wrote to Your Reverence about, and although this one only kept him in bed eight days he was bled five or six times. As for his travelling by sea at his great age, this (too) has been in my thoughts, although on the other hand the great enthusiasm with which he set off has given me comfort, an enthusiasm so great that he was not willing to listen to my arguments that it would be better if it was I who made the journey. Even when the padre gave contrary arguments which seemed to him to have more force, to the effect that he and not I should go, (I suggested that) he should consider delaying his departure, but he recognised none of this, for the padre's love and zeal for souls are as in Portugal we know them to be and here experience them to be. Although of (great) age, he so advances and toils, with such simplicity and joy, that it is clearly shown that he deals with what belongs to God and <sup>that he</sup> will harvest the same, like a true worker in His vineyard, which indeed he is. For neither the seas nor the heat of Guinea, neither seasonable weather nor unseasonable will deter him.

Section from another letter from the same padre, dated 22 April

After having written the letter to Your Reverence which comes with this one, Your Reverence's letters reached me with other ones, and then I have sent on to Father Baltazar Barreira who has left for Rio Grande and then the Serra. There being a ship available, he left on 11 December and took with him Brother Pero Fernandes. I have had a letter about their arrival at Biguba, a country in Rio Grande. Your Reverence can see the letter as I send it in this package.

At the bottom, across the page, in another hand  
News from Cape Verde, sent by Father André Álvares, Assistant for Portugal



**10**





LETTER GRANTING THE CAPTAINCY OF SERRA LEOA  
TO PEDRO ALVARES PEREIRA

Valladolid, 4 March, 1606.

Don Felipe, by the grace of God King of Portugal and of the Algarves, and further on beyond the sea in Africa, Lord of Guinea and of the conquest, navigation, and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India, etc. I make known to those who see this my letter that, having been informed that it was very fitting to the service of God and my own service,<sup>(a)</sup> to give orders that, in Serra Leoa and on the Coast of Guinea (where Serra Leoa lies), running from the rivers which form the boundary of the Cape Verde contract as far as Cape Palmas (one hundred and thirty leagues of coast, it is said, or as many more or less as there actually are), settlements should be made and trade and commerce carried out in the ports and rivers of this coast, and that these lands (which are extensive and populated by idolatrous heathen) should be conquered and subjugated both in order that the divine offices may be celebrated, the Holy Gospel proclaimed, and our holy Catholic faith spread, <sup>in order</sup> to achieve the conversion of this heathen people, as well as for the great profit which will accrue to my royal exchequer from the creation of these towns, trades and conquests, which would also be to the common benefit of my kingdoms and domains and their inhabitants; and this having been considered in the lifetime of the king, my lord and father--may he have holy glory--and His Majesty having assembled information from persons who know these lands and the opinions of the governors whom he had at that time in the Kingdom of Portugal and of other members of his Councils, Our Lord took him to himself before the matter was finally settled; and after

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(a) According to Colloquet: The King our lord being informed that it was very fitting to the service of God and to his own .... the ... in the third person throughout.

his death and after I had inherited these kingdoms, by the mercy of God, having been reminded of this business I have been looking at it and considering it until the present time; (therefore) following the views and deliberations of the members of my Council I have deigned, because of all above and the considerations of service to God and to myself and of common benefit to my royal exchequer and to my vassals, to order this conquest, settlement and trade to be carried out. And because of the very great confidence I have in Pedro Alvares Pereira, member of my Council of State, and being convinced that in this matter he will serve me to my utmost satisfaction and contentment and in such a way that the good effects which are sought will be achieved, and that I can expect to be as well served by him in this matter as I have been until now in all the other matters which I have entrusted to him; and wishing also hereby to thank him for his many and great services and for other causes and reasons set out below, <sup>(b)</sup> /f.236v/ I deign to make him a gift and irrevocable grant, valid inter vivos from this day forever, of right and inheritance for him and for his heirs and successors in respect of the aforesaid Serra Leoa and other lands of the aforesaid coast from the Rio de Cassi or from whatever river actually forms the boundary of the Cape Verde contract, as far as Cape Palmas, and of the captaincy and governancy of these lands, so that he can order them to be settled and conquered, all in the form and manner set out below and with the following conditions.

First, Pedro Alvares Pereira will be obliged within fifteen years counting forward from the date of this letter of mine <sup>(c)</sup>, to send at his own cost and expense to Serra Leoa and to the coast, and will organise there,

→ (c) AGS has ... : counted from the day on which His Majesty signs the patent which will ensue from this letter...

(b) The clause and wishing ... set out below, do not appear in AGS.

400 men as settlers, 200 of whom will be married and will take their wives and children to populate that land, and some of these 200 will be farmers and at least 30 of them will be skilled craftsmen, building-masons, carpenters and caulkers, and two barbers and a doctor, And Pedro Alvares Pereira will be obliged to give all these people their passages and food for the journey, and to convey them at his own cost and expense.

And likewise he will be obliged, within the first two years from the day when he starts to establish this settlement, to place on this coast and bring to it six barcas and four caravels of the tonnage he thinks necessary and four brigantines and four muletas, so that these can be used for the trade of the coast and rivers, and the caravels and barcas can come from there to the Kingdom of Portugal and other parts, he being paid such freight charges as are agreed by those persons who make use of them or despatch in them their merchandise and goods. This obligation to employ these vessels and send them to the coast will last for a period of six years, so that during this time the settlers will have vessels they can use. And if any of the vessels he /f.237/ is to provide are lost, he will have the period of one year in which to have them repaired or new ones built.

Moreover he will be obliged within the said fifteen years to build three forts of stone and lime. One of them is to be in Serra Leoa, in the port and principal settlement to be established there, and this will be not less than forty bracas square, (with walls) twelve handspans thick and forty high, with two bastions on two platforms (?) lying on simple cross-beams along the whole wall (?) but thereafter to be completed in whatever form seems most necessary. Two more forts will be built either in other localities of the Serra or in such other ports and rivers of that coast as seem best to him, and each

will be twenty braças square and (with walls) of the same thickness and height as the larger fort, with two bastions and a way around (?) in the same fashion. And in the event of Pedro Álvares Pereira or his heirs and successors not being able to complete these three fortresses in the said fifteen years despite their utmost diligence, I shall review the [period of] time as I think fit. In the meantime, as soon as the first settlers disembark, he will build for them the necessary defences, in wood and in lathe-and-clay, for security against the blacks and pirates, and will provide these defences and forts with the soldiers, artillery and gunpowder, and arms and ammunition that he considers necessary for their defence against an enemy attack.

Moreover he will build in the said fifteen years a church in the main settlement of the size he thinks fit, and with the people who come to establish the first settlement he will send three priests. One of them will be Vicar, with the ecclesiastic jurisdiction that the Vicars have in Mina and other overseas parts which are extra-diocesan, as the lands of this coast must be while they lack settlements and sufficient revenue to have a Bishop of their own. On this first occasion Pedro Álvares Pereira will present the Vicar and priests, and I, as Governor and perpetual Administrator of the Mastership and Order of Our Lord Jesus Christ, will appoint them. Pedro Álvares Pereira will pay the three priests the stipends and subsistence /f.237v/ designated by the president and councillors of my Council of India, and he will do this as long as there are no tithes or other revenues of mine in Serra Leoa; but when there are some of these the necessary allowances given to whatever priests and ecclesiastical ministers there then are will be drawn from the revenues, according to law.

All the above points Pedro Álvares Pereira will undertake at his own cost and expense, without my putting into this any resources from my royal exchequer or making him any loan of arms, munitions, ships or

supplies. But if Pedro Álvares Pereira complies with all the above points within the periods of time stated, he will not be obliged to do anything further, and all the rewards from me which are included in this letter will be carried out in full.

Since I respect and acknowledge the outlay that he must incur wholly at his own cost and risk, and his many and continuous services, and his position in my Council of State in which he does these services for me, and that he is fully deserving of my giving him all honour and reward; and since I have respect also for the great services that Nuno Álvares Pereira, his father - may God grant His pardon -, a member of the Council of the King my father, performed for the kings of Portugal, for Dom João, and for Dom Sebastião and Dom Enrique in the war in Africa and in the matter of the great enlargement of the royal exchequer, and in serving in the city of Lisbon during the two plagues of 1569 and 1579 on the command of kings Dom Sebastião and Dom Enrique, and in many other tasks they entrusted to him, including his being sent at times to the Court of Castile and to Germany and Flanders on matters and negotiations of great importance in which (embassies) he always served to their great satisfaction, and for the many and particular services which he performed for the King my father in the matter of the succession to the throne of Portugal, he having been the first man who, after the death of King Dom Enrique, went to Badajoz where His Majesty was staying, in recognition of his king and true and natural lord and in order to serve him, having been summoned for this purpose by His Majesty, and for his continuance /f.238/ in His Majesty's service in the duties and matters of which he was in charge until his death, His Majesty always having been highly satisfied and contented with his person and services; and since I have respect furthermore for the services of Luis Álvares Pereira, the brother of Pedro Álvares Pereira, who was a squire of the

King as commander of the Order of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and was killed by the Moors in the city of Tangiers while serving there; for all the above reasons and considerations and for other very just ones that move me to this, and through the great good will that I have for Pedro Álvares Pereira, I deign, of my own accord, in certain knowledge, and from royal and absolute power, to make him a grant and irrevocable grant inter vivos, valid from this day for ever, of right and heritage for him and all his children, grandchildren, heirs and successors who come after him, his own descendants as well as transversal and collateral descendants, as will be set out below, of the lands of this Serra Leoa and of this coast, from the river of Cassi or from that river and port where the coastal boundaries of the Cape Verde contract actually fall, as far as Cape Palmer, and as far inland as can be penetrated and as far as belongs to my conquista, and of all the islands which are adjacent to this coast and opposite it up to ten leagues out to sea.

I desire and it pleases me that Pedro Álvares Pereira and all his heirs and successors who inherit and succeed to these lands and islands shall be able to and should term themselves captains and governors of them. Furthermore I make a grant of perpetual right and inheritance, for him and all his descendants, heirs and successors as stated above, of civil and criminal jurisdiction in these lands and islands, of which Pedro Álvares Pereira, his heirs and successors will employ the following form and manner, namely:

He, and his successors as captain and governor at any time, will be able themselves and through their chief magistrate (ouvidor) to be present at the election (?) of justices and officers for the towns and settlements established in these lands, to investigate and verify the registers (lutas), and to hand over letters of confirmation to the justices and officers who will be named by the captain and governor.

They will also be able to appoint the chief magistrate, who will have cognizance of /f.238v/ new lawsuits wherever they arise and for ten leagues around, and of appeals and agravos throughout the captaincy and governancy, and the justices will allow appeals to the magistrate in the sums of money that my ordinances lay down and as their magistrate decides (?), both in new actions and in appeals and agravos, given that in civil cases there will be no appeal with respect to claims for less than 100 milreis, but above that figure they will allow an appeal to the party wishing to appeal. In criminal cases I deign that the captain and governor at any time, and his magistrate, should have authority and jurisdiction to impose death sentences, even in respect of slaves and heathen, and just the same in respect of Christian commoners (?) and free men, in all instances to absolve as well as to condemn, without there being appeal or agravo. In cases of the four crimes of heresy, when the heretic is committed by the ecclesiastic authority, and in cases of treason, sodomy and counterfeit money, they will have jurisdiction over all people of whatever rank, to condemn the guilty to death, and to have their sentences carried out without appeal or agravo, and in cases of these four crimes to withdraw the death penalty, although (if?) they wish to impose a lesser penalty than that of death they will allow appeals and agravo and will hear appeals on behalf of justice (?). Over persons of higher rank they will have power to impose sentences of up to ten years banishment and up to a fine of 100 cruzados, without appeal or agravo. Furthermore it pleases me that their magistrate should be able to hear the appeals and agravos which must go to him, in any town or location of the captaincy in which he may be, even though it may be very far from the place where they arise (?), provided that it is within the lands of this captaincy. And the captain and governor at any time will be able to appoint a bailiff (to serve) before their magistrate, and

clerks (of court) and any other officers that are usual in the kingdoms of Portugal, both in the court of correction of the magistracy and in all the towns and locations of the captaincy and governancy. And the captain and governor and his successors will be obliged, when the land is populated to the extent that another magistrate is needed, or more than one, to appoint each, placing each wherever I, or the kings my successors, shall order.

Furthermore it pleases me that the captain and governor and all his successors should be able of their own accord to establish all the towns and such settlements to be made in these lands as they think fit. These will be termed vilas (towns), and will have the boundaries, jurisdiction, liberties and insignia of towns, according to the law and custom in my kingdoms. It being understood however that (though) they will be able to establish all the towns they wish in the settlements lying along the coast and along the navigable rivers in the mainland interior, towns can only be established at a distance of not less than six leagues between each, so that each has at least three leagues of land between it and its boundary. And at the time when each and every vila is being established, they will delimit each and will immediately mark out the boundaries, and thereafter they will not be able to use the designated land to build another town without my permission.

Furthermore it pleases me that the captain and governor, and all his successors to whom the captaincy comes, should be able to appoint de novo and provide through letters (of appointment) the notaries, public and judicial, that they deem necessary in the towns of the settlements of these lands and islands, both immediately and in the future. They will give them their letters (of appointment), signed by them and sealed with their seal, and they will take an oath from them that in office they will well and truly serve. The notaries will serve by right of these letters, without obtaining any other favor or chancery. When there

offices become vacant through death, resignation or incorrect behaviour, if this arises, they will be able to refill them (?), and they will give the notaries fixed instructions as to where they are to serve, in keeping with those of my chancellery. And I deign that the notaries should be able to summon (to court) through the captain and governor of the time, and they will pay him (?) his dues (?) according to the form of the charter that I shall order to be drawn up for the /f.239v/ lands of this captaincy and governancy, the right and inheritance of which dues I equally make him a grant and award of for ever.

Furthermore I make him (the same grant) of right and inheritance for all time in relation to the post of chief alcaide (mayor) in all these towns and settlements of the captaincy and governancy, with all the revenues, rights, privileges and tributes which belong to them, according to the form declared in the charter, (the control of) which posts the captain and governor and his successors will have and will hold for their own benefit (?) in the way and in the manner contained and set out in the charter and according to its form. The persons to whom the positions of chief alcaide are given, by the hand of the captain and governor at the time of these lands, will assume the menagem (?) in them, according to the form of my ordinance.

Furthermore I grant to Pedro Alvares Pereira, and to all his successors to whom the captaincy and governancy shall come, that they shall have and hold by perpetual right and inheritance all water mills, saltworks for sea-salt or land-salt, and other mills or machinery of whatever kind that may be established in the captaincy and governancy. And I deign that no person may establish mills, saltworks or machinery except the captain and governor or those to whom he grants permission to do this, for which they shall pay him that tax or duty upon which they have agreed, and which shall be what is reasonable.

Furthermore I make him a perpetual grant and gift of right and

inheritance over twenty leagues of land along the coast of this captaincy and governancy, stretching as far inland as it is possible to go and my conquista extends, and of one of the islands adjacent to the coast and lying opposite to it as far as ten leagues out to sea. These twenty leagues of land and this island shall be his, free and exempt, without his /f.240/ paying any rent for them, or any tribute at all, apart from the tithe to the Order of Our Lord Jesus Christ. During the twenty years following the arrival of the first people sent to settle in Serra Leoa, he and his heirs and successors shall be able to choose and take these twenty leagues of land wherever they wish, not taking them all together, but divided up, in four or five sections, with not less than two leagues between each section; and the same will apply to the island. These lands and this island the captain and governor and his successors shall be able to rent out and lease en bloc (?) or to individuals, as they wish and how it suits them, for agreed and fair rents and dues. And the lands and island, if they are not leased, or their rents if they are, shall always come to whoever succeeds to the captaincy and governancy, in the way laid out in this grant. <sup>(d)</sup> And in the new circumstances (?) which God brings about in these lands and islands (sic), neither the captains and governors at that time in the captaincy and governancy, nor the individuals, who have and hold the land from their hand, will be obliged to pay me tax or duty, apart from God's tithe for the Order of Christ, which regularly will be paid in all the other lands of the captaincy, as hereafter will be stated.

And he shall be obliged to cultivate and utilize the lands and island from the day he takes them over for the next fifteen years, and if this is not carried out the lands and island which he fails to utilize will automatically remain mine, to be able to do with as shall be my wish. Neither the aforesaid captain and governor nor those who come after him will be able to take any land within the captaincy as a gesmaria for himself, for his wife or for his son as heir to the captaincy; but

they shall grant and will be able to grant, and share out, all these lands in sesmarias to any individuals, of whatever status and condition they may be, as they think fit, freely, without any rent or dues, apart from God's tithe on everything they have in these lands, which they will be obliged to pay to the aforesaid Order, as will be set out in the charter. In the same /f.240v/ way they will be able to grant the lands to their children, outside entail, and to their relatives, but they will not be able to grant to their children and relations more land than they grant or have granted to any unrelated individual. All the lands they grant thus in sesmaria to either group will be granted in accordance with the Sesmaria Ordinance and its rules. These lands neither the captain and governor nor any of his successors will be able, at any time, to take for himself, for his wife, or for his son and heir; nor will he be able to place them in someone else's charge in order to claim them later in any way whatever; and he can obtain them only by genuine deed of purchase from individuals who wish to sell them to him after a period of eight years during which the lands have been utilized, and in no other way.

Furthermore I make him a perpetual grant and gift of right and inheritance in respect of a half-tithe on the fish of this captaincy, which means one in twenty fishes, which I will command to be ordered and through this command and order be paid, as well as the whole tithe which belongs to the Order of Christ, as will be set out in this charter. This half-tithe will relate to fish caught anywhere in the captaincy other than in the twenty leagues of land and the island belonging to the captain and governor, because these twenty leagues and island are his own land, free and exempt as stated above.

Furthermore I deign and it pleases me to make a grant and gift to Pedro Alvarez Pereira as follows: that of all the revenues and dues in this captaincy and governorship belonging to us or to the kings my successors or to the Order of Our Lord Jesus Christ, both those provided for in

the charter which is to be drawn up for the captaincy, and those arising from trade of any kind or which may arise in any other manner and means, he shall have during his lifetime one third of these revenues and dues, but his heirs and successors who inherit and succeed to this captaincy and governancy after his death shall have by perpetual right and inheritance only one quarter of these revenues and dues.

But in the event that trade and commerce are opened up in these lands of the captaincy and /f.241/ governancy and found to be such that I alone, on my own accord or through my officers, should wish to trade and do business, then I will order to be paid and given to Pedro Álvares Pereira in his lifetime, as stated, one third of all that is gained in this trade and commerce, after deducting the capital costs and the expenses incurred; and to his successors one quarter of the profit calculated in the manner stated above. This will be fulfilled and accepted even if it should happen that the trade and commerce are leased out or are conducted and operated by individuals to whom I give opportunity and permission to do this. But in the event that this trade and commerce are of such a kind that anyone from this captaincy and governancy, as well as anyone from the Kingdom of Portugal or from my other kingdoms and dominions, can participate and is able to trade and conduct business in the same way as my officers, then I will not be obliged to pay the captain and his successors the aforesaid third or quarter, and I will only give them and they will have and receive (the stated proportions) in relation to that duty which the other individuals will have to give me and pay, as set and laid down for this trade and commerce.

Furthermore I make a grant and gift to the captain and governor, and to his heirs and successors to whom the captaincy and governancy will pass, as follows: that of the slaves they buy and own in this land, they will be able to send to Portugal 48 items per year, to do with these

whatever suits them. The slaves will come to the port of the city of Lisbon and not to any other port, and they will send with them certificates from the officials of the captaincy stating how they acquired them. By means of this certificate, these slaves will be cleared in Lisbon without any duty being paid on them, not even the 5%. And apart from the 48 individuals they can thus send free of duty each year, I design that they can bring in, as sailors and cabin-boys on their ships, all the slaves they wish and need; and on any other slaves they bring they will pay a duty of 1,600 reis per head. /f.241v/

Furthermore it pleases me to grant to the captain and governor and his successors, and also to the citizens and residents in this captaincy, that at no time shall there be there a conveyance tax (sisa) or levy, a soap monopoly (?), salt dues, or any other duties or taxes of any kind other than those laid down for the benefit of this grant of territory and in its charter.

Furthermore I design and it pleases me that this captaincy and governancy, and the lands, revenue and property thereof, shall be inherited and succeeded to, by perpetual right and inheritance, by the aforesaid captain and governor and his children, his legitimate sons and daughters, in the following way. On the death of Pedro Álvares Pereira he will be succeeded by his oldest surviving legitimate male child. In the event of the eldest son dying during his (father's) lifetime, (but) leaving a legitimate male child, the grandson of Pedro Álvares Pereira, then this grandson will succeed. However if the eldest son does not leave a male child but leaves daughters, these daughters will not succeed if there is any male child of Pedro Álvares Pereira, because then the uncle will supersede the niece. However if there are no other male children, then the grand-daughter will succeed, and not the daughters, the aunts of the grand-daughter. If Pedro Álvares Pereira does not leave a son, his eldest daughter will succeed him, and if she dies in his

lifetime, leaving sons or daughters, grandchildren of Pedro Alvares, they will, as between themselves and the daughters, if there are any, keep to the same order which is set out above, as between the grandson and uncles. This same order of succession will hold and will be kept for the rest of the children of Pedro Alvares Pereira, his legitimate sons and daughters; and as long as there is a legitimate male of the same generation the female will not succeed, even though she may be older than the son; and if there is no male descendant, or if there is one but he is not of as close a generation to the last holder as is the female, then the female will succeed. As long as there are legitimate descendants, male or female, no bastard will succeed; and if there are no descendants or ascendants, male or female, who are legitimate descendants of Pedro Alvares Pereira, then the bastards will succeed, male and female, provided they are not the result of incestuous or sacrilegious union. They will succeed in the same order as the legitimate descendants, first the males and then the females of the same generation, all in the way stated above. In the absence of any descendants of Pedro Alvares Pereira, there will succeed to the captaincy and governancy the children of Nuno Alvares Pereira, his father, (the latter's) legitimate sons and daughters, and in the absence of these, the latter's bastards, all in the manner stated above. In the absence of all descendants of Pedro Alvares Pereira and Nuno Alvares Pereira, his father, legitimate and bastards, there will succeed to the captaincy and lands the relative named in his will or codicil, or in his declaration of entail, to succeed to the other patrimonial properties he leaves. All this and all else contained in this grant, I thus deign, notwithstanding the Ley Mental which says that females and bastards should not succeed, nor collateral relatives or ascendants, because it is my pleasure that, despite this (limitation), in this captaincy females, bastards, collateral relatives and ascendants should succeed, and that the captaincy should be succeeded to and

inherited in the way already stated, notwithstanding the said law and all its chapters and paragraphs.

Furthermore I wish and it pleases me that at no time may the captaincy and governancy and all the privileges which through this grant I award to Pedro Alvares Pereira be separated, exchanged or divided up, or in any other way transferred, or given at marriage to a son or daughter or any other person, not even in order to free father, son or any other individual from captivity, or for any other reason, however compassionate, because my intention and purpose is that the captaincy and governancy and the other privileges that through this grant I award to Pedro Alvares Pereira and his successors should always be kept together and /f.242v/ not divided or transferred at any time. And I deign that he who separates it or transfers it or divides it up or gives it in marriage or for any other reason causes it to be divided even though the reason may be the most compassionate, by that same action forfeits the captaincy and governancy, and it will pass directly to the one to whom it should go according to the above order of succession as if the individual who has failed to comply accordingly were dead. Furthermore I deign and it pleases me that for no offence or crime of any kind that the captain and governor of these lands may commit, because of which, according to the justice and laws of the kingdoms of Portugal, he merits the loss of the captaincy and governancy, with the jurisdiction, revenues and profits thereof, should his successor lose it unless he is a traitor to the Crown of the said kingdoms; but for all other offences he commits, though he will be punished according to the crime, yet because of this his successors will not lose the captaincy and governancy and its jurisdiction, revenues and profits, as is here stated and is my pleasure.

I deign that Pedro Alvares Pereira and his successors to the captaincy and governancy should make complete use of all the jurisdiction, power and authority contained in this grant, in accordance with it and in

the way set out in it, on account of the trust I have in them that they will in this matter keep to all that complies with the service of God and of myself, and with the good of the people and the rights of all parties (?). Furthermore I deign that at no time should any corregidor enter or be able to enter the lands of this captaincy, by whatever way or means, in order to exercise any jurisdiction whatsoever there. However I myself will be able, when I think fit, to order circuit jurisdiction and provide anything else I consider will comply with my service, with sound justice, and with the good government of the land. Not even (then) will the captain and governor be suspended from the captaincy and governancy and its jurisdiction; however, if the captain commits some wrong /f.243/ or does things for which he merits and must receive punishment, I or the kings my successors will order him to come to a hearing before the judiciary (?) and he will be given that penalty and punishment which for such a crime by the law he merits.

And I hereby deign that all the heirs and successors of Pedro Alvares Pereira who inherit and succeed to the captaincy, through whatever means, should be called Pereira and Moraes, and with both surnames they should sign only those patents and documents which shall be produced in respect of matters relating to the good of the captaincy and governancy and of actions performed by virtue of this grant. They will always bear the arms of the two families, and if any of them do not accordingly comply with this, I deign that through this very act they shall forfeit the captaincy, and that it will be succeeded to, and immediately passed straight to, whoever by right it would have come to if the individual who fails to comply had died.

Furthermore I deign that Pedro Alvares Pereira should not be obliged to go in person to carry out the aforesaid conquest and settlement, nor should he or his successors be obliged to reside there for any period, however short or long; and they will never be obliged to have a

captain/governor as their representative and as magistrate (ouvidor) of the useful regions they govern, both in peace and in war, in military matters and in civil and judicial administration. And he and his successors will meet from their own funds the salary to be paid to the captain and magistrate whom they appoint.

All the awards contained in this grant I make as king and lord of the kingdoms of Portugal, and also as the governor and lifelong administrator that I am of the Order and Master Chivalry of Our Lord Jesus Christ. By this letter<sup>(e)</sup> I give power and authority to Pedro Álvares Pereira to take and order to be taken, by himself or through whomever he approves, real and actual possession of the captaincy and governancy /f.243v/ and of its lands, revenues and profits and (to make effective) all the other matters listed in this grant, and to make use of all in full as is listed in it.<sup>(f)</sup> And I deign and wish and command that this letter of grant (carta de doação)<sup>(g)</sup> be complied with and kept in full in every respect, in all its clauses, conditions and statements, as contained and stated herein, without diminution or reserve. And as far as all here stated is concerned, I set aside the Ley Mental and any other laws, ordinances, decrees, glosses and customs there may be or could be contrary to this, in any way or by any means there might be, even though they may be such that it was necessary for them to be expressed and stated here word for word. And this notwithstanding the ordinance of the second book, paragraph fifty-four, which says that when such laws and decrees are derogated there should be express mention made of them and of their substance. And I promise and assure Pedro Álvares Pereira and his successors that at no time will I go against, or allow anyone else to go against, this my grant.

- At the : By the letter of grant which on account of this edict will be prepared  
 : in this edict.  
 : the letter of grant which as a result of this edict will be  
 : amended.

in part or in whole. And I entreat and beseech all the kings my successors to fulfil it and to order it to be fulfilled and kept in full, if Pedro Álvares Pereira satisfies and entirely fulfils the conditions stated above in the time and manner stated.

And I order all my ambassadors, magistrates, judges, justices and officers of my exchequer, and any other officers to whom knowledge of this pertains, to fulfil and keep, and have fulfilled and kept, this letter of grant in accordance with what is contained herein, and to allow him and all his heirs and successors to use all the privileges stated herein without causing him any uncertainty or hinderance or impediment whatsoever. But if he does not fulfil or satisfy the aforesaid conditions and points in the period of time and in the way laid out above, this grant will have no validity whatsoever, and I shall make a grant of the captaincy and governancy and lands to anyone (else) in my service.

Given at Valladolid, 4 March. Simão Freire prepared it in the year of the birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ 1606.<sup>(1)</sup> And I, the secretary João Prandão Soares, had it written.

Amended.

Miguel Monteiro.

(Torre do Tombo, Chancelaria de Filipe II, Doações, liv. 13, ff. 236-243)

(1) AGS ends '... in my service. Valladolid, 24 January 1606.'

In the same volume, AGS 1.493, there also appear the following grants to Pedro Álvares Pereira: (i) habit of the Order of Christ, to Miguel de Lobeira, 16 July 1605 (f. 20); (ii) royal domain at Torres Vedras, 20 January 1606 (ff. 53-54); (iii) Paúl de Mages, 26 January 1606 (f. 64). The official document granting the captaincy of Serra Leoa appears in ff. 64-65.













BRASIO 4 38

LETTER FROM FATHER BALTASAR BARREIRA

TO FATHER ANDRÉ ÁLVARES, 8.3.1606

(ARSI, Lus., cod. 106, F.339)

Who would have thought that I would have occasion to write to Your Reverence from this Serra Leoa! O Father, great is the mercy of God, great His goodness and power; there is nothing that cannot be hoped for from his mercy!

Here am I where it is only necessary to raise the head to see kingdoms very well disposed to receive the seed of Catholic doctrine and produce fruit a hundred fold. The air is very wholesome, the land is most refreshing and has the qualities that Your Reverence will see indicated in the letter to his Majesty from Bertolameu André, the leading Portuguese of these parts, which I am sending to you with this letter. Your Reverence must request from His Majesty 1,000 crusados in alms, for the ornaments and pictures for the churches that are being built in these lands, to date numbering five. In order that this land may become one of the great possessions of the Crown of Portugal, it needs no more than that His Majesty should regard it with divine favour. I say Mass only on Sundays and saints' days, because of the shortage of flour for the communion bread. As for wine, if the ships coming for cola had not brought me a little, I would have had to soon stop saying Mass. I am despatching a dari (chimpanzee) to Santiago Island for them to send to Your Reverence. I wanted it to be a male because males are more impressive and grow to be as large as a man, but in strength no man can equal one of them. It can be regarded as a monstrosity of nature, being the animal most like man that exists.

According to what is said about daris that the Portuguese in these parts brought up until they were full size, all the animal lacks is speech.

Accompanying this letter is one which Dom Felipe, King of this land, is writing to His Majesty. Would Your Reverence please have it delivered into his hand.

[Baltasar Barreira]

NOTE - This document is entitled : Part of a letter from Father Baltasar Barreira to Father André Álvares, from Serra Leoa, 8 March 1606.













BRASIO 4, 41

ROYAL LETTER ABOUT SERRA LEOA, 31.3.1606

(BAL, Cod. 51. VIII. 48, f.78)

In a letter from His Majesty, 31 March 1606

I have seen a deliberation of the Council of India concerning what was written by the King of Biguba, by Baltasar Barreira, a religious of the Society, and by Sebastião Fernandez Cação, and I deign to approve what is contained in the deliberation and in accordance with the same, that the necessary dispatches be sent, and that they come to me to be signed. And because, according to what is said in this deliberation about him, the presence of Sebastião Fernandez in those parts is of importance to my service, it will be added in the letter to be written to him that I shall remember to make him a reward. Having this intention, I command you to inquire about the quality [qualidade 'character' or 'social status'] of this man, letting me know what you find, in relation to the reward, so that it will be proper to order it to be made. (?)

Christovão Soares















BALTASAR BARREIRA - DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLANDS OF CAPE VERDE AND GUINEA,1 AUGUST 1606.

/f.1/ REPLY OF 1 AUGUST 1606 TO A LETTER OF 24 JULY 1604 WHICH FATHER JOAO ALVARES, ASSISTANT FOR THE PROVINCE OF PORTUGAL IN ROME WROTE TO FATHER BALTASAR BARREIRA, ASKING HIM ABOUT CERTAIN MATTERS IN RELATION TO GUINEA.

In a letter which Your Reverence wrote to me in July 1604 you say that you wish to learn from me what sort of place this Cape Verde is, both the islands and the mainland, what kings there are here, what authority they have, what people live here, what natives it has, what the land produces, and lastly what it contains of good and of bad. I failed to reply to these questions immediately, because (their answers) require considerable experience of the land and of the people who inhabit it; but now, with divine favour, I shall reply, helped by what I have seen and by the reports of certain trustworthy persons who have lived and travelled in these parts many years and know what there is to be found here.

Beginning then with Cape Verde, the first point Your Reverence asks me about, this name is strictly that of a large promontory on this Coast and in this part of Africa called by the Portuguese 'Guinea'. Hence the islands which face it 90 or 100 leagues <sup>away</sup> are called the Cape Verde Islands. And since Santiago Island is the major one, and the site of the Cathedral church of this diocese, the seat of the Governors, and the location of the official trading station [feitoria] for these parts, and ships from Europe seek it out, as do those which leave Guinea with slaves and other goods, it is popularly called 'Cape Verde'.

This island is 18 leagues long and 9 across. It lies in 15° North. It is mountainous and covered with hills which are bare of vegetation, so that seen from the sea it appears arid and infertile. But those who travel across it find it quite the contrary, for so many streams and springs emerge from these hills that they make the island very green and fertile. Throughout, and especially in the valleys, can be found great groves of coconut-palms and date-palms, grapes which are produced in large numbers and gathered at all times of year, oranges, lemons and every other kind of citrus fruit, pears, apples, bananas, senna, pawpaws, guavas and other fruit brought from various parts. There are large cotton plantations, which are very profitable, because this cotton and the cloth woven from it are the principal goods carried to Guinea for the trade in slaves and other products of the mainland. Also there are plantations of sugar-cane, but since the sugar is made where there are no water-mills, it is at the expense of much labour, for the cane is all crushed in mortars.

The chief crop sown here is milho zaburro. The creoles and blacks normally eat this and they make large quantities of xarem and couscous. If they sowed it, much excellent wheat would be produced, but few do this, since a large quantity of flour arrives from elsewhere, and from this is prepared daily the bread the Portuguese eat. There are all kinds of stock. Some farmers have 1000 and more head of cattle, counting only branded beasts. A calf is worth one cruzado, and a cow two. There are many fowl, both domestic fowl and wild fowl, and they are so inexpensive that they are the common food of the poor.

The City is situated beside the sea, among hills and cliffs so high that its only view is of the sea, and for this reason and because it is enclosed to the North, it has always been very unhealthy, although now, they say, it has improved somewhat. It is very common for those who come

here from other parts to fall sick, particularly during the rainy season, because at this season there are more windless periods and because fruit of all kinds is available in abundance. Since not even the residents consider themselves free from risk in the city during this season, the greater part of them desert it and spend their time at cottages (quintas) they possess throughout the island, in healthier and more pleasant spots.

Many times there has been talk of moving this city to another site, that is, to where Villa de Praya stands, two leagues distant, since this is more elevated and is well-aired, and has many other convenient points which I have already written about; but they have never succeeded in carrying through this proposal.

The city's harbour is very narrow, and the ships that come to it run much risk because of a reef within it. In less than one year, the period since our arrival, six ships have been lost, and others have been very close to being lost.

The sea around these islands is greatly infested with pirates and many ships have been taken, some coming from Europe, and some from Guinea laden with slaves and other goods. What greatly facilitates these crimes, and those committed by the pirates on this island and the other islands, is that ships going /f.lv/ to the Indies, Brazil, S. Tomé and other parts normally assemble at nearby Maio Island. This is not only because it has a good harbour, but also because they call there to load salt, which it has in large quantities, produced naturally; and to provision themselves with dried meat, which is prepared from the flesh of goats by the goat-herds who live there and prepare it during the dry season, and from whom they seize it.

The next most important island after Santiago, lying within sight of it, is Fogo Island (Fire Island), so called after a very high peak on

the island from which in earlier times there regularly issued smoke, and some five years ago for many days it threw up such great quantities of cinders and caused such earth tremors that all the inhabitants of the island underwent much hardship and gave themselves up for lost. Although this island has this furnace on it, which we may call a furnace of hell, since devils have been heard many times speaking in it, and some persons are vexed by these devils, in other respects it has an advantage over the other islands for much cotton is gathered on it, and it has vines from which much good wine is made, and it has the same fruits as the other islands but better ones and more of them. The abundance of its products results in its having on it some very rich men owning many slaves, with whom they work and cultivate the land. But it is very common for there to be quarrels among these men, so that they live in continual hatred of each other, for which reason Father Manuel de Barros has gone there, who will I hope be writing to report what God has worked through him.

I pass over the other islands since they only serve to raise goats, whose hides and dried meat are exported. On all these islands, on Santiago as well as on the other islands, a quantity of ambergris is found, which the sea throws up on the beaches.

The people of these islands are, in the main, gentle in character and easily directed into good ways, above all if he who teaches them does so not only by word but by example.

So much for the islands. About the mainland opposite, there is much to say; and if there were people here less busy than I am, they could compile an extensive and interesting account of the kingdoms, nations, customs, animals, plants and other features of this Guinea.

The part of Africa which the Portuguese in the strict sense call Guinea begins at the river Cenega and stretches along the coast to Cabo Ledo

or Serra Leoa, some 1<sup>00</sup> leagues from North to South. The river named is so large that ships sail 150 leagues up it; and over a distance of some 60 leagues, when it overflows it irrigates the land around, just as the Nile does in Egypt, making it very fertile. Without this the land could not be inhabited, since it is otherwise dry and without rainfall.

On the northern side, starting from the coast, it is inhabited by the Fulos, a refined and war-like people. They follow the Mohammedan religion, which took hold a few years ago in this region, as a result of the dealings and trade they had with the Moors of Barbary, the subjects of the Xarife (of Morocco), who brought them horses and took away other goods. The men wear round caps (tocas) on their heads, and short boots on their feet, with spurs sewn and attached to them, because they never leave home, to go anywhere or do business, except on horseback. The women wear the same (? on their heads). This, together with other things I shall mention later, I was told by a trustworthy Portuguese who saw it with his own eyes, because he spent three months at the court of the Grand Fulo. The reason they do not go about on foot is understood to be because the ground is very sandy and so hot that it burns their feet. The Fulos take such care of their horses that everyone of them, including even the king, visits the horses daily; and to look after them they appoint to each house a slave with no other job. When the Grand Fulo is in the field, which is during the greater part of the year, he keeps continually in front of his tent one hundred most carefully chosen horses, and these are always saddled and ready to mount, and hence are trained not to lie down. Apart from these horses and the others he has in his stables, every day the Grand Fulo is brought more, many being sent by kings and lords who are his tributaries, and they come to him from the lands where he orders horses to be raised. From those which

arrive he chooses the ones which please him most, and the remainder he gives and sends to various persons.

They use barter instead of money, although they have a large quantity of gold, and the most common commodity used is cattle, since they have these in great numbers and all of them raise cattle as well as all other kinds of livestock. When a ship arrives /f.2/ loaded with trade-goods they all buy these with cattle, and they give the merchant written note of instructions to a farmer stating the number to be handed over, but the farmer is obliged to keep them in his possession until he is asked for them. The merchant then trades the cattle for gold, horses, slaves and other goods, and passes written (releases) to the farmer holding the cattle.

The Fulos drink no sort of wine, nor do they eat pork, nor the flesh of any animal that they themselves have not ceremonially slaughtered. Hence, although they are fond of hunting, they make no use of the flesh of the elephants, wild boars and other animals they kill. As a result many ivory tusks can be found in the forest, and these the poor people gather up in order to sell to the French and Dutch who go there. The Fulos do not eat fish because they value cleanliness highly and the reason they give is that they should not eat anything which after it has been eaten prevents them touching their clothes with their hands (?).

The Jalofos come after the Fulos. The Jalofos start on the South side of the Senegal River, and stretch along the coast as far as the Berbecine, and they go as far inland as the kingdoms of Balá and Broçalo. There are many kings of this nation and they used to recognise as their head and emperor the Grand Jalofo and pay him dues, but on account of the treason of one of his captains, this monarchy has for some years been

diminishing in power in this district. The Jalofos all follow the Mohammedan religion. The best-known kingdoms of this nation are the kingdoms of Ancalhor and Lambaia.

Bordering on these Jalofos are the Berbecins, the nation possessing the kingdom of Ale, which stretches along the coast some forty leagues and ends in the kingdom (of) Berbecim, from which they take their name. Also theirs is the kingdom of Broçalo, which is much larger than the kingdom of Ale. It starts at the same river, on the southern side, and ends at River Gambia, along which it runs for some forty leagues; and it is inhabited not only by Berbecins but also by Jalofos and Mandingas.

This nation of Mandingas, which borders with the Berbecins, has many kingdoms. (But) all have the same language, laws and customs. They extend on both sides of River Gambia for more than two hundred leagues, and on the southern side, in the interior, they pass around many other nations. Among the Mandingas are Farins, this being a title of great dignity, and to the Farins the kings pay dues. The Mandingas follow the Mohammedan religion, as do the others mentioned above. They have mosques, and schools to teach reading and writing, and many priests (cacizes) who carry this plague to other kingdoms to the South. These priests deceive the people with amulets which they make of metal and leather, elaborately worked, inside which they put writings full of lies, and they tell the people that, if they have these amulets with them, neither in war nor peace can anything do them harm. In almost all the kingdoms the priests have one or more towns set apart for them in which they live and enjoy many privileges the Portuguese do not have. They are much respected by all and are consulted on matters of war and peace. They trade in slaves which they sell to the Moors of Barbary and to the Portuguese in these

parts; and using their trade as a justification, they go where they like and sow their falsehoods.

Although the other nations to the South do not follow them completely, nevertheless their teaching is a great impediment to the reception of our Holy Faith (among these nations). With this nation it seems that organised society stops, for the nations coming after this one either have no organisation or so little of it that it is hardly recognised among them. As regards livestock-breeding, agriculture, the supply of foodstuffs and other activities on which human life is dependant, there is little difference between these different peoples and hence it will not be necessary to state what is produced in each kingdom.

After the Mandingas there follow the Arriatas or Falupos, who inhabit the coast lying between the South point or cape of Gambia River, called Cape St. Mary, and the Rio de S. Domingos, a distance of some 30 leagues.

After the peoples mentioned, there follow the Jabundos and Banjus, nations inhabiting the streams of the Casamance River, which reaches the sea about one league before Cabo Roxo. The Jabundos are on the North side and the Banjus on the South, with both occupying the hinterland of the coast of the Arriatas and Falupos.

The Casangas, another nation, are located further in the hinterland. They begin at the borders of the Jabundos and Banjus, and reach to the Mandingas, who circle all these nations on the landward side. /f.2v/ The Casangas are subject to the King of Casamansa, who although he is very powerful and the lord of many lands, owes obedience to a farim who is his neighbour, who (in turn owes it) to another further away, and so on, in acknowledgement (each of another), until it reaches the Mandimansa,

the Emperor of all this Guinea, who is obeyed by all its kings and so revered that no-one hears his name without uncovering his head. He lives so far away that our Portuguese and almost all these nations only know him by name and by what they hear from other blacks who travel to where he lives.<sup>2</sup>

The Buramos, who otherwise are called Papels, border the Falupos and stretch from Rio de S. Domingos, where Cacheo lies, the chief Portuguese settlement of these parts. The Rio de S. Domingos reaches the sea beyond Cabo Roxo and the entrance is inhabited on each side by those of this nation. They extend as far as the Kingdoms of Times, Cacheo, Caboi, the Little Islands, Bussis, Bissau, Chaio and Baoula.

To the South of the Papels are the Bissagos (Bijagos) Islands, which are inhabited and have kings. There are ten of them.

Between these Bissagos Islands and the Little Islands of the Papels, the Rio Grande emerges. To the east of the river live the Balantas, who people both sides of an arm of the river which comes from the land of the Mandingas and passes by Degoula, a separate kingdom.

After the Balantas there follow the Biafares, who circle them on the East side and extend into the Kingdoms of Goule, Ante, Guinala, Biguba, Bissege, Baoula, Carubale and Bulama.

At the South point of Rio Grande the Nalus begin, and they stretch along the coast as far as the Bagas, who on the same coast reach as far as Cape Verga. The Bagas have two rivers in which they trade with the Portuguese: one called Rio de Muno, from which come the best dyestuffs available in Guinea, and the other called Rio de Fama.

The Souzros and Cocolins are found up-country from the Nalus and Bagas. The King of Pena is ruler of the Souzros, but although seven kings obey and pay tribute to him, he recognises the King of Concho as his superior.

There follow the Calus, who extend along the coast and hinterland as far as the Rio dos Cascos, to which the Portuguese come from the North to seek cola, a fruit like a chestnut, much esteemed throughout this Guinea.

At the boundaries of this Guinea the final nation is that of the Sapes. This nation was conquered in the year 1550 by the Sumbas or Manes. The Sapes begin with the Calus and extend along the coast as far as the South point of Serra Lyoa. The kingdoms the Manes are lords over are those that follow: first that of Serra Lyoa, whose inhabitants are called Coias, and stretch along the South side of Rio Tagarim as far as the Logos or Temenes, whose king is called Farma. And on the North side of this river, beginning at Tagrim Point which faces Serra Lyoa, live the Bolons, whose king is called Fatema. And alongside these, on the river side, runs the fourth kingdom, which is almost all islands, whose king is called Tora. The kingdom of the Logos penetrates into the hinterland more than 100 leagues, in which there are kings who owe obedience to Farma. The kingdom of the Bolons also extends along the coast to the North through the kingdom of Bure, Pogomo and Ilhas dos Idolos. The kingdom of Serra Lyoa is not only the Serra, which is large and very fertile, but also extends along the coast to the South as far as the kingdom of Bagrabomba, at which point the Malagueta Coast begins.

. . . . .

Generally speaking, the land of this Guinea has good air and is for the most part healthy, but no district more so than Serra Lyoa, in which it is like spring all the year round. Cacheu, where the leading

Portuguese of these parts dwell because of the abundant trade they have there, is unhealthy because the countryside is swampy and because the settlement is surrounded with water for its defence.

All the way along, this coast is broken up by many rivers and creeks which go inland many leagues, and therefore its kingdoms communicate with each other more by water than by land. Almost the whole countryside is covered with large /f.3/ forests, which make it fresh and green. In the woods there are lions, leopards, wolves, elephants, buffalo, wild boar, civet cats, roe deer, hornless deer, wild goats, monkeys, daris (which more closely resemble human beings than any other animal in the world, I believe) and many other animals not identified in these parts. There is also much timber, enough to build as many ships as desired, and for other major constructions. Among the woods available are to be found some dye-woods, the main one called camo being like Brazil-wood. There are many fruit trees and edible plants - citrus trees and others such as senna, tamarinds, wood yams, malagueta-spice of various kinds and a certain sort of smooth pepper. Throughout the countryside and along the rivers can be found birds in great variety, royal eagles, falcons, hawks, guinchos, parrots, doves, herons, ducks, ades, pelicans - so called but incorrectly -, storks and other birds not identified.

Agriculture is the main occupation of the people, and the women do the greater part of it. They cultivate much milho of various kinds, rice, sesame and other staple crops. There are large groves of palm-trees from which they make oil and draw much wine. There is much cotton from which they make cloths, some coarse and some very fine, which they dye with a plant which gives a dyestuff like indigo. There are many sugar canes which they plant to eat, and they have the means to form

sugar plantations and build sugar-mills.

There are large quantities of ivory, wax and hides, especially in that district called The Coast. There is much gold, with which the blacks buy the goods the Portuguese sell them, but this amount does not compare with the amount sold to the French, English and Dutch and the amount the blacks hoard in order to bury with them (when they die), especially the kings and lords. There are mines of various metals, especially iron, but the iron procured among the Soucos is better than the sort in these parts. All breeds of stock are found here, cattle, pigs, goats, and sheep. In the sea and rivers there are 'fish' in large quantity, crocodiles, sea-horses, manatees - called in Brazil 'ox-fish' -, and the best fish there is called coara, whose scales are almost the size of the palm of a hand. There are many shellfish and a very large quantity of common oysters, also another kind of oyster in which large pearls are found. In some parts they make much salt by boiling, and this affords the best commodity for trade in these parts.

All this I state in general terms and summarily, because I am waiting for letters which have to go to the other kingdoms where I am told that the ships are lying which are to go to Cacheo, so that from there they can despatch the letters to Santiago Island and thence to Portugal. Your Reverence will learn more from a letter which a Portuguese in these parts wrote to His Majesty, a copy of which I sent to the Padre Provincial last March. I have written to Father André Álvares and asked him to send the copy to Your Reverence.

Among these heathen the disposition to hear the fruit (of conversion) is eager in some, and not in others. It does not appear that there is any cure for those who have already received the sect of Mohammed but

one may have more hope of others who have only sniffed at this sect and still have idols they worship. And already the king of one of these peoples has given me his word that he will become a Christian and he wrote about this to His Majesty. But those most disposed to receive our Holy Faith are these kingdoms of Serra Lyoa and others neighbouring them, since they have not been informed about Mohammed and his religion, and since they have decent natives and the points of our Holy Faith will seem good to them. But they also have many difficulties, one of which is the position of (polygamous) wives, which I think the major difficulty. For they make use of wives in their fields and other tasks, as if they were slaves. And to the extent that any one of them attains to becoming an important lord, so he prides himself on having more wives. Hence there is a king who has over a thousand. Another difficulty is that they are much given to idolatry, and there is no house or road or other place in which they do not have many chinas, their idols, in which they believe and confide, as if these held in their hands what the idolaters seek from them. Another difficulty is that the country is divided into many kingdoms, and vassals are subject to their lords without whose permission no-one dare receive our Holy Faith. Another is that in only one quarter of the year are they in their villages; and for /f.3v/ three-quarters they are engaged in cutting the bush in the lands they are going to sow that year, because they always cut the bush anew, and in sowing the lands and in weeding and harvesting the crops. For this reason they make thatched huts there, in which they spend this period, and they leave empty the houses they have in the villages, which they generally build anew each year after they have finished harvesting the rice and other staple foods. Another difficulty is that unless the Coast is cleared of

the many pirates who go there, it will only with difficulty be possible for the Portuguese of these parts to be provided with the products of these kingdoms or to draw profit from these lands, (these) being the reasons that take them to them; for too often the products and profit

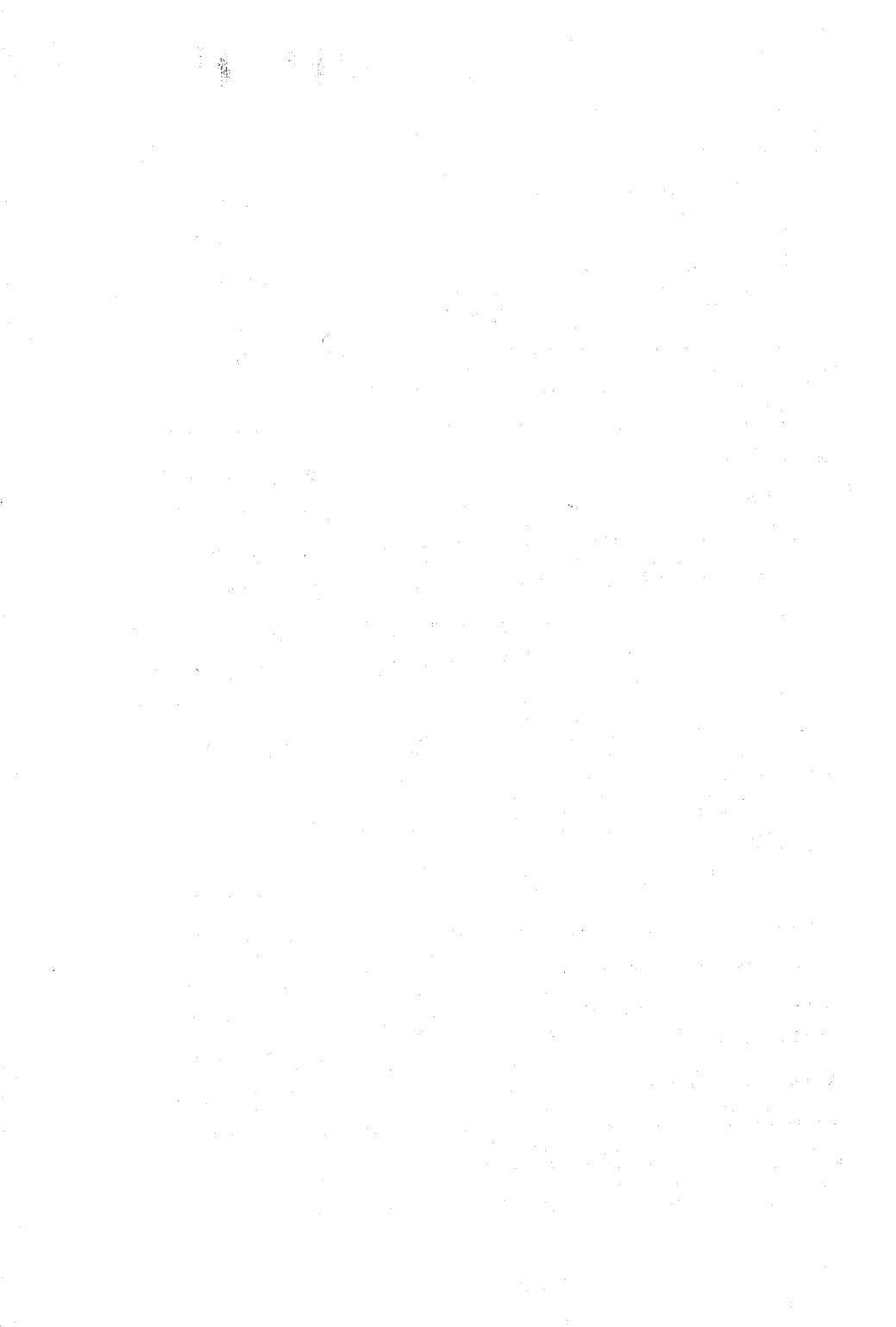
fall sooner or later into the hands of these pirates, who seize the ships even in these ports. Another difficulty is that all the kings of this Guinea recognise, as I have stated, superiors one above the other, up to the supreme ruler; and these Manes recognise those superiors of the same nation who are following them, up to the king who sent them out to discover and conquer new kingdoms, and they owe him obedience to such an extent that very reluctantly will they receive a new religion without his consent. Hence, after blacks from Bembrabona had come to this kingdom of Serra Lyoa, having been sent here in order to join in the wake at the death of the king's father, and were accompanied by a son of that king, the next superior to the one here who has become a Christian, I thought I detected in the latter some coolness towards the things of God. This made me wonder if perhaps (the visitors) had quarrelled with him because he had become a Christian without consulting his superior.

Despite all this, I am of the opinion that it is important to press on with the task, even though it goes slowly, for undoubtedly if the Society perseveres, with divine favour all these difficulties will be overcome. And the points of our Holy Faith will be established in these kingdoms, so that from them it can spread to many other kingdoms, to the great glory of God. For which end it will help greatly to build a fort in this Serra Lyoa, with the capacity to defend those converted to our Holy Faith and to resist anyone who injures them.

From this Port of S. Miguel in Serra Lyoa, 1 August 1606.

Of Your Reverence the servant in Christ,

Baltasar Barreira.







**14**

**15**





LETTER FROM THE KING OF PORTUGAL TO SEBASTIÃO FERNANDES CACÃO.Lisbon, 12 August 1606

(ANTT, Cartório Jesuítico, maço 68, n.18, f.1)

To Sebastião Fernandes Cacão, on behalf of the King.

Sebastião Fernandes Cacão, I the King send you many greetings. I gave orders to have sight of the notes you sent me concerning the damage that the black Bijagos are doing on that (part of the) Coast of Guinea and in the lands of the King of Biguba, who now with his vassals wishes to become a Christian, and I shall seek a remedy for this, to benefit God's service and my own. And because I am informed of the useful activities you are directing in my service, and of the attention you are giving to the task of removing the pirates from that coast, by means of your own ships, slaves and servants, and at the cost and expense of your own estate, I wish to signify to you through this letter of mine that I consider you in my service, and to encourage you to continue to defend those parts from the trade and theft carried out there by (our) enemies, since by so doing and by the enthusiasm you have shown in doing this up to now, I am well served by you. And my remembrance of this will be good reason to reward you. You will notify me about what you are doing in this matter, what you will be doing, and what seems to you necessary to do, so that I can order a due response on all points, and can send suitable aid to set at rest the minds of the King of Biguba, his vassals, and my own.

Written at Lisbon, 12 August 1606.

(The) King.



LETTER FROM THE KING OF PORTUGAL TO THE KING OF BIGUBA

(ANTT, Cartório Jesuítico, maço 68, f. 1)

Lisbon, 20 September, 1606.

To the very noble King of Biguba.

I, Dom Felipe, through the grace of God King of Portugal and of the Algarves, and from there beyond the sea in Africa, Lord of Guinea and of the Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, India etc., inform you that I saw your letter, and from it understood how very concerned you have been about matters relating to your salvation. I received great contentment from this and I trust in God that He will permit your good intentions to develop, in the direction you have already demonstrated them. I am having a letter written to Baltasar Barreira about all this, in the form that you ask me to do it, and I rely on him with regard to the other points concerning this matter that he will state to you on my behalf, assuring you that in everything that you need and seek from me I shall always be glad to please you and work for the extension of your interest.

Very noble King of Biguba, may our Lord always preserve your person.

Written at Lisbon, 20 September 1606.

The King.











Concerning the slaves that come from the parts of Guinea which are called Cape Verde.

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What can in general be said about the blacks that are bought and sold in this (part of) Guinea called <sup>(the Guinea of)</sup> Cape Verde is that no examination into the legality of their captivity is made, and no inquiries about it are made either.

There are two main reasons for this. One is that the masters of ships, in order to hasten their loading, take all the blacks that are brought to them, accepting their sale as sufficient proof of the legitimacy of their captive state, and holding this view {consider themselves} exempted from further inquiries. The other is that the kings and lords of these parts, in order to buy and possess the goods that the shippers bring from Europe, very commonly enslave blacks that were born and have always been free, without paying attention to the question whether to enslave them is just or unjust.

The shippers may say on their own behalf, that in general it cannot be denied that there exist in this Guinea reasons for genuine and legal captivity, such as those of ~~first~~ war and capital crimes. And as they cannot inquire into the justice of these wars and the truth of these offences, it is not right to blame them if some of the blacks they buy have been made captives unjustly; adding to this that it is not they themselves who usually buy the slaves for the ships from the natives, but Portuguese men who can speak the language and live in the land and who go further inland taking the goods with which they buy them;

and that the fact that the legitimacy of captivity is not inquired into, if it is a fault, should be blamed on these persons and not on the shipowners, and that they follow the usage that they found in the land, and that has always been practised since its discovery. And that since the Crown of Portugal collects dues on (the trade in) slaves from these parts, it is the Crown that has the duty to examine the justice or injustice of their captivity: because, if the shippers had to do this duty with each one of the blacks they buy, they would spend so much time in loading their ships that before they finished and could sail, the majority of the slaves would have died, as commonly happens when the delay is long, since they have to keep the slaves always in irons and they suffer many other inconveniences that cannot be helped.

On their behalf, the tangomaos - as are called the Portuguese that live in these lands of blacks and buy the slaves directly - can also say that it is not the custom in these parts that persons who buy slaves should inquire into the cause of their captivity. Nor would they dare to do it, since they would be in danger of being killed should they do so; moreover it is certain that, even if they asked, the answer would not be true, especially if the cause of their being enslaved was an unjust one. And accepting that there are some just causes, that is no reason to believe (their claim of a just cause) to be so, as lying is a natural thing to them. And if then someone says that the slaves themselves <sup>whom</sup> ~~that~~ the blacks are selling should be asked, it can be replied that these, if already where they cannot be returned to whoever sold them, will obviously say only what will help them to get their freedom. But if they are still where they can be sent back to the

sellers, they will not dare to deny that their captivity was a just one, since they know that, if they go back to the sellers' hands, they will be at once killed, hence, although one may ask them if they want an inquiry into the justice of their captivity, they will answer no, and instead will accept being slaves of whoever bought them.

This is what can be said generally on the subject, but in order that it may be better understood, I shall state in detail what are the practices of sellers and buyers of slaves in various kingdoms of this Guinea, so that the causes of the slaves' captivity may be seen and may be inquired into and so that a decision may be taken that will be better for the consciences of those who trade in these goods and of those who draw dues from them.

Beginning with these kingdoms of Serra Lioa, whose natives are called Sapes and which for about 55 years back have been subjected to the Manes or Cimbas who conquered them, having come from very remote parts to seek lands where they could live, because they no longer were contained on those lands where they were born. These Manes, although they had not been given any offence by this nation, and had no claim on it, entered its Kingdoms, killing and eating those that resisted them, especially the kings and leading people, and of those who surrendered, some they ate, others they chose as soldiers, and others they sold to the Portuguese, who in those times were going about these parts loading their ships, (the Manes) being satisfied with whatever they were given for the slaves. Those sold this way were many, because the Manes wanted mainly to sap the strength of this people, and reduce them to such a small number that they could not rebel against them. Some that escaped from their

hands, sought the protection of the Portuguese, begging them to collect them up in their ships, and into these ships came one of the more powerful kings of the land, with his wives, sons and chief subjects. They were rescued by the shippers, but afterwards, overcome by covetousness, the shippers enslaved them all, without exempting the king and his family. They gave the king to the Misericordia (Charity Institute) of Santiago Island, and the others they sold, but some years after a governor of this same island, having been informed about the (lack of) justice of this captivity, granted freedom to all those who wished it and who proved that they had been made captives in this way, although the king did not care to claim his freedom as he had by now become a Christian and preferred rather to live as a captive among Christians than to reign over heathens.

The Manes take those whom they have conquered as their slaves, alleging that they have earned them with their bows, but even so they usually do not sell them without a reason, either true or false, which will be understood from what we further say.

These kingdoms were now shared among the Manes, and the natives that had become their subjects in the war obeyed them; however they continued to make war on their neighbours, even as they still do, and those that they take (in war) they sell to the Portuguese. And although they have done less of this for the last six or seven years, in previous years when Farma, king of the Logos, whose kingdom goes more than one hundred leagues into the hinterland, was alive, they made so many captives in these wars and attacks, that usually there were from twenty to thirty ships loading slaves in the ports of these kingdoms. To these slaves the king further added some Gapes that had been condemned to death

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in their courts, or were wives and children or relatives of these malefactors. Thus, when they want to dispatch some ships and provide them with slaves, the means they use is to attack the lands of their neighbours, giving as reason that, (though) belonging to them by conquest, these neighbours do not want to obey them, and (they) use any fault as a pretext to arrest and sell the Gapes, the natives of the land.

Also, there are wars between the Mane kings themselves, arising from offences that some of them receive from others, and those made captive are sold to the Portuguese; and at other times, within a kingdom, one village fights another, and again they sell those captured, and afterwards the king approves the reason given by the attackers for their attack on the others, in consideration of the part of the loot he is given.

It also often happens that, when a black goes from his village to another, which is very common as they communicate with each other very much, if any individual of the village where he is going to has had any offence from him or from a relative of his, or from anyone else from his village, he lays hand on the visitor and carries him off to sell to the Portuguese, whether the offence be great or small, true or false, in order to palliate <sup>(or his relatives')</sup> his crime. Hence it appears that if the relatives of the man made captive and sold, want to free him from the Portuguese, they also lay hands on one or more blacks from the village of the one who sold their relative, or from another village which has committed the same offence, and they exchange these captives with the Portuguese for their relative, and thus, from one injustice many others follow.

There is also among these blacks the custom that when one individual who is not very powerful wants wrongs done to him by a more powerful individual to be redressed, he brings to the king's notice the offence that the other man has done and tells him that, since he cannot obtain satisfaction from him, because he is powerful, he gives this man to the king as a slave. The king accepts the offer, and after giving something to the one that has been offended, as an amend for the damage he has suffered, he lays hand on the man that offended the other, and on all his goods.

Also, if in one kingdom someone wants to kill a black, or if his lord ill-treats him, and (then) he runs away to another kingdom and throws himself at the king's feet or those of another lord and tells him that he is coming to ask his protection and to offer himself to be taken as a slave, he becomes his captive, even if he were free before, and (the king or lord) uses him or sells him; and the same is done within a kingdom, when the one that is subject or slave of a lord or of any Portuguese, throws himself at the king's feet or those of any other lord, and gives himself over as a slave, because they take it as a point of pride and honour to protect these (slaves).

There are other ways of enslaving in a legal way, as when it is proved that one black is a witch, or he confesses it himself; or that he has killed another with poison; or that he is intimate with any of the king's wives; or that he is inciting war against the king; or that he asks the chinas-(so they call their idols)-to kill the king, in which case if the king happens to fall ill, not only do they kill the delinquent or sell him outside the kingdom, and confiscate all his possessions, but they also enslave and sell all his relatives, for fear that any of them, in

revenge, also asks the chinas to kill him (presumably the king), <sup>This</sup> which is also done by subjects ~~both against~~ who are ~~lesser-chiefs~~ not kings.

In order to examine into these and other crimes when there is not enough proof, they seek help from the oath they call 'of the red water', 'red water' being made from the bark of certain trees and many other poisonous materials, and they make <sup>these</sup> ~~the~~ accused take a great quantity of it. If they (vomit and) throw it out of their mouths and do not die of it, they become free of the blame that had been attached to them, and the accuser pays them from his own property as much as the accused would have had to pay if it had killed them. But if they die, it is taken as proof that they committed the crime they were accused of, and they seize their property, children and wives. But there is some deceit in this, for when they do not want someone to die with this drink, either they make it mild, or they give him secretly a quantity of olive oil or some antidote, before (he drinks), or after drinking some herb <sup>(effective)</sup> against poison, of which there are many in this land; and when they want him to die, they strengthen the drink with some poison that will make him collapse at once, such as the gall of a crocodile. This is the reason why nobody can possess a gall without the king's permission, under pain of death, and therefore those who kill these reptiles are obliged to call witnesses at once to note that they took out the gall and threw it into the sea (sic).

They also make use of another diabolic scheme to blame those who they want (to blame) for anyone's death, either as a result of falling from a palm-tree, or of being wounded by a leopard, or bitten by snakes, or drowned in the sea, or as a result of any other accident, even when the cause of

death is an illness - whatever be the cause of death, they always attribute it to witches. So, then, four people take on their shoulders the body of the dead man spread on a wooden frame like a stretcher, and they run through all the village with it, until, on purpose - although they pretend the opposite - or guided by the devil as some people think, they touch, with the pieces of wood on which they carry the dead man, the house where those they want to blame live. This done, they order everyone who lives in that house to come out, and one by one they ask the dead man if this person is the one that killed him, and as they have him on their shoulders when they ask, if it is someone they do not want to incriminate, they bring it about so that the dead man shakes his head, as if saying that it is not that man, but when they reach the person whom they want to condemn, they see to it that (the corpse) lowers his head, as if saying yes. They then lay hands on this man, and if they do not kill him, they sell him and confiscate all his property, and sell his children and wives. They ordinarily use this scheme with the blacks they think are wealthy, to rob them of their property, and this is the reason why many, that could become rich, do not do anything and will rather live poor than acquire wealth that may be the cause of their death and the destruction of their ~~home~~ house and family.

The other kings of this Guinea also use these same schemes and methods to enslave people, and to these they add others, of which one is that if a king who has woods in which grow the local fruits, wants to buy some goods from the Portuguese, or pay for those he bought on credit, he orders a watch to be kept for those who, <sup>in order</sup> ~~come~~ to pick the fruits in his wood, <sup>come</sup> from the neighbouring kingdom, where

they have not got any, and his people rush on them and arrest them, and they give them to the shippers to whom they are in debt.

Another (method) is that the individual blacks deceive other blacks who come to their village, giving them food and drink and telling them that they want to take them to meet their friends, the Portuguese. And in this way they bring them along at night and (then) sell them to the shippers, with the promise that they will not denounce the shippers, and accepting whatever the shippers want to give them; and if anyone has doubts about buying them, because he knows that these blacks have been kidnapped, they state that if the shippers do not buy them, they will kill them at once, lest they be discovered, and this is what they do.

There are in these parts a nation of blacks called Bijagos, who live in some islands near the main land, each of which has its own lord without recognizing any other. These people make a living out of continual attacks on neighbouring kingdoms, and as they are great sailors, very courageous and skilled in arms, they have ravaged and destroyed all that coast, because it is cut up by many rivers and creeks, where they enter at night, and arriving at some village before morning, they set fire to the houses, which are made of straw. And so that those inside do not get away, they place themselves one at each door, with several poisoned spears in the left hand, and a single one in the right, and if the person that comes out does not come out with his arms crossed and throw himself at their feet, he is immediately run through, even if he offers no resistance. Those that surrender, they take to their islands, where they always find Portuguese ships awaiting their return

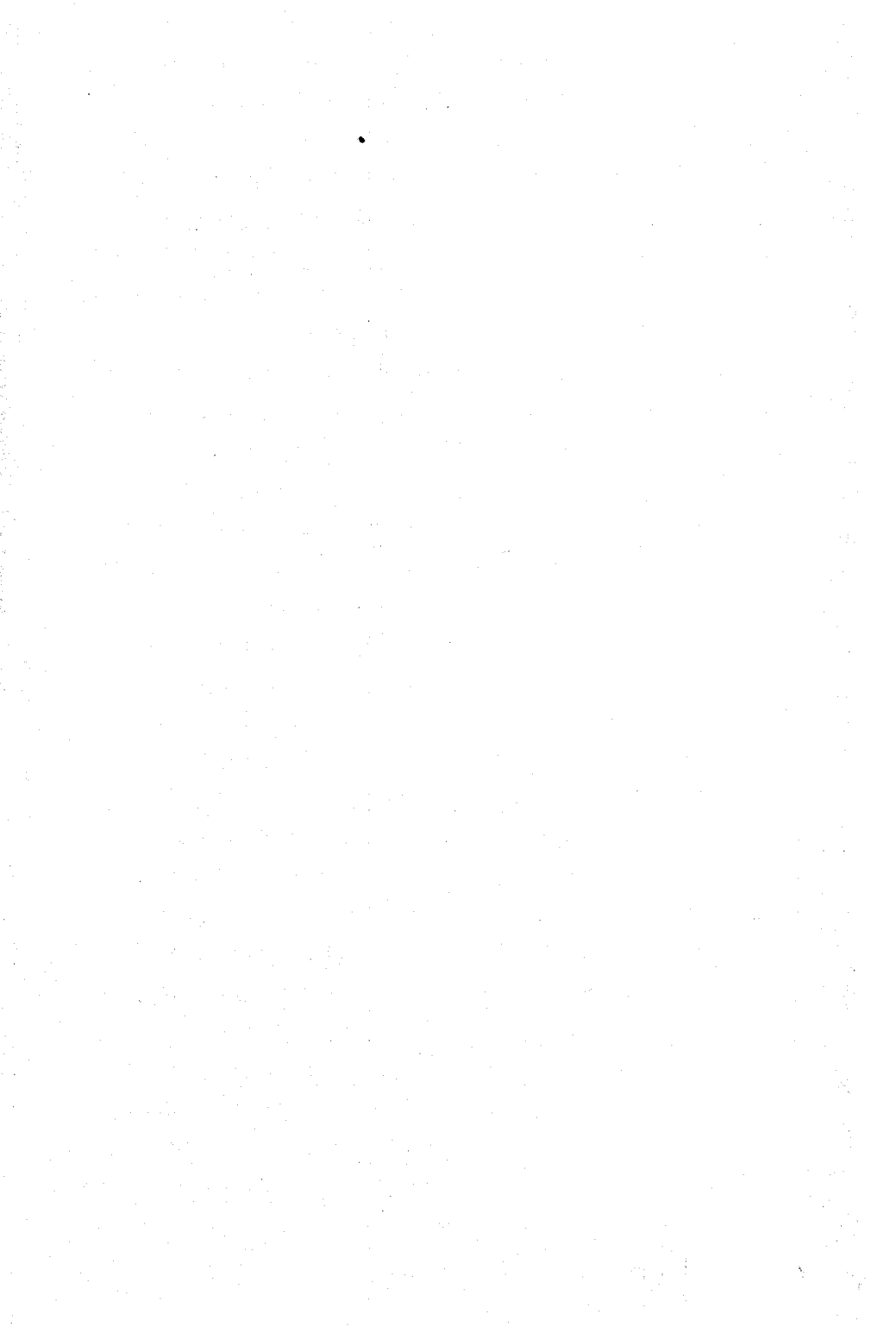
to buy the slaves, and this trade is one of the main trades of these parts.

There are also other ways of making captives that I do not mention because they have some similarity to previous ones, and so to finish this subject, I shall only touch on certain points that one must consider in relation to it. One is that among the Portuguese in these parts it has always been the practice for them to buy slaves from others, slaves which the Bijagos or other nations have made captives, or ~~who~~ run ashore, without those who formerly were their lords complaining about those who buy them, this being a sort of tacit agreement between them (the Portuguese) and the neighbouring kings even if the captives are their <sup>(the King's)</sup> own children, because they would rather see them in the power of the Portuguese than in that of the Bijagos, who eat them when there is no one to buy them.

Another thing that must be considered, is that from all these nations with whom the Portuguese trade and from others in this Guinea, they (the Portuguese) have received so many and such great offences, that it can be reasonably argued that the Portuguese Crown can justly make war on them and conquer them, unless they care to make good the losses they have inflicted, which they will not do nor can do, because of the large number of Portuguese they have unjustly killed and the great quantity of goods they have stolen, and the many vexing things they have done, to which one can add two customs they follow against reason and justice. One <sup>(such custom)</sup> is that all the kings of these parts, as soon as a Portuguese dies in their kingdom, lay hands on all his property and slaves which they claim as his heirs; the other is that they also seize all the ships that run ashore to escape a storm or a pirate, and make

themselves owners of all aboard, and this has happened often.

Therefore, seeing how many losses these nations have given to the Portuguese and the aggravating things they have done to them, and (seeing) that the Crown of Portugal may claim compensation for all this, it ought to be considered whether your Majesty can give permission to your subjects to buy henceforth, as a form of compensation, all the slaves from these nations that are sold to them, without inquiring into the reasons for their captivity; because I do not see how this trade can be carried on without scruple of conscience, if this (royal permission), or the reasons I pointed out at the beginning, do not make it permissible. And as for the slaves that up to now have been taken from these parts, seeing that the justness or otherwise of their being made slaves is a matter of doubt, and that "when in doubt, leave things as they are", it seems that nothing should be changed.











## CHAPTER VIII.

The mission to Guinea and Serra Leoa, and the fruits it bore.

In the previous account, dealing with this mission which was begun in the year 1604, we explained how, after the death of one of the three padres who went there, Father Manoel de Barros had stayed on the Island of Santiago, and Father Baltasar Barreira had gone with a brother to the mainland of the Guinea coast. Father Manoel de Barros remained on the island for some months, preaching, hearing confessions, and teaching the word, and was most successful in winning a large number of converts. And because he had known of the great need for instruction that existed among the inhabitants of the Ilha do Fogo, he resolved to go there to help them; but shortly after arriving on the island he fell ill and since God wished to reward him for his labours and the charity with which he served Him, He resolved to take him to Himself, totally forsaken of all human succour, but with great divine consolation.

Father Baltasar Barreira, after some months in Biguba, a Portuguese settlement and port on the Rio Grande, where his work was most fruitful, as much amongst the Portuguese as with the natives, set out alone for Serra Leoa, with the intention this (first) time of simply exploring the land and finding out how disposed it might be to the establishment of our holy faith amongst those savage nations, and then of returning (to Biguba). But he discovered such a mine and wealth of souls prepared to seek salvation that he felt obliged not to return but to send word of what he found there, and to write to His Majesty and to his superiors. He asked them to send companions to help him to proceed with that great and glorious harvest of souls that already was under way, and to help him with the gateway of such great width that was already opening to admit the Gospel. And since there is no better way of referring to the matter or explaining it than by means of his letter, I shall set <sup>it</sup> out here fully, /f.149/ in the very words of the old saint, which these indeed are, and in his style of writing which we cannot wish to be bettered. What the letter says is this.

LETTER FROM FATHER BALTASAR BARREIRA, FROM THE PORT  
OF SALVADOR, 23 FEBRUARY, 1606.

I was so late in getting to know about the ships which had come here this year, since they had gone to another kingdom, and are now all set to return, that for this reason as well as for the fact that I am kept busy by my work in the business of (men's) souls, I will not be able to

write another letter to tell your Reverence of the things which the Lord is performing in these parts. I will therefore be content with repeating in this letter what I wrote to Father Manoel de Barros in October 1605. And if I have time, I will add to it what also has happened between then and now.

I left Biguba for Serra Leoa on the 13<sup>th</sup> July with the intention of seeing how the kings of this region were disposed towards receiving our holy faith, and finding out whether the land was as wholesome and the air as fresh as I had been told, so that, in terms of what I discovered, I would be able to write and give an opinion about our presence in these parts. I decided to set out at this date because a launch, which was travelling to this country, was ready to sail. It seemed to me, from what I had been told, that I would be able to return before Advent and Lent, so that I could spend this time, or part of it, in Cacheo, which is the settlement with more Portuguese in it and with wider trade than any other in <sup>our</sup> Guinea, and (also the settlement) where there is most disorder and the greatest spiritual needs. However, since it was a season of contrary winds and currents, and since the launch, with its single deck, gave (protection against the weather), to those who boarded it, only up to the chest, we suffered a great amount of trouble and peril. Many days and nights we went without food since the continued rain and storms prevented us stopping, and thus we spent two and a half months on a journey which normally takes no more than five or six days. But some of this time we were at anchor in several ports, as I will explain presently. The principal cause for our halting in these ports was the lack of food. Also, when we reached some islands known as the Idolos, a Portuguese told us that in the Serra or (rather) in its estuary, there were some pirate ships which a few days before had passed through the islands. So one thing and another forced our pilot to take refuge in the port of a friendly kingdom named Pogomo. Here there was a man of these parts, Greek by nationality, /f.149v/ who was loading up with salt, which the people there produce by boiling and which is very valuable in these parts. This man gave us the same news about the pirates, because he too had recently come from the Idolos - where the launch, fearing that some of the pirates might pass by there, had landed in a place where only the grace of God saved it from being battered to pieces. We reached this port on the day of the apostle St. James (25 July). Presently the king of this country came to us,

though he might more accurately be termed a chief, since he was lord of few subjects and was himself subject to another great king called Fatema. He received us lovingly and gladly, and then had some houses made ready, where I could lodge whilst I was there. I told him it was necessary to make a church in the port, so that I could say daily mass while I was there. He accepted this with signs of contentment, and in the same spirit attended to the building until it was completed.

Construction was not a difficult task in this place because there was a great deal of timber available, and the whole building was covered with straw or foliage from palm-trees. The first night that I slept on dry land, the king heard us repeating the litany of Our Lady and the Catechism, as we used to do at sea. The next day he complained because we had not called on him to be present at these holy acts, as he called them. It was thus necessary to inform him each day thereafter, and he spent all his time on his knees like the Christians. When we made our confession, at the end of the service and struck our breasts he did the same. Similarly he always attended the masses which I said there, always standing outside the church and doing everything he saw the Christians doing inside. I gave him information about our holy faith, and he was becoming more and more attached to it; and he showed his desire to become a Christian. But he did not dare to do this until Fatema became one.

Here I heard the confessions of several Portuguese and administered the sacrament to them. Such Portuguese roam these parts like sheep without a shepherd, men turned wild whose way of life is more heathen than Christian, men who go many years without sacraments or mass, without hearing the word of God, even without remembering it.

On the sixth of August, compelled by lack of food, the whole population went to their farms and if they found any rice, which is the crop sown here, the continuous rain /f.150/ gave them no opportunity to pound it - we said farewell to the king and set out for the bar. The next two days we spent trying to get out of a large bay that lies before the bar, but no matter how many times we sailed across it, because the wind was against us we could never get beyond a headland which stretches out far into the sea. Hence, overcome by hunger, we returned to the port which we had just left. We stayed there another five days, during which time I went to several places to search for food, and with what I found, though it was only a little, we set out again for the same bay. When we raised the sail on the following day, we encountered such high seas and adverse winds that for the second time hope of being able to get beyond

the headland I mentioned virtually disappeared. Nevertheless, for two days we tacked close to the wind: the following night, as we sailed and turned, trying to press on forward, the rudder came off and fell into the sea, and being of heavy wood it sank to the bottom.

Many times I thought that all this had been devised by the devil, to avenge himself on me for having secretly removed from the house, in which the king gave me lodging and where he was in the habit of sleeping, certain objects provided by the devil for his worship, which objects I threw into the sea. But God is so very good. The next day, with all hope of recovery lost, sailing ~~and trying to steer~~ <sup>without a rudder</sup> a course by pulling on the sail we made our way past the headland, which we had never been able to do when we had a rudder. Sailing the length of Tamara Island, we passed the bar of a river and entered another kingdom called Bure, whose king is also subject to Fatema. Having been brought up with the Portuguese, this king understands and speaks our language quite reasonably. He received us gladly and hospitably. I explained why I had come there and asked him to have a church built for me where I could say mass, during the time that another rudder was being made for the launch, as this was the chief reason for our putting in at this port. He had this work carried out promptly and with great diligence, and was always to be found at mass, standing outside the church, and he never tired of exalting the points of our holy faith. I recommended to him that he should invoke the name of Jesus frequently, and because one of the Portuguese from our ship taught him to say "Jesus, in the name of Jesus, I renounce the devil", he would repeat these words many times. He would spend much of the night with the Portuguese and the ship's boys /f.150v/, learning Christian belief and showing a great desire to become a Christian. But I told him that when I had seen Fatema I would return to his kingdom, and would teach him when there was less haste, and would baptise him. I did this because I believe it is appropriate to begin (the conversion of a people) with its head.

We stayed there until 17th September, during which time the Greek mentioned above put into port with his launch, and after him, not knowing that we were there, some Portuguese arrived in a varina, a light vessel with sail and oars. Because they had to move on, I endeavoured to see to it that they immediately made their confession and received the sacrament. The former was achieved, but they did not manage the latter, because their time was so limited. However, we agreed that after I had reached the kingdom of Serra Leoa and they had returned there, they would do this.

I wish to state here what often occurred to me, that although I had come to these parts with the sole aim of hearing the confessions of the Christians to be found here, my coming and the labours of the journey were put to especially good use, since the confessions covered ten or twenty years, or in quite a number of instances, over thirty years or even a whole life-time spent "in medio nationis pravae" ("in the midst of a people of unclean lips", Isaiah 6:5), where no difference can be perceived between the practices of the Christians and those of the heathen.

When the new rudder was finished and had been fixed in place of the old one, we set out on 17th September, not without fear of finding thieves in the estuary of Serra Leoa, since some negroes had sent a warning that certain vessels had anchored a few days previously beyond a headland formed by the bay. And so both pilots agreed to enter (the estuary), not along the Serra, where the port in which the thieves anchor and take on water is situated, but on the other side, which is full of sandbanks and which is passable only to those who know the channels and times (of tides), and only in small boats. The calculation they made was that if any pirate launch attacked them they could either go beyond the sandbanks while the pirates had to make their way round the shallows to search for them, or else they could run ashore in friendly territory. But it was the Lord's will to deliver us from this danger. We reached the bay of the Serra on Saint Matthew's Eve (20 September) after night-fall, and the next day we approached the shallows so slowly that, if there had been any thief in the estuary, he could easily have confronted us.

/f.151/ We finally passed the shallows on the twenty third of September, with God's grace, and arrived at the port where there used to live a Portuguese named Bertolameu André, the leading Portuguese in these parts, from whom I intended to gain information about the country and how I ought to deal with its kings. We were told that he had moved from there to another of Fatema's kingdoms on the other side of the river. I resolved to go there; but in order to preserve the goodwill of the King of Serra Leoa, whom we were told was staying in a town in whose port lived the Greek who came with us, we sent him a message overland that we were going to visit him. He gave us a very warm welcome and in particular treated me throughout with great respect. I explained to him the reason for my coming to these parts; and he was very glad that it was on his lands that I had first set foot. Having listened to information about God, the King revealed to the Portuguese, in my absence, his

eagerness that I should remain in his kingdom, to teach our holy faith and to make him a Christian. Learning this, I told him that as soon as I had seen the Portuguese of whom I had spoken, I would return to his kingdom; and if he persevered in the desires he now showed, I had confidence in God that they would be fulfilled. To encourage him further I told him that he must meanwhile build a church in a place which I would presently indicate. He straightway gave the order to cut timber for it, and sent a message to those of his brothers and relations living nearby, inviting them to come to visit me and to be present during the building work, so that he could explain to them the satisfaction he felt at meeting me in his country, and his intention to become a Christian.

All of them immediately assembled in reply to this message, nevertheless I insisted on going first to the other shore, and with this intention I bade the king farewell, and left to board the vessel. After I had gone, the king made it clear to the Portuguese how extremely grieved and offended he was that I was leaving him. The pilot came to the ship to tell me what was happening, though not even this made me change my mind. But as we were raising the anchor to set off, I began to have qualms about losing the opportunity which God was offering me to convert this king and his kingdom. I told this to the pilot, who was overjoyed at my choosing to stay there. Then we went ashore, and he preceded me, to give the news that I was staying. All of them, and the king above all, received me with great /f.151v/ acclamation and signs of extraordinary joy. The king then ordered a proclamation to be made to the effect that the next day every person in the town must cut wood for the church. While this wood-cutting was being done, the king remained at hand, without being put off even by the heavy rain which falls at this time of year. On the Feast of the Archangel Michael (29 September), I said the first mass in the church, with the king and his brothers, in attendance outside, together with many other people. Before mass I baptized nine persons, sons or slaves of the Portuguese, who either already understood Christian beliefs or were very young. There then followed a sermon which I directed to the Portuguese who lived there, and to others who had gathered from elsewhere. I have kept up this (practice of preaching) on Sundays and holy days, because the Christians of these parts have great need for the word of God, and for light on those <sup>parts</sup> days which they must needs believe and perform for their salvation. In the evenings I add a spiritual lesson, for instance, on the sacrament of penitence or on the Four Last Things or on similar matters. Among the people of the

land who attend these sermons and exercises are some who understand our language reasonably well, and one of these is the king, because he has for long had dealings with the Portuguese: these people then explain to the others what they have heard. When I performed the asperges, and mass had been said, it is not easy to describe the praise and joy expressed by the king and his people, as well as by the Portuguese. They gave thanks to God for having made them; and for having sent me to that region so that they can see and hear such holy things, and can recognize the deceit and blindness in which till now they had been living. The king's desire to become a Christian was growing to such an extent that he pressed me with extraordinary fervour to baptize him soon. I explained to him what preparations were necessary for this, and so from then on I taught him the catechism along with others who came with him. Finally, - since this is the greatest difficulty for those of this region who are going to receive our holy faith - , I explained that it was necessary for him to select one woman as his wife and to put aside the others. He showed no hesitation in doing this. But he complained that he had not been told this at the beginning, so that he could have had the woman there by this time. For he declared that he could not marry any of the women he had had before, but must take as his wife the daughter of another king, his neighbour, whom he then sent for. I did not raise an objection since the marriages of these pagans are not legitimate (even) in terms of /f.152/ natural law.

The king's affairs and his conversion were in this state when I wrote the letter to Father Manoel de Barros; the ship which had brought me (and was to carry my letter) was leaving before the baptism of the king of this country. The baptism itself was deferred many days because of the slowness with which these people deal with matters, and because of delay on the part of those who went to fetch the woman the king was to marry. I wanted her to come, first so that I could teach her the catechism, and then so that I could baptize them both together and marry them afterwards. Meanwhile I went about the preparations, and the king grew in the knowledge of God and the points of our holy faith.

In the end they brought (the bride,) the king's daughter whom they had sent for, accompanied by an uncle, an elder sister and other persons. Then the king's brothers and many Portuguese assembled on a feast day, in the expectation that I would baptize the couple and then marry them. But I told them that first I must catechize the girl and prepare her for baptism. What followed was that when she was brought to me, and when we came to explain the Christian calling and the laws of matrimony to her,

both she and the relations who came with her found this strange and felt almost as if they had been deceived. They said that it had not been explained to them before they left their own country, nor did the girl's mother realize that she had been sent to marry under these obligations, but had thought <sup>that</sup> the marriage would follow the normal customs. They added, that until her mother had been told about this and had expressed an opinion, there would be neither baptism nor marriage.

This had everyone greatly perplexed, and it was regarded as an intervention by the devil to prevent God's work being carried out in this kingdom. The king held a meeting with his brothers, and with some of the Portuguese who were more conversant in their language. After a long consultation, he sent for me, and asked me, in all earnestness, to baptize him without waiting for the wedding. He gave many reasons for this, and he promised to live in chastity until married, according to the Law of Grace. At first I would not relent; but the Portuguese came to me and indicated so many difficulties which could arise if I did not comply with the king's wish to be baptized immediately, that I considered that to comply was God's will. Thereupon, the king, his brothers, and many other people came to where I was consulting with the Portuguese. One brother addressed me openly on the subject of the king's baptism and marriage, employing /f.152v/ such eloquence and strength of reasoning that I instantly announced that I was happy to do what they asked. I listed the promises the king would have to keep, reaffirming how he must proceed after the baptism, and his brothers gave their word that they would all become Christians. My announcement made everyone extremely happy, especially the king, whom they led back to his house to be dressed in the Portuguese style. Others who were got ready to be baptized with him included one of his daughters, aged nine or ten, and a sister who had been brought up with the Portuguese and who knew the Christian beliefs. When the church had been put in good order, the king arrived accompanied by all the Portuguese, and by his brothers and many other people of his country. I baptized him with the fullest solemnity and ceremony possible, giving him the name Felipe. Thus the Portuguese now call him D. Felipe of Lião (Lion) since he is lord of Serra Leoa (the Leonine Hills). It is important that Your Reverence pray to the Lord for him, with all fervour, because on this king's conversion, steadfastness, and good example depends the conversion of many kingdoms, especially those which are closest to Serra Leoa.

We waited so long for the reply to the message sent to the mother of the woman who was to have been the king's wife, and she herself seemed so unwilling to marry under the terms declared to her, that the king decided to send for another woman of equally noble status. She was brought here, I prepared her, baptized her, and married them, thus earning the great approval of the whole country. The marriage brought to the Portuguese joy, and to me relief at seeing this business off to a good start, after I had overcome the difficulties which the devil placed in the way, difficulties which were really greater than words can say.

Amongst those I have baptized are four of the king's children, a boy of five or six, a girl of nine or ten, and two boys of fourteen and fifteen. The latter are always with me and accompany me wherever I go. One of them especially, the eldest son, knows the Christian beliefs so well that he gives me considerable help in teaching them to others. Two brothers of the king were also baptized; and two other brothers and the king's aunt are about to be baptized. The aunt would have inherited the kingdom if she had been a man: despite her sex, she is so respected and obeyed that nothing of importance takes place in the kingdom without her knowledge /f.153/, to the extent that the king would never have dared to marry without her consent and without her attendance at the ceremony. After hearing about the works of God and after attending a baptism and the masses I said, she developed such an interest in our faith that she announced that she wished to become a Christian, together with her husband, who also insisted strongly on this. Since I knew that she was attending the wake for the death of her brother, D. Felipe's father, and was a leading participant, and since this wake was to continue until a whole year had expired, I told her that if she and her husband came to the town in whose port we had our house, and listened carefully to the divine news, I would baptize them as if they were fully prepared. She replied that she was unable to leave the wake for her brother as she had to receive the people who came from various parts to lament for him, but that after this was over, she would do as I said. When the inhabitants of this kingdom go to war, this woman always travels in the rearguard with her bow and quiver, and with a club in her hand; and if any man turns back, she makes him carry on forward, by striking him (with her club).

Having mentioned the death of the former king of this land, this woman's brother, I should not omit to say that his other children and the people of the kingdom intended to kill certain of his wives, known as chinas, and some servants, in order to bury them with him, as is the custom of all the kingdoms of Guinea. D. Felipe told them that he was now a Christian, and that according to what I had told him this was against God's law, hence he could not permit it. His words were sufficient to stop them making this sacrifice to the devil. The king, D. Felipe's father, must have been some hundred and thirty years old. I did not baptize him, because the poison which was administered to him, so it is believed, because he was very <sup>strict</sup> ~~severe~~, caused him to lose his senses completely and remain so until his death. In this and similar controversial matters, D. Felipe has set a fine example, greatly to the glory of God.

Lest it appear that this king resolved too hastily to become a Christian, and that the fervour with which he requested baptism had no foundation, apart from divine (intervention), I will explain /f.153v/ here how God used as an instrument for this conversion the king's chief wife, who was a Christian and had been brought up amongst Portuguese. As soon as she saw me in this kingdom and understood the evil condition she was living in, she determined to <sup>set herself apart from</sup> ~~leave~~ it straightway. Because the king had great confidence in her, she began to act towards him like a preacher, telling him many things about our holy faith and about the blessings which God bestowed on her. She said that if I stayed in his kingdom to teach and baptize him, that she would urge him, or God would urge him through her, to make me do what I had declared I would do at the beginning of this (letter).

When I said the first mass in this port, there happened to arrive the eldest son and heir of a king called Tora, whose kingdom is on the other side of an arm of the sea between this kingdom and that. His excuse for coming was to visit the captain of our ship, a friend of his; and he dared to come, even though he was persona non grata with the king, (of Sierra Leone), on account of certain wars there had been between them, because I was there, believing that out of respect for me no ill would befall him. When the king saw him and became agitated, I explained that if he wanted to be a Christian it was necessary to forget all past grievances and wish everyone well. Then the king calmed down, made the visitor welcome, and treated him properly. The latter attended the mass and the baptism, and heard the sermon I delivered, which, as he understood our language well, he afterwards repeated to some Portuguese who had not heard it. When he

returned to his father's kingdom, he praised what he had seen and heard so highly that the old man, according to what I was later told, could not believe that it was quite as his son had said. However, when some of the Portuguese who live in his country and who had attended the mass and the other services, later, went there and told him exactly the same, he could not cease raising his hands to heaven and praising God. And since they had told him that I took nothing (for my ministrations), he asked time and again if this was so; and when they affirmed this again, he said, "This padre, yes! But not the others who came here, who dealt in slaves and all other goods, just like the other Portuguese!" He was not mistaken in this observation, for the priests who came /f.154/ to these parts never carried out their priestly mission: they neither said mass nor concerned themselves with anything other than buying and selling.

This king is one of the Gumbos, or Manes, who conquered these kingdoms, and he must be about a hundred years old, although he is so fit that he looks forty or fifty. He is considered by all to be the wisest and best informed king of these parts, so that nothing of moment is done by the neighbouring kings without consulting him. He is very friendly with the Portuguese and has had them in his country for many years back. ~~All these~~ All those coming from his kingdom gave me great hope that he would receive our holy faith. He sent men to call on me and congratulate me on my coming, and he asked me to comfort him with a visit as soon as possible. I sent the reply that I had every hope of doing this. His message came after the baptism of king D. Felipe, to whom he sent the same ambassadors to say that it seemed to him that the king had done well to become a Christian, but that he begged him not to marry only one woman. D. Felipe's reply was that if he was not yet married it was because the woman he had sent for had not yet arrived, but that Tora should regard him as already married because as soon as she did come he would take her for his wife in the Christian fashion.

After this I came to a port where Bartolomeu André has his house, and from which it is easy to reach Tora's kingdom (all this region is interspersed with coastal inlets, creeks and rivers, and therefore trade and relations between its various kingdoms are facilitated). I went there to celebrate Christmas, since it was more convenient for this than the other places where we had churches. I sent word to Tora, and he was also told by the Portuguese who were with him, that this festival was extremely important to Christians; and I asked him if he would like to come to the festival to see the things of God, as he had desired, since there was no

church in his kingdom in which he could see them. He was very pleased with the message and sent to tell me that he would do just that, as he did: he arrived on Christmas Eve with his sons /f.154v/ and many other people, to the sound of loud native music. We had decorated the church very well for these parts, the altar bearing the finest ornaments I had brought from that kingdom and a dossal of green damask which Bertolameu André had had made for me. The altar also bore the portrait of Our Lady of the People, with pendants and taffeta roses. On one side was a large (image of the) Child Jesus on a gilded pedestal, and on the other an embossed crucifix, four candlesticks and two tapers. The walls and floor were covered with greenery. The whole enclosure was lit up when the king came in. We all fell on our knees, and so did he. He remained kneeling for a long time without uttering a word, and was so astonished that he showed the amazement which all this had inspired in him, merely with his hands and other gestures. After he had seated himself in a chair which he was given, he continued to stare at the images and the altar, so overcome with joy that he inspired us all. At midnight I said the first mass, and then the others at the appropriate times, and he listened to these from outside the church. But Bertolameu André, who accompanied him, first explained the reason (why he was not admitted), so that he should not be offended. He told him, and repeated many times, that everything he had heard and perceived concerning the things of God and our holy faith were mere shadows in comparison with what he would <sup>(now)</sup> see. After this I performed a baptism which he also attended, and through these events God moved him to desire holy baptism himself. He declared his intentions, and nominated Bertolameu André as his godfather. I instructed him (as best I could) considering the short period of time available, and we agreed that we would go to a certain island in his kingdom, where some Portuguese live and where he takes refuge in time of war because it is a stronghold, and there we would choose the site and location on which he would have a church built. So this is what we did in the next few days. When the site had been selected, Tora fervently set about having the church built, and he ~~included~~ <sup>added</sup> two houses in which I could lodge. The way these people build churches and houses is this. They drive poles into the ground so close together that they touch each other, then they fix them securely to a pole which goes along the top, and daub clay on each side in such a way that it cannot be noticed, and there it is, /f.155/ a good, true wall. They then coat it with a clay which is so white that the wall seems whitewashed. The roof is either straw or the leaves of a certain palm tree.

When I proposed to embark so that we could return and I could go to the kingdom of Serra Leoa, Tora gave me one of his sons, aged twelve or thirteen, to keep beside me and to teach and bring up as a Christian. God be praised to see how these children take to our customs, the keenness with which they learn the Christian beliefs, and the respect they show. When later I returned to Tora's kingdom, he gave me another son, a year or two older than the other, and so now I have with me two of his and also two sons of D. Felipe, King of Serra Leoa. I am also expecting any day now another boy the same age as these, the son of a great lord who holds the kingdom of Fatema, the ruler whom I mentioned at the beginning (of this letter). Because this ruler is still a youth, he permits an older man, his uncle, to govern with the title of king: the people of these parts are fearful when minors succeed to the throne, lest they be poisoned and killed. Apart from the Catechism that these children are learning, I am also teaching them to read, and they are applying themselves with great care to this. In addition, they carry out any duties willingly, and vie with each other to do them well, because they value this (discipline) highly, as they do the understanding and speaking of our language. I pray to the Lord that He will be well served in the future by these children who now are being brought up in this way. And already this is happening: their example and what they repeat about our holy faith is leading others to ask for holy baptism.

As Tora resolved to be a Christian, I straightway told him that he must choose one woman to marry, according to the law of grace, because I had to baptize them together and marry them. And he did this, despite his having advised D. Felipe to the contrary, as I have already stated. He chose a sister of the same D. Felipe, a very prudent and capable lady, greatly devoted to the things of God. She had been Tora's chief wife for many years and they had always lived in peace and harmony. The baptism and marriage are only delayed now because of Lent, during which season the pomp and ceremony which Tora desires cannot be performed. So we have put it off until after Easter. I request that Your Reverence pray to God for him, because the conversion of this king is of great importance.

The King of Bena, a territory eight or nine days away, travelling by sea and by land, is ruler of seven kingdoms and very powerful /f.155v/ in these parts. He has written to me to ask most earnestly that I should go and baptise him, since there is nothing on earth which he desires more. This has come about in the first instance as a result of his being brought up with Portuguese before he became king, and his keeping company afterwards with several who taught him the Catechism and gave him some

information about our holy faith. I was intending to go there after Easter, and Bertolameu André has had a schooner prepared to carry and escort me on this undertaking. But, in order not to abandon these two kings and sever the threads of faith which Our Lord is weaving in these parts, I cannot do this until Your Reverence provides me with someone who can stay with them in my place. The harvest is rich; and the willingness to receive our holy faith Your Reverence can now perceive. All that remains is to ask Our Lord and Your Reverence ut mittat operarios ('to send labourers into the harvest').

I remind your Reverence that I have been in these parts for such a long time without anyone to hear my confession or comfort me, and that I need someone to help me in this labour of conversion, though it does not call for a high level of education. In Biguba and those parts the foundations have been laid for a spiritual edifice, hence it will be of great importance to have one of our priests living there to carry on the work. From there he can go to Cacheo where spiritual needs are very great.

This land is the most healthy and has the best air that I have so far known, either in Europe or anywhere else I have been, and this at all times of the year.

Bertolameu André writes to His Majesty about the character of the land from the wide experience he has of it, as Your Reverence will see in the copy of the letter I am sending with this. And if we are to remain here, where I am certain that the Society will do great service to God, our chief station could be nowhere better located than in Serra Leoa. If His Majesty turns his attention to these kingdoms, interest will doubtless become so great that in a few years time many Portuguese will settle here, as in Brazil and India, and many priests will come to the kingdoms, motivated by personal interest. And the Society can then, if it wishes, hand over these lambs to their shepherd, or it can continue what has been begun, according to what it considers to be the greater glory of God and the good of souls.

I commend myself sincerely to the blessing of Your Reverence and to your/His holy sacrifices. From Porto do Salvador in Serra Leoa, 23rd February, 1606. Baltasar Barreira.

## LETTER FROM D. FELIPE, KING OF SERRA LEOA.

TO HIS MAJESTY.

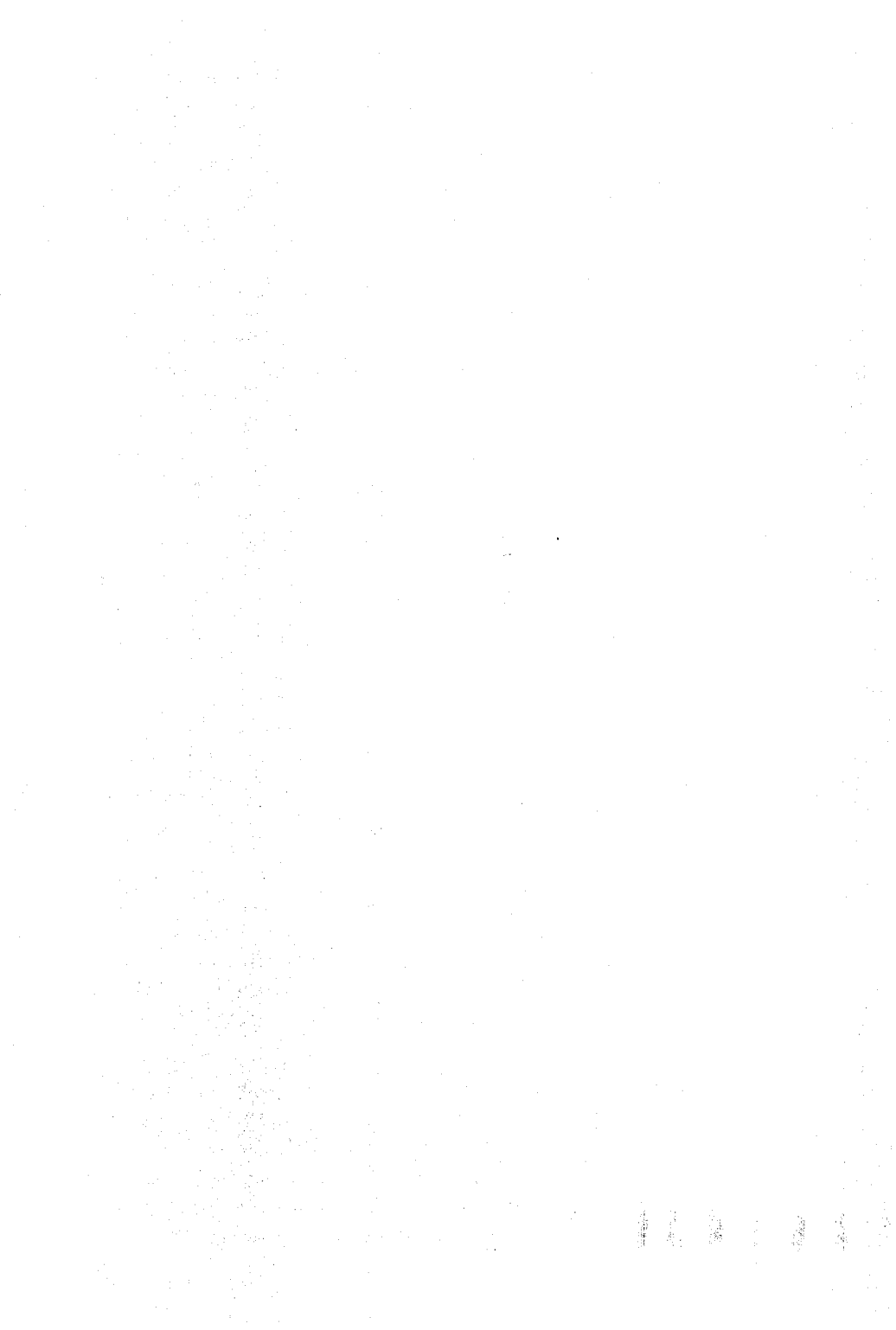
I, Dom Felipe de Lião, King of Serra Leoa, give great thanks to God Almighty, maker of heaven and earth and of all things, for the great privilege given to me in freeing my soul from the darkness in which it was, and enlightening me so that I could know and receive His holy faith. And I also give thanks to Your Majesty for sending me someone who could declare the falseness of the idols in which I believed and the truth of the Christian religion; who could baptize and marry me, and from a son of the devil make me a son of God; and who could do the same for my brothers, children and subjects.

I value the padre so much that when he goes to other kingdoms to teach and convert other kings, my heart grows sad /f.156/ without him, like the traveller when the sun becomes hidden or leaves him in darkness in the middle of the forest. The padre is alone and cannot visit all the many districts of this land. I ask Your Majesty to do the honour of sending others of his order to help him carry the fire of heaven, with which my kingdom is now inflamed, to other kingdoms, so that the true God may be known and worshipped by all. My kingdom is very large, and the land is very healthy and fertile. I desire that many of Your Majesty's subjects should come here to cultivate and use the land and its products; and that, in order to live safely, they should build a fortress in the estuary of the Serra where thieves, <sup>the</sup> enemies of God and Your Majesty, arrive and anchor, and take water, and from where they set out to rob Your Majesty's subjects and their trading vessels.

To all Your Majesty's subjects who come to my kingdom I will give the welcome due to anything proceeding from Your Majesty, whom I ask to continue this undertaking now started. May God our Lord give Your Majesty as many years of life as there are grains of sand in the sea and stars in the heavens: so that we all may live under your shadow and protection.

From my kingdom of Serra Leoa, 25th February, 1606.

D. Felipe de Lião.



20 February 1606

Sir,

I have not previously informed you of what I am doing here, since none of us who came to these parts were intending to stay permanently here. But now, thanks be to God Our Lord, He has brought here padres of the Society of Jesus and by means of them has converted certain kings, one of whom is the king of this Serra Leoa, together with some of their brothers, sons and subjects. Seeing how well this enterprise has begun and the hopes that exist of extending our holy faith into many other kingdoms, and since the products of this land make it suitable to be settled by subjects of Your Majesty, we now regard it with different eyes. This induces me to declare to Your Majesty what I know about the land, which is, that if Your Majesty resolved on this conquista, it would be easy to bring it about so that Your Majesty's treasury would gain more advantages than by the conquista of Brazil or any other famous conquista. At the very least this land has one advantage over all the others, in that it can be reached from Portugal in twenty days or less; it follows that with little preparation not only this coast could be made secure but also that of Malagueta which neighbours it, and that of Mina; and the conquista would prevent the great loadings of gold, ivory, wax, malagueta pepper, hides and other products which the Dutch and other pirates make on these coasts, and the continual losses which Your Majesty's subjects suffer from them when they seize on each section of the coast ships laden with slaves and other goods, and (thus) disturb the trade of your subjects which reduces what is due to Your Majesty's treasury.

For this reason I will point out various things and will say first, so as to be brief, that in this land there is much gold of a very fine quality, since in all the districts where the subjects of Your Majesty trade they buy gold from the blacks of the country, in the form of bracelets and ornaments, and they would buy more if the kings and lords did not keep it by them to bury with them, which is done for reasons of grandeur. And much of this gold is lost since the deaths of some of them are so sudden that they have no chance to declare where they have hidden it, as happened about two years ago in the case of the King of the Bulloms, the neighbour of this kingdom of the Serra, who is known to have buried a great quantity of gold for this purpose, and because his death was sudden and he could not state where he had hidden it, it was lost. But all this gold is little compared with that which the foreigners annually remove from the coast between here and Mina. For, not to speak of other nations, a reliable Fleming admitted to me that the official ships from Holland by themselves take away 2,000 arratels of gold

on the average each year, apart from the gold which individuals carry off secretly. Another man said much the same, to the effect that each year the traders of that province (of Holland) sent four large ships, very well armed, each with two or three launches. And when I said that in earlier times so much gold could not be procured in these parts, he replied that nowadays, as the blacks of the coast knew that these ships were coming to trade for gold, they made more effort to find it and fetch it, in order to sell it to the Dutch when they came; and hence, as soon as they knew there were ships on the coast, they immediately came out to them in their canoes and sold them the gold they brought.

For the greater convenience of the trade, the Dutch in past years wished to construct a fort and trading-post at the bar and entrance of this Serra Lioa (River); but because I told the king of the Serra, who now he is a Christian is called D. Felipe de Lião, that if he agreed I would have to leave his kingdom, and I added other arguments, he rejected the proposal, and they returned to another fort which they had built and garrisoned further along the coast, at Cape Mount, and they are now such lords of the land that they have established sugar plantations. But since I realised the damage that could be inflicted on Your Majesty's treasury by the existence of this fort and trading post, (I did this). The same Flemings returned here to trade and brought with them two sons of the king of that cape, who carried a message from the king to D. Felipe to the effect that he should not permit any harm to be done (to the Dutch) because they were his 'guests' - this is what they call foreigners who live in their lands -, a message which they had obtained (from the King of Cape Mount) because when they were sent away from here they had feared that we would do them harm. Seeing the opportunity, and since D. Felipe did not wish me to quarrel with these people in case he fell out with the king (of Cape Mount) his neighbour, I arranged special treats for the king's two sons, and through them I sent gifts to their father and a message suggesting that he should watch what he was doing, since these people were plotting to take his land away from him before he became aware of the danger - which would be when he entered their fort, and they required him to leave his weapons outside, and only allowed him to be accompanied by three or four men. The king was convinced by the message I sent him, and pretending that he was going to war with one of his nephews, he asked (the Dutch) for men and a longboat, in order to travel by sea, and those who went to the war they killed, and in the same way by guile they killed those who stayed in the fort, apart from two or three who escaped in a lighter. I report this so that Your Majesty may appreciate the position the Dutch have gained in relation to

the trade of these parts, a position they would not have sought if the trade and the profit drawn from it had not been so large, (as indeed they must be) since they carry off, as well as the gold I have spoken about, great quantities of ivory, and malagueta, which they employ in their dyes, and other products of the land.

My information about the gold which these and other pirates carry away from the coast between Serra Lioa and Mina is that the whole hinterland of this coast provides gold in the same way as it does at Mina. But, to return to the gold which the subjects of Your Majesty trade in within the lands and kingdoms neighbouring Serra Lioa, what we know about it is that it comes entirely from Concho, a kingdom distant from here about eight or ten days journey; and if it is true what everyone says, especially those who travel to that kingdom, the country must be abundantly provided with the metal, since no-one may work a larger area of earth (looking for gold) than that which lies on the terrace of his house. This gold passes through the kingdom of Bena, which is the nearest kingdom to us, from whose king Father Balthasar Barreira has received a message saying that he wishes to become a Christian; and the padre has informed him that when Lent is over he will go there to instruct and baptise him. With all haste I have made ready a schooner to carry him there and to aid him on this enterprise, which I hope will prove of great service to God and Your Majesty.

The gold which is traded on the coast between this province of the Serra and River Senegal, and which falls into the hands of the pirates, Your Majesty could obtain information about from the Portuguese who travel in these parts. What I know is that it is traded throughout, and that to a certain port on River Gambia, in the time when the Portuguese could sail in these parts in greater security than they can now, there used to come each year a caravan of blacks bringing nothing other than gold (and that) in large quantities to sell to them.

I cannot say definitely that there is silver in these parts for we have not come upon it. But a story circulates to the effect that in Rio Nuno, not far from here, where the Portuguese go to load dyestuffs, one Araujo, a goldsmith, used to live, and along the river he discovered veins of silver, and he built a foundry in the forest so that it would not be seen by the blacks. And from the silver he procured, he made bracelets which he sold. But because he feared that the blacks would eventually learn about this and would kill him, he went to Rio Grande where he died without revealing the location of these mines.

There is also amber here, in quantities unequalled by all that found in Brazil. There is much ivory, so that if what the foreigners carry off came into the hands of the Portuguese and was brought to Portugal it would add greatly to Your Majesty's treasury. The quantity of wax in these parts can be seen in the customs books of earlier years, before other nations came here. I myself have obtained in the Gambia 200 quintals in one year. As for hides, all I can say is that on average the foreigners obtain annually on the coast which begins at River Senegal 40,000 hides, and it is said that to support this trade and the trade in other products of the coast they have built a fort and trading post in the Bay of Bezeguiche.

But to deal particularly with Serra Lioa and the kingdoms neighbouring it, the climate of these districts, especially that of the hills (serra) is so kindly, and the country so healthy that I know no land which is better, taking into account all seasons of the year. What I say of the serra applies only to the foothills, for we do not know whether the higher parts are inhabited, only that it is reported that in deep valleys lying between the mountains there are settlements of Sape blacks who fled there when the Simbas or Manes conquered these kingdoms.

Sugar-cane grows in this land, and there are many streams which could power sugar-mills. Cotton grows well, and excellent timbers are available in such quantities that any number of ships that was required could be built here annually. Certain trees provide an oakum for caulking vessels regularly at sea, which is much better than ours, for the material remains fresh and never rots. And from the same substance better gun-cotton can be made than any available in Europe. There are also various natural gums such as anime and caranha, and another which the blacks call caca which we use to tar ships when we have no normal tar. Apart from palm-oil which is the oil commonly used in Guinea, there are various trees whose fruit gives oil: one of these oils is bitter and can be used as tar or caca, and another is edible and resembles the oil used in Europe. If someone who knew how to forge iron were to come here, there is much ore of fine quality which could be used. Apart from the timbers mentioned, there is much red dyewood, both in the Serra and on the coast beyond it. I need not speak of the citrus trees, except to say that the forests are full of them. It is believed that the land would be suitable for vines and anything else planted there. In the Serra there are loadstones which have been tested and found genuine. In a stream which emerges from the Serra there are great quantities of oysters, bigger than the common ones, and in these can be found very large pearls which, if the blacks would take them out before roasting the oysters, would be worth much. I have obtained a number, of which only one was

taken from an oyster which had been not baked but boiled, and was clear, and the size of a good button. I had another from a baked oyster which was as large as the egg of a pintassilago (siskin) but lacked lustre because it had been in contact with the fire. The blacks say that in the Serra at night an animal moves around throwing out a strong light. Our people believe that it is the 'carbuncle', and if it is, it cannot be the only one. As regards saltpetre, if Your Majesty requires me to speak truthfully, there are great quantities in many parts of this coast. In the Kingdom of Bena, to which we are going to make our way, there exists a serra said to be of crystal, but more likely it contains veins of crystal, and from it some large and transparent pieces of rock either are obtained (with tools) or fall away themselves, and these pieces the neighbouring kings use, making their sacrifices over them.

All these lands are very fertile, and if this kingdom lacks abundance of cattle and of all other things necessary to life, it is not because they cannot be produced here, as well and better than in any other part of Guinea which has them and produces them abundantly, but because of the feeble efforts of the native blacks who neither care to raise cattle nor wish to cultivate crops other than rice, and even rice they grow in such small quantities that normally they do not have enough for the whole year. The trees from which ~~is~~ is gathered all the cola the Portuguese carry Northwards grow only in this Serra and in the neighbouring lands, and not in any other part of Guinea. Each year seven or more ships come here because of the excellent profit in this trade, since the fruit is very highly prized by the Mandingas and other nations.

In the desire that Your Majesty should turn his attention to this land and bring it to the condition where not only would the natives be converted to our holy faith but the land would become more profitable to Your Majesty's treasury, the matters raised in the following recommendations may serve to that end.

(1) That there should be in these parts a governor separate from and independent of the governor of Santiago Island, because if this independence is lacking there are many reasons for believing that the project will never go forward. Meanwhile a Captain of the Coast could serve, a man who devotes himself to the service of God and Your Majesty more than his private interests, and a man of such qualities that he would be more loved than feared, both by the Portuguese and by the natives, for in the beginning that is what is required.

(2) That the governor who comes should have his residence at the cape or bar of Serra Lioa, where he could easily prevent pirates from passing to the kingdoms that lie within and could block the watering-place to the pirates who go there and then make their way towards the Malagueta Coast, Mina, Brazil, the Indies and other parts. And until this can be done and if it is necessary, I propose to station myself in this location, in order to serve God and Your Majesty, and with divine favour to defend it, if Your Majesty can send me a supply of cannon and munitions, and up to 50 soldiers with provisions for their maintenance. .

(3) That the governor of Santiago Island should allow those who wish to trade or dwell here to come freely to these parts, and to obtain from Santiago and the other islands, at least in the early years, the foodstuffs and other goods which are required here and can be spared there, and to load cargoes of salt which is the commodity which could most easily (be traded) to support the garrisoning of these parts.

(4) That craftsmen with equipment should come to this country to build a number of small galleys, which would be rowed not by forced labour but by hired men, unless use can be made of blacks taken in legitimate wars or otherwise justly enslaved.

(5) That labourers with equipment to cultivate the land should be sent to these parts and especially to this kingdom of Serra Lioa, since, as I have said, its natives sow scarcely enough (rice) to last them through the whole year.

(6) That word should be sent, on behalf of Your Majesty, to the islands in which there are many poor but honourable people, to say that if any of them wish to come to settle in these parts they will be given their passage and provisions.

(7) That while there is no governor in these parts, order should be given that men of great influence and good understanding should administer justice in these parts where there are subjects of Your Majesty, with sufficient powers for this end, and that, in this or another way, the Portuguese, <sup>who</sup> are scattered about and who live among the heathen should be obliged to make their regular residence in the places of most concourse, especially where there is a church, with liberty to go elsewhere on business.

(8) That in proportion to the increase of population so churches should be built and benefices provided.

(9) That when matters are more settled, there should be sent to these parts a bishop independent of the bishop of Santiago Island and that in the meantime there should be (appointed) some ecclesiastical personage with the powers of the governor in spiritual matters.

(10) That miners should come here, both gold-miners and silver-miners, and men who know how to forge iron.

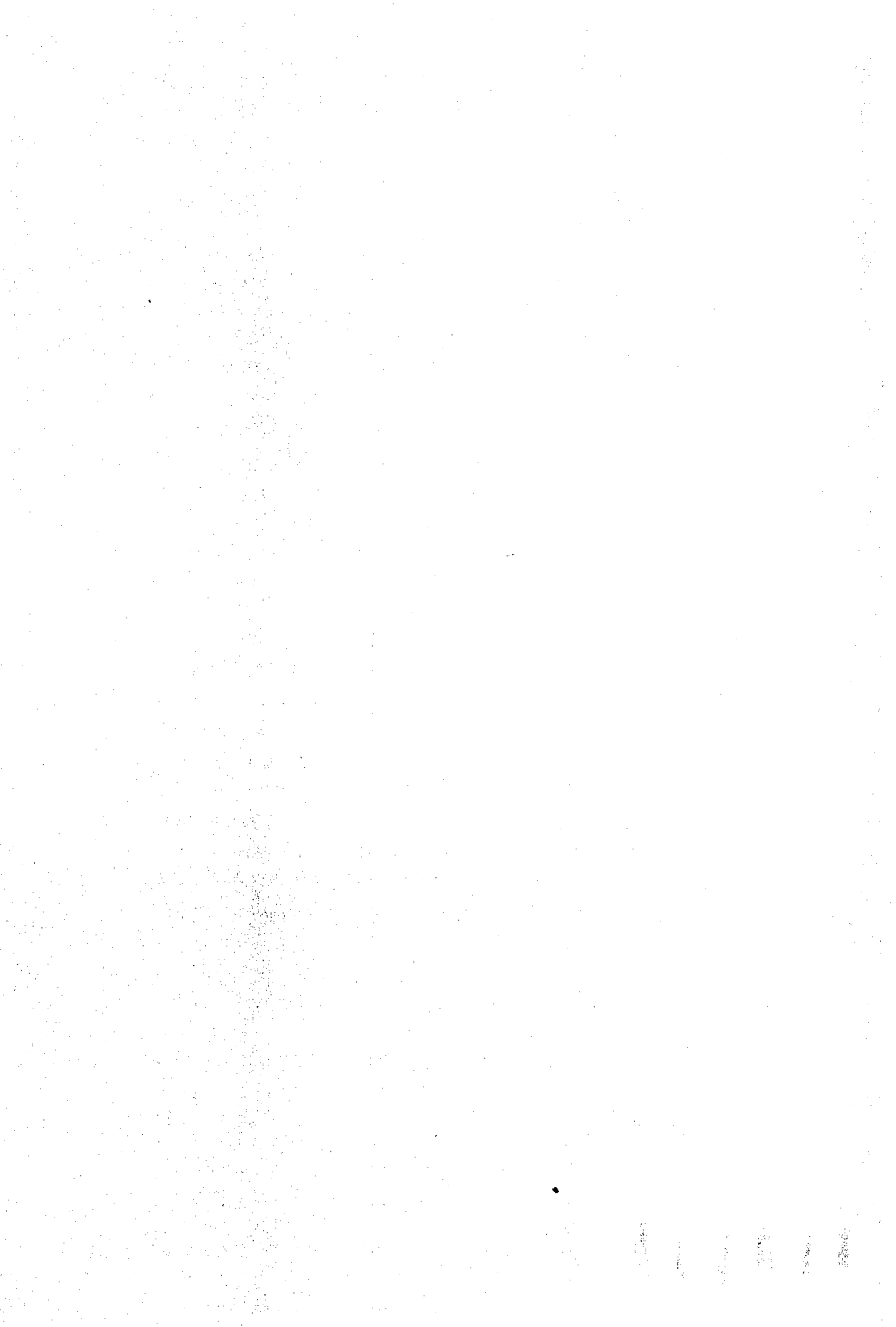
(11) That, if in due course it should turn out to be convenient, the governor of these parts should be also governor of Mina, so that he can clear the whole coast (of pirates).

(12) But above all I must not fail to point out that possibly the easiest way of carrying out this conquista, if it is to achieve the state of other conquistas now pacified, would be for Your Majesty to divide it, as here it is said you have begun to do, into captaincies, of which grants should be given to powerful individuals who can adequately defend them, and keep the peace in them, and carry out the conditions laid down by the law.

These are the ways in which it seems to me that the purpose I mentioned can be achieved, though in all matters it is wise to proceed slowly. Apart from these ways, I remind Your Majesty that it will be of great importance to send clothing, with some other gifts, to the kings who have been converted to our holy faith.

May Our Lord preserve the royal person of Your Majesty for many years, so that the holy faith and the good of your subjects may be increased. From this Port of the Saviour, in Serra Lioa, on 20 February, 1606.

Bertolameu André.











ACCOUNT OF THE COAST OF GUINEA, c. 1606

(BAL, Cod. 51, VIII, 25, ff. 119-122v : EML, Gx. 207, doc. 88)

ACCOUNT OF THE COAST OF GUINEA AND OF THE CAPTAINCIES AND SETTLEMENTS  
OF PORTUGUESE THERE; TOGETHER WITH THE MILITARY, JUDICIAL AND  
TREASURY OFFICES, AND OTHER MATTERS, TO FORM A REPORT ON THE SAID REGION.

The coast we call Guinea is in Africa and begins at Cape Branco.  
This cape lies in ..... degrees North, and moving inland from the  
cape, Barbary is divided from the land of the blacks.

Some 11 leagues further on than Cape Branco is the gulf of  
Arguin, called after an island of the same name which is found  
within the gulf. On this island we have a castle, built in the time  
of the King D. Afonso V for the preservation of the trade of those  
lands. Its Captaincy today is held by the Conde da Touguia, and I  
shall not supply a more detailed account because it does not belong  
within the jurisdiction of the Council of India.

## THE CAPTAINCY OF CAPE VERDE

The Captaincy of Cape Verde comprises the Island of Santiago, together with the other neighbouring [islands]. It lies at 15 degrees North, and must be some 17 leagues long and 10-12 wide. Although it is very rugged it contains very green valleys. There are many gardens with citrus fruits and other local fruits, and with vegetables, and there is an abundance of cattle for meat and much breeding of horses. It has a large population.

The climate is rather unhealthy, especially in the city called Ribeira Grande, so-called because there flows through it a large river which rises two leagues above the city. It stands on the sea-coast and has a large port, but one with neither a safe bottom nor secure from the winds. There is a fortress of reasonable size, and the city is sufficiently provided with, and is formed of, good houses, built in stone and lime.

On the same island is another settlement called Villa da Praia. This has a good port and is a more healthy place than the city because it is on an elevated site, is cleansed by the winds, and is surrounded by two streams. One of these as it enters the sea forms a large and beautiful bay, with a small island at its mouth which shelters the bay from the sea winds, so that the port is safer. But because of this and because the port has few defences, it is often overrun by (our) enemies, and it is therefore poorly populated.

For these reasons a proposal to move the city to this site and fortify it has several times been discussed, which if it were done would result in a great improvement for this land. (3)

To the windward of this Island of Santiago lie another seven or eight islands, as follows: Ilha do Mayo, S. Antão, Ilha do Sal, Boa Vista, S. Nicolão, S. Vicente, Santa Luzia, and some unnamed islets. On these there are a great many herds of cattle, which provide a large amount of meat and yield many hides, which are shipped to different parts.

Ilha do Mayo is much frequented by the Dutch and other northern nations, who go there to load salt, which the island produces in large quantities, naturally, without the intervention of man's hand.

To the West of the Island of Santiago are another two islands, Ilha do Fogo which has herds of cattle too, and many vines, and Ilha Brava, which again has cattle and a number of inhabitants who care for these herds.

Along the mainland coast the territory of this Captaincy begins at Rio Sanagaa and ends at Rio dos Casses, where the district of Serra Leoa begins.

In this territory of the Captaincy of Cape Verde there are some rivers where out of respect for the trade done with the blacks of the mainland, some settlements of Portuguese were established. Up to now these have no regular organisation or form of government, not even for the purposes of justice. Instead those <sup>men</sup> who are most powerful and have most slaves dominate the rest.

The most important of these settlements is the one on the Rio de S. Domingos, which is called Cacheu. In the year 1605 His Majesty made it a vila and granted certain privileges, exhorting the inhabitants to live in organised fashion and with regular judicial institutions. But the inhabitants did not accept this

and are virtually in revolt.

Further on is another settlement at the mouth of Rio Grande, where a great deal of trading with the blacks of the land is carried out. From this port, called Porto da Cruz, one goes to Guinala, a town of the blacks where their king lives. He is one of the <sup>more</sup> important kings and is the best to deal with of all those on that coast. After the padres of the Society went there, they wrote to His Majesty [to say] that the King wanted to become a Christian, as did other neighbouring kings with whom the Bijagos living on the adjacent islands are continually at war.

Further on is another mouth of the Rio Grande called Biguba, where the Portuguese have another settlement. Here there are many tangos naos, and around about they do much trading with the blacks of the land, in ivory, gold, wax, and slaves.

Further on is Cabo da Verga and Rio dos Cosses, where this Captaincy finishes and that of Serra Leoa begins.

In this Captaincy there regularly resides a captain and governor, His Majesty normally appointing a gentleman to the post, although sometimes it has been a graduate (letrado) with the title of corregidor. The Captains have a salary of 600 milreis, and ten slaves and two white men as their bodyguard, each of the whites having 20 milreis a year.

The governor acts as a Collector (provedor) for His Majesty's treasury and for this duty he has no salary at all, nor have past Collectors every had.

There is also a magistrate, whom His Majesty requires to be a graduate, with a salary of 200 milreis. He follows the same rules and jurisdiction as the corregidores of the districts in Portugal do.

He also serves as Provedor de Residuos e capelas.

The Judge for Orphans has a salary.

There are two judges, two aldermen, and one Procurador do Concelho, elected by the Town Council (Câmara), according to the form of the ordinance.

In Vila da Praia there are the same judges, aldermen and Procurador do Concelho, elected in the same way.

A clerk of the commercial administration (feitoria), quarters and twentieths (?), has a salary of 48 milreis and three prime slaves, exempt of duties.

The clerk of the Customs has an annual salary of 12 milreis.

The Customs officer has a salary of six milreis.

The Alcaide do mar has a salary of 12 milreis.

The tax collector has a salary of 40 milreis and one slave.

The coastguard has a salary of four milreis.

#### VILLA DA PRAIA

In this Villa there is a Customs officer, who has a salary of six milreis. The Alcaide do mar of this Villa has a salary of four milreis.

#### ILHA DO FOGO

On this island there is a Customs officer, he has a salary of six milreis. On the island there is a clerk of the Customs who has eight milreis in salary.

The fiel do peso (cashier) is elected by the Council and has four milreis in salary.

The neirinho da correição (court bailiff) of these islands has as salary, and for six men to accompany him, 75 milreis, paid

from the Receipt of the Chancellory, when there is money in it. And when not, from His Majesty's Treasury.

The clerk da correicao e cancela has 12 milreis for each of these offices.

The bailiff da serva has 32 milreis in salary, [that is] 16 milreis from His Majesty's treasury, eight milreis from the Council of the City, and eight milreis in Villa da Praia.

The Clerk for Orphans has no salary.

The officer of Clerk of the Council, auditor and tribuidor, are held together (by one man) and have no salary.

The City Alcaide presents the governor and admits (?) the Council, unsalaried.

Alcaide of Villa da Praia, the same.

Alcaide of Ilha do Fogo, the same.

In the city there are four heralds (?), unsalaried.

In Villa da Praia, one herald, no salary.

On Ilha do Fogo, one herald, no salary.

On the same Island, the Clerk for Orphans has no salary.

In the City there is a Treasurer, Purveyor and Clerk for the estates of the deceased and absent, and <sup>a</sup>Chief Alms-collector for prisoners, who serves on all the Islands and has 10% of what is put in the collection and 1% of the money he sends to Portugal, at the expense of the same estates.

These offices are appointed to by the Mesa da Consciencia and for a limited period.

#### MILITARY OFFICES

There is a sergeant major with 50 milreis in salary.

There are six companies of men, each with its own captain of infantry, unpaid.

There is another company of scouts (aventureiros), and each of these companies has a standard-bearer, a sergeant, and four platoon leaders.

There is a meirinho (?quarter-master) for each bandeira (flag) and a general clerk for all of them, who is called the registration [clerk?], without any salary.

There is a Constable in the fortress, with a salary of 30 milreis a year, appointed by His Majesty.

In this fortress there are three gunners, each one having an annual salary of 1,600 [sic: probably 21,600].

A gatekeeper of the fortress, with a salary of 12 milreis.

An armourer and locksmith, with a salary of 18 milreis.

There are six torch-bearers, who serve between Monte do Pescado Alto and the fortress, each having 16 milreis annually.

There is a gunner in Villa da Praia, who has 24 milreis annually.

There are two more gunners in the two strongholds of S. Sebastião, each having a salary of 21,600 reis.

There are two more bombardas-mortas, one in the port of the City and the other in S. Bras, each with a salary of 21,600 reis.

On the island of Fogo there is one gunner, he has 12 milreis per annum.

#### ECCLESIASTICAL OFFICES

There is a Bishop on this Island, who has as his diocese the whole area of this Captaincy, and has a salary of 600 milreis.

He       ?       ?       45 milreis of his salary; he has another 24 milreis and 60 milreis of his salary; he has another 24 milreis and 60 milreis for six manumitted slaves; <sup>(7)</sup> he has per annum, adding up everything, 129 milreis.

There are four senior clergy, namely: the Precentor, the Master of the School, the Treasurer and the Archdeacon do bago, with 45 milreis each.

There are twelve canonries, each with a salary of 40 milreis.

There are a priest and a coadjutor, each with a salary of 30 milreis.

There is an Under Treasurer, who has a salary of 15 milreis.

There are four choirboys with a salary of six milreis each.

There is a mace-bearer, with four milreis.

There are nine parishes with their vicars: S. Lourenço, Santiago, S. Miguel, S. Amaro, S. Catharine, S. João, of which S. Catharina and Santiago have 35 milreis salary, the others 30.

The Ecclesiastic Clerk has no salary, the Bishop appoints.

The Clerk of the Bishop's Chamber has no salary, he appoints to this too.

The Steward to the Clerics has no salary, the Bishop appoints.

The Clerk of Works, the Bishop appoints; he has as a salary from the Work, of five milreis.

The Collector for Works has no salary.

The Seminary has as its share 200 milreis, which His Majesty orders to be given to the padres of the Society on that Island.

The Bishop has a Purveyor and a Vicar General; each has a salary of 50 milreis.

There is a Master of Cases of Conscience, with 40 milreis salary.

There is a preacher, with 40 milreis salary.

There are four chaplains, each with a salary of 12 milreis.

There is another preacher in Villa da Praia, with 40 milreis salary.

There is another preacher on the Island of Fogo, with 40 milreis salary.

On this Island of Fogo there is a vicar of the church of S. Filipe, the mother church (?), with 40 milreis salary.

In this church there is an incumbent with 24 milreis salary.

In this church there is a Sub-Treasurer, who has a salary of four milreis in money, 48 arrobas of flour, and 24 arratels (of wine).

In S. Lourenco there is an incumbent with 20 milreis salary.

In this church there is a Sub-Treasurer, who has four milreis salary, 48 arrobas of flour and 24 arrateis. These salaries are all paid from His Majesty's Treasury. And when there is an accountant his emolument is included.

The commerce and trade and other rights in this Captaincy of Cape Verde and its territory, excepting Rio de Senega and trade in malagueta (pepper), were finally leased for a price of 27 contos de reis per annum, over and above the former charges, and 300 more for a pious work, which is given to the English nuns, and with an increment of 1000 reis each two years. Twelve prime slaves each year, six arrobas of wax each year, and also 1,500 cruzados just once, for whatever His Majesty orders (?), and with other conditions contained in the contract, which nowadays is withdrawn because the contractors did not fulfil it.

## SERRA LEOA

At Cabo da Verga, where the Rio dos Cascos (is to be found), begins the Captaincy of Serra Leoa, newly founded, which His Majesty has granted to Pedro Álvares Pereira, and it ends at Cabo das Palmas, according to the limits set in his grant.

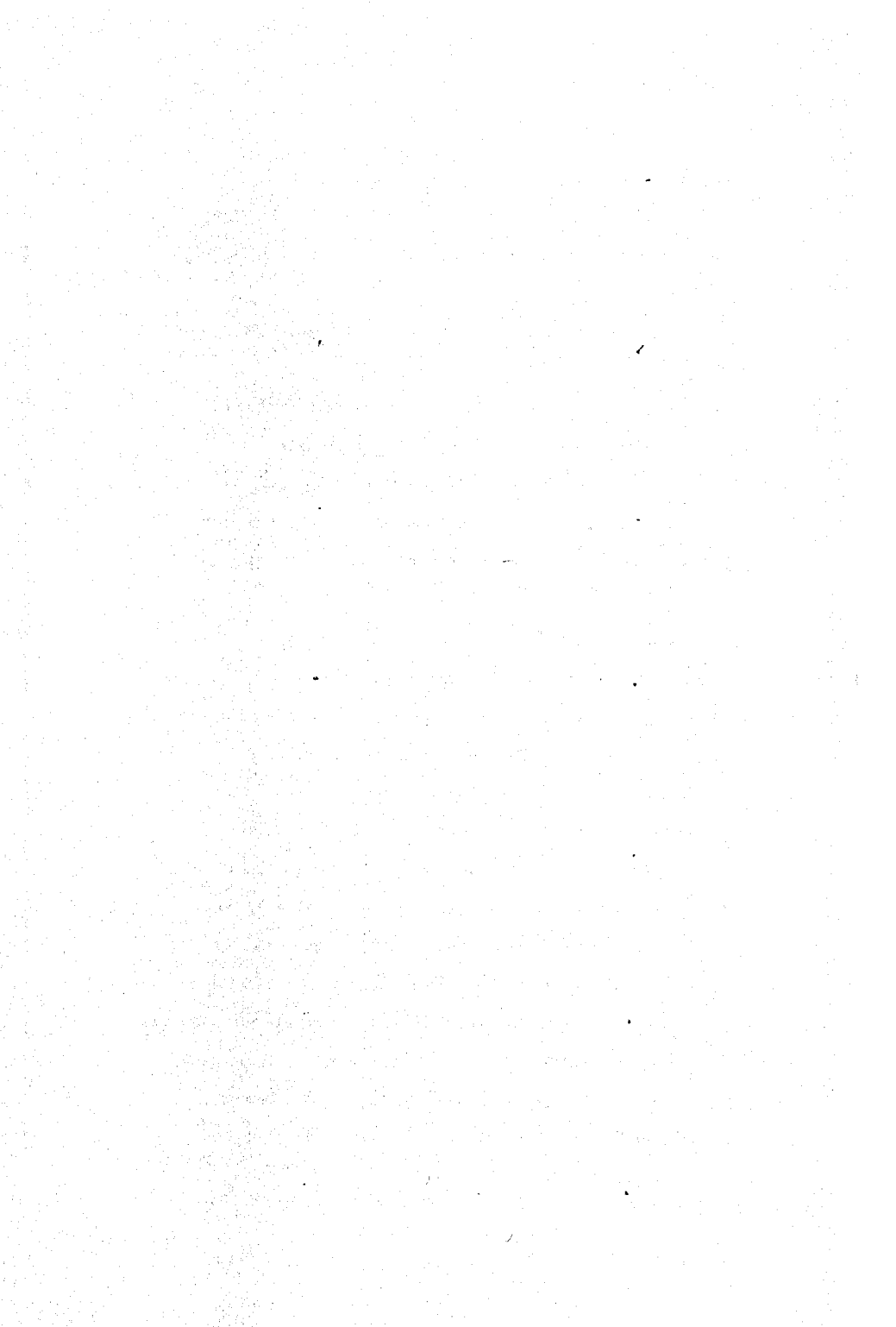
Up to now this Captaincy has no civil government, with officials and ministers of justice, nor a treasury, nor other than a very limited ecclesiastical system, though in certain of the rivers and ports of this area there are Portuguese who have their business and trade there, and recently in this region, by means of the padres of the Society, some wooden churches have been built and the King of this Serra has been baptized, together with some of his sons and relations. But this Serra is the coolest and healthiest (place) on the whole coast of Guinea. It produces a large quantity of citrus trees and other trees providing very good timber for the building of ships. It has many sugar canes which are self-planted, so that if mills were built and operated to make use of these, it would supply much sugar. In the Serra there is much cotton, brazil dye-wood, malagueta pepper, rice, milho, wax and ivory. A fruit called cola, which is like a chestnut and whose trees resemble chestnut trees, grows only in this province. This fruit grows in burs, although these have prickles, and it is so valued throughout the whole land of Guinea that it is used in many trades and it is carried to Barbary as a very profitable merchandise. Finally, much gold is traded throughout all those rivers, and on this Coast very fine ambergris has been found.

Because of his grant, Pedro Álvares Pereira is obliged to found and construct two castles in this Captaincy within fifteen years, to

settle people in them and make them defensible, and to organize a settlement with officers of justice and ecclesiastics, as is stated at greater length in the grant.

BAL - Cod. 51-VIII-25, ff. 119-122v.

ENL - Cx. 207, doc. 88.











LETTER FROM THE GENERAL OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS TO THE KING OF PORTUGAL

26.2.1607

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Lord

†

S.C.R.M.

With all humility and reverence I kiss the hand of Your Majesty (in gratitude) for the very great confidence you show in the Society, for although we are unworthy of such favour, we are indeed all dedicated to the service of Your Majesty with complete enthusiasm and willingness. In the [letter] that Your Majesty did me the favour of writing, you command me to accept the responsibility of the Seminary which Your Majesty, with such holy zeal for the honour of God and desire for the propagation of the Catholic faith in all your Kingdoms and States, has ordered to be built in your City of Lisbon, in order that youths from Guinea and sons of the Portuguese who live in those parts, may be taught and educated in this city, and afterwards become ministers of the Holy Gospel to those nations and to their natives.

And that similarly I should accept the favour of initiating the College which Your Majesty wishes to found in Cape Verde. All [together] these are very outstanding favours that Your Majesty is rewarding us with.

However, since some arguments with regard to this occur to me to present to Your Majesty, not to hinder the fulfilment and execution of Your service but in order that the matter may be carried through to the greater glory of God, which I am certain is Your Majesty's principal intention in everything, I ask and

hope, (believing) in the clemency and benevolence of Your Majesty, that you will grant me the favour of having them heard by the Pedre Provincial of Portugal, or by Father António Collaço, the Procurator of that Province and resident at that Court, to which persons I entrust this process. I am nevertheless most ready and prepared for whatever shall be Your Majesty's will to decide and to command me.

May Our Lord prosper in all things Y.S.C.R.M.,<sup>(1)</sup> for the benefit and increase of his Holy Church and of all your Kingdoms and States.

From Rome, 6 February 1607.

[Autograph] S.C.R.M.

D.V.M.

Very humble Servant  
Claudio Acquaviva.

(1) Y.S.C.R.M.: Your Sacred Caesarian Royal Majesty.







**20**





LETTER FROM FATHER BALTASAR BARREIRA TO FATHER JOÃO ALVARES, ASSISTENTESerra Leoa, 4 March 1607

(ARSJ, Lus. 74. ff. 64-5)

/f.64/

Pax Christi etc.

On 16 ~~June~~<sup>January</sup> 1607, I received in Serra Leoa Your Reverence's letter of 10 November 1605, and with it very great comfort, on account of the mercy which God shows us in giving Your Reverence life and health, for the good of our Province and of the whole Society. May it be His will to preserve them as we all wish.

The matter Your Reverence indicated to Father Colação that he should deal with at court, concerning the seminary for educating certain individuals from this Guinea, and from Congo and Angola, this went well, I am informed from Portugal, and it was to some extent accepted, but Martim Gonçalves thought it better to establish the seminary within the conquistas themselves. My own view is that the blacks are not suited to living together in a community, either by themselves or with whites, and that it will be easier to educate them here, where it can be done at little cost, by their living at home with their parents or relatives.

The news of this Serra Leoa that Your Reverence seeks I sent in August last year, together with the description of the kingdoms of this coast, and also (a paper discussing) points in relation to the enslavement of these blacks, a matter so full of doubts however approached that it is impossible to take up any position on it other than this: either it should continue as it has until now, or else the trade should be completely prohibited. I say this because the normal practice is to sell the blacks on account of offences they commit, either the blacks themselves or their relatives and

others born in the same place, and this practice is like a law among all of them; and although it can sometimes happen that they are sold without committing any offence or that the offence they commit does not justify slavery, it is impossible to check on these points..

I also wrote to Your Reverence concerning certain difficulties hindering conversion, which I have since considered to be of little or no consequence. Pedro Alvares Pereira, knowing, it seems, that I was in these kingdoms of Serra Leoa and that I had written about the land and its disposition for receiving our Holy Faith, concluded his grant of this conquista and by a fast caravel sent me a certified copy of the grant and a letter containing a thousand kind words and assurances, etc. But what I most value is a paragraph which says: "I have rejoiced greatly at the fruit that you, Reverend Father, have gathered in these parts, (a success) which I never doubted because of the great virtue I always recognized in you. Now I hold in higher esteem the award of these lands that His Majesty has made me, since with your help I trust that they will be of increased Service to God and His Majesty and of increased benefit to me. As regards the Society Your Reverence can be sure that no one will serve it better or longer than myself, and thus I put everything in Your Reverence's hands, so that you may guide all as if it were your own, etc." In another paragraph he says: "I shall be very happy for the Society to establish a college in that settlement, and I shall help in this and share out the lands suitable for its maintenance. You, Reverend Father must advise me what ought to be done and how it can be effected." I did not want to repeat what he said about myself, but have done so in order to make sense of the rest of his remarks; and because, while I do not give much <sup>we</sup> weight to his commendation as far as (my own contribution) is concerned, since I realize my own (limited) due, I value it inasmuch as it commends the <sup>S</sup>Society, whose well-being and enlargement I desire. By means of whatever Your Reverence may write to me on this point, may God show us the way

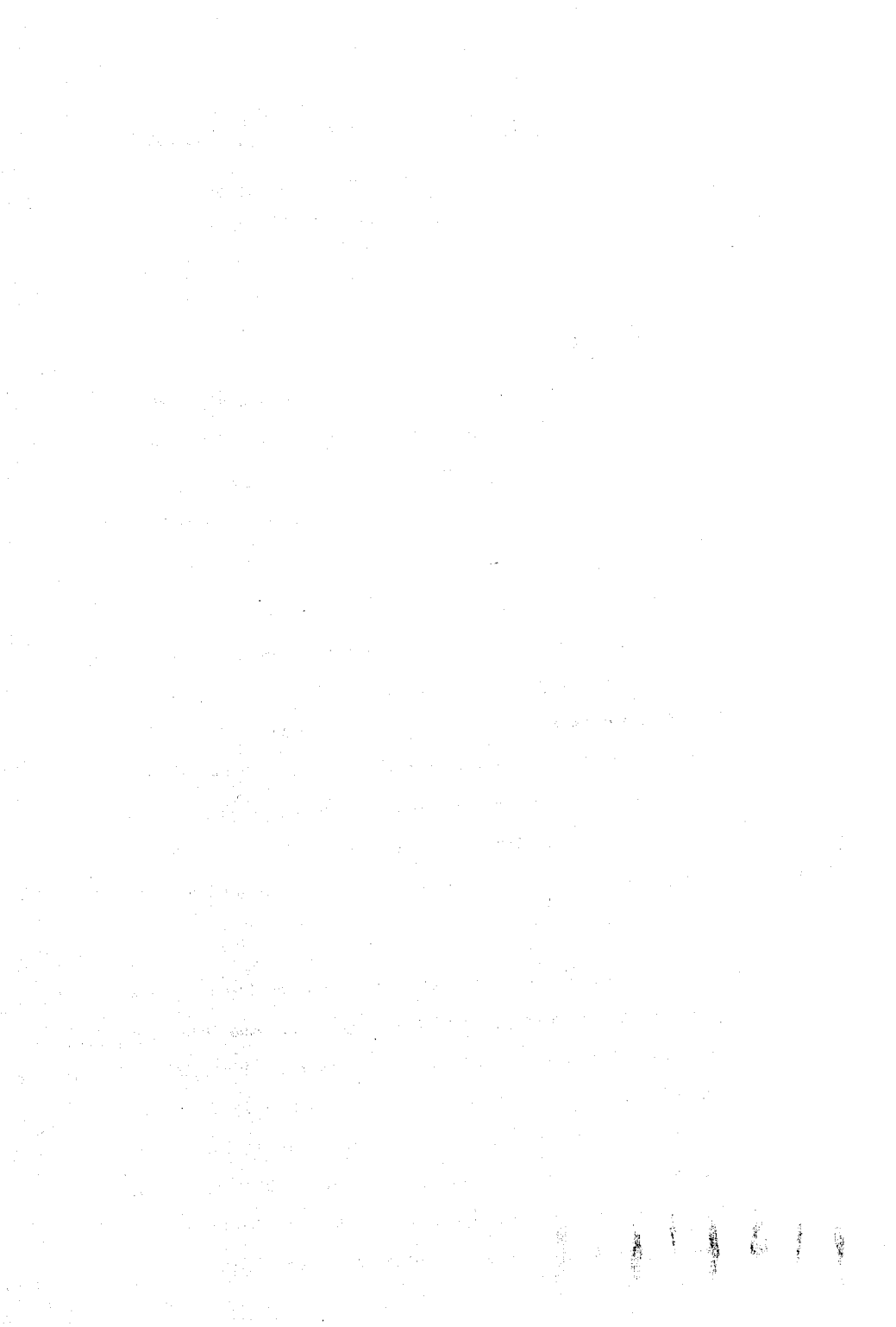
to achieve the greatest glory. /f.64v/ The messages that Pedro Alvares Pereira sent me have made these blacks understand that we were speaking the truth, and a new fervour to receive our holy faith has taken hold of them, for until now they have been on their guard.

May it be the Lord's will to prosper these beginnings, to His glory and honour, and to keep Your Reverence with us over many years for our comfort.

From this Serra Leoa, 4 March 1607,

Baltasar Barreira.

Address: To Father João Alvares, of the Society of (Jesus),  
Assistant to Our Padre-Geral, Rome.











LETTER FROM FATHER BALTASAR BARREIRA  
TO FATHER ANTÔNIO MASCARENHAS, PROVINCIAL.

Serra Lioa, 5 March, 1607.

/r.66/

Pax Christi etc.

On 16 January of the present year, 1607, I received two letters from Your Reverence dated 27 July 1605 and 28 March 1606. The first one took so long (in transit), together with other letters that had been written to me from Portugal, because they first came to the Cape Verde Island and then to Cacheo or the Rio Grande, and from these latter places ships only come to this Serra Lioa in January, to collect the cola which is harvested then. Now, God willing, letters will travel directly from Portugal, for the reason I shall explain below. I did not even know of the death of Pope Clement VIII, the succession of Leo XI, and the election of our very Holy Father Paul V, whose life may the Lord preserve for many years. And so I was greatly comforted by what Your Reverence and others wrote to me, concerning the rewards which Our Lord is bestowing on the Society and the hope that we will soon see Our Blessed Founder, Ignatius, canonized.

I was also informed that there had been discussions regarding the establishment on the Island of Santiago, or Cape Verde, of a college of twelve members of our Society, with an income of one conto, so that the members could come from the island to these parts of Guinea, in order to convert the heathen and instruct those already converted. In several letters I have already indicated how unhealthy the city [of Santiago] is, and the risk that our people run in living there; but accepting that a college is to be established on the island, I am of the opinion that it should be at a place two leagues inland called S. Domingos. This locality is very popular, because it is said to be healthy, and because it is very pleasant and fertile. Although it is

some distance from the city, our people could carry out their regular duties there, and come to the city from time to time, travelling on horseback and going when the weather is cooler, to carry out the same duties. They would also not be exposed to the sudden alarms and calls-to-arms to which the city is exposed; and those who needed instruction could have it in that place.

Your Reverence must already have learned that it was the Lord's will to take Father Manoel de Barros to the better life. This happened on Fogo Island to which he had gone without my knowledge. I believe that his holy zeal gave him the strength (to go there) when he saw how the souls there were suffering from a great need for spiritual care, and that God called him there to reward him for the labours which his love (for souls) had led him to suffer. His death was kept from me for more than a year and a half because, knowing the great love I had for him and how much I was relying on him for assistance in the task we had in hand, they feared that the news of his death would cause me some grave illness. They were not mistaken, for in order to avoid this, I had to be sustained by repeated prayer and had to perform continuous acts expressing love of God and submission to His holy will.

Immediately I learned of his departure for the island, I straightway wrote to him to say that as soon as he received my letter he should return. I also wrote to Brother Pero Fernandes and told him to make his way from Biguba, where I had left him, back to Santiago Island, so that he could take care of the house while the padre was absent, and help him in his ministry on his return.

The departure of the padre left everything in disorder, and there was no-one to forward to me the letters written to me from Portugal or to provide me with certain commodities of which I had great need, especially the flour to make hosts /f.66v/ and the wine for use in Mass. Hence, for about a year and a half I did not say Mass except on Sundays

and saints' days. When the brother reached the Island, he endeavoured to provide me with the things he knew I needed, but they did not arrive here because the ship bringing them was lost; however it was God's will that the crew were saved. Later he sent me a second consignment which arrived safely on the cola ships, and this I received through God's mercy since I was in great need of the commodities. By means of the same ships, I am writing to him to give him authority to take charge of our financial affairs, and instructions about what has to be done should our members whom Your Reverence is sending arrive, charging him strongly to take them to the locality I mentioned, S. Domingos. Your Reverence can clearly see that it is not fitting for a Brother to be alone so long, and that it is necessary, while agreement is being sought on the college or residence, either to send a padre to the Island, or for the Brother to come to me. There would be disadvantages in this latter course, one being that we would have to persuade the people on the Island (if we seemed to be) forsaking them completely, and (then) we would have to find a person of trust who would collect our revenue. (Again) this might put into doubt the payment of the grant to us, on the grounds that we were not living on the Island where His Majesty sent us; and other similar doubts might arise.

I also deeply regret that I have not confessed for more than two years because I have had no-one to hear my confession. Quite apart from that reason, I have great need of someone to help me in this work of conversion. For reasons I shall explain, I have more hopes than ever (of the success of this work).

When the letters I wrote from this Serra Leoa in February and March of last year reached Portugal, and when Pedro Álvares Pereira received the one I wrote to him, and learned from it (in particular) that the king of Serra Leoa is now a Christian and has married according to the law of grace, and (in general) the state of things in this land, he had the religious settlement (padrão) of the grant

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(doação) of this territory (conquista) which His Majesty made to him, completed. He then ordered two message caravells to these parts. One of these arrived here on the 1st February, carrying letters which Pedro Álvares Pereira and his cousin, Francisco Vaz Pinto of the Council of India and Conquests, had written to me in December of last year; and also the authenticated copy of the grant to Pedro Álvares Pereira. In the letter he speaks to me with a thousand endearments, proposals, and confidences, and asks my advice as to what he must do, what he must order, and so on. But what I most value is the promise he gives that he will favour the Society in all that is in his power, as Your Reverence will see in a section of this letter which states as follows:..... In another section it says:.....<sup>(1)</sup> Up to this point is from the letters of Pedro Álvares Pereira.

It astonished me greatly that our people in Portugal did not ~~did not~~ know about these caravels which Pedro Álvares sent, and that I did not receive by the caravels any letter from our Society or from anyone else. But I comforted myself with the knowledge that one of the letters <sup>I had</sup> written had arrived, because the letter for Pedro Álvares was cleared in the same bundle as the letters for Your Reverence and others. I wrote other letters later, in July, and with them I sent Your Reverence ~~although nominally for Father João Álvares~~ an account of the kingdoms of this Guinea and some of their peculiarities ~~/f.67/~~ and another account discussing the moral grounds for enslavement as they apply to the blacks carried off from these parts. Because the matter is very confused and full of doubts, one way and another, it does not seem possible to verify which (blacks) are justly enslaved and which are not. I say this because it is common for blacks to be

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(1) These gaps also appear in Barreira's letter of 4.3.1607.

sold for offences committed by themselves or by their close relatives, and fellow-tribesmen (?). This is a kind of law with all of them, and without this law it would not be possible to have good government among them, on account of their nature. Although it can sometimes happen that they are sold when they are innocent or that the offence does not seem to merit enslavement, since among these people all sorts of offences are considered sufficient for the penalty of enslavement, it is impossible to verify this. Thus I am of the opinion that one cannot reach a clear opinion on this matter, other than that the trade in slaves either should continue as it has to date, or should be prohibited completely.

In the same letter I pointed out certain difficulties in regard to the conversion of this heathen people, which later I realised were of little or no importance. I have great trust in the Lord that, with the support of the people, ships and military supplies which Pedro Álvares Pereira proposes to send to this kingdom, our holy faith will now throw out firm roots in it, and will grow in such a way as to extend through many other kingdoms. Some of these are already waiting me, but until another padre comes I do not dare, nor would it be right for me, to leave here. This conquista is separate in its secular and ecclesiastical jurisdiction from that of the Cape Verde Island, and must have a vicar-general independent from any other diocese. I am writing to Pedro Álvares Pereira to ask him to send a vicar-general immediately, with two priests of exemplary life. If, as I hope, they come, we shall be free to concern ourselves with those works which are to the greater glory of God and the good of souls.

Experience has shown me that neither on the Island nor here can we live without slaves, and so I am forced to buy a number. But I am of the opinion, if Your Reverence confirms the rightness of my view, that we should limit the number of years the slaves we buy are to serve us, and should declare to them that if they serve us well during

those years, when the time is over we shall set them free. But if they do not serve us well, or they do things they should not, we shall sell them. I support this because if we proceed in this way we shall have less cause for conscientious doubt and will be better served. Since it is very common in these parts for lords to set free slaves who serve them well, our slaves will have no reason to say what in Angola some of our slaves said, that we were going to make use of them up to the point of devouring their bones, etc.

Your Reverence will learn from the general letter about the works of divine goodness in these parts, and about the state of the task of conversion. I say no more about the latter because time is very short and I have much I could write. I am addressing this letter to Father André Álvares. In fact, since Father António Mascarenhas has completed his three years in office, and subsequently I have had no letters from the Province, I still do not know who has succeeded him as Provincial. It remains for me to ask Your Reverence to send me your holy blessing from Portugal and to have me commended in the holy sacrifices and prayers of the fathers and brothers of that Province.

From this Serra Lioa, 5 March 1607.

Baltasar Barreira. <sup>(1)</sup>

/f.67v/ Address, in another handwriting: To Padre António Mascarenhas, Provincial of the Society of Jesus, Evora.

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(1) The text and signature are autographs.







**22**





Letter of Father Baltasar Barreira to the Reverend Provincial

Sierra Leone, 9 March 1607

Pax Christi

I trust in Our Lord that Your Reverence has received the letters I sent to you from Sierra Leone in February of last year. To other letters written to persons in faraway parts and despatched at the same time I have now received replies by a caravel that Pedro Álvares<sup>Barreira</sup>, governor of this conquista, sent here with (notice of) his grant (of the captaincy of Sierra Leone from the King of Portugal). The letters I have to date received from you and from the Province are replies to the ones I wrote to Biguba before I came to these parts. Some of the letters have remained in the port to windward for a year, because the only ships to come from there have been the ones which have now come for the cola trade. This is the reason why I have only recently heard of the death of Father Manuel de Barros. I am distressed, since I loved and admired him very much. He was a fine son of the Society, most zealous for the salvation and good of souls, and an indefatigable worker in the vineyard of the Lord. While I was still living in Cape Verde Island, he heard of the great spiritual needs of Fogo Island and of the ill-feeling and quarrels among its inhabitants, clerical as well as lay. He longed to go there to bring peace to souls. But I dissuaded him from undertaking this journey, because I thought he would act with great fervour and plunge himself into the worst sort of troubles from which Guinea suffers. And because he was not yet familiar with the country, I feared that if he became ill where there were no doctors or medicines his life would be at risk. I now realise, in view of what has happened, that God called him to that island, whose name is Fire (Fogo) because of the fire it emits, in order to reward him for the burning love with which he served Him, to the great profit of souls. The General and Your Reverence have just ordered me to have him make the Profession of Four Vows (completing Jesuit membership); but God has desired him to do this in heaven, in the company (companhia) of the blessed. Our Society (Companhia) has lost in him a faithful worker and I have lost the hopes I had that he would be the means of converting these lands, for when I compared myself to him I recognised that he was a giant and I was a child. Yet, on the other hand, I do not believe that we have lost him, but rather that we have gained in him a notable intercessor, who continually asks God to prosper that work for which he laid firm foundations. I think this because since his death the Lord has given singular mercies in these parts and greatly enlightened the Gentiles in the matters of our holy faith.

In the last letters I wrote from Sierra Leone I said that I was proceeding slowly with the work of conversion and was contenting myself with keeping <sup>in</sup> the faith those already converted. This was because I have been waiting for the reply from our General and Your Reverence concerning the future of this mission or station, whether it is a temporary one or is to become permanent. My fears were that if we were not going to establish ourselves here, these lambs would be left in the open and without the pasture of Christian belief on which they were nourished. For although there are some Portuguese in this country, omnes querunt quae sunt non quae Jesu Christi (they all seek their own interests and not those of Jesus Christ). No matter how hard I tried to temporise with those who sought baptism and to delay it until I had instructions from my superiors, I have been forced to baptise a number of children, grandchildren and brothers of the kings, together with between 50 and 70 other persons who sought it from me with great insistence. But now, through God's goodness, I see that matters are arranged so that wide-spread conversion can proceed, and our holy faith can be extended through the kingdom and hinterland of this Guinea, where till now the Gospel light of good news has never reached. For, on the one hand, the letters from the General and Your Reverence, and from others in our Society, give me hope that more labourers will be coming and that there will be founded in these parts not only a mission-station but a college, from which in time others will emerge to cultivate this vineyard of the Lord; and on the other hand, I see coming into existence what I have greatly desired and many times mentioned, a civil power and strong force (willing) not only to defend the Christians from whoever wishes to disturb them but also to oblige them to live in conformity to our holy religion. I say this because, at the beginning of February, there arrived in this Kingdom of Sierra Leone from the Kingdom (of Portugal) a fast caravel sent by the noble Pedro Álvares Pereira, to whom His Majesty has awarded this conquista, solely to bring me (the details of) his grant and a letter in which he declared that, having received my letter, he will soon be sending ships, people, and materials for a fortress and settlement which he proposes to have built in Sierra Leone. This has served to convince the kings and their vassals that God has looked on this land and wishes to fulfil their desire to see it settled and frequented by Portuguese.

When the caravel arrived I was on the other side of the water, in another kingdom, (staying there) in order more easily to contact the ships which <sup>had</sup> come for cola and to send replies by them to the letters which they had brought for me. I sent the letter and the grant immediately to Bertolomeu André, who at the moment serves as governador (capitão) <sup>(chief magistrate)</sup> and alcaide.

~~king~~ of this <sup>conquista</sup> ~~land~~. Then we embarked with all the Portuguese who were in his port and passed over to Sierra Leone, to the port called the Port of St. Michael, where I normally reside. We then asked D. Felipe de Leão to allow us to see him straightway, so that we could give him a message which I had for him from His Majesty. As he was nearby, the king came immediately, in a large company as is his custom, in royal state. He was received by the Portuguese and the capitão with the utmost solemnity, and he attended church with his brothers and other important fidalgos (gentlemen, men of rank). After the Litany of Our Lady and the Christian Beliefs had been said, as is customary, the capitão and I formally told him of the pleasure with which His Majesty had received the news of his baptism and marriage by the Law of Grace, and that the king considered him his brother. But because the king was always so busy governing his own kingdoms, he had commended (Sierra Leone) to a leading member of his chief council who, in his name, would provide it with people, weapons, and other things necessary so that the King of Sierra Leone and his people could live in peace, and so that a fortress could be built in the Serra in which the Portuguese could at any time assemble if anybody attempted to harm them. And we told him other similar things. We said that the caravel had only come to bring him this message and was to return immediately with his reply, (and had been sent) so that the intentions mentioned above and those which were his pleasure could be brought about. The king and his people were very pleased at all this and celebrated with the largest feast I have until now seen in these parts.

The site (for the fortress) seems designed by nature for the purpose, since it can very easily defend (both) the watering-place from the pirates who come here to use it and the entrance to the ports of the Serra. It is situated at the tip of the Serra, on the headland of a very large flat area which is fertile and pleasant, between two streams from which all the water required can be obtained. Houses are already being built as dwellings for those who will come from Portugal and other places. We hope that many will come in view of the excellent circumstances of the land, especially its healthiness and its well-aired situation.

The governor wrote to me to say that he wishes to found a college here, and he showed as much willingness to favour our Society's plans as we could possibly wish. This obliges me to state to him the desire of the Society that I and other members sent to these parts should serve him and consider him as a father.

Because of all these things, the people here have come to see that all the hopes ~~and~~ the capitão and I had given them previously concerning the protection and support they would gain from His Majesty and from the Portuguese, his subjects, if they became Christians, were true; for until now they have been anxiously waiting for proof of this. So the most important among them have begun to speak in a different tone and to show more clearly a disposition to receive our holy faith.

When Fatema, one of the most important kings of these parts, whom other kings recognise as such and pay tribute to, heard news of this message he came immediately by sea, to visit us, with a great retinue. Neither he nor any of his predecessors since the Portuguese came to these kingdoms had ever before done this. I talked to him about our holy faith and disabused him regarding his own faith and his idols. He indicated that he was convinced, and expressed the same desire to subject himself to the yoke of Christ as he had previously done. But I believe that the difficulty for him is that he would have to leave his wives, who according to report number 800. I trust that the power and compassion of God will enable him to break these chains and snap these bonds, as God <sup>all-wise</sup> did in the case of Tera, the oldest of the kings of the Manes, the conquerors of these lands, who is considered by all to be an oracle because he is a man of wisdom and wise counsel.

Last year I wrote that when this king was going to be baptised, one of those (Portuguese) who came here for cola persuaded him to wait a few days, because he would be back soon and would bring him rich clothes, wine from Portugal, and other things needed for the feast at his baptism. But after this the man did not return, because something hindered him, so when the caravel came with the message, we took this opportunity to persuade <sup>him</sup> ~~him~~ not to wait any longer, and Bertolomeu André, our capitão, offered to present him with clothes and to organise a feast in keeping with his rank. One of the sons of our capitão took him this message, travelling by sea to his kingdom, since all these lands communicate with each other through creeks and rivers which cut through the land in all directions. The king was very pleased and gave great thanks to God for having given him the opportunity to carry out what he had so greatly desired. When the day of the baptism was settled, the king prepared himself for it, in keeping with what he had earlier heard me say in talks and sermons on the various occasions I had passed through his kingdom. But the devil, whose servant this king had been for many years, so that he was considered to be better acquainted with diabolical rituals and sacrifices than anyone else, thought that once this pillar had been removed a great part of the idolatry in these parts would collapse, since many people would follow (the example of)

the king. The devil determined to prevent him keeping his word, (by instigating opposition) partly from his people, whom the devil persuaded that if Tora became a Christian they would be without that power of the devil's protection through their sacrifices which they previously had had, and for which they were feared by their neighbours; and partly from some kings who threatened him with war. But since the devil did not manage to prevent him by these means, he tried another way, by testing his courage and constancy. It happened that as the king was on the point of embarking, to come to the port where the capitão and I and many other Portuguese were waiting and where he was to be baptised, since it was more convenient for it to take place there, and as the king had around him some of his sons and a great number of his subjects, a message arrived saying that another king was making war on him and would attack his lands that night. The people tried to persuade him to postpone his baptism, but he would not allow them to speak about it, for he realised that it was a scheme of the devil to lure him away from his good intentions. The king trusted God that, even in his absence, his people would defend the ports that the enemy attacked. He reduced the number of those who were to accompany him to 40 or 50, and sent the others to the places where it was said that the enemy was going to attack.

He was received by the capitão and other Portuguese with firing of guns and festive music : he was given fervent congratulations and was embraced by me. The church and its altar were suitably decorated and we dressed the king in the Portuguese way, in keeping with his rank. He looked so fine in these clothes that we were all delighted. Then he was taken to the church in a great festal procession. As I baptised him all the guns were fired and various instruments made music, both his people and ours contributing to the great commotion and general rejoicing. This was followed later by dances and mock combats. He was named Pedro Álvares Pereira. I gave him this name because he is the first king of this land that I have baptised since the conquista (was declared). To render the occasion more solemn, at the same time I baptised eight other persons and married four couples in the Law of Grace. Others I had baptised and married earlier. I did not marry Tora because the woman who was going to be his wife was governing certain lands, the most important in his kingdom, and since it was reported that enemies were going to attack she postponed her coming. God willing, I shall marry him after Easter, since he was baptised on the Sunday before Lent. I hope Your Reverence will particularly commend him to God, because on this king depends the conversion of the most important people of these parts.

Other kings who live far away from here have heard about our religion and show a great desire to become Christians. But as I am alone, I am waiting for (the arrival of other ) priests whom I can leave with these new seedlings. Since I do not know whether or not priests are on the way, I am writing to the governor to ask him to send with the first party (of settlers) the Vicar-General of the conquista who, as ~~you~~ <sup>he</sup> ~~talk~~ <sup>his</sup> me in ~~your~~ letter, is not under the authority of the Bishop of Cape Verde or any other bishop with respect to where he should or should not work; and further to ask the governor that the Vicar-General should bring with him two priests of blameless life. If our own padres or these priests arrive I shall be free to visit these and other kingdoms where the Lord may be served by their being opened to the work of conversion.

One of the brothers of D. Felipe (King Philip), a lord of many subjects, a very clever man, has pressed me to baptise him. For the reasons mentioned above I have been postponing this, but I have now decided that, when I have the time, I shall go to his lands and stay for some time in his main town which is situated in the foothills of the Serra. I shall not return until I have built a church, and have baptised him and many others who await this from me. A Portuguese who has a house there teaches them the Christian faith daily. He is taking them away from the worship of their idols and bringing them to the observance of God's commandments and (even) of some of the precepts of the Church which they are not yet obliged to observe.

One of these heathen found that the farms he made each year did not flourish, even though he implored a china to help him and made it many offerings, as is their custom. The Portuguese man mentioned above advised the heathen to destroy the idol in order to gain the crops he desired. He followed this advice and destroyed the china; when he made his farm, it produced so much rice that he could not stop giving thanks to Our Lord. He proclaimed that the chinas on which he had depended since childhood were nothing worth and that the God of the Christians was the true God to whom they should bring their needs.

The wife of a nobleman was on her way to work on her farm, as women do here no matter how noble they are, when a Portuguese told her that Christians did not work on Sundays. This did not deter her and she continued at her task, but it happened that a stick struck her in one eye so that she almost lost it. Thus she was convinced that it was a holy day, as the Christian had told her, and she and the other people stopped the work they doing. A similar happening which involved another person of the same village helped to convince them.

In the past few years there have been epidemics of 'bloody flux' in this land, the dysentery being accompanied by severe pains and high fever which kill the sick within a few days. It was distressing to see the people die and hear the wailing which arose in all the village. Many Christians also became ill with the same disease, but it was the Lord's will that none died, which gave people much occasion to praise God and to realise that life and health are in His hands. A Christian girl, a daughter of King Philip, who was already in doubtful health, had an accident which it was thought might be fatal. They came running and called out to me, asking for a candle to put in her hand. I gave them one and sent some medicines, and the Lord willed that through these she recovered and regained her health completely. The same illness happened to others, particularly to the son and heir of the same king, a boy of whom I was very fond because he was the oldest of those I was training here and a very promising boy. These heathen have developed a great devotion to me, so that now they have seen Christians place a candle in the hand of a dying man they do the same when one of them is dying.

Some Christian blacks who are natives of this land and who have returned from the Island of Cape Verde where they were baptised, by contact with the heathen had gradually so forgotten the obligations of our holy faith that either they possessed chinas themselves or they allowed their slaves to do so, and they had dealing with these chinas and made them offerings, as the heathen do. And they kept by them all their gold and those articles which are valued here, in order that they might be buried with them, as is the custom. The Lord willed that regular sermons, instructions and moral advice should open their eyes, and they have recognised the wiles of the devil and have begun to alter their ways satisfactorily, doing all that I have told them to do. One very old woman asked me to visit her because she was very weak and ill, and before her confession she arranged for the disposal of all she had, including the gold she had kept for her burial and some slave women, and she gave orders that all her possessions should be used for the purposes of the church in her town and in other pious works. Afterwards she was buried by me according to our customs. The burial was attended by all the Christians, so that the whole town, which had never before seen this, was much edified. People were astonished that there were not the usual lamentations. Normally mourners come from all parts, their numbers in relation to the rank of the dead person, but they come more out of etiquette and because of the attraction of food and drink than to mourn. The heathen are buried in a grave like a vault, and over it they erect a hut like a chapel, where they go to talk with the dead and offer them things, the corpse being seated in a chair. If the dead man is a man

of rank they kill slaves, men and women, so that they can serve him in the other world; and they put around him, in baskets, the gold that has been kept for the burial. They are very particular about this because the devil has put into their heads the notion that all that is buried with them<sup>they</sup> will find in the next life. A queen who had ruled for long and had killed many of her subjects for minor faults, died and was buried as she had ordered, but they decided to kill only one girl, whose body was placed under the queen's feet. The reason they gave (for not killing more) was that the queen would find enough persons to serve her in the next world by employing those she had had killed during her lifetime. A Portuguese who was present at this burial said that he had seen much gold as well as other valuables being buried with her, but he had not dared to go back to dig up the gold because he was afraid that if the blacks discovered him doing this his death would follow.

This explains why, though much gold which comes from the Sousos and the kingdom of Concho is present in these lands, little of it reaches the Portuguese traders. It is not the same on the coast beyond Serra Leoa, for the foreigners who trade there and make their profit by sea, buy great quantities of gold, and ivory, and other products of the land. Almost thirty Dutch and French ships have passed by here in search of this trade. On their way, such ships rob Portuguese vessels bound for these parts and sailing in these seas. It is reported that this year the number exceeds twenty. Worse still, in order that nobody learns of (their piracy), the foreigners throw the (Portuguese) crews into the sea, a deplorable thing to do. Capitão Bertolomeu André tried hard to lay hands on the Frenchmen manning a tender which a little before had robbed two ships coming from Cape Verde Island, but the local inhabitants would not let him, for reasons of their own. Another boat manned by Dutchmen came to his port, and he and his men, together with some Portuguese, attacked them. Almost all the Dutchmen were killed, since they were not able to use their guns and other weapons which our people had taken from them, for our people went there on the excuse that they were going to offer the Dutch ivory and other goods, and they conquered them without endangering a single one of the attackers. Only three men and a child survived. One of the men, who had gone from Antwerp to Holland, had been baptised and was a Catholic. The other two, after listening to the points of our holy faith, begged for baptism. I delayed until I was assured of their sincerity. Then I baptised the child and one of them, a very gentle and intelligent young man who had acted as captain (of the boat). The third Dutchman I only baptised on the day of Tora's baptism. All of them are behaving well and are very satisfied that they were baptised, which is gratifying to all of us.

I leave out other happenings which the Lord has brought about in these parts, the attendance at confessions and at communion, the removal of hatred and discord, and the punishment God has meted out to certain Portuguese who caused a scandal by their bad example to the new Christians. I do this because the ships are leaving at day-break, and I have had to leave off writing on earlier days because I have had to confess those who are going in them.

From Serra Lioa, 9 March 1607,

Baltasar Barreira.

















**24**





JD

LETTERS FROM AND REPORTS ABOUT THE KINGS AND THE PORTUGUESE IN THE  
RIO GRANDE April-May 1607

/f.78/ Letter from Emchabole, King of Biguba, to His Majesty, 24 April 1607

I have received a letter from Your Majesty which gave me such pleasure that I now (truly) believe that I am king of my country since a king so powerful has given me his attention. I previously wrote to Your Majesty about the raids made by the Bijagos on my land and on neighbouring kingdoms. Father Baltesar Barreira of the Society of Jesus was at that time here. He left for Serra Leoa on a ship given him by Sebastian Fernandes Caçõ, and was going there only to see the land and people and was to return immediately, but the ship came back without him, which is the reason that I and my kingdom are not Christian today.

Now I have learned that two padres of the Society have arrived at the port of Guinela, where Sebastian Fernandes Caçõ lives and from which Your Majesty's letter was sent me. When I saw this letter I rejoiced greatly at the thought that now I would be baptized, as I greatly desire. But the reply given (in the letter) is that (a delay) will be necessary so that we can obtain a better knowledge of the things of God, and also on account of the Bijagos being more unrestrained than ever. The reason (they are) is that whereas formerly each island made war on its own, now they (all) unite in a common enterprise and form much larger fleets.

Sebastian Fernandes Caçõ has written to Your Majesty that he used to live in my port and has transferred himself from here to the kingdom of Guinela, and this he did with my consent since the king of Guinela wishes to become a Christian. He left me here someone <sup>(sic)</sup> who I believed could protect me, for he left some whites and sufficient cannon and munitions to defend this port. But because their fleets are today so powerful, the Bijagos assaulted the port at dawn with thirty of their boats, and they burned (houses) and killed or captured as many persons as were in the port, whites as well as blacks.

What I beg Your Majesty is that without delay you assist us with men and military supplies, as Your Majesty is in the habit of doing for those who seek your aid. I declare (now) how grateful I shall be when I set eyes on what I so much want, and as will be all the Christian kings of this land. Since so much really depends on Your Majesty, I only have to seek this help for it to be totally effective. Sebastian Fernandes Caçõ has notified me that a padre of the Society is travelling solely for this purpose and he has charge of this letter and other letters from neighbouring kings.

From my kingdom of Biguba, 24 April 1607,

I, Emchabole, King of Biguba

Letter from King Bamala, 1 May

To you, great king of Portugal, I, the king of Guinala, my name in the language of the country being Bamala, send greetings from far off. I do this because of the continuing presence of your whites with me and because of the magnanimity which Sebastian Fernandes Cação has shown to me and to my people, not only at the present time but earlier, /f.78v/ in the time of my predecessor, King Campecho, who was so ill-disposed to your whites that for this reason Sebastian Fernandes Cação removed himself from here to the kingdom of Biguba, where he stayed until I succeeded Campecho. My pleadings persuaded him to return to this country, and I promised him that I would fulfil all that previously he had sought from me, and would become a Christian, and would put aside all the false chinas which it is the custom of the people of my nation to possess, my conversion to the faith of Christ being directed by himself and by the padres of the Society. I anticipate that you will take note of the damage inflicted on this kingdom of mine, for the Bijagos have laid waste (the lands of) myself and my seven kings by the assaults they commit, at night, when they kill or burn all. These Bijagos are a people against whom I cannot make war as they live on islands. If you give me assistance, as I have confidence you will, and as Sebastian Fernandes Cação has told me you will, I could, very soon, take vengeance for all these injuries, and with the aid from you and my own men I would very quickly bring about their destruction.

Because I have asked the padres of the Society to make me and my people Christians, in the confidence that you will not fail to send help, they have responded by agreeing that, for the service of God and out of affection for me, one of them will go to Portugal while the other will stay with us here, teaching and enlightening us on the subject of the faith, for which I very much thank him. I asked (the one going) to take two of my sons with him, but he replied that he was unable to do this because the boat is small, and that he himself would be sufficient to present my wishes. I have such confidence in his virtue and the example the padres give that already I seem to have here the assistance required. And so I beg you, on behalf of God and myself, that you act generously with regard to the assistance, and may your health correspondingly flourish.

From this kingdom of Guinala, 1 May 1607,

I, King Bamala.

Letter from Mangali, King of Bisege

To you, powerful king of Portugal, I, the King of Besege, my name in the language of the country being Mangali, send greetings. (I write) from the knowledge I have of your whites and especially Sebastian Fernandes Caçã. He has always assisted my country by placing whites in it who support me, but a few days ago he withdrew the majority of them out of fear that the Bijagos might capture or kill them, since today the Bijagos are more active than ever. They have laid waste the greater part of my land and have put me in such great distress that I have left my home and fled into the forest where I go about in fear lest they carry off myself and my sons. If there were not /f.79/ three or four captains of mine whom I have split up among the parts of my territories I would now have nothing, although I used to be as powerful as the neighbouring kings.

Sebastian Fernandes Caçã sent word to me that I should have no chinas in my lands, and that I should become a Christian, since the kings of Bigoba and Guinela have done the same, so that I would be as good as they. Also to say that there are staying in Guinela two padres of the Society of Jesus who have not come to collect money but to teach the faith of one God and to die for it. Since my people who go there daily come to me to report and to say that these men are sons of God, I have called together my people and spoken to them about what they have been saying about becoming Christians, and all of them stated that they said this only because it seemed to them that God wished it. The great fidalgos of my land then took the chinas and handed them over to me, and a law has been established that there are to be no more false practices of this or any other sort, and everyone is to be a Christian.

I sent a message to Sebastian Fernandes Caçã, ordering him to send a ship for me so that I could in person go to Guinela, something which no predecessor of mine ever did, solely in order that I could become a Christian. In reply he told me that one of the padres was going to Portugal with letters from the kings of Bigoba and Guinela.

I asked him to send this letter with the others, so that I too can beg you to consider the advantages of helping us against these Bijagos, for if we are at peace we can the more easily become Christians and the padres, when we and they have greater security, can give us Christian instruction.

When this is achieved, you will have in me a vassal, who, although very minor, wishes to serve you. Since I have said all else that can be said, I close, in the hope of help from a king as great as you are.

From my kingdom of Bisege, 20 April 1607,

Mangali, King of Bisege

Letter from Father Manoel Álvares of the Society of Jesus

Since the extension of our Holy Faith in these parts depends on, after God, Your Majesty and the favour of Your Catholic and Royal Person, especially at this present moment, on account of the increase in interest and serious concern shown by these kings, it has seemed to me very desirable that Brother Pero Fernandes should inform Your Majesty, at the instance and request of the kings, about the situation with respect to their becoming Christians, which they most importunately seek to do, as he himself will tell you.

/f.79v/ It did not appear to me to be wise to baptize the three kings who write to Your Majesty, because it is important to proceed carefully and slowly, and until word comes (from you) I shall content myself with what God has worked and continues to work (here). When word does come, I shall do whatever is ordered by Your Majesty, whose Catholic Person may God Our Lord guard and preserve, so that you may perform many services for Him.

From this kingdom of Guinela and the Port of Santa Cruz, 3 May 1607,

Manoel Álvares.

Summary of a certified statement from the (Episcopal) Visitor for the Rio Grande, about the aspirations of these kings and their conversion, in which statement he includes the following:

I, Gaspar Gonçalves Pereira, canon of the diocese of Cape Verde Island on the appointment of His Majesty and Visitor for the Rio Grande and the district around, certify that on 27 March 1607 Father Manuel Álvares and Brother Pero Fernandes, religious of the Society of Jesus, reached this port. After they had been here ten days, the Lord was pleased to move the heart of the king of this kingdom so that he desired to receive our Holy Faith, and of this he gave clear proof; for instance, by abandoning, with all his people, a ceremony called the ceremony of chinas. Two neighbouring kings did the same and sought Holy Baptism. All of them have requested this Brother to go to Portugal to seek the support of His Majesty and the Provincial for the course of action suggested by the kings, which they themselves also ask for in their own letters.

Since the matter is one which could result in great service to God, to His Majesty, and to the welfare of the Portuguese who are found in these parts, all (the latter) have made the same request, and have both approved and welcomed the journey of the Brother to Portugal, to inform His Majesty and the Provincial by appearing in person. They have asked me to support this good cause and I have given him this statement, which I have signed at this port of Rio Grande on 1 May 1607.

Gaspar Gonçalves Pereira.

This statement has been read and verified by eight of the leading Portuguese, who swear on the Holy Gospels that this is the official certificate of the Visitor, and that the points contained in it are true and that the events have occurred as stated in the presence of Portuguese who witnessed them, and all sign their names.

Accompanying this certified statement is another from the Visitor in recommendation of Sebastian Fernandes Cacão, cavaleiro do hábito de Cristo, and capitão (commander) of these parts. In this the Visitor states that, as he was on his way /f.30/ to visit Sebastian Fernandes Cacão, he was wrecked and was captured by the Bijagos, together with the others travelling in the ship and a priest. When capitão Sebastian Fernandes Cacão learned this, he set off by sea, despite it being the winter season (of rain and storms), and went to these islands and ransomed the Visitor, the priest, and twenty other persons, all at his own expense. He had great difficulties on the way, and before he reached the islands he lost the anchor and the pilot, some of the rigging, and some of the crew.

Further, he states that this capitão has supported for many years the church here from his own pocket, (presenting it with) many vestments, two chalices, and other items of church ornament, all gilded (?). He further states that this capitão keeps peaceful the ports of this region of Guinea, and he gives many gifts to the kings of these parts, whereby he persuades them to abandon their erroneous ways, and does all this at his own expense.

Verified like the previous statement.

Letter from Sebastian Fernandes Cacao to His Majesty

The favours of Your Royal Majesty inspire courage in one who, although having little with which to undertake your service, for the simple reason that I have only one life, if I had been favoured by the Lord with many lives would not have hesitated to employ them all most faithfully and loyally in the service of Your Majesty and Your Royal Crown, this having been always my wish. And not only at the present time but in the time of the most Christian and invincible King Philip, the father of Your Majesty, whom God keep, by whose command I came to this Guinea and spent two years in his service, after having done the same (elsewhere) for many years.

I trust in and hold firmly certain hopes, to the effect that, because of what presents itself in relation to the Bijagos and what may present itself in relation to other (peoples), Your Majesty will take note of me and favour what I have for very long desired. And through the favour which on this present occasion I seek, Your Majesty will indeed be actively served by me.

In your letter written on 12 August 1606, Your Majesty advises and informs me what should be done to serve you. This advice was of great interest to the King of Biguba and the other kings who have again written to Your Majesty, seeking your support against the Bijagos in order that what they are doing can be totally stopped, and so that the kings may have the benefit of becoming Christians as well as being preserved in their kingdoms. It seems to me of great importance that Your Majesty should come to their aid quickly, for if not, there is considerable risk that they will fail in the major point, which is what the Catholic Person of Your Majesty much desires, for it is that these heathen should be instructed to the extent that they can receive our Holy Faith. This is most insistently sought by these kings, and hence they have asked for it from the padres of the Society whom Your Majesty has sent to these parts. The padres have not cared to grant the kings this, on account of the plight the kings are in, and /f.80v/ since it seems to the padres that God is permitting the circumstances which produce these cries of need so that a greater good can follow.

However what matters if further good is to result is the support of Your Majesty. I remain hopeful of this, and (partly) because the padre of the Society who is coming at the request of these kings will

give to Your Majesty a fuller account, for he understands the affairs of these kingdoms and what is important for the service of God and Your Majesty. In the details (attached) I inform Your Majesty of what to send me. May the Lord protect your Royal Person, for the good of the extension of Christianity.

From Guinela, 20 April 1607,

Sebastian Fernandes Cacao.

Information sent by Sebastian Fernandes Cacão to His Majesty

First, for the true success of Christianity in these parts in its spiritual aspects, the choice that Your Majesty has made of the padres of the Society of Jesus is a great comfort to all, for they are religious of great virtue and good example, and these are qualities most likely to influence these heathen favorably and direct them to our Holy Faith. And (thence they will proceed) much further, for they accept everything that is presented to them (?).

The kings have expressed a wish to become Christians since the arrival of the padres in March of this year 1607 are three: first, the King of Guinela, then the King of Bisege, while the King of Biguba would have become a Christian but has not, because there has been no opportunity, although he much wants to.

The King of Biguba, to whom Your Majesty has sent a letter in reply to his, has power over four kingdoms.

The King of Guinela has seven crowned kings under his dominion.

The King of Bisege has five kingdoms under his dominion.

The lands of these kingdoms are bounded by each other, and are divided by three rivers, which enter the land at the Islands of the Bijagos, and along these rivers (the Bijagos travel) upstream. From these rivers separate out many tributaries and creeks, which is the cause that these kingdoms are much subject (to attacks from) the Bijagos who can penetrate wherever they wish in their boats, since these are very light, and they can carry out their assaults by night. This nation (of Bijagos) is so cruel that they choose as the most convenient time to seize their loot the middle of the night when people are fast asleep. They have spies (to tell them when this is) and when the spies give the word, they enter the villages and set fire to them, and they kill those who leave their houses /f.81/ if they resist. In the end nobody escapes, the living (being captured), the rest killed.

Your Majesty should not fail to give support to these kings on the grounds that it is a matter of small importance, for King John III made a grant of these Bijagos Islands to the Infante D.Luis. A great fleet was formed to conquer them and it came to the Island of Santiago do Cabo Verde, where it took on more men since a very bad life was the custom there (?). (But) when they reached these islands and formed a camp, and entered the forests in their greed to obtain captives, (the Bijagos) attacked them and because of their lack of experience (the

Bijagos were able) to kill them all, and for this reason (the islands) were not conquered. Hence, when Your Majesty now considers this (request) and the small cost involved, for the kings who wish to become Christians are presenting (themselves ? ) as your vassals, all will be (as good as) conquered and the islands will belong to Your Majesty, or to whoever it is your pleasure (to give them).

There are 17 islands. They abound in foodstuffs of various kinds, are attractive on account of their woods and running waters, and have many kinds of livestock in the interior. Much ambergris is found almost annually on their beaches, but since the heathen do not recognise it the sea carries it away again. In sum, the fertility of the islands is such that their heathen inhabitants can support themselves without cultivation.

If Your Majesty is pleased to consider it advantageous to send this help and it comes in strong and well-armed ships, it might travel by Cape Verde and Bezequiche Bay and along the coast as far as Cabo Roxo. At this point, from October onwards (of each year), the French, Flemish and Dutch ships are to be found laden with iron and other trade-goods, which they exchange in order to leave with heavy cargoes of ivory, gold, hides and other commodities; and (Your Majesty's ships) might take as many prizes as possible. So if the help comes this way, it will clean up the coast and will be of profit to Your Majesty's royal treasury, since these (foreign) ships are of great value.

Father Pero Fernandes of the Society of Jesus carries a flagon containing cola - it travels better packed in a flagon -, a fruit of such esteem among all the Moors of Constantinople and Morocco that they come overland to obtain it and it brings high prices among them. The Moor and the Turk have such faith /f.81v/ in this fruit that when they go to war they eat it in powdered form, for they cannot obtain it fresh, and they consider that it gives them such courage that they believe nothing ill can happen to them, to the extent that after greeting each other in the morning they add - "If you are eating cola, breathe on me, so that today no harm can befall me". This being the case, it seems to me that, by Your Majesty informing the ambassadors from Barbary, you could send there each year two ships carrying this fruit which could be exchanged for captives. This would be a very cheap and easy form of ransom, and it would not be necessary to export gold or silver for this operation.

Information regarding Guinea and the disposition of the heathen there in relation to their conversion and the spread of our Holy Catholic Faith, taken from certain letters of Father Manoel Alvares of the Society of Jesus, of Gaspar Goncalves Pereira, (Episcopal) Visitor of these parts, and of Sebastian Fernandes Cacão, capitão of Rio Grande, written in 1607.

By order of His Majesty, the padres Manoel d'Almeida, Manoel Alvares and Pero Neto left this port of Lisbon in February 1607 on a mission directed towards Cape Verde and the Coast of Guinea. They reached Santiago Island in a small number of days, and Father Manoel d'Almeida and Father Pero Neto stayed there, while Father Manoel Alvares and Brother Pero Fernandes left on 8 March on a journey to Serra Lioa, where they were going to join Father Baltesar Barreira who was there alone.

When they reached the Coast of Guinea, the first port they came to was Bisao, where there live some Portuguese and (also) a king who had desired to become a Christian from the time that Father Baltesar Barreira was there, so that when he now saw more padres arriving, he most enthusiastically sought Holy Baptism from them. But since this matter calls for very careful thought, the padre comforted him as well as he could and gave him the hope that his desire would be satisfied in good time; and then he passed on to the Port of Santa Cruz, in the kingdom of Guinala, on the Rio Grande.

Here (the padres) were received, both by the capitão, Sebastian Fernandes Cacão, and the other /f.82/ Portuguese, and by the king and the whole of his people, with as much festivity and joy as if they had come from Heaven. Hence, when the padres began to carry out their ministry, Our Lord worked in the hearts of this people to such an extent that before many days had passed the king and all his followers sought Holy Baptism with an insistence so great that no greater could be desired.

The padres did not think it wise to concede this to them immediately, for certain serious reasons and on account of the very careful consideration which this action calls for. Instead they contented themselves with teaching them the catechism and stating to them the conditions under which they could receive Holy Baptism. One of the conditions was that they should cease to practise a heathen rite for which the devil had supplied them with a very strong justification, by basing it on arguments relating to rank and worldly honour. This rite is the killing, out of respect, on the death of a king, queen or noble, of many of those who worked for the dead person.

In order to abolish this rite, the king called a council resembling a cortes, and in it he made a law prohibiting the practice of the rite throughout the kingdom. Anyone who knows about Guinea and how deep-rooted among its kingdoms is this cruel practice, on the pretext of it being a matter of honour, will recognise how important it is that this king reached this decision. In consequence he was congratulated and respected by the Portuguese, (who expressed) the maximum extent of admiration.

As well as the king of Guinala and the king of Bisege, the king of Bigoba, a neighbour of the king of Guinala, also sought Holy Baptism most insistently. Each of these kings has other kings under him, as follows. The king of Bisege has five kings subject to him, the king of Bigoba has three, the king of Guinala has seven. All (three principal ? ) kings have written to His Majesty, each separately.

The circumstances which led the kings to seek Holy Baptism were both the exposition of our Holy Faith which they received from Father Baltasar Barreira and the Portuguese living in the land, and also the immediate plight they are in, from the activities of a nation of blacks called Bijagos. The Bijagos have been on the rampage in this area for some years, and have been carrying out a very cruel form of warfare against the neighbouring kings, inasmuch as they totally burn or devastate whatever places they penetrate to. With savage ferocity they kill or capture as many people as they can, and they endeavour both to lay hands on and wipe out the Portuguese (there), and to drive them away from the whole of Guinea. So all three kings and other neighbouring /f.82v/ rulers have joined together and have besought the padres to agree that one of the padres should come to Portugal in the name of them all, and should bring a son of one of the kings as an envoy. Throwing themselves at His Majesty's feet, they beseech him to have mercy on them and kindly to send assistance against their enemies, in order that once they are free from them they can become Christians, together with all their vassals, and remain under His Majesty's protection. That the sons of these kings should come here did not, for good reasons, seem necessary to the padres, since this would save His Majesty expense; but all consider it necessary that a brother of the Society should bring these letters and messages.

The assistance which they reckon to be adequate would be one of up to 500 men.

The cost of this aid will be very small, but the result and the profit for the Crown will be strikingly great, and made even greater by the conversion of all the heathen.

The reason why the aid will not cost much other than the cost of getting it there is that, when it gets there, it will join up with the men belonging to Sebastian Fernandes Cacão, commander of Rio Grande, and with those of the three kings, a considerable number of men, so His Majesty will no longer have to bear the cost. For the lands of the enemy blacks which are to be conquered are fertile and rich in all manner of foodstuffs, hence the settlers (moradores) and the blacks who live there have no need to cultivate them with labour, for by their own nature they provide them with what they need in great abundance. Only a certain amount of milho is sown.

The lands in which the Bijagos blacks dwell are chiefly the islands lying along the coast of Guinea and Serra Lioa, 17 in all, which are fertile to a most marked degree. From these islands the Bijagos emerge in their boats, and they penetrate up the rivers running down from the interior - which is completely parcelled out by the rivers - and make war on all these kings. But because their weapons are only throwing spears, whereas our men would have muskets and be supported by blacks with bows and arrows, it will be easy to destroy them and capture the islands, which His Majesty could present to whoever he wished.

Apart from the natural fertility of the islands and their abundance of livestock and fruits /f.83/ and all the other foodstuffs of these parts, it would be possible to build many sugar-mills on them. The size of the land, the infinite amount of forest, the running waters and (the presence of) the other requirements for this purpose, would bring great profit and gain to His Majesty's treasury, as can be (easily) understood. This would be in addition to the benefits which would arise because the conversion of the people of the land would put a stop to the voyages there by foreigners and their trade in those parts, trade from which they carry off much gold and ambergris and quantities of other commodities, all of which would remain in the hands of the Portuguese.

If this aid comes, Sebastian Fernandes Cacão has offered to arm at his own cost up to 10,000 men, and these, together with the men belonging to the three kings and the neighbouring lords who also wish to join in, would make war on the Bijagos. Whatever they capture would become a possession of the Crown of Portugal, and His Majesty could divide the lands among the conquistadores as he thought fit.

Since this aid must come from Europe, it must travel in ships which are well fitted-out and armed and which will head for Cape Verde and Bisiguiche Bay. and from there proceed along the coast as far as Cabo Roxo. From October onwards, French, Flemish and Dutch ships are regularly to be found at this point, laden with iron and with other goods obtained by trading, such as hides, ivory, ambergris, etc; and (the Portuguese ships) cannot fail to inflict on (the foreign vessels) as much damage as possible. Hence, if this aid reaches these parts, it will clean up the coast, and this will be most profitable for His Majesty's treasury. If the aid cannot be despatched so that it leaves in October, up to the end of December will do (?), in order that it reaches here, after a leisurely voyage, at such a time of year that (the forces) can go into battle between March and June, this being the best season for (warfare).

It is additionally important that this aid should come because the heathen kings and lords, together with their people. have a high opinion of the great power of His Majesty and of the good faith and honesty of the Portuguese. This is one of the reasons why they welcome, love, and desire to receive our Holy Faith, on the one hand to gain their salvation /f.83v/, as the padres of the Society teach them, (but) on the other to gain, as they hope, His Majesty's protection. As the Portuguese tell them, this could support them and keep them at peace, since His Majesty is such a powerful king. If this aid is denied to them, it is to be feared that that their enthusiasm to become Christians will be chilled, and the high opinion they have had of His Majesty and the Portuguese will be greatly reduced. They will persuade themselves that everything the padres and the Portuguese tell them is false and is only told them to deceive them, and they will not trust the Portuguese but will instead withdraw their confidence, at the very least. And the same can be feared with respect to the neighbouring kings.

But if the aid reaches them, their high opinion of the power, favour and support of His Majesty and the Portuguese will be so much greater in the light of experience, and they will be reassured in their opinion. It will also serve to maintain their due state of subjection to His Majesty, and they will fear that if they fail in this or any other respect they will be punished by His Majesty with the same ease with which he sent aid to them.

Further, it will bring much profit in terms of the neighbouring kings along the coast who, when the news of this aid reaches them, will submit readily and of their own free will, since in truth this is an action which will rapidly persuade these kings to become subjects of His Majesty.

Account of certain happenings in Guinea and of the doors which are opening there for new conversions, taken from letters of Father Manoel Álvares S.J. and of Sebastian Fernandes Cacão, written from Rio Grande in May 1607

For eight or nine days after the padres and the other passengers left Cape Verde (Island) they lost their way, neither the pilot nor the ship's captain knowing what latitude they were in, which gave everyone cause for alarm. Doubtless they would have perished if this had gone on longer, in view of the great hardships they suffered. Their greatest cause for concern was that they sailed among shoals and among (the islands of) the savage Bijagos, the cruellest people in these parts, who are warriors and live by force of arms, and whose claim it is that they bring destruction on all. And this the Bijagos did with respect to the kingdom of Bigoba, where, after setting everything alight, they killed some of those they had captured by cutting off their heads, for they were unable to carry off prisoners because they were not carrying fetters for them. When (the padres) found themselves in these perils, they had recourse to Our Lady, reciting two litanies addressed to her, and each specified the saints to whom he was most devoted (?). Immediately they took the right course, to the relief of all at this happy outcome. They rejoiced at the mercy God had shown them, through the mediation of Our Lady and of their saints, to whom they also recited litanies each evening.

Thus they reached the ports they were bound for, and in them began to work for the spiritual good of all. Their intentions have already been noted, and these are greatly appreciated among such people. To indicate the blindness and misery in which these wretched people are living, and to help them with a physical and spiritual remedy, let us describe here what the rite of chinas is, so that members of our Society will take compassion on those living in such a miserable state and will come to their aid, and so that His Majesty and the members of the council will help and lend their support to this wretched and forsaken people.

The heathen in these parts have two chinas. The first, the chief one, is the god they adore, the god which rules their kingdoms, according to them. This they call china, as we call Our Lord God our god. Hence, when they see our images of Christ or Our Lady, they say that these are the china of the Christians, that is, the god of the Christians. They hold this china in great veneration, and will do nothing without consulting it. The devil speaks through it when they bring it out publicly at their judicial sessions, or when they make

oaths on it, or when it has to decide on or prevent any happening in the kingdom, /f.84v/ either something that has already happened or something which must not happen thereafter in the kingdom. The form of this china is as follows. They take many sticks, each a palm-span and a half long. All of the sticks are very black, on account of a mixture of liquids, including the blood from various animals, which they pour into certain vessels into which they dip the sticks. The vessels are small pots, with goats' horns between them. From the sticks they make up a faggot, and this resembles a butcher's chopping-block, a palm-span and a half high. Hanging from this china by fine cords are two skulls of dogs. This is the god these people venerate and put their trust in.

I confess that when we see a heathen king like the king of Guinela in such majesty, seated in the local style, and keeping his rules of fine behaviour without a single slip, and we see his queen and nobles, (yet), for lack of Christian instruction and lack of support from Portugal, (all of them) having nothing better to look up to than that artefact designed by the devil I am describing, which seems a representation of hell, then this upsets us to an extent I cannot describe.

When the king and the body of nobles were assembled in order to take the decision to stop this ritual use of chinas, the king said, after sending for the china, that he wished to have the use of chinas stopped, provided that two men who had not been friends for a very long time made up their friendship. When the men heard this they made friends (again), and the king and the governor showed their great joy. Thus this victory over the enemy was won on 5 April. We believe it will be the first of many and that Our Lord God will very quickly draw these heathen to a true knowledge of Himself. Thus henceforth there will be no more swearing on the china, nor will chinas be employed in ritual, as I have just stated. The ritual is as follows.

When a king, a queen, or nobles or other persons die, there is killed with each, according to the dead person's power and rank, some of those who are closest to that person, men and women, so that they can serve them in the other life, and (also) some of those whom nature has endowed most generously with physical characteristics /f.85/ such as beauty, strength, etc. The padres have seen persons whose appearance caused grief to themselves (?) . They call these chinas because the term indicates how much they love them, china in this sense being the same as 'dearest one'. They kill them by brute force, for they break their fingers and crush them little by little, and when they are on the point of dying - they suffer this torture for some three hours -

they run a sharp stick through their necks and so they die miserably. Other chinas who will follow them in dying from the same torture are present at the spectacle, and these exhibit, not long faces or gloom, but great joy, and they take part in the musical proceedings. (Yet) the wretches will die this way without exception.

Imagine the joy it brought our padres to see this ritual put an end to, so that it is no longer used and no-one is killed! Instead, the ritual is prohibited under severe penalties, so that when two nobles died, there was no killing, except of oxen. When this had been agreed on, great was the joy and relief of the king, the nobles, and the Portuguese, so that all took part in celebrations, the Portuguese firing off their muskets, the blacks shooting with their bows.

The decision having been taken in the presence of the nobles and Portuguese, the king stated that (the padres) should make him a Christian, and the same was said by the governor of the kingdom, who immediately brought them a son of his. The nobles are seeking the same thing, and if what they are saying has already come about, there would have been baptized not one king, but two, and many other persons. But since the padres aim, with divine favour, to make a successful beginning to this process of conversion, so that they should not always be apprehensive lest (the) converts return to the erroneous beliefs they have so long held, the padres are waiting for the right moment as these people increase in their knowledge of our Holy Faith, to ensure that from being heathens they do not become heretics. For this reason the padres have not baptized them, /f.85v/ although they have been strongly pressed by them to do so.

A capitão, a man of standing among them, met the padres as they left the king's house, and presenting himself together with a single wife, he having given up all his other wives, he begged them to make him a Christian. They told him in reply that they would do all this when they had word from Portugal, where they were asking for support in the matter about which the king of Bigoba, the king of Guinela, and the King of Bisege, who most insistently were seeking Holy Baptism, were writing to His Majesty. Capitão Sebastian Fernandes Cação wished to give a feast in honour of the governor of the kingdom of Guinela, the most important person in the kingdom after the king, and he invited him to dinner on Easter Day. Believing that this was in order to give him baptism, he came in great excitement; and as soon as the king of Guinela and the king of Biguba are baptised all these heathen will receive Holy Baptism.

In these parts there are certain heathen called Mandingas, and they are the worst sort for they follow the religion of the Moors. They are close to the Moors in their customs, and they live next to the Jalofos. These (Moors ?) make their way among the heathen and deceive them by giving them amulets and reliquaries which they wear around their necks in the same way as we wear an agnus dei or relics. The amulets are formed from pieces of leather sewn together in various ways, and they carry in them what the Moors give them, and (thus) the false beliefs of their perverse sect are also scattered around.

The Mandingas were greatly saddened by the celebrations of the Portuguese and others when the rite of chinas was prohibited. The padres discussed the Holy Baptism they sought with some heathen who were wearing these amulets, and they immediately threw them away. One of them took his from his neck and threw it in the sea, and others hid theirs when they came to talk to the padres.

The governor of the kingdom, otherwise called the larego, the leading person in the kingdom after the king, brought the padres to the king's house, together with a great crowd of his followers, where they entertained them in the local fashion with instrumental music, which they normally only do when the king goes out. The Portuguese also held festivities. On the return journey, they accompanied them almost half-way, and were festive to an extent that is beyond description, (going through the motions of) shooting off their bows without (actually) shooting arrows, something they only do on great feast days. A regiment of archers arrived with bows and quivers, some of them singing, some dancing, (all) wearing chaplets of greenery, and (all) overjoyed by the victory. In this fashion they reached Porto de Santa Cruz, which contains their chief oracle, and they continued feasting all night. The following day Father Gaspar Gonçalves Pereira, the Visitor to this port, sang a mass in honour of the Virgin of the Conception, in gratitude for such a signal victory as the abandonment of the chinas and of the ceremonies at death connected with them. Not all the Portuguese attended these festivities for some were keeping watch at the port against the threat from the enemy Bijagos whom the settlers fear, and so the padres spent the whole night here with the guard.

These Bijagos have inflicted great damage, by burning and laying waste everything, for apart from the loss suffered by the kingdom of Biguba, as stated above, a great deal has also been suffered by the kingdom of Bisege. A large part of King Mangali's kingdom has been destroyed, and he was forced to flee, leaving his residence and

hiding in the forest, since he found himself hard-pressed; and he goes about in fear lest they seize him and his sons, as he himself says in the letter he has written to His Majesty.

The Bijagos are not content with harassing the blacks but they also want to wipe out the Portuguese found in those parts, and they will do so unless His Majesty sends some aid. Whatever it be, the importance will be great, and on it depends the conversion of all these heathen.

Since the King of Guinela is the principal king, as soon as he is baptized, all will be over, and God will be greatly served in those parts. Hence, when the word comes, it will be necessary for the padres to baptize him and the others who have already been catechized.

The kings who at present wish for baptism are the following. Enchabole, king of Biguba. He has three kings whom he crowns. On the East he is a neighbour of the Nalus, who are very warlike blacks, but they do not fear these, or any other blacks, except the Bijagos, who are very harmful to them because they live on islands and make assaults (on them).

Another is the king of Guinela, by name Bamala, who is a kind of emperor over seven kings, to whom he presents their cap, which corresponds to a crown. Apart from these seven kingdoms, the Bijagos have taken six kingdoms from him. They neighbour him on the South.

Another king is called Mangali, king of the kingdom of Bisege. He has five kings on whom he places the cap or crown. To the East South East he is a neighbour of the Bijagos, and he is also a neighbour of the Nalus.

These kings, who are all of the Biafar nation, and also the fidalgos who have public offices, go around clothed. The kings wear cotton breeches, over that a cloth also of cotton but very fine, and over the top of everything a wide smock; and they have a royal cap on the head. When they give audience they are seated and enthroned in a chair formed from a single piece of wood, and they hold in one hand a bunch of sticks. Those who do any wrong they punish severely, by seizing them and their whole family. Uncles sell their nephews whenever they find this necessary, without any blame accruing, since they say that they can do this because (the victims) are their relatives.

The lands of these three kings all border each other, and they are divided by three rivers which penetrate inland from the Bijagos Islands and through these three kingdoms. From these three rivers emerge many tributaries and creeks, on account of which the kingdoms are much subject to (attacks from) the Bijagos, who, in their boats, which are very light, enter (any waterway) they please and make their attacks

There are 17 islands. They have a great abundance of the foodstuffs of these parts, and are luxuriant because of the forests and running waters. They have many groves of palm-trees, from which quantities of wine and oil are gathered, also a fruit called chabeo. /f.87/ In different parts there are many citrus-trees, and inland many kinds of livestock. The lands are very fertile and rich, and suitable for any crop, and everything grows most abundantly. The blacks normally subsist on, and sow, milho of two or three kinds, and funde, rice, and sesame. The lands by the sea have a great abundance of fish. Much ivory and wax is available. On the beaches a large quantity of ambergris can be found, but because it is not appreciated, it is carried away again by the sea. To sum up, these lands are such that their heathen inhabitants can subsist without cultivating them, because of their productiveness. They have a great quantity of cola, which the Moors and Turks greatly value, and each year two ships (laden with cola) could be sent (to Barbary) for the ransoming of captives, which would be much cheaper than using gold and silver.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Written on f.87v in another hand : Information about Guinea and letters from the kings of those parts, with other matters, May 1607.

BRASID 4, 63

LETTER FROM SEBASTIÃO FERNANDES CACÃO TO KING D. FILIPE II, ? 1607

(ARM, Papeles de Jesuitas, ms. 185)

My Lord,

Captain Sebastião Fernandes Casão, cavaleiro do abito de Christo, representative in this court, states that he has served Your Majesty for more than forty years, living on the Rivers of Cape Verde, and from the great experience he has of these regions he says that it would be of great service to Your Majesty's treasury if a fort were built on the Rivers of São Domingos, at the port of Cacheo, the site of the feitoria and the point of despatch for ships bound for Portugal and all other parts. For this port is the best equipped for repairing and emptying (?) in bulk (?) these ships. Apart from this, a fort would be a great advantage for the local residents, since they would be able to defend themselves against the French and Flemish enemies. Also the Bigagogos, who have destroyed twelve kingdoms which are now depopulated, would not be able to harm them, and those people who have retreated inland will return to seek refuge at the fortress. It could be built at very little expense and would be situated in an area where provisions are very cheap. In this way the said contrato will be able to be maintained, and the timber repairs, which are continually being made, will not be necessary. The attacks which are continually being made by the Bigagogos, burning houses and crops (?), will be prevented; and when there is a fort all will be safe and the settlement will be populated again. Your Majesty will save on guns, since even if there are <sup>no</sup> [?] more than thirty

bronze cannon that catch and harass enemy ships, this port will remain very secure and the said contract will not be lost. As a loyal vassal I give this advice to Your Majesty since I believe that this is what is best for the service of God and the good of Your Majesty's treasury.

[The remainder of the text is in Spanish.] If the fortress is built, as I suggest, and the padres of the Society go there, many will become Christians, and in the kingdoms around about the same will happen, for they are a people who will receive the Holy Gospel very easily, because they are heathens, and worship nothing but sticks and stones, and are good-natured.

It will be of great profit to Your Majesty's treasury, and especially because the number of blacks leaving Guinea will be known accurately, something which has so far not been known, since many have been despatched irregularly to escape (the duty), but when there is a fortress this will be stopped, for in the fortress the exact number that each person removes will be counted, which will be of great advantage to Your Majesty.

Also the ships and boats which lie in that port in order to take on supplies will be safe, under the protection of this fort, from the many enemies who (in the past) have taken them from the port and robbed them.

The ships that take on supplies there buy and rent thatched huts in order to keep their slaves ashore, so as to be able to feed and sustain them. Each ship pays in rent for these huts 1,000 crusados, in the currency circulating in the Indies in silver(?), which is not a good thing, to cover the period of time during which the supplies are being taken on board. When there is a fortress,

with its own storehouses inside, the blacks will be safe from enemies, for often they have been burned because they were (only) within thatched huts, and the shipowners will be willing to pay this amount of money and more to have their slaves and property safe in the fort.

On Santiago Island, because it is an island, it has often happened that it has failed to rain, and because there has been great hunger there, its inhabitants have left it and gone to this port on the mainland. If there were a fortress there, there is no doubt that it would be a fine place, because it has ample provisions.

Again, as soon as the Portuguese find out that His Majesty is taking account of this land and building a fortress, mines of gold and silver that the blacks say are there will be discovered. At the moment no-one cares to go inland to seek them, except blacks, so that the trade in gold is what the blacks busy themselves with in order to have an exchange-trade (with whites).

Wax and ivory are available in large quantities, but all benefits our enemies, the French, Flemings, English and Jews, who come there from Holland. They have houses in the port of Balli, a port of Cape Verde, which is a great disservice to God and His Majesty.

There is also a mountain of crystal. If one cared to remove it, it would load many ships.

Once the fort is built, they will pay much more for the contract when His Majesty orders it to be leased, because their buildings and property will be safe. Many other consequences will

follow from the building of this fort, and these will greatly profit His Majesty.



**25**





LETTER OF FATHER MANUEL DE ALMEIDA

(JAA)

(ARSJ, Lus. 74, ff. 90-91v)

Cape Verde, 11 June 1607

/f.90/ We reached this Island of Cape Verde on the eve of Ash Wednesday, 1607. We were received with great affection, both by the captain-governor, who is very attached to the Society, and by the whole of the Council and people. Although the clergy here are not as keen supporters of the Society as they might be, because they see that we desire to set on a new path those who for long have lived in the local style, nevertheless in their outward attitudes they dare not dissent greatly, which they doubtless would do if it were not for their fear of the governor. May God grant him the years of life that all on this island desire for him!

Our regular duties are to preach each holy day, to hear confessions at all hours, to give religious instruction, to teach Latin to children and to expound moral casuistry to any who wish to hear this, and lastly, to carry out any tasks in the service of the Lord that are given us. Although they beg us not to undertake too much, because they fear that we may pay for it with our lives, since the land is very sultry and relaxing and does not permit the amount of work in fact we have in hand, we must consider it better to risk our lives serving the Lord than to safeguard them by failing in any of these duties. In order that Your Reverence may appreciate some of the things that have been achieved, I am going to refer to them, even though the ship (taking this letter) is weighing anchor to sail away.

In relation to our material living conditions, the padres had taken some houses here for which they were paying rent, and these were kept for us until we reached the island. They were a little exposed to view, and the road which goes up a slope (?) to them was troublesome on account of the heat of the land every time we had to return from church /f.90v/ and at midday was very distressing and could cause sickness. Having noted this, I saw to it that, by order of His Majesty, we regained possession of the seminary (site) which, on account of the death of Father Manuel de Barros, the clergy had taken over without any permission; and for our residence I had a double-storied house built on this site. This we find very suitable for our retiral as it has a capacious vestibule covered with thatch and is therefore cool by the standards of this country, and all (of us) like to go there to read the spiritual works kept in it. Because we now (also) have a very

convenient vegetable garden within our residence, which is useful for what it provides as well as for recreation, and have sufficient accommodation in the best part of the city, we do not get so fatigued when we come from confessions, having the church at hand. And if it had, or rather had had, sight of the sea and had not been so hemmed in with rocky ravines, here it would have been possible (?) to found the College which His Majesty has sent word to the governor of the island, by the latest caravel, that he is to establish, giving us what is necessary to support twelve members of the Society.

All this Father Manoel Alvares was unable to witness, for nine days after our arrival he left by sea, with Brother Pero Fernandes, for the Rio Grande, on a well-appointed frigate. He had a great desire to convert many souls in those parts, and to assist the progress of what had already been achieved by Father Baltesar Barreira. To date we have had no news of the latter because there have been no ships, but we hope that he will reach us, in good health, on the next ship to arrive. He is leaving his companions in that place, in order to take charge, here in this island, of matters relating to the college. For it seems to them there, as it does to us here, that we should accept what the king offers us, on account of the quantity of spiritual fruit which we can hope to gather from this activity, <sup>fruit</sup> and which is daily being observed <sup>(to form)</sup> in many aspects which cannot be put into writing.

As regards the spiritual life, we are endeavouring to carry out all the duties which the Society regularly undertakes. An island named Maio lies near here and a canon of this /f.91/ diocese is required to visit it each Lent, to justify the stipend he receives for this duty. The people there have been without a confessor for two years and, although I had it in mind, there was such delay in fulfilling the requirement that I learned that this year all of them would still be unable to make a confession. It happened that a vessel was being got ready to go to this island and to those islands further to the windward. I asked the master and the pilot to take me secretly with them, which they much approved, and they immediately acquired the necessary provisions for my journey at their own cost. (But) when I went to the ship with the intention of visiting these islands and of leaving my companions on shore to deal with the local confessions, it being Holy Week, I was unable to do this sufficiently secretly for the captain not to find out, and he left with such speed that, not only was I left behind but a canon went aboard and travelled to that island to confess the people, which he would not have done if I had not (been prepared) to expose myself to danger. Our Lord willed that the canon who had

failed to go out of fear of the enemy, did go there and returned safely, to the great comfort of the people.

To heathen blacks we have shown charity. For they used to let them die unbaptized, and through the gate when we arrived there used to pass bodies being carried to the rubbish dump, though (the blacks themselves) wished to be baptized and their owners treated it very lightly (?) since they would not be losing two pence. We gave instructions that the children of the city should let us know about any heathen black who was sick so that he could be baptized, and we asked the masters to send us any who were scattered over the island, so that we could catechize them, there being plenty of interpreters here, and baptize them, which the masters carefully did. And very many souls were sent to heaven who would have perished if this remedy had not been applied.

On the same matter of baptism, we hit on a very important point in relation to the salvation of the blacks who come from Guinea, for they arrive in such a way that it cannot be discovered whether they have been baptized or not. Indeed their masters give Christian names to those who are heathens /f.91v/ and hence there is great confusion when they are embarked for Cartagena, for when the parish priests go to ships about to sail, in order to baptize the blacks, as is the local custom, they cannot recognise which are the ones to baptize. I myself, when I went there to see how things were managed, could not find a solution. Because of this problem, I am asking whoever can lay down the law regarding all this (to proclaim) that all blacks coming from Guinea should be baptized, before they are scattered over the island, by the roes who come on their ships (?). If this is thoroughly carried out, as we hope, there will not be as many unbaptized souls to be conveyed in the licenced ship (navio de registro) as there would be without this precaution.

The dire needs of many persons have been met, partly by alms, partly by influencing those who treat them badly. Many important friendships have been established, some prisoners have been delivered, many sins have been shunned. The land being as luxuriant and wanton as those lands which are most (notoriously so) a notable amendment among the whites and blacks has been seen, for which we give a thousand thanks to the Lord. He brought us here, when we least expected it, so that we could turn to good use all the troubles we

had endured and He could be served by them, and so that we could (learn to) fear death, and the diseases which threaten us, very little, for although they are at first sight fearful, they can only separate the soul from the body but not the soul from the Lord its creator, to whom we have offered our souls, and a hundred thousand lives if we had them.

I stop, lest the letter remain here (by missing the ship). To the sacrifices and prayers of the whole Province, Father Pero Neto and I sincerely commend ourselves.

Cape Verde, 11 June 1607.

Manoel d'Almeida (1)

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(1) Another copy in the same hand, in ARSJ Lus.83, ff.298-299v, has minor variants.



**26**





(JAG)

LETTER FROM FATHER MANUEL DE ALMEIDA. (1)

Cape Verde, 12 August 1607.

Jesus

Pax Christi

I wish I could write to Your Reverence with more joy than I possess at present, following the death of my good companion, Father Pero Neto, whose intercourse and holy conduct I, for my sins, did not deserve to be allowed by God to enjoy. These (virtues? sins?) I believe were the cause of his surviving such a short time in this land, when I so much desired him to have a long life for the great profit which all agreed would result from this. But his death and most happy transit, and the sadness which I felt at his death, finding myself alone and without that companion whose love for the Lord was so great, must not prevent me from fulfilling my obligation to recount to Your Reverence what is happening in these parts.

Father Pero Neto was totally occupied with the good of the people here and their salvation. Such was his fervent desire to perform many services for the Lord that I was amazed at the strength he displayed in a land which is so slighted and neglected because of the continual heat here. Although I told him many times that he had (only) so much strength, and suggested that he make use of some of the comforts necessary for preserving life in this land, and that he abandon the penances he normally performed in Portugal because the land would not

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(1) There are two copies of this letter in different hands, but the text of LUS 106(ff.333-4), the more careful copy, has been followed. However, additional <sup>appearing</sup> passages/only in the other copy (LUS 74, ff.97-99v.) have been inserted.

tolerate them, not least before (he had experienced) the first bout of sickness, the one which is usually very troublesome, yet his desire to mortify and ill-treat himself in all respects was so great that, in order not to distress him, I left him to pursue his fervour.

On the 29th of July, after saying mass, he returned with a common fever. This was attended to with all possible diligence, for when the people of the land knew that he was ill, each one tried to do something for the padre, on the grounds that it was the particular duty of everyone to extend the padre's life, a life so necessary for (the good of) all. Believe me, Your Reverence, they ordered so much that the sick of the land were supplied with what was left over from his needs, and everything was done as perfectly as it could possibly have been done in Portugal, where things are managed well. He stayed in this house for only two days, because His Lordship the Governor, Francisco Correa da Silva, would not allow his illness to continue without further attention). The members of the Society in these parts owe their health and their very lives to the governor. (He befriends us) both out of his love for the Society and out of his zeal for the conversion of these parts, a zeal so immense that I do not know how to describe it.

On the third day of Father Neto's illness he was taken to the governor's residence and there he was nursed with as much care, being provided both with doctors and with medicines and other necessities, as a person of the highest importance might be nursed in Portugal. It was the governor who stayed with him day and night and sought out whatever was necessary for his health, so that the sick man lacked nothing and everything was always at hand. The governor was as anxious to return him in good health to our house as any father jealously guarding the life and health of a son he loved dearly. All this increased even more the general desire to have Father Neto restored to health, for the people rejoiced to see this

thoughtfulness on the part of a governor who is so loved by all for his virtues and his good conduct in administration, and they desired above all to see him given this satisfaction. The reason why the whole land is at peace and we have less to do is because, this governor attends to everything, and sets all to right, with such a good disposition and a desire for the good of all that it amazes me. If His Majesty had such governors in (all) overseas parts, the process of conversion would advance faster and good habits would flourish, for it is certain that where the head goes the limbs must follow.<sup>(1)</sup>

With such good nursing as he had, Father Neto reached the seventh day (of his illness) so successfully that we thought he had escaped, the blood which had been taken from him in nine bloodlettings being as if he were in good health. But this caused us to fear what (in fact) happened afterwards. When they had applied to him many leeches(?), which he bore with great patience, his pulse remaining very /f.333v/ strong, on the tenth day of his illness - when he was fully conscious, as he had not been on earlier days - on Wednesday, 8 August 1607, just as he was entering the eleventh (day of illness) and two hours before dawn, he suffered a collapse which immediately rendered him unconscious, and so he continued until ten or eleven in the morning when he gave his soul to his creator. The Lord knows how great a sorrow this brought me, because if I had any comfort in these parts, at least at the human level, it was to have him as my companion. It will be a long time, if ever, before anyone comes to Cape Verde who can give me as much satisfaction, because it seems that God wished to give me on this expedition the best (companion) He could select in order to comfort me in my labours.

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(1) The last Portuguese sentence, represented by the last two sentences in English, is only found in LUS 74.

As soon as Father Neto expired, the governor gave clear indications of how much he loved him, because, besides shedding many tears, he withdrew, ordered the windows to be closed, and dressed himself in black, while the whole of his household lamented as if a person to whom they were strongly duty-bound had died there. Despite his grief, the governor did not forget (to attend to) the burial, but ordered that it should be provided for as carefully as if a dearly loved brother of his had died, I myself at that time being in no condition to attend to anything, on account of the great sorrow it caused me to see him dead before my eyes.

Father Neto was taken to be buried on the bier belonging to the Misericordia, carried on the shoulders of the most worthy citizens of this land. All the clergy of the Chapter followed, and all the fraternities went in front with their crosses. There were so many people that I am not aware of anyone who did not accompany him with many tears, unless it was a certain magistrate of this place, who has little love for us despite(?) the good works we have done for him.<sup>(1)</sup> The Chapter gave us a place in the chancel of Our Lady of the Conception, near the altar, which is where the canons are buried, and there we laid him in a specially made coffin, so that at any time his body could easily be transferred to the college, if Our Lord wills that it should be built in this city, which would be bound to result in great honour to God and great good to souls.

The Official of the See and the canons had offered to perform the service, which they did as well as could possibly be done, in Portugal, for a person of high authority, by singing a mass and responsory for him in beautiful voices. But what caused me most

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(1) The phrase 'unless it was .... done for him' appears only in LUS 74.

sorrow was the weeping of the people when his burial was completed, because it not only resounded throughout the city but lasted until night. The loudly-expressed exclamations of grief were so many that when I withdrew to our residences, which are near the church, I could hear them all from there. They cut into my heart and made me spill tears, which for many hours I shed without being able to restrain myself, although I desired to do so as I considered that great harm might be inflicted by so many tears.

But the good padre had earned all this from the people here, because he heard their confessions by day and by night, he consoled them in their labours, he attended them in their needs, with such love and gentleness that he captivated them all, and hence I know of no-one who would not have given the blood of his arm for Father Neto, if it had been necessary. As for me, I can only say that he brought me relief in all moods, because if I was sad he made me happy, if tired he lightened my work, if disconsolate he cheered me; I never felt nostalgic about Portugal because so many aspects of it could be found united in him; and I had such an example (of self-discipline) as he hourly afforded me.

But the Lord be thanked for all. He did not wish me to delight in the company of so holy a father for a long period. May it please Him that I am in penitence for my sins, for although remaining alone is most painful for me, yet my recognition that my faults fully deserve this provides some alleviation, and when the Lord pardons my faults I shall consider myself to have made a fair payment in the desolation I have suffered. One sorrow, however, remains in my heart and soul, and this relates to what the governor did, partly in order to restore health as much as he could to the padre. May there be no-one who is dissuaded from this mission by the thought /f.334/ that the padres who come here die so quickly! Yet on the other hand I am consoled by the thought that the Lord will not forsake the vast number of people throughout Guinea, for His power is such as to give courage and spirit

even to the most timid and cowardly, so that they can perform His appointed services in these parts.

Further, not all (newcomers) have dangerous illnesses, for some get over the first fevers very easily, and once these are past they live even more healthy lives than they did in other parts. And here am I, who, although I have still to undergo the first sickness, nevertheless have no fear of it. If the governor had not obliged me to stay at his residence, because it is healthy there during the rainy season, the most dangerous time of year, I should be going about in the evening chill and the (morning) heat as I have until now without it doing me any harm. For he whom God wishes to preserve has nothing to fear; and he whom God calls to render account to Him, can prepare himself, for no protection in this place or any other will be adequate to save him.

In the midst of these troubles, I had one great consolation, in the person of Henrique Pinto, who came (?) from Portugal with such an extraordinary vocation to serve Our Lord in these parts that he can arouse envy in a religious of the highest spirituality. An honourable and well-bred youth, possessing the requirements for advancement in the church (?), he so rejected it all (?) that there is no death so ugly that it can frighten him, and instead his greatest torment is when at times I speak to him about the need to send him back (to Portugal). He serves us as if he were our slave, and during Father Neto's illness he showed so much love that it taught him to be a nurse. I know of no night when he closed his eyes whilst the padre was ill. He could be found at all hours by his bedside with his face full of happiness, raising the padre up and laying him down, with such delight in doing even those things which cause natural repulsion and horror that it amazed and shamed me, and I do not know how to describe it. The General (?) has ordered me to send him (back) to undertake his

noviciate (so that he can) return to help us, and he was to go at the present time. But as this would leave me alone, I think that it will be (the General's) wish that I keep him here until Our Lord ordains how best he can further His service (?).<sup>(1)</sup>

Father Baltesar Barreira is still in the Serra, and now that Brother Pero Fernandes has gone to Portugal it will be more difficult for him to come (back) to this island. May Your Reverence do us the kindness of sending us a padre to go to the Serra, to be a companion to Father Manoel Álvares, who is there; and a Brother who knows Latin well so that he can help me in teaching the children of this city, which is a very important task. Then Father Barreira will be able to come back from the Serra to organise matters relating to the college which is to be founded here.

I have hope in Our Lord that the Province of Portugal will not be lacking in generous spirits who wish to offer themselves to the Lord and, setting aside the fear of death, ask Your Reverence to send them to these parts. On arrival, they will find them less exposed (to heat and danger) than the devil paints them. But may they recognise that an hour occupied by a good death, such as was that of Father Pero Neto, is worth more than many hours of (mere) life! May Our Lord enable me to see them enter through this port, and to receive them with a thousand embraces, since the souls who are awaiting them are far more than this in number. And if they find me in the other life, may they pray a Hail Mary for my soul, and carry forward this undertaking which, while life remains with me, I shall never abandon,

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(1) This paragraph, and the previous one, only appear in

for I would rather die among blacks for the love of God, than die away from them and risk my salvation.

Through the blessing of Your Reverence and the prayers of all the Province, very much do I commend myself to the Lord.

From this House of Jesus at Cape Verde, 12 August 1607,

Manoel d'Almeida.









DELIBERATION OF THE COUNCIL OF PORTUGAL

(AGS, Sec. Prov., Lib. 1476, ff. 394-395v)

Madrid, 6 December, 1607

/f.394/ Sir,

Sebastião Fernandes Cacão - who resides on the Coast of Guinea - wrote to Your Majesty <sup>in</sup> last April about the great deal of spiritual fruit which the religious of the Society were harvesting in those parts and how through their diligence and teaching three kings of the region are quite prepared to become Christians. These are the king of Guinela - who has seven kings under his dominion calling him their capped king - , the king of Bisege - who likewise has three kingdoms - , and the king of Biguba - who has another three.

These kings are neighbours and their territories border on each other and are divided by three rivers; and because they are near to the islands of the Visagos - who are a warlike people - the latter go in their boats up the rivers of these kingdoms and do much damage in them, robbing and killing vassals of these kings, and doing damage to the Portuguese who go about in these parts, so that they have caused (all of them) great trouble.

Because the above mentioned religious were given a good reception by these kings, and saw that they and their vassals were so well-disposed to becoming Christians - they wished to be baptized immediately but the religious delayed baptism first in order to instruct them in Christian doctrine. - they arranged with Sebastião Fernandes Cacão to inform Your Majesty of the willingness to have Christianity planted in their lands they have found in these kings and (also) that, with (the mention of) the little assistance against the Visagos they request from Your Majesty in their letters, they are beginning to win over those kings and their states, and to gain Your Majesty - besides the

benefit of (extending) Christianity - seventeen islands /f.394/ inhabited by the Visagos. These islands are very rich in various foostuffs; they are fresh-looking and covered with trees, and possess much running water; in the interior they have cattle in many varieties, and on the beaches a quantity of ambergris is found, but because the natives are not acquainted with it, it is washed back into the water. The fertility of these islands is such that the natives are supported by them without (having to undertake) cultivation; and the islands are very healthy. Should Your Majesty, through his/their service (?), send help to these kings and take these islands, which are close together and inhabited by the Visagos, Your Majesty will be able to have them shared out or kept (in royal control), whichever would be most appropriate. If this assistance goes in powerful, well-armed ships, they can travel by Cape Verde and the Bay of Bosiguiche, and by following the coast as far as Cabo Roxo - where from October onwards there are French, Flemish and Dutch ships, laden with iron, trading for ivory, gold, hides and other merchandise - they will clean up this coast. From this (expedition) will result great profit for Your Majesty's exchequer, since these islands are very suitable for the building of sugar mills, and much other profit will be drawn from them. Before their (desire for) Christianity cools - and those kings are writing to Your Majesty about their Christian feelings - Your Majesty must do them the favour of sending the assistance for which they ask.

The religious have stated, and the man who brought their letters and those of the kings addressed to Your Majesty has reported, that Sebastião Fernandes Cacão is himself offering to take part in the campaign against the Visagos, with the support of ten or twelve of his ships, equipped at his own expense, and ten thousand local men, so that the Visagos may be totally wiped out and the islands delivered to Your Majesty.

These letters came to the Council of India. In view of the fact that Your Majesty had agreed to order the clearing /f.395/ from that coast of the enemies who persist in maintaining trading posts there, it seemed to the Council that Your Majesty should order that this be done with all speed, and that the ships that are proceeding there for this purpose should go on to support these kings and to help Sebastião Fernandes Cacão chastise the Visagos; and that if it then seems necessary he should be given two hundred men to help him in the cleaning up, who would remain in his charge (?)

When (the fleet) reaches these parts, it should first of all arrange with these kings that they become vassals of Your Majesty, so that with a more just claim Your Majesty can defend them against their enemies, and so that the islands to be conquered will be at Your Majesty's disposal. The necessary papers will be drawn up for this, and will be sent to Your Majesty. By two votes of the Council, it was recommended that soldiers should not be left there.

The Council is of the opinion that Your Majesty should order that Sebastião Fernandes Cacão be told in a letter that Your Majesty considers yourself well served by him, and that you will be pleased to reward him when the opportunity arises, according to the services he has rendered and will render in this matter.

The Viceroy is of the opinion that everything that the Council of India proposes has been carefully considered, and that Your Majesty should be pleased to order that the ships and people you have agreed to go to that coast should now depart, and that you should let Sebastião Fernandes Cacão have the two hundred soldiers, if they are necessary, but putting them in charge of a captain to command them.

When the matter was presented to the Council it seemed important and worthy of being dealt with by it, considering the great service which will be done for God thereby, and the great benefit which will

follow for Your Majesty. However, since it is not possible at the present moment to send a fleet to those parts, it was the opinion that /f.395v/ for the time being Your Majesty should write to Sebastião Fernandes Cacão, thanking him for what he is doing and encouraging him to continue, and promising him that he will be provided with what he requests with as little delay as possible. And that Your Majesty should also reply to the letters of these kings in such a way that will persuade them to carry out the good intentions they have, and should reply in the same strain to the religious, so that they can continue this work.

When the time comes that the ships that Your Majesty has agreed to can be sent - as Your Majesty will bear in mind, there is very urgent need of them, in order to clear that coast of the rebels who continue there -, it is the opinion that they will be able to effect on the way what Sebastião Fernandes writes about.

Francisco Nogueira, pointing out that it must first be seen whether the lands of these kings and the islands of the Visagos fall into the scope of the conquista of Serra Leoa which has been granted to Pedro Alvares Pereira, because if it were so, the result would be that everything that was done would benefit the grantee and not Your Majesty, will order whatever is your will.

Madrid, 6 December, 1607

[six signatures]

At the beginning, in the margin, concluding with the King's abbreviated signature: All recommended is wise, and so it is ordered and is to be carried out in due course, with care.









GUERREIRO 1609, liv. 4, beginning on f. 193

Developments at Cape Verde and on the coast of Guinea

In the last four years, two missions to Cape Verde Island and the Guinea coast have been undertaken. The first consisted of four members of the Society, three priests and a brother. Of these, Father Baltesar Barreira and the brother made their way over to the mainland coast, where the padre converted and baptized two kings, one the king of Serra Leoa and the other his neighbour. Both the other padres remained on Santiago Island, where they showed great fervour in assisting souls and where they were fully occupied with the forms of ministry proper to their religious profession. But in little more than a year Our Lord took them both away, as described more fully in previous accounts. The second mission was in March 1607, and consisted of a superior, Father Manoel d'Almeida, and two other padres, Father Pedro Neto and Father Manoel Álvares. From this party, Father Manoel Álvares made his way over to the mainland, as we shall shortly describe. The other padres remained on the island to carry out their duties, which they did with great charity and to the great profit of that land, but in a little less than six months both died too. The Society lost in these two padres, and in the previous two, some excellent workers and servants in the vineyard of the Lord, to the Society's great sorrow. For although their dying in the course of their duty, because of their obedience and their desire to save souls, was a great gain to themselves, to the Society it is a very great loss when such members die, in terms of the cost of training them, and in terms of what has to be abandoned because of losing them. /f. 139v/ The climate and weather of this island give little hope of a different outcome, especially for members of the Society, who must always be out-of-doors, in order to be of service and to bring benefits to their neighbours, without taking account of the heat of the sun or the evening dews, these being the agents which destroy life on the island. Moreover, because they are religious, they cannot, in order to safeguard their health, live as carefully and comfortably as the secular clergy do.

Father Manoel Álvares went over to the mainland, as stated, with a brother to accompany him. After many difficulties and dangers at sea, they reached the port of Bissau, where some whites live, and also a king who immediately sought holy baptism from them. The padres ~~waited~~ encouraged them, saying that they would return here later, and would then enter into detailed discussions concerning a matter of such very great moment.

From Bissau they made their way to the port of Santa Cruz in the kingdom of Guinala, where they were received with great rejoicing by the Portuguese and the other citizens. They spent several days here with these people, preaching and carrying out religious duties, and especially directing them towards the king and the heathen of that land. What was achieved sufficed to further matters of great service to God, and this included their being able to persuade the king to abandon certain heathen ceremonies which formed his religion. To clarify this point and to illustrate the good start made here with respect to the king and his people receiving our holy faith, it has to be explained that the term which these heathen use to signify their form of religious practice and the worship which comprises their idolatry, is china. Just as we call our god 'God', so they call what they consider their god, and what they worship as such, 'china'. Hence when they see our images of Christ or Our Lady, they call them /f.194/ 'whiteman's china' or 'Christian china', meaning, the god of the Christians, or what the Christians care for or greatly love. Anything the heathen consider their china or god, they venerate and show great respect for, and they will do nothing without consulting it. Moreover, to deceive them further, the devil speaks through the china when they bring it out publicly, which they do in order to have any matter settled judicially, or to put anyone on oath, or to learn about future occurrences within the kingdom. What is even more astonishing, and what enables one to realise the brutishness of this people is the actual form of the black china or god they worship, which is this.

They take a number of sticks, each a palm-span and a half long, and each blackened by the various ingredients they mix in certain vessels in order to dye the sticks, the ingredients being <sup>portions of</sup> blood from different animals. The vessels are small pots joined together and interlaced with goats' horns. These sticks form a bundle which looks like a butcher's block, standing a palm-span and a half high, and from this are hung, by fine twine, the skulls of two or three dogs. This then is the god these blind and brutish heathen worship and give their hearts to, and this is what they call their china.

They have another heathen practice, this being that when the king or queen, or any fidalgo or noble person, dies, in keeping with his or her rank and power they kill those to whom he or she was most attached in this life, whether men or women, so that they can serve the dead person in the next life. Each of these they also call china, because this term means to them whatever they most care for, so it is like a god to them. It is frightening to see the cruelty with which they

kill these people, for they break /f.194v/ their bones and shatter their fingers, crushing them bit by bit; and when they are almost dead - for they survive this torment some three hours - they finish them off by running them through the neck with a sharp pole. This spectacle is witnessed by the others who also have to suffer the same torment afterwards, and (this they do,) not with severe countenances or sadly, but very joyously and to the sound of music. So great is the power the devil has acquired over this wretched people! It was this diabolically cruel ceremony that the padre urged the king to banish from his kingdom and to agree that it should never again be held; and also (he urged him to abandon) his brutish chinas, by pointing out to him how brutish was the madness with which the devil had led them astray. It was Our Lord's will that the king as well as his fidalgos should show an understanding of this point, so that immediately he and they agreed, in the presence of all the Portuguese who lived there, that they should never again have such ceremonies. The king prohibited them throughout his kingdom, setting severe penalties (for disobedience), at which the Portuguese showed their great approval and joy by shooting off their muskets.

When this was over, the king immediately asked for baptism, as did the governor and many other nobles. But since this was so rapid (a conversion), the padres did not concede what they requested. Instead, in order to make certain that such an important step (was sincere) the padres put it off for a time, to prove (their sincerity) and also (to allow opportunity) for their instruction in the points of our holy faith, hence ensuring that the (spiritual) edifice will be constructed on firm foundations.

Similarly the King of Biguba and the King of Besegui sought holy baptism. These kings, like the king of Guinala, belong to the Biafar nation and all are powerful rulers, the king of Guinala being, as it were, an emperor, with seven kingdoms under him, to whose kings he presents the cap (of royalty), that is, their crown./f.195/ Apart from these kingdoms, six more have been taken from him by the Bijagos, who are his neighbours on the South and whom we shall describe shortly.

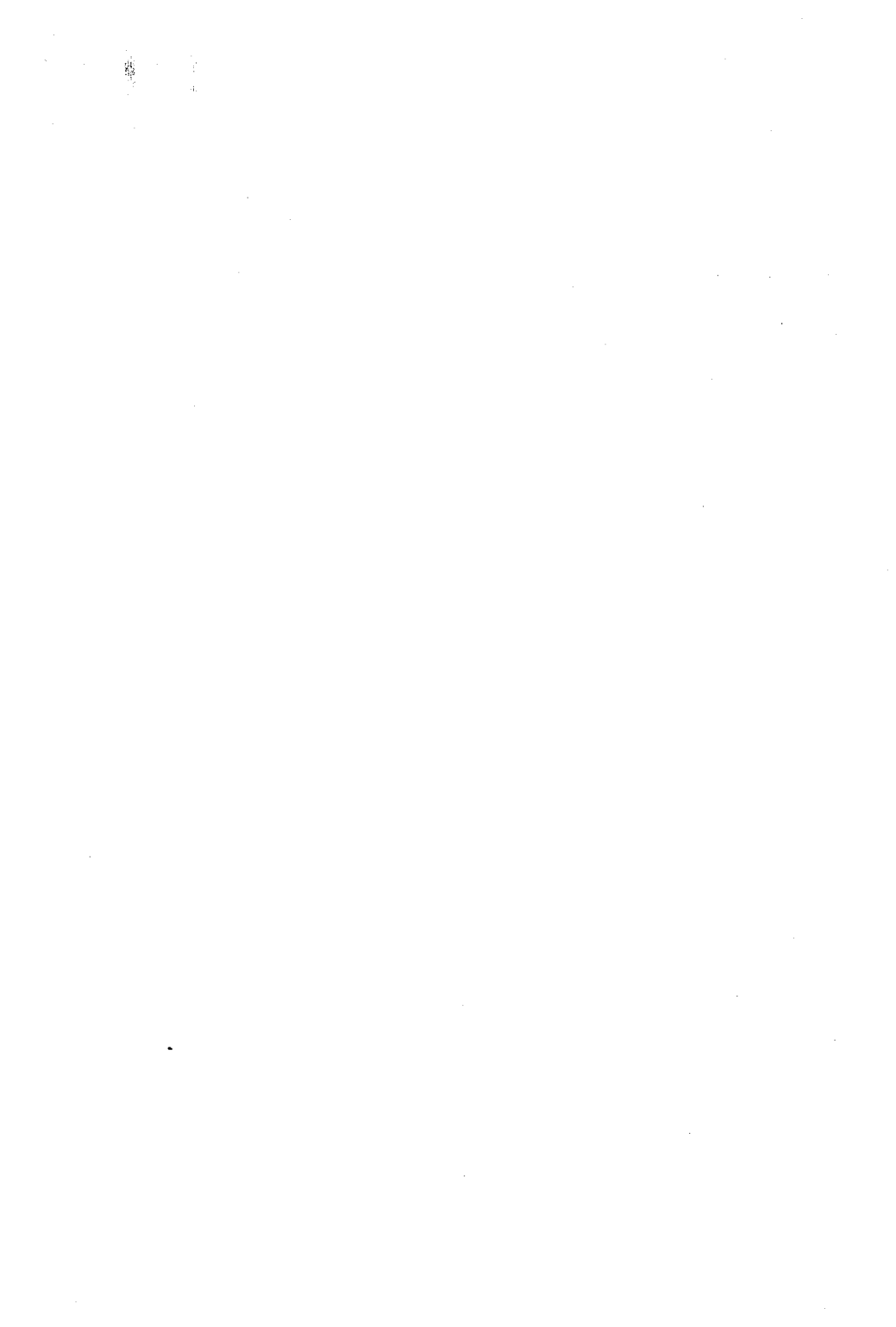
The King of Biguba has three kings whom he crowns, and the Nalus are his neighbours on the East. Although the Nalus are warlike blacks he does not fear them as greatly as he does the Bijagos, who are more harmful to him because they carry out attacks (on his country) from the islands in which they live.

The king of Besegui has five kings on whom he places the cap, and his neighbours also are the Nalus and Bijagos.

Although these Biafar kings are so powerful, even together they are insufficiently strong to resist the nations of blacks called Bijagos, who live on islands just beyond the lands of these kings. The Bijagos are a savage and very cruel people, whose assaults plague and bring destruction to practically the whole Biafar nation. The Biafar kings named above have been almost eliminated, especially the king of Biguba, to the extent that this poor king has had to flee into the forests with his people. Not content with their evil acts against their neighbours, the Bijago blacks threaten to kill all the Portuguese who live in these parts, which they are in a position to do, unless His Majesty sends help. The three kings and the Portuguese in their lands are most pressingly seeking this help. Last year, 1607, they sent a brother of the Society, who was one of the members visiting these parts, to Portugal, solely to deal with the request to His Majesty on behalf of all of these people. The kings promised that if this help arrived they would become vassals of His Majesty and would present him with ports in their kingdoms at which forts could be built, and that they and their people would then be in a position to receive holy baptism. At the moment the padres are not baptizing them, on account of the most atrocious persecution from the Bijagos they are enduring/f.195v/, which has distressed them and is in process of destroying them. Although the Bijagos live on islands, three rivers reach the sea around the islands and these rivers pass through the lands of the Biafar kings, dividing the territories from each other. The rivers reach the sea in so many channels and creeks that the whole land is divided up and each part can be reached from each other part by water. (Hence) the Bijagos are free to travel in their boats, which are very light, through all these lands, attacking and destroying; and they do just this. The only remedy is to send reinforcements from here to assist these Biafar kings and the Portuguese who are there, and jointly to form a fleet of oared vessels, small and light ones, which would be able to make war on these blacks and conquer their islands. There are 17 islands, and they are so rich and fertile that if the Portuguese ruled them they would make a fine estate, adding great riches and profit to Portugal. They abound in all kinds of foodstuffs and are very fresh and green on account of their woods and streams. They have many palm-trees, from which are collected quantities of wine and oil, and many citrus trees in several parts. All seeds planted there produce crops. They have many kinds of stock animals and an abundance of fish; also much ivory, wax and iron. Great quantities of ambergris are found on the beaches, and since the blacks do not appreciate ambergris it floats out to sea again. The islands have much cola, a fruit which is such a highly-valued trade-commodity,

not only in these parts (of Guinea) but also among the Turks and Moors, that it is said that two shiploads of cola could be taken from the islands annually for the resgate dos cativos (slave trade, or, exchange of captives), which would work out much more cheaply than obtaining them with gold and silver. Lastly, the soils of these islands are so very fertile that, almost without being cultivated, they support the inhabitants and make them so powerful that they can make war on the Biafar kings of the mainland, as stated /f.196/above. His Majesty has in these islands the means of satisfying very fully those whom he sends to help in their conquest, by annexing the islands and dividing them out into captaincies, in the normal Portuguese way. If they pass to the Crown, not only will they bring profit to the Crown, but they will become a support for the entire Christian community which can be created within the islands and on the mainland, a very large number of people; for throughout this coast the padres find the people so well-disposed that there is not one of the many kings who live in these parts who would fail to receive the Holy Gospel, together with his people.















Chapter 1/f.222/ Achievements on the coast of Guinea and Serra Leoa

In earlier annual accounts reference has been made to the mission which, on the orders of His Majesty, the Society is undertaking at Cape Verde and on the coast and mainland of Guinea, and it was noted that the Lord had willed that almost all the padres who went to Cape Verde Island died there, a loss which the Society greatly felt. For this Province (of Portugal) lost them, and the Province to which they had been destined did not hold them and as a consequence failed to gain the spiritual fruit that had been expected from their efforts, since they were all religious, of great virtue and zeal, and their characters had made it possible to hope for great success in the preaching of the Gospel. But because this island is so unhealthy and because the padres, as religious, could not take care of their health in the same way as the secular clergy do, and had of necessity to exercise their ministry in preaching sermons, in catechizing and in taking confessions, in all seasons and at all hours, in the heat of midday and the cool of night, which is pestilential in that land, and moreover because when they fell ill they lacked medicines and other medical care which can bring about a cure, eventually five priests died. There could have been no greater loss for that land than this.

Their superior, Father Baltasar Barreira, remained alone for some time. /f.222v/ Though a man of great age, verging on eighty, God gave him such vigour and spirit that he acted like a young man, travelling along the whole coast as far as Serra Leoa and going inland from there, in search of new kingdoms and nations, and in order to meet various kings and to communicate a knowledge of God to all men. He did this by preaching the Holy Gospel and then baptising certain persons, such as two kings of Serra Leoa and many of their vassals, and by spreading to others a disposition to receive our Holy Faith, so that all that is now lacking is a supply of workers able to go there to cultivate the field and gather in the very copious harvest provided by God in these parts.

Although during the past year, 1600 [sic] six new assistants have been sent out from this Province, four of them experienced priests, so that they may fill the most essential posts, but one of them immediately died, and this the most talented and experienced, yet the good old man considers that this amounts to little relative to what he judges necessary. He asks for more help to be sent straightway, in the

form of at least six or seven priests who would be directed to proceed there. But because of inherent difficulties this has not been done. The failure is not without very great detriment to the good of the souls awaiting conversion in those parts, souls very well-disposed to receive the preaching of the Holy Gospel, as will be seen in the following account, in the form of a long letter which we will now present, a letter written from there by the good Father Baltasar Barreira. In this he notes the open disposition which is found in all these kingdoms, as he personally discovered; and he recounts the other good fruits which to date have appeared in relation to the conversion of these Heathen. Since the letter is greatly edifying throughout, we present it here, under his own name and in his own words. It was written to the Padre Provincial of this Province. We have divided it into chapters to make more distinction between the different matters /f.223/ it deals with.

It will help the reader to follow the account if he first knows that among the many kings in the hinterland of the mainland of Guinea is one called the King of Bena, a very powerful ruler with seven or eight other kings under him. When he heard of the padre and of his exemplary life and the doctrine he preached, and how two kings of Serra Leoa, Dom Felipe and Dom Pedro, had, with many of their leading men, become Christians and been baptised; and also after he had been encouraged by a worthy Portuguese who traded in his kingdom and with whom he was very friendly; he asked the padre, several times, and very insistently, to consider going to his land, to baptise him as well, because of the very great desire he had to become a Christian. The Padre, having decided to satisfy the king as far as was possible, and also wishing to see for himself the disposition of the lands which would be revealed on the journey, organised a visit. His letter opens with this visit to Bena and what happened on it, as follows.

[ LETTER OF PADRE BALTESAR BARREIRA TO THE PADRE PROVINCIAL ]

[ Serra Leoa, 15 April 1608 ? ]

## Chapter 2

### The mission to the kingdom of Bena undertaken by Father Baltasar Barreira

By a vessel which the captain of this past had sent to the kingdom of Bena, the king sent a letter back to me. This very insistently asked me to baptise him before he died, for he was very old, thus repeating what he had written to me many times previously. To encourage me not to delay my visit, he sent a son of his who was aged 17 or 18 and whom he much loved, to remind me frequently of what he had said, and to /f.223v/ accompany me on the way. He further asked me to instruct the son in the points of our holy faith and baptise him, which I did after giving him sound instruction.

In view of the king's insistence and the desire to become a Christian which he showed, and out of fear lest he should die unbaptised, when God would seek account from me for his soul, after commending the matter to God I discussed it with some friends. All told, it seemed that I ought to do what the king asked, so that his baptism could redound in much glory to God and in the good of the souls of his vassals and many others.

Having made this decision, on 1 May I left to go there, travelling in the same vessel. Straightway, on that very night, it was the Lord's will to test my patience, a quality I later found very necessary, as well as my confidence in his goodness. There occurred a storm of wind, thunder and rain of such extraordinary force that we felt it a special dispensation of God that the launch did not go to the bottom; and it was a great help that all the people in the vessel set to work to bail out the water which had entered from the sea and from the sky. Other storms we had on the voyage, for it was the beginning of the winter season in these parts. But neither the first storm nor the later ones we had at sea equalled the storm we met on land, after we had entered the port of another kingdom which one passes through on the way to the kingdom of Bena. The king of this country was at odds with the King of Bena and for this reason did not wish to have trade-goods or anything else conveyed there by his river. When he saw that we were going to that kingdom and that some Portuguese were carrying valuables from Europe and other parts, and while we were sending a message to the King of Bena notifying him of our arrival in that port so he could send porters for us, the king secretly assembled many people from his kingdom to obstruct our passage. He plotted with them in the forest /f.224/, as

is their custom when the matter calls for secrecy. It was decided that they should kill us all in such a way as would not risk the safety of their own persons, which could not be done by blocking our way with force of arms.

When they had settled this, the king summoned a judicial session, which is conducted verbally if it is a case of one person seeking something from another. Since the judgement in this instance was about the goods which a certain black, a man of standing, had wrongfully acquired from a Portuguese who was there, the other Portuguese came along without their weapons, fearing nothing. Eventually the plot reached the stage where all the blacks were ready to fall on our people and were watching the king for his signal. They were incited to do this by (the thought of) the plunder they would lay their hands on, both the goods the Portuguese were carrying and what they thought I had, which in fact was the images and ornaments for church services. But as this was God's cause, He brought it about that one of the blacks, a man in authority and a friend of the Portuguese, who had been sent to this king by another king, his overlord, to observe and report, put an end to the business. Jumping to his feet and with his sword drawn, he said he would kill the first man who tried to harm us. After this he said many things in our praise and pleaded our cause so well that he persuaded them to lay down their weapons and make peace. Later the king sent me his excuses and he came to where I was and argued that he was not to blame for the affair. I gave him to understand that I believed him and I gave him some presents; and I prevailed on him to let us pass and to give us canoes in which to proceed to the port of Bena, since between the two ports there are some very narrow creeks blocked with mangroves, which for this reason larger vessels cannot enter.

The King of Bena, when he learned of our arrival and saw /f.224v/ his son already a Christian and dressed like a Portuguese - for I had sent the son with the message, accompanied by one Portuguese -, did not hesitate to give thanks to God to express the joy he felt in his soul. He then had constructed, in great haste, houses for me to lodge in, these being designed according to our style. To carry for us and to accompany us, he sent more than 50 men, and with them his son, the heir to the kingdom, a man aged 50 or more, and another son, a man of about 40. They met us at the first village in the kingdom; and after halting there for some two days to celebrate our arrival, we left and made our way to the chief town, a journey taking two days, passing through such thick forests and such rugged hills that I had to go on foot a large part of the way. The land is so mountainous that wherever we want we

found ourselves surrounded by hills and mountains which are covered with thick forest; while corresponding to the number of hills is the number of valleys with streams running through them. The rocks are the colour of iron, and the natives of the country draw iron from them to make all kinds of iron tools. What they make is of very superior quality and it gives these parts an excellent reputation, for the metal is very fine.

Travelling then in this fashion we eventually approached a village which lay midway along our route; and there we met a cassane or servant of the king, with a horse which a few days earlier had been brought from a place over 100 leagues away, and which the king had sent me for the rest of the journey. In reply I expressed my great thanks but said that I did not dare to ride on the horse because of the steepness of the road; and so I gave it to the elder son, who accompanied me on it, although he often had to dismount because he could not ride through some of the thickets and pass safely over some of the ravines we encountered. When we reached the /f.225/ village, its chief, hearing what was being said and circulated, that I had no intercourse with women, ordered the women to stay indoors, which they did until I heard about it, so that there was no-one to bring water or provide other necessary services. However when I stated that all I required was that the women should not go into the house where I was lodging, they came out again and attended to what was necessary.

The following day we reached the king's town and were received by him with very special manifestations of joy. He lodged me in the new houses, <sup>which</sup> that had been constructed with a fence around them to keep out women. Next he sent me a young bull, as is his custom. I accepted it to give him pleasure, but ordered it to be divided among those who had conveyed and accompanied me, and this made no little impression on the king and his people. We discussed at length the points of our holy faith; and since in that country unmarried girls go naked, the first thing I asked him was that he should order them to dress themselves, and this he did in a proclamation issued throughout the town.

I said the first mass on Ascension Day, when the church was decorated with boughs and the altar finely ornamented. Only seven Christians entered to hear mass, for there were no more here. The king wished to do the same but I led him away by the hand, and explained to him the reasons why this is not permitted to those who are not yet baptized, adding that after he had been baptized he would have the best place in the church. "Since this is so, padre", he said, "baptize me now, for I want nothing else". I replied that it was necessary first to prepare him, by teaching him the points of our holy faith and the

obligations of those who receive baptism. With this explanation, and when a chair was placed for him outside and /f.225v/ one of his cassanes shaded him with a parasol, he was satisfied. During the mass he did all that he saw the Christians do, and the other heathens accompanying him imitated him. They made gestures of great admiration as they were impressed both by the beauty of the images and by the splendour of the ceremonies of the mass.

Before it began I blessed the holy water publicly and carried out the asperges; and I preached on the mysteries of that holy day. I stated various points of our holy faith and explained why I had come to that kingdom, which was not to obtain gold or slaves or any of the other things men value but only their souls, in order to illuminate these and deliver them from the errors <sup>in which they were living</sup> ~~of their existence~~ and in order to direct them along the road to heaven. The king heard all this with rapt attention, for he understood our language, as did some others who also understood and spoke it. As for the rest, an interpreter explained what was said. In the evening the king attended the church with the Christians while the Litany of Our Lady was said, and his sons and all the other heathen waited outside, because of the respect they bore him. I recited the catechism and during it began to discuss certain points for their enlightenment, pausing chiefly to declare to them the falsity of the Mohammedan sect, since this had already been widely introduced into the kingdom. Each day these sessions of teaching and preaching were attended by additional persons arriving from various parts, all of whom gave signs that God was gradually working in them, for they preferred our holy faith to the lies and falsehoods which until then they had followed; and they wanted the king to be baptized so that they could be baptized too.

As well as these people, there also arrived certain kings, subjects of the King of Bena, who came either on account of the report of my arrival and teaching, which was spreading, or because the king had summoned them for a reason /f.226/ I will now explain. One morning, when all of them were assembled, the king left his residence, dressed richly in Portuguese style and accompanied by other kings and lords and by the Portuguese who were there, and also by musicians playing the instruments employed in their festivities. In this fashion he came to a large open place and, after seating himself in the local way, he had brought before him many valuable goods he had obtained from Europe and various articles of clothing which the Portuguese had sent or had brought him when they came to trade in his kingdoms. After displaying all this, he made a speech to all present, praising himself above all the other

kings of the Sousous, as this nation is called, and above all the Farins, who are superiors of other kings, saying that none of them possessed in his land or had seen with his own eyes this Padre whom he possessed and saw in his kingdom, nor had these others so many objects of such value from Portugal as he was here displaying. He went on to say that he wished to become a Christian, and that when he did so, so must all his people.

Then he praised and highly commended our holy religion, and rejected and spoke disparagingly of the cursed sect of Mohammed; and since all of them were wearing amulets of very fine workmanship which they had been sold by the bexerins or Mandinga priests, who persuade them that if they wear them when they go to war they will be safe from harm, he mocked at these and affirmed that they were invented by the bexerins to take their money from them. In order to convince them all that these amulets are bogus, he related an instance I had told him about and which I have recorded in another letter. A king from the Windward Coast bought from one of these priests a costume covered with amulets, and he proved the falsity of what was claimed about the amulets by running the priest through with a spear (as he wore the costume). So the king concluded with great praise of our /f.226v/ holy faith, and all present raised a shout to the effect that they wished to become Christians.

I can see the joy with which Your Reverence and the other padres await the outcome of such excellent beginnings. But as the dispensations of God over-ride the limits of what we can understand, the results were very different from the hopes. I do not know where the devil found an agent of his, one of those called here judeus (Jews), although they are not Jews in their religion since they follow the religion of the Moors. But they are orators, as it were, their job being to praise kings and lords and fill them with vanity, by publicly recounting the victories they have won and the deeds they have performed, and by naming their ancestors, in the course of which they tell many lies. After this judeu arrived, he several times delivered orations to the king and his followers, speaking with such eloquence or at least with such a torrent of words that, during the two hours or so he took each time, it seemed that he never stopped for breath. Although I heard him from the house where I was staying, because I did not understand the language I thought that the subjects of his orations were praises of the king, especially because he had decided to become a Christian. But this was not so. Instead he assaulted our holy faith and praised the cursed sect of Mohammed, and he persuaded the king and the others listening to persevere in it and not become Christians.

Although I did not understand what the infernal orator was asserting I realised it within a few days because of the change I saw in the king. He now showed himself cold in his desire to become a Christian, and his attendance at the divine office and the recital of the catechism was poor. He had given me his word that he would burn all his amulets and the idols and statues of his ancestors, but when I began to press him to fulfil his promise he made so many excuses and placed such difficulties in the way that it showed clearly that he was being advised by this agent of Satan. As for the /f.227/ statues of his ancestors, he replied that he could not bring himself to burn his father and other progenitors, but that he would send them to one of his wives who was in another town so that she could keep them there. I was unwilling to accept this excuse since I realised that his intention was in this way to retain the corofins, as here they call anything they worship.

Our main dispute was over the amulets. Now he begged to be allowed to wear them in war to keep himself safe, now he raised the difficulty of the loss of the large amount of money he had given for them, now he claimed that he feared the Concho, who is like an emperor over all the Sousos. The reason for his fear was lest the chief bexerim, the superior of all the other bexerins in those parts, should complain to the Concho and should persuade him to make war on him and destroy him. It seemed to him that it would remedy matters if he sent his amulets to the chief bexerim, since he had received them from him. But as I understood what he was up to, I could not accept this remedy as satisfactory except on certain terms which he was unwilling to agree to.

Before continuing, since I have mentioned the chief bexerim and the other bexerins who are subject to him, I propose to provide some information here about these agents of Satan. The Mandingas are a nation of blacks inhabiting the River Gambia on each bank and they occupy an area running inland more than 200 leagues. This nation has not only drunk the poison of the Mohammedan sect in recent years, but it also takes upon itself the role of administering the poisonous drink to other nations. In this it is assisted by the trading it does and the access to other kingdoms this provides. And because the Mandingas are fine horsemen, wherever they are living they help kings in their wars, acting always as the vanguard. On account of this help they are much sought after and valued, and the kings, rejoicing to have them /f.227v/ on their side, give them lands to inhabit and consequent great privileges. In these settlements they have mosques, and the bexerins form schools in which they teach reading and writing in the Arabic script, which is what

they use in their amulets. The chief bexerim, who corresponds to our bishop or archbishop, lives in the kingdom which seems to him best placed for the task of preserving and spreading their cursed sect and for sending out the bexerins of lower ranks to visit the provinces and kingdoms under his jurisdiction.

When one of the bexerins visits either this kingdom or any other which accepts their religion, as happens annually, he is received and respected as if he came from heaven. Among those accompanying him are some youths who are under instruction and these daily write their lessons and read them out aloud. As soon as a bexerim reaches an important town, the first thing he does is to announce the day on which he will begin his preaching. When that is known, a great crowd assembles from all directions, and he appears in great state in an open place or open piece of ground, called there the oufal. He has some fine mats spread out, and he draws from a handsomely worked container two or three parchments written in small letters, which he unrolls on the mats.

He stands up, raises his hands and eyes to heaven, and after remaining like this for a space of time as if he were speaking to God, he prostrates himself on the ground in front of the infernal 'bulls'. Then after making great reverential gestures towards them, he stands up again and says in a loud voice that all present should give thanks to Allah and to his great prophet Mohammed, because he has been sent to visit them to invite them to seek pardon of their sins, and he says other things on these lines. Then he asks them /f.228/ to listen attentively and he exalts the beliefs written in these parchments. They comply so enthusiastically that though he takes more than two hours in reading and explaining part of these scriptures, not one of them speaks, or dozes, or stirs, or takes his eyes from him.

The chief bexerim of these parts has been taught by his master, Satan, certain words which invoke demons. These the bexerim taught to this king (of Bena), and because of this he is so feared by his people that none of them dares flee from him or do anything against his will, lest he straightway act against him and beat and torment him by means of these agents of the devil. At times he acts in the same way against the Portuguese, when they have displeased him to any grave extent. Two Portuguese, who had left his land and then returned again for that reason, told me when I was there what had happened to them. They regularly experienced a beating from the devil, delivered at night,

and he treated them so badly that on some days they were unable to get up out of bed. But at other times when the king was especially angered with them, the punishment would be increased and they would be tormented in various ways. While one of them was sleeping, the devil blew some kind of smoke up his nose, which woke him up in great pain and made the blood run out of his mouth in large quantities, and this went on for some fifteen days. The remedy for this trouble was to invoke the Most Holy Name of Jesus and that of the Most Holy Virgin, His mother, and to recite prayers. But when he fell asleep and stopped praying, he immediately experienced the same tortures again. I provided them with some relics, so that by the operation of these God would protect them from these diabolical vexations.

Something I myself saw made me believe that demons are employed by this king as agents in these chastisements, and that they appear to him in various forms for other purposes./f.228v/. As the king was sitting in the porch of the church directing what was being done there, a snake the thickness of a thigh was brought to him, rolled up into a ball, neither head nor tail being visible. The snake was striped in the most vivid colours and patterned more perfectly than any animal I had previously seen. When I went to the church I found the king with it in his arms, caressing it and stroking it as if it were a child. I did the same, to see if the creature would react, but I found no hostility, instead it was extremely docile. The local people call it the Queen of the Snakes.

A Portuguese told me that he saw a snake at the door of his house, all coiled up and with its head hidden, and took a stick to hit it with, but was unable to lodge a blow on it because the blacks of the country stayed his hand. On account of this behaviour I am inclined to wonder if these are not the snakes of which the Lord spoke when he said: "estote prudentes sicut serpentes" [ "be ye (therefore) as wise as serpents", Matthew 10:16 ]. For these are the figure of the true Christians who prefer to receive the blows of the persecutors of the faith rather than let them fall on Christ, their head. Then the king took the snake to his house, and since he immediately began to talk in a different tone about baptism and the points of our holy faith, and this coincided with the arrival of the judeu and his false teaching, I had a strong suspicion that the devil had introduced himself into the king's house in that form (of a snake) and in that way, in order to counsel and encourage the king to trust the false preacher of Mohammed and to prefer his lies to the truth of the evangelical religion.

The sudden change in the king was very puzzling to all and it upset those who had desired to become Christians. Before deciding what I should do, and after commending the matter many times to God, I sought by all the means open to me to bring him back to his previous opinion. But since I always found him stubborn, I took the view that /f.229/ it did no honour to God to baptize him on the conditions he sought, and that if I did not baptize him I had nothing further to do in that kingdom, since none of his people would venture to be baptized, even if they wanted very much to become Christians, because of the great affection they had for him. I discussed my return journey with him and gave him the reasons that had led me to this course of action; and I asked him for porters, through intermediaries (?), so that he should not detain me. Otherwise it would be necessary to wait five or six months, because the rivers were rising and there were no bridges or boats for crossing them. He gave me fine words but kept on detaining me, now with one excuse, now with another, without ever doing anything. I began to think that he wanted to hold me for political reasons, as the King of Angola did with another of our padres, and that if God did not intervene I should never escape from his kingdom.

Seeing <sup>then</sup> that the rivers were swelling daily, so reducing those hopes of return which derived from the king's promises, I decided to hope only in God and to set out on my own, with only one black to accompany me. But the Lord was not willing that it should come to this. Before I could put the decision into effect, a message reached the king to say that a ship from the Windward Coast had reached that port I spoke about, and in it had arrived a Portuguese who was a great friend of his and who had been away for some time. The king received this news with very great joy, and in order to meet him sent immediately the porters which he had pretended to me were not available because of the sowing season. The Portuguese eventually arrived, and with him the means God had provided to extract me from that place. Before the Portuguese went to the Windward Coast, the king had told him of his desire to become a Christian and have me baptize him, and the Portuguese had written to me /f.229v/ on his behalf several times, with the promise that the king would burn the amulets received from the bexerins, and his idols. Now, from what he was told, the Portuguese realised the change of opinion that had occurred, and in the earliest conversations he had with the king he remonstrated with him as far as he could. But as he saw how reasonable was my denial of holy baptism and also my desire to leave, he concluded by persuading the king to give me porters so that I could go. The king gave me them finally, but made it very clear that he did so

unwillingly. Hence, since he gave me fewer than were required, I was obliged to leave behind some things whose lack afterwards caused me difficulties. But I consoled myself with the thought that I was free and that, by the good offices of the same Portuguese, I was removing out of the king's power the son whom I had baptized.

Before entering into the events on my return journey, I wish to state what happened to me in relation to this king when I reached his town. The houses he had built for me were cool within and the ground had been newly cleared, so they were very damp, and I was anxious not to sleep in them. The king heard of this and immediately got ready one of the houses in which he resides, which are large and have many apartments. I spent the first night there and then we discussed other lodgings, this one not being suitable for me because of the nearness of his wives. When I indicated a round house which was attached to the new houses which had been built for me, I learnt that it was dedicated to demons and was used to house the king's idols. However I said I would sleep in it if the king would clear it, without letting him realise that I knew what was in it. The king discussed this in my absence, and much against his will decided to clear it, partly as there was no other house near the church in which we could lodge while they dried out the new ones, and partly so that I should not get to know about the idols which he kept in it./f.230/ It was done while I was absent, but they were unable to empty it so thoroughly that I did not find ~~them~~ when I went into it the seats or niches for the idols and other objects used in serving them. But I concealed what I knew, and slept there from then on, without any fear, even after refusing holy baptism to the king and learning about the (diabolic) agents he employed to avenge himself on any person he wished. It did occur to me that he might use these to commit some evil against me during the night; but it seems that either he did not dare to do this or else God did not permit the demons to do it.

### Chapter 3

What the Padre did on his return journey from Bena and what happened to him on the way; and about certain rites of these nations

I finally took my leave of the king, after recommending to him that he should frequently seek illumination from God and giving him my word that I would return to his kingdom and baptize him if he overcame the impediments to baptism which still existed. He promised me that he would do this, and I made him turn back after he had accompanied me a little way, without letting him see that I was displeased with him. Thus I made a start on my return journey during which there were greater difficulties than on the previous journey, both because the rivers were now more swollen and because the porters forced me to go on foot a large part of the way. They did not travel as willingly as when I came, and so at each step they pitched me on to the ground and only picked me up when they felt like it. But on the /f.230v/ last part of the journey the Lord consoled me in good measure for these troubles and all else I had until then suffered. While I was sheltering in a hut with the others, on account of a thunderstorm which was overhead, a Portuguese youth whom I had left at Serra Leoa reached the place and came to me, without my knowing about it as I was engaged in saying vespers. He embraced my feet and greeted me with the words: "Reverence <sup>Reverence</sup> ~~Padre~~, padre, for Your Reverence has got more padres from Portugal!" At the same time he gave me a letter from Father Manuel Alvares in which he recounted his own arrival and that of the other padres who had remained at Santiago Island.

The joy this news gave me can be imagined but words lack me to express it. However the Lord was pleased to cut it short quickly, for when we reached a settlement its governor began a solemn wake for a leading black who had died there. Since a great deal of wine is drunk at these wakes, and because the governor was very incensed with a particular Portuguese, the master of the ship in which the King of Bena's friend had arrived, he swore repeatedly that if this man came to his village he would kill him and all the Portuguese with him. I sent a warning of this to the Portuguese, to tell him not to come to the village, but as the man carrying the letter did not find him, he arrived without knowing what had happened. I explained the matter to him and asked him to set things right. He laughed, but soon learned that he was wrong. For when he was least expecting it, the black, a very <sup>033</sup> ~~brave~~ man, came out of his house brandishing a round shield and with a spear in his right hand and several more in his left, and he called out: "Kill them,

don't leave a single Portuguese alive ! " He had scarcely finished saying these words when his followers appeared, some with spears, others with bows and arrows, all loudly repeating these words, and they rushed with such great speed on the Portuguese man that even the women /f.231/ in the house fled towards the side where I was standing. One Portuguese with some other Christians took refuge with me, as if I could protect them, while another leaped from the top of a rock to seek safety in the forest. During this uprising I heard the sound of a bow being fired and I realised that the shot was directed at the Portuguese man and that the black was putting into execution what he had sworn. So I prepared myself as best I could to receive him when he reached me, asking God for pardon for my sins and offering Him my life. But as I was not worthy to lose it for His sake, it came about by the ordination of divine providence that when the black was going to ~~fire~~ <sup>(again)</sup> shoot at the Portuguese man, an older brother of the black and his chief wife whom he much respected ran out quickly and seized him.

A little while after, when the black's head had cleared from the effects of the wine, he expressed great sorrow at what had happened, and in order to be reconciled with the Portuguese man he brought him goodness knows how much gold. After this I took leave of the governor and embarked with this Portuguese on a vessel bound for the port of the other kingdom where - as I have said - God had delivered us from a similar peril.

To explain what has been said regarding the wake in this village and its consequences, and to show the ignorance of this people and the dominion the devil has over them, I propose to describe briefly at this point the way in which a wake is conducted. When anyone dies in a village, they immediately inform all those other villages where any relatives live, and there are generally a large number of these because men have many wives. As an instance of this, a son of Farma, the first Mane king of the Logos, told me that his father had no less than 72 sons and 52 daughters, /f.231v/ and that more than 3,000 living persons trace their descent from the king and his children. For this reason and because they marry in different villages, it is necessary to send all these villages the news of the death of a relative. When the news reaches them, everyone begins weeping as if the dead man was a native. His relatives and friends then leave to attend the burial of his body, each one taking with him what he can afford, some bringing gold and dress-cloths, others bringing some of the goods the Portuguese convey to these parts.

When they reach the village in which the dead man lies, they enter it with great cries of lamentation, and these increase as each party is met by those who come out to receive them. The gold and other goods they bring to the burial are divided into three parts. One part is buried with the dead man, another is given to the king of the land, and the third is handed over to the nearest relatives at whose expense the wake is held, to meet the cost of organising it. Kings and other *Mane* grandees are buried at night very secretly, with only very close relatives present, the reason for which must be that they bury with them, as well as other things, the quantity of gold which during their lifetime they treasured up for this purpose, normally a large quantity, and they do not wish it to be known where they are buried so that the grave will not be robbed. In order to leave no indication of the site of the grave, they bury them in the beds of streams, after turning aside the flow of water, and then they restore it as it was before.

Apart from the goods, as described, they also bury with kings some of their staff, men and women, so that in the next life they will have servants to look after them. When other persons die they bury them in the village, and with the body they bury the appropriate part of the goods which their relatives and friends have brought, as stated. Moreover what a person earns and acquires (in a lifetime) is mostly reserved for this purpose, since they believe and have been persuaded by the devil /f.232/ that they will find in the next life whatever has been buried with them. If the dead man was a leading person, they raise over his grave a house decorated with cloths and other things left there until they rot; and to this house the relatives come in order to speak to the dead man and tell him of their troubles, so that he can ask God to relieve them from them.

When the interment is completed, they all return home, with straws for (counting to) the wake - this being their way of counting the days until the one on which the wake begins. In order to conduct it with more solemnity and to commemorate the dead person, they accumulate during the intervening period large quantities of food and drink, that is, rice, wine, hens, goats and occasionally cows if the dead man was a noble. When the straws have been used up, numbers of persons of all kinds assemble for the wake, or rather, for the wake-feast, since the days during <sup>which</sup> the wake is held are spent only in eating, drinking, dancing and singing. Generally they continue for several nights together, without taking a rest, and as the instruments they beat make such a loud noise and all of them join in the singing, ~~so that~~ <sup>themselves</sup> just as they get no sleep, no more do those not attending the wake. For this reason, lack

of sleep being bad for us (Europeans), although we have our churches within the villages, we keep our residences well away from them. The honour of the dead man and of his relative who is in charge of the wake demands that however many persons attend they should never be able to finish off the food, or the wine, as is obvious from the number who get drunk.

When a king of these parts wants to hold a great feast, he calls it a wake too, and he dedicates it to his ancestors. He invites neighbouring kings and lords, who can attend with little difficulty because (their territories) /f.232v/ communicate by creeks and arms of the sea and they have many boats. One of the kings did this in the present year, and since he intended at the same time to discuss with the Manes a matter of business which was of great importance for all of them, he also invited King D. Pedro, since he is the oldest king of that nation and his counsels are treated as oracular. Dom Pedro excused himself many times on the grounds of his great age and of his being a Christian. However messages continued to be sent to him and many forms of persuasion employed; and one of the messages was to say that the guests were assembled and the materials for the wake prepared, but the guests would return home and the wake be abandoned unless he came. So he decided to go and replied that he was preparing to do just that. When those present were assured that Dom Pedro would come, knowing that as a Christian he would not agree to what they had decided should be the start of the wake, they went ahead without him. They took into the forest some cows and a young woman who was beautifully dressed and adorned in local style, and after ceremonies taught them by the devil, they sacrificed the woman and the cows to their royal ancestors.

Eventually Dom Pedro arrived with many of his warriors - for these kings do not trust each other. He was lodged in a separate place apart from the others, and he behaved like a Christian the whole time. It being Lent, though the others ate meat, he could never be persuaded to do this. During the wake food and drink were provided in abundance, and drumming, dancing and feasting were general. When it was over, Dom Pedro returned to his kingdom, leaving the heathen much edified and with a good opinion of our holy faith. Some were moved to follow his example and advice, /f.233/ notably a grandee, a friend of his, who was due to succeed to the throne in the kingdom where the feast was held, who entrusted his son to him so that we could teach him and make him a Christian, as we have done.

Chapter 4

The padre continues his journey, and what happened to him on it.

To resume the account of my withdrawal from the kingdom of Bena. I made my way trusting in the promise of the Portuguese (trader) that he would convey me to Serra Leoa in his ship or in a launch that travelled with it. He failed to do this, giving as his reasons that neither he nor any member of his crew was acquainted with that part of the coast or with the Serra Leoa estuary, and that this was the season of rain and contrary winds. So it was necessary for me to continue my journey partly by land and partly by rivers and creeks, travelling in canoes from island to island and from port to port, and going through certain places which are so surrounded by mangroves and so impenetrable that in order not to lose our way we had to carry experienced local people who knew about the tides which could carry us through. The latter part of the flood-tide was employed up to mid-passage, and the earlier part of the ebb-tide from there on, and the canoes were punted as often as rowed. We spent two or three hours in each sangre, as these places are called, and I was frequently astonished /f.233v/ that our black guides could direct our canoes through so many twists and turns, from one side to the other, in order to keep us in the channel. I could not understand how they could remember these, especially on the occasion when the turn of the tide took us through at night, though we did carry lights and it was moonlit.

In the early stages this form of travel was irksome to me and I was eager to regain dry land, thinking that it would be less tiring to travel that way. But it was not so, for as the rain was continuous, not only were we almost always soaked, but we came upon such large lakes that much time was spent in passing through them, which I did on the shoulders of a black, a tall man whom I chose so that I should not get wet. We found bridges of a sort over those streams and channels in which we could not touch the bottom, but these were of such a design, with wooden members so thin and so badly tied together, that we had to go over them most carefully, not letting go of one piece of timber until we had grasped the next.

In this fashion I travelled on, now on the shoulders of blacks, now on foot. At times we lost the path and found ourselves in such dense bush that some of the blacks had to lead the way by cutting down the branches and opening gaps through which I could pass with less danger of being scratched by thorns. However God always varied these labours with His favours, material as well as spiritual, in the form of the warm welcome we received in the villages we went through; and especially in the welcome received from Fatema, the great king of the Boulons, whom we met away from the settlement where he has his seat, in a chicale, which is what they call a small village.

We reached here by night, lighting ourselves with torches which burned not wax but straw, the latter being what they use here as they fail to take advantage of the large quantity of wax which is available. The king came out to receive me and embraced me with signs of great joy, for we already knew each other from a previous meeting. He congratulated me for /f.234/ coming, and led me to a house which had been prepared for me and which had a large open fire, as the local practice is, at which to dry and warm myself. I had long discussions with him about the matter of his salvation, reminding him of several points about our holy faith I had previously explained to him. He showed a keen recollection of these points and a desire to become a Christian. He said that he first wished to establish another settlement near the sea in which he could live, so that I could more easily go there to teach him. He wanted to keep me there several days, but I excused myself as best I could, on the grounds of my great desire to bring this journey to an end (rapidly). I had taken my leave of him and was ready to move off when there arrived a large number of elderly cassanes of his household. After making excuses for the limited hospitality the king had been able to offer me, mainly because he had been away from his residence, they offered me a bracelet made of gold which the king sent me for the expenses of the journey. I took the bracelet in my hands, smiled, and returned it to those who brought it, asking them to tell the king that I thanked him warmly for it. However as we did not come to seek gold or other material things, but only souls for Heaven, I would value it more highly, to be brought his soul than all the gold he had or all there was in the world. They were astonished at this, the king as well as his servants, and came to understand that our only interest was in the salvation of their souls.

In this kingdom I met a Crioulo from Santiago Island, a Christian who had lived many years just like a heathen, the only difference being that some light of the faith could still be discerned in him. I expressed regret and questioned him as to the reason why he was living in that state and why, when he had been able to do so, he had not come to confess to me after I came to those parts. He admitted his fault with humility and promised that he would in future comply with the obligation and would bring with him a son of his, aged /f.234v/ 17 or 18, to be baptized and instructed in matters of salvation. This he carried out in due course. The son, after being baptized, was put into the charge of a married Portuguese, who most charitably looked after him and taught him, while the father set to work to collect together what he owned in order to come and live among Christians.

I also met a German who was captured with some pirates in the islands called Ilhas dos Idolos which belong to Fatema; and because he was an excellent horn player they sent him to the king. He spoke the language of the country fluently and lived like the other heathen, and he was so content that he would not agree to my asking the king for his release. However it would have been difficult to extricate him for he was busy teaching the horn to some of the local youth. It is very sad to see how these men live among the heathen without recollecting that they are Christians or caring to live apart, on account of the generous treatment they receive and the freedom of belief (liberdade de consciencia) in which they live. In Bena I met three or four of these men who had so sunk their roots in the land that however hard I tried to extricate the men, in no case did I succeed.

In this fashion they live, in this fashion they die - without God and without the material possessions which they have acquired with such labour, for the king of the land in which they die inherits them all. Later I met an Indian who had spent many years in these parts. Although he was staying in another village far away, when I asked him to come and see me he did so. I rebuked him for living this way and in the end he gave me his word that he would come with me, so that he could be confessed and live among Christians. When we were ready to depart, he disappeared, his yarn being that he was going to get his clothes. I fear that /f.235/ God will chastise him, as He did another man who similarly gave me his word but absconded at the moment of departure. He again became engulfed in the vices in which he had formerly lived, but these cost him his life, for those whom he most trusted killed him in order to obtain all he possessed.

Two days after I left Fatema, the Lord was good to me and permitted me to complete the final stage of my journey in such excellent spirits as might arise from any recreation, and in as much joy and comfort as it might seem possible for one to attain. This was on account of meeting Father Manuel Álvares. It was like God sending an angel from heaven to visit me, this meeting with a companion/member of the Society (Companhia) and so suitable a companion, for it was nearly three years since I had been able to make my confession, and now I could confess to him. If it were proper for sons of the Society who meet on like journeyings to do so, I could say a great deal about the padre's enthusiasm when he saw me, the good will with which he received me, and the welcome he gave me.

From the port in which we met we proceeded shortly afterwards to the port of the Island of Caracore, belonging to King D. Pedro, since we own a house and church there and the Portuguese and other Christian residents were desirous for us to join them. On the way we visited the king who was in another town on the mainland. He received us with great joy and demonstrations of affection. But since we found him indisposed, we set about persuading him to remove to the island and reside among the Christians, as he is one himself.

He gave me his word regarding this, and carried it out within a few days. This action resulted in great glory to God and great good to the souls of his vassals. For as his people have recourse to him from all parts of his kingdom, this has allowed them to see the images and their adornment, and the divine offices we celebrate in the church, and the way in which those already converted /f.235v/ advance in their Christianity; and also to hear the sermons and instruction, and what is said regarding their heathen errors and the truth of our holy faith. Hence there soon followed a large number of baptisms. Among these the most notable was that of a black who was instructor (mestre) to all (in heathen rites) and the most knowledgable regarding the ceremonies of their idols. When he came to Caracore, for his home was in another place, he especially noted what he saw at the church and what he heard in the sessions of instruction, and he was so illuminated and touched by God that he immediately and most insistently sought baptism. But he did not want his intentions to be made known until after he had been baptized, out of fear that some persons might obstruct him, particularly the son of the king, the heir to the kingdom, who retained him as an oracle. However it seemed to us better that the baptism should be performed publicly, to cause more confusion to the devil and to the other heathen who had such respect for this man, their master. So

this was done, after he had been carefully catechized, and after he had given the king an account of his conversion and of his desire to be baptized, in front of the king's son whom he feared. The king rejoiced over this conversion as a miraculous event, raising his hands to heaven many times and giving thanks to God for the light he had communicated to this vassal of his. The son not only did not oppose what had happened but produced his own son and heir, a very young boy, and offered him for baptism too. But since the child began to cry, out of fear, we postponed his baptism.

The man was baptized in the name of Manuel, he being given this name by Father Manuel Álvares who baptized him. He then went to his village to obtain the idol he kept there, and brought it before the padre and the others present and threw it down and trampled on it, while he confessed his blindness, and greatly regretted the length of time he had lived in this state. Making use of his example, Dom Pedro frequently said to his own people, in order to persuade them /f.236/ to leave off their false beliefs and receive our holy faith : "Did I myself not worship like Manuel Cubé and consider infallible what he told me ? And here he is now a Christian, and already he mocks at all the chinas and tramples them under his feet".

We marvelled at the constancy of this new soldier of Christ in the troubles which God permitted (to afflict him) after he became a Christian. Some of the heathen who knew the prosperity he had previously enjoyed and now saw the adversities which befell him, seized the opportunity to condemn his conversion and throw it in his face. But, by the goodness of God, he remained constant in all things, so that he could serve as an example to many who had been Christian longer. The Portuguese who had known him previously and now found him so attentive to the commands of God, so devoted, humble and exemplary, did not cease to praise the Lord and give Him thanks for what He had worked in him. He himself did the same continually, for he felt that he had escaped from the state of slavery in which he had lived as a heathen. At that time the devil used to scare him frequently, especially in his dreams, and he found no remedies to enable him to free himself, so that he never felt free until he received holy baptism. He also laughed at himself for having given orders that when he died his weapons were to be buried with him, so that he could use them to defend himself from the devil in the next world. Such is the ignorance of these heathen and such the view they hold of the life beyond, a view which is no small obstacle to their conversion, for they evaluate all points about the next world

in terms of things of this world, believing that the former are also material, and hence that they will employ in the other life what they use in this one. They cannot be persuaded of the existence of hell, believing only that all who die go to where God is; and the greater they were here, the more they are valued when with Him. So in their troubles they commend themselves to the dead, as I have stated, and make them /f.236v/ offerings in order that the dead may plead with God to release the living from their troubles.

But to conclude what I have been saying about Manuel Cubé. He first sought God for himself, through holy baptism, as stated, and then, by the rule of charity, brought to God his only daughter, aged six or seven, and sought to do the same for as many as he could among those nearest to him, by acting as a preacher wherever he went.

Also greatly edifying, and a thing to be marvelled at, was the conversion of a son of King D. Pedro who had for many years lived on his own and had vassals under him. He already had two sons who were Christians, having been baptized by us; and partly because of what they said and partly because of what he saw and heard at Caracore, where he frequently attended the divine offices, and listened to sermons and sessions of Christian instruction, he increasingly became attached to our holy faith. Although he concealed for some time the God-given will to become a Christian, when he could no longer hide his desires, he told the king, his father, about them. The king was extremely pleased by his conversion, and to confirm him further in his intention said many things to him in praise of our holy faith, in keeping with the light God had vouchsafed him. To make his baptism a more solemn occasion, the king sent messages to many people in his realm, to the effect that they should come to it and treat it as a feast, as it deserved. Not only these people but many others who learned of it did this, and they brought presents and the musical instruments they keep for feasts. This conversion was very important and gave great glory to God, because many people were present and because the baptised man was feared by all, he having been a great eater of flesh and the person who carried out the punishments inflicted on criminals. The people marvelled to see him so changed, converted from a wolf into a lamb, and they said that great /f.237/ was the God who could bring about such a change, for he immediately treated this very barbarous custom as an abomination, he dressed himself as a decent Christian, and he threw out of his house the vessels and tools of this abominable practice.

However, lest it be thought that he was alone in keeping up the practice, I will here briefly refer to its origin. Some 60 years ago a certain nation of savages, which no longer found sufficient the lands in which it was born and raised, broke out in order to seek new lands in which to live. These savages are called Jacas in the Congo, Gindas in Angola, Zimbab in India, Galas in the Ethiopia of Prester John, and Cumbas in these parts, a name they changed into Manes. As they went on their way their food was human flesh, which they cooked with palmitos or with palm-oil. In this way they depopulated the lands through which they passed, and destroyed the palm trees, which are like vines and olives with us, for wine and oil are drawn from palms. In battle they used round shields, so large that they covered the whole body; and to induce fear and terror in people, every single one of them carried a foot, or an arm, or some other human part, between his teeth and protruding from each side of his mouth. This sight was enough to put ~~at~~ flight the great armies which came out to resist them. After destroying the kingdom of the Congo in the time of King D. Bernard, when Queen D. Caterina was governing the kingdom of Portugal, the savages proceeded to conquer the lands and kingdoms near the sea, some staying in one part and some in another, until they reached Serra Leoa and the neighbouring kingdoms, where they halted because they found the land fertile and the air healthy.

When they had settled down quietly in these parts, little by little they desisted from the practice of eating human flesh, but to date neither they nor their descendants have totally given it up, because they still eat /f.237v/ those they kill in war or execute for any crime they commit. Of the captains who came with this people only King D. Pedro is living. It seems that God kept him safe until now, and still preserves him so that he has the powers of a young man although he is over 130 years of age, in order to be glorified in him and to use him as an instrument for the conversion of these heathen. He told me that they took ten years on the journey because of the wars they caused wherever they passed, and that he still remembers the castle of Mina and the shots fired at them in its defence.

Although it is only my intention to comment on this people in relation to their eating of human flesh, this will also serve to give a higher value to God's working on them, in that the power of the devil over their souls having been so great in previous times, so much the more is the Lord glorified by their delivery from captivity and their becoming sheep of His flock by holy baptism.

But to return to Dom Christovão, the son of King D. Pedro whom we were discussing, this being what the new soldier of Christ is (now) called. The first thing he did after becoming a Christian was to persuade all the members of his household to do the same as he had done; and so each day he brought us now these ones, now others, for us to catechize them and make them Christians. Among these were three sons of his, other than the two I spoke about, and with them their mothers. Wherever he went he acted as a preacher, greatly praising the points of our holy faith and declaring the blindness and errors in which those who are not Christians live. When he went to the kingdom of Dom Felipe and visited the king, they discussed this matter. And because some heathen were present, seizing the chance he spoke against their chinas. He recounted that before he was a Christian he was always dreaming of the devil and frightening things, and that among the erroneous beliefs in which /f.238/ he had lived was this one, that if he ate or shared his food with a woman he would immediately swell up and die. However after he received holy baptism he slept more at peace, and he shared what he ate with women of his household without any evil consequences ensuing. To sum it up, he expressed anger over what he had wasted on the chinas, in the belief that his life, health and success depended on them.

These and like sessions produced a great effect, for by them many persons were successively moved to desire and seek holy baptism.

Soon God began to reward this zeal, for just as Dom Christovão (when a heathen) had lost a large part of his vassals - it being the practice in these parts that when people are dissatisfied with a lord they transfer themselves to another - so now, when they learned he was a Christian, they straightway returned to him, bringing him presents and congratulating him on the favour God had shown him, and offering to serve him for the rest of their lives. Furthermore he was visited by many other persons, relatives as well as friends, who all praised the change that had come about in him and showed a desire to follow his example. King D. Pedro, his father, was not content that he now saw him and had him beside him : he placed his son at table with himself, took him into his counsel, and showed him other favours, treating him better than he did his heir. Speaking to some Portuguese on the day of this son's baptism, he said: "The padres today gave me a son when I had none", meaning that he did not consider his sons to be such while they were not Christians. In order to display the love he had for this son and the esteem he held him in, he went so far as to promise to reveal, before he died, to his son and to him alone, where

he kept his treasure, this being the ultimate confidence of these kings. Finally, when a matter of business arose with Fatema, King of the Boulons, the king desired that no-one else should be sent /f.238v/ to discuss the matter but his son, partly to honour him and partly because he was a nephew of King Fatema, being a son of one of Fatema's sisters who had been King Pedro's wife. Dom Christovão took with him all his Christian followers, dressed in Portuguese style, and also a son of Fatema whom he had brought up in his own household, and had had baptized with the others, at the request of his father.

Fatema received Dom Christovão with great feasting and paid him great honours. He sat him beside himself and he proposed that he should eat with him, saying that now Dom Christovao was greater than Fatema himself, since he was a son of God. Dom Christovão noted all this and used the opportunity to confirm his standing in the faith he had received. He said that truly he knew how great was the God of the Christians, since through the baptism he had received God had bestowed on him many very great favours. Fatema was overjoyed when he saw his son a Christian, dressed in Portuguese style; and because the boy was happy and spoke in praise of our holy faith, he said jokingly to Dom Christovão: "The padres take our sons from us, and after they make them Christians, they use them to make war on us".

In the end the king sent Dom Christovão away with gifts and great manifestations of affection, and he sent a reply to the king, his father, to the effect that since all of them took advice and guidance from him (D. Pedro) they, would continue to do so with more reason now that he was a Christian and a son of God. When it seemed good to himself, he would come to King Pedro's kingdom, to see for himself, and to discuss with him in more detail the matter put to him, and also other business which was very important to him.

At the period that God was carrying out these works, a caravel from Santiago Island reached these kingdoms, carrying letters from the Governor and other persons, from which I learned that God had willed to take to himself both of the padres there. I know no words that can express to Your Reverence /f.239/ the trouble in mind I felt at this news and the grief at the loss to me of such fine companions and to that island of such excellent workers. May the Lord be praised who has ordained it by His secret judgement. Before I heard of their arrival at the island, I had written to say that,

when they came, they were not to stay in the city but to go to one of the places considered more healthy, and remain there until they were acclimatized. But God willed that these letters did not reach there in time to be of use, because they were delayed in the ports more than six months. Lacking this advice, the padres who had come from Portugal with great eagerness to save souls, flung themselves into labours and duties conducive to this, as if they were other than flesh and blood subject to sickness and death. Hence, as the people there are naturally pious and quickly gained the habit of making their confessions before our priests while they were alive, and other persons ( ? visiting the island) were anxious to do the same, the number of confessions carried to our priests became so great that they had scarcely time to eat and rest.

To this labour were added others: preaching on Sundays and holy days, daily catechism, giving Latin lessons, hearing cases of conscience, and undertaking other ministerial duties proper to the Society. What they took on themselves, in a land not their own but one very hostile to the health of foreigners, was not the work of two men but of a whole College. They were fortunate, in the sense that it might be said of each: "consummatus in brevi explevit tempora multa" ("he completed in a short space of time what might have occupied an age"). But I was greatly disturbed by their deaths. For I feared that the result might be, not only that no more members of the Society would be sent to this island to carry forward what God had worked through these men, but also that no more would be forwarded through it to the mainland, which would thus fail to obtain the labourers of which I had such high hopes, on the argument that the region would consume the lives (of any new-comers) /f.239v/ in the same way as it had already consumed the lives of four men. Contrary to this view, it will be enough to say at this point that the airs of this part of the world, especially those of Serra Leoa, cannot be bettered by the very best in Portugal, and that it is rare for anyone belonging to this land to die of the common diseases of these parts. Instead they die either from old age, or from being poisoned, or from disorders brought about by the sins of the flesh. If I do not say more of what might be said it is because there is no-one in that place who doubts what has been said. Indeed if one is to credit someone who has travelled so many lands, then the truth is that this land is more suitable for human

life than the lands of Europe, because it lacks the extreme cold which occurs there, while the hot spells are not as tiresome as there, on account of the breezes which are always blowing. Hence it is not necessary to spray houses in order to be protected in them (from the heat), or to use fans or other devices employed in Europe. For this reason it has seemed to me, since I came to these kingdoms, that the College should be established in one of them, unless a healthy and wind-swept spot as a base from which our members can exercise their ministries can be found in the island.

## Chapter 5

### The progress in the faith of King D. Felipe of Serra Leoa, and events in his lands

In general this king, by God's mercy, made such continual progress and was so illuminated in the points of the Christianity he professed that it gave us reason to praise God, while it astonished the heathen and encouraged them to follow his example. This they did, being helped also by his /f.240/ exhortations, for in zeal to gain souls for Heaven he could not be equalled. With his support we built a church in Porto do Salvador (Saviour's Port), the chief port of his kingdom, and this is the largest and best church we have in these parts. It was finished a little before the Feast of the Circumcision. On that day many Christians from different kingdoms arrived by sea and gathered in it to gain the benefits of the holy jubilee which has been granted to our churches on their patronal festival. Throughout the morning there were many confessions and communions, and in the evening a solemn baptism was held in the presence of many heathen, and of some of the king's brothers whom he had summoned to make the festival more outstanding. Among those baptized were some of the wives of the former king, and of this one when he was a heathen.

God bestowed the same mercy on a very old man, the headman of this place, who had ruled it for many years because of his capacity and devotion; <sup>and</sup> his wife, who seemed about the same age, was baptized with him. Everyone behaved in a most edifying way, and performed their Christian duties so well that it gave us singular consolation. The king's brothers, some of whom are lords of many lands and vassals, have given their word that they will do the same, and some are already under instruction for baptism. If our hopes are fulfilled and they perform what they promised, there is no doubt that the whole of this kingdom will become Christian by the time that possession is taken of this conquista, that is, by having ships bring men here to settle the land and build a fortress in Serra Leoa. Until this is seen to, our position in these parts will not be secure.

After we had built a church in this port, as stated, and houses in which to live, the king also built houses for himself. Then he transferred to these with his followers, as we had much desired, having learnt from

experience that for the king to live in the same place as ourselves is a great help in converting the kingdom /f.240v/. In this way there followed many baptisms, which I shall describe later; and other greatly edifying works were performed. When Dom Felipe fell sick after making this transfer, his brothers and relatives immediately came to visit him and tried to persuade him to move from this place and seek a cure elsewhere, for such is the custom and superstition of these heathen. But they could not succeed in persuading him, his reply being that he was a Christian and believed that his health depended, not on changing his residence, but on God, and that if God willed it, He could give him back his health even if he stayed there. And this he did within a few days, to the great relief of the Christians and ourselves.

We made a wooden cross and the king helped us to erect it on a prominent point at his port, while he joined us in chanting the Litany and in praying before it devotedly. Near this port stood a china, since it is the custom of these heathen to have them at all their ports. No longer can it be seen there, for the devil should not be honoured in the face of the holy cross which has conquered him. The same duty was performed on others which were discovered either in the settlement or outside it. Furthermore, heathen songs were banished, being replaced by holy instruction, during the day in the church, at night in a public meeting-place in the village where many heathen assembled with the Christians, following the example of their king. From this there arose a desire to become Christian, which in the case of some of them was fulfilled by the divine goodness.

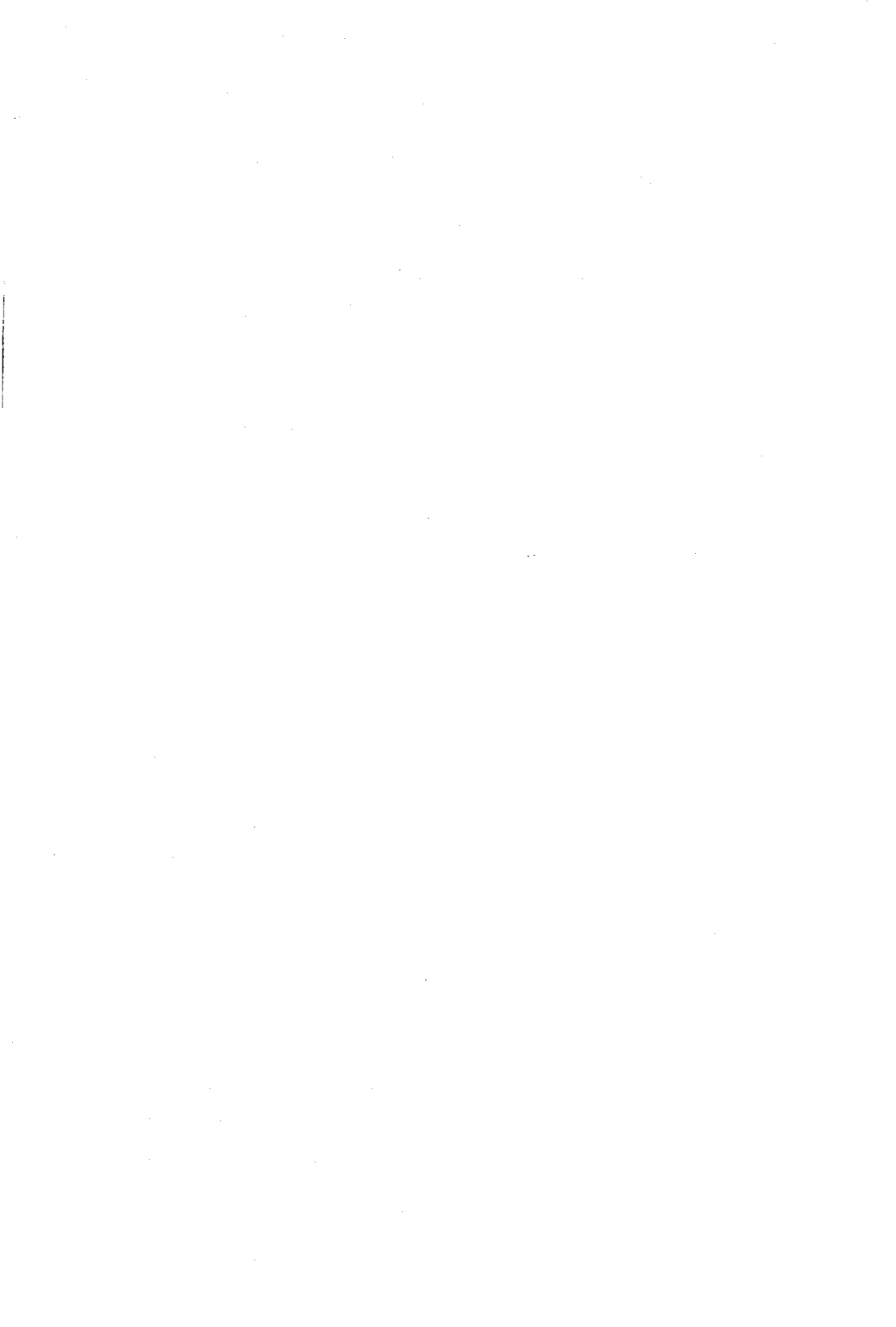
Apart from the spiritual mercies which God vouchsafed the king after his conversion, he also enjoyed great benefits in respect of an increase in his temporal goods and his status. One such benefit was that almost all the vassals of a brother of his who was more powerful, and who was feared in this kingdom on account of the number of his followers, came over to the king. /f.241/ This made a great impression on the neighbouring kings who attributed it wholly to his becoming a Christian.

As these kingdoms inter-communicate by water and each knows what is happening in the others, the information which was conveyed about these points of our holy faith which had been observed <sup>or</sup> ~~and~~ heard, and about the good behaviour of those <sup>persons</sup> who had been converted to it, encouraged <sup>people</sup> these in other places to desire this good thing they lacked. When the father of this king died, there came to the wake some important persons from another kingdom lying beyond Cape Ledo, on the Malagueta

Coast. These persons were sometimes present at the divine services, sermons, and baptisms held and performed by us; and they became so attached to the points of our holy faith and to the good customs which they saw the newly-converted Christians observing, that they did not tire of enlarging on the mercies which God had vouchsafed this king and of congratulating him on paying so much attention to us, since what we taught were matters of great moment. They added that after they had returned to their own land with the reply to the embassy they had brought, they would come back with their families in order to become Christians and to live in this king's realm among Christians. This year some of them have done just this and they are being made ready to receive holy baptism, while others await a ship, which will be going there in October or November, in order to come here in it and do the same.

In another kingdom which lies beyond that of the Loguon, a great impression was made by what was told by those who came from here; and since many of the leading persons were moved to become Christians, the king, who also had the same desire, sent <sup>to</sup> me to request, in a variety of ways, that I should agree to go there and build a church in his kingdom, in order to teach and baptize them. But as there are only two of us, and we cannot abandon this new group of Christians, we are postponing a visit until the Lord sends other workers who /f.241v/ will help us to distribute the bread of life to these and to others who hunger for it and seek it from us. Great is our regret that we cannot go to them.

1. Neither the original nor any manuscript copy of the letter from Father Baltasar Barreira to the Padre Provincial which Guerreiro states is the source of his material in chapter 2 and the following chapters up to this point, is extant. However the material in the remainder of chapter 5 and the following two chapters is contained in a long letter from Father Barreira, dated 1 January 1610, which is extant in a manuscript copy. In the opening paragraph of this letter reference is made to "the last annual <sup>report</sup> ~~letter~~ which I wrote for Your Reverence ~~from~~ <sup>at</sup> Serra Leoa on 15 April 1608". It may therefore be concluded that what Guerreiro presents as apparently a single letter is in fact drawn from at least two of Barreira's annual reports, and that the material up to this point in chapter 5 represents, wholly or partly, material which appeared in the annual report of 15 April 1608.





**30**





/f.1/ RELEVANT POINTS TO REPORT TO HIS MAJESTY CONCERNING THE  
FOUNDATION OF THE SEMINARY FOR THE BLACKS OF CAPE VERDE WHICH  
HE IS ORDERING TO BE ESTABLISHED IN THE CITY OF COIMBRA (1608?)

(ANTT, Cart. Jes., m<sup>o</sup>36, n<sup>o</sup>90)

The religious of the Society (of Jesus) in this kingdom of Portugal are very ready to comply in full with what His Majesty has requested of the Padre-Geral of the Society concerning the temporal and spiritual regulation of the seminary for the blacks of Guinea. (But) it would seem that its establishment in Portugal would not be beneficial to the royal exchequer or of spiritual benefit for the regions of Guinea.

For if His Majesty has this seminary relieved from its obligation to pay the due tithes, it would seem to be more in keeping with the (enactments of) <sup>the</sup> Council of Trent to establish a seminary, as the Council proposes, within the relevant diocese, since it is from the diocese that the tithes are withdrawn and (hence) it is within it that the Council wants such seminaries built.

If this were done, the very considerable expenses incurred in bringing these blacks from Cape Verde to Portugal and taking them back to Cape Verde would be spared, and the risk and difficulty of the sea voyage would be avoided. And since these men would be selected from remote parts (of Guinea) and would have to be brought from there to Cape Verde itself, there would be further expense.

There is much risk that nothing might be gained from these expenses. For since the blacks have a weak constitution and would be coming to a different climate in Portugal, there might be few who would survive. The men for the seminary would be much less coarse than the blacks who commonly come from Guinea, and being so the risk of sickness and death would be greater for them.

Normally these men would not have to study more than a certain amount of Latin and casuistry, but before they were capable of studying Latin they would have to spend a long time in the seminary learning the (?Portuguese) language and learning to read and write.

In Portugal, and especially at the University of Coimbra, they would be confused by what was said to them by the students, who as they are mischievous would poke fun at them, which could lead to trouble and quarrels, bearing in mind the undisciplined way in which the students behave even in the General lectures(?) in front of their very teachers.

Since Portugal has a higher standard of living than Guinea, it would be very difficult to make these blacks return to Guinea after becoming priests or after finishing their studies, even if not ordained, as experience shows in the case of some others who came to Portugal to study; and (hence) the result that is sought would not be achieved.

/f.lv/ Many of those who go out to Guinea fall<sup>in</sup> and die, even those who grew up and have their homes there and then return from visiting Portugal, however brief a time they stayed here. So what can be expected would happen to these blacks, once they were removed from the cossetting of the seminary where they would be well-treated and would not experience extremes of heat nor cold, and came away from a land as temperate as Portugal is in comparison to Guinea, other than that all or some of them would die when they reached Guinea, and therefore that all that was spent on them would be without profit?

And if it should be said that the disadvantages mentioned above will occur were the seminary to be established in Guinea, it can be clearly seen that would not be so, since the risks at sea, the expence of the journeys, and the danger of death on return from Portugal would be avoided or at least largely safeguarded against. Moreover, if the blacks stay in Guinea, they

can immediately go around neighbouring localities, giving instruction, ministering in the churches, and making use of all the time that would have been spent travelling to and from Portugal; and even though some of them may die in the seminary, the expense of the journeys will be spared.

If the seminary is founded there, the men can be taken for it from the school of reading and writing, that is, those who are most suitable and adjusted and who see themselves most inclined towards learning and divine service and it will be a cause for competition amongst them. Staying there, they would continue to use their own language, so that it would not be necessary to learn it afresh on return from Portugal, and since the Bishop resides there it would be easy for him to ordain them.

Finally, given that the minority who study may come to (be priests and) have care of souls, but <sup>being</sup> ~~as~~ blacks are not used to living in a community and are naturally inclined to the vice of the flesh, and since this will be an experiment, it seems that it would be most fitting in every way that the seminary should be set up in Guinea rather than here in Portugal, because there it would be easier to expel those who there were less suitable for life in a community or more inclined to this vice, without having spent on them the cost there and back pointed out above. And they could be expelled with less scandal there than they could be here in Portugal. And <sup>Since</sup> ~~as~~ there are schools for blacks in Guinea, there would always be candidates for the vacant places, so it would not be necessary for them to be in Portugal, waiting and spending the king's revenue, or for places to stay empty a long time.

/f.2/ In Guinea the seminary could be maintained at less expense because they could be supplied with local products and provisions, which the blacks, as natives, would be familiar with; whereas here they would expect to be pampered and given local standards of living (?), all of which can be spared if the seminary is established there.











BARREIRA'S ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1608 - 1609

Cape Verde Island, 1 January 1610

Pax Christi, etc.

After I wrote the last annual report for Your Reverence at Serra Leoa on 15 April 1608, I came to this island of Cape Verde because this was necessary, and I left in that place Father Manoel Alvares, to carry forward what divine goodness was working in those parts.

Before my departure the Lord consoled us with the baptism of a brother and a sister of King D. Felipe. In another letter I have said of the sister that the kingdom would have been hers if she had been a man, and that for this reason, as also for her wisdom and masculine spirit, she is known throughout these kingdoms and greatly respected by all.

[ GUERREIRO, 1611, liv. 4, cap. 5 (continued) ] <sup>(1)</sup>

/f.241v/ This woman, while she was still a heathen but after she had learned about the duties of Christians, played a great part in seeing to it that the marriage of Dom Felipe by the law of grace was carried through. As she at that time observed and heard about our holy faith, she decided to receive it, and she promised that when she had put her affairs in order she would return so that I could instruct her and baptize her. Afterwards she saw me several times and I began teaching her the catechism. Although on one occasion she proposed that I baptize her, I declined to do it until she moved her residence to the place in which we had our house and church, as I thought it not proper that she live outside it and among heathen after she became a Christian. In the end she made the transfer, influenced by her great desire to receive holy baptism. After she had been prepared for baptism, the king, her brother, went to her house with the Portuguese of the place and a large number of other people to fetch her, and amid extraordinary manifestations of joy he brought her to the church. Everyone noted the

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1. In Guerreiro (1611, liv. 4, cap. 5, f. 241v), the annual report that follows is conflated with an earlier one, and is introduced thus.  
 " In 1609 much fruit was gained in this kingdom of Dom Felipe, and to the glory of God there were many conversions of brothers and other relatives of the king. The first conversion was that of a sister of his, a woman of great wisdom and masculine spirit, for which she was well known throughout these kingdoms and respected

keen perception of this lady, and the illumination which God had bestowed on her concerning our holy faith, from the things they heard her say before and after the baptism, in respect of the truth which the Christians follow and the falsehood of the chinas and idols in which the heathen believe. She was given the name of Dona Felipe de Leão, in imitation of the name of her brother, just as she had imitated him in his faith. Her baptism was the occasion for much feasting, and news of it caused /f.242/ great surprise among the kings and lords who knew her. When a sister of King Farma heard of it, she uttered these words: "Mabora - for that was her name when she was a heathen - is now a Christian; so, <sup>who</sup> in future will be otherwise ? " And this is in fact what happened hereafter, as we shall be describing in the course of this letter.

A brother of hers who later followed her example is the heir to the throne in Dom Felipe's kingdom, for which reason we greatly desired his conversion, so that the Faith of Christ would be perpetuated in the leadership of that kingdom. On the occasions when I discussed with him his erroneous beliefs and the truth of the Christian religion, he always declared that he agreed with me and promised that he would receive holy baptism. To this end it greatly helped that he was sometimes present at sermons, sessions of instruction, and the baptism of others. He finally reached the point of making a decision when he saw his sister, Dona Felipa, a Christian, she having been his companion for a long time in the village in which he lived. His brother, the king, knew about his wish and was hoping for a suitable opportunity for its fulfilment. The opportunity came in the following way.

While Father Manoel Alvares was with me in Dom Pedro's kingdom, we heard about another brother of King D. Felipe who was about to come from the Serra, where he had his lands, to Porto do Salvador, in order to receive the holy baptism he had long desired. As soon as I learned this I ordered the padre to gather this sheep into Christ's flock; and because we clothe all those we baptize, so that they can abandon the heathen style of dress, I gave the padre a costume of silk for him which I had kept for the first baptism of a noble. The king received the padre with great excitement and joy, and since the catechumen from the Serra had not yet arrived, on account of /f.242v/ the obstacles which the devil always thinks up in like cases, they discussed together the other brother, and they agreed that the padre's coming was ordained by God to fulfil his desire (for baptism). The king took the initiative himself by leaving <sup>for</sup> his brother's village, a

day's journey from the port. He explained to him the reason for his visit, and Setuan - this was the brother's name - was overjoyed. His reply was to decide immediately to send a message to a certain Portuguese who was a friend of his and who lived 10-12 leagues away, to ask him to come to be his godfather. The king returned to where he had left the padre and asked him to rejoice at the good news of what he had done; and he prepared great feasts for the baptism, which might be held, he thought, at the soonest in twelve or fifteen days time, on account of the delay caused by sending a message to the Portuguese and his travelling there. But God ordained otherwise, for scarcely had the king departed than Setuan's vassals brought him news that a boat containing Portuguese had appeared at sea. Setuan rose up excitedly, went to await it at the port, and saw in it his godfather. He marvelled that the Portuguese should arrive at this moment, before he had sent for him, and he considered this God's handiwork and unceasingly gave Him thanks. He received his guest joyfully, and explained to him his wish and what he had agreed with his brother, the king. He welcomed him to his house, and spent the night in speaking of God and the points of our holy faith. While they were occupied in this, the devil, with terrible howlings, expressed his disgust at the change in Setuan and his fear that many others would do the same, following his example.

When the next morning came, the ardent catechumen aroused his godfather, and embarked with him, without saying anything to his followers. On the voyage the sea raged so fiercely that it seemed rash to the Portuguese to go further and several times he wanted to retreat to a sheltered port, but Setuan dissuaded him by showing great spirit, and his confidence that God would bring them through safely. They finally reached Porto do Salvador, to the great admiration of all and especially that of the padre. In view of what the king had said about the delay there would be, the padre had proposed to go to Dom Pedro's kingdom in the meantime, and hence had that morning in fine weather put the church ornaments aboard ship, but God had stopped the ship leaving by means of the storm mentioned above. At night, as the padre was in his house, he heard an uproar in the village. Before he could learn the cause, a Portuguese came to him and said excitedly: "Padre, this is a great miracle. God stopped Your Reverence from leaving today so that Setuan could meet you here. Here he is, arriving with his godfather to receive holy baptism". The padre marvelled, and after praising God and giving Him thanks for this benefit, he resolved to retire for the night, in order to discuss with

Setuan the following day and to prepare him for the mercy which God desired to bestow upon him.

When Dom Felipe saw his brother's fervour he untiringly embraced him and demonstrated outwardly the joy he felt in his soul. He welcomed him in his house and spent the greater part of the night in praising God and in declaring to Setuan the truth of our holy faith and the falsity and deceit of the things in which he had previously believed. In the morning he came with him to the church, where they met the padre. The joy of all of them was renewed, and together they praised the Lord and asked Him to grant that the work which was His and which He had begun should reach the desired conclusion. "Padre", said Dom Felipe, "let us not delay, so that the devil does not obstruct the deed with his artful tricks. My brother is fully instructed and God has given him a keen understanding of Himself and of His holy faith. Setuan desires nothing other /f.243v/ than to become His son. If it is ever necessary to hasten a baptism, this is the time." The catechumen himself sought the same favour from the padre, as did the Portuguese and all the other Christians present.

The padre acknowledged his obligation to comply with such a just request. He devoted that day to preparing Setuan, by having him call to mind what previously we had taught him and by enlarging on the benefit God was vouchsafing him. In order that there should be no delay because of (lack of appropriate) clothes, the padre gave Setuan those he had brought for his brother in the Serra. After dinner, when the hour for religious instruction was due, on the signal given for this the catechumen arrived, accompanied by the king, his brother, Dona Felipa, his sister, his godfather and other Portuguese, and many other people, Christian and heathen. With them they had many musical instruments of the kind used at feasts. Setuan was dressed in Portuguese style and had such a joyous countenance that he appeared a different person from the man he was before.

The padre conducted the session of instruction and then baptized <sup>Setuan</sup> him, to his very great comfort, as the padre has told me. He sighed many times, regretting that I could not be there. The padre has recounted to me, as an acknowledgement of grace and in respect of the innocence and zeal of the king, that when they were all on their knees and holding up their hands during the instruction, because the king noticed that his sister, Dona Felipa, had not crossed her thumbs and he thought this was necessary, he went to her, arranged them for her, and told her how they should be placed correctly. Also when he

saw a member of his household who was still a heathen listening outside the door of the church during the padre's session of instruction, he went to him and pushed him in so that he could hear better.

The day after the baptism, Dom João, as he was now called, came to the padre with his godfather<sup>to</sup> to receive his benediction, and he then asked him for a rosary, a reliquary, and a religious image before which to make his prayers. It seemed wise for the godfather /f.244/ to take D.João back to his land and to restore him to his people as a Christian, and to explain to them why they should now respect him more than before, when he was a heathen, while exhorting them to follow his example. He was received by his people with general acclamation and joy. But the devil did not fail to perform his role. One of Dom João's captains whom he much respected did not approve of the change he had made, and with outward bitterness he said to him : "Who will now accompany you to war? Who will fight for you? Who will protect us from our enemies? " <sup>(to the last question)</sup> The godfather replied: "Dom João will do this, and he will do it better, because he is now a son of the true God." Following up this point, he declared before all the people how blindly they conducted their lives since they believed that animal horns and skins and other things they took to war had the capacity to save them from death. He spoke so convincingly of the power of God and the favour He showed to those who believed in Him that the captain and all the others surrendered and confessed that there was no God other than that in whom the Christians believed. They showed themselves desirous of becoming His sons and following their lord in the faith he professed, and many of them subsequently fulfilled their desire, as will be seen later.

After this D.João entered his house, and broke and burned to ashes all the idols in it. In their place he erected a beautiful cross, which he worshipped, prostrating himself on the ground with great devotion and faith. The godfather finally took his leave of him, after giving him certain advice he judged necessary for the Christian conduct of his life. From what the godfather later stated, the devil wished to be revenged on him while he was at sea, but because he was not permitted to do this he attempted at least to

frighten him. The devil took on the form of a creature which was neither man nor fish nor any other animal, but which was composed of various aspects and parts (of each), and in this form he appeared, travelling in front of /f.244v/ the boat, not without causing great terror among those in it. They realised how this enemy (of mankind) felt at having his prey slip out of his hands and having a door opened into his lands through which many souls might leave and follow the banner of Jesus, their true captain.

## [cap.6 ]

[Other activities of King D. Felipe in his kingdom, and the conversions there.]

Dom Felipe was not content to employ his zeal in the conversion of his brothers, and of the others to be mentioned later, but he directed it also to the harassment of the heretics and pirates who came to his kingdom, although before he became a Christian no king on this coast had favoured them more. This year when a ship carrying foreigners reached his chief port, he learned from those who were knowledgeable that they were heretics and that the goods they brought had been stolen from the Portuguese. He dissimulated with them and allowed them to land, but when they wanted to stay he attacked them with his men, leading them himself, and showing no fear of their muskets and other weapons. A few escaped badly wounded, but most of them paid for their brigandry with their lives.

Shortly afterwards he surpassed himself in another episode. When another ship also containing pirates came to the same port, he attacked it, and after his boats had grappled with it, his men killed all of them, except for a boy whom he handed over to us, so that we could bring him to our holy faith and raise him with the milk of holy doctrine. The boy took to this so well, as he had great natural ability, that now he is able to teach the faith to others.

Before proceeding further, I wish to relate an occurrence in the kingdom /f.245/ of Farma, the kingdom neighbouring this one. His port, called Mitombo, has been inhabited for many years by Portuguese and frequented by ships which go there to trade in blacks, ivory and other local products. For this reason the king, who lives three days' journey away, influenced not only by what he heard from the Portuguese who traded with him but also by what he was told by his own subjects who visited the kingdoms in which we live, expressed a great desire to see us and have us near him, and he offered several times to build us a church in any part of his kingdom we wanted to locate one.

At the very time that God had disposed him in this way to receive our holy faith, there came to his kingdom an agent of Satan, one of those whom the Moors of Barbary call cacizes and the Moors of Guinea bexerins. The bexerim had discussions with the king, and he preached to him such points concerning the cursed sect of Mohammed that he convinced him and made him his disciple, so that the king believed and accepted as fact all that the bexerim had taught him. Their friendship was so close that the king could not live apart from the bexerim, and the bexerim lost no opportunity to obtain whatever he wanted from the king, who would deny him nothing. Among the things he obtained from the king were some valuables of the kind the Portuguese bring to these parts.

Four months or so passed in this way. The vassals of Farma who had been at the services we celebrated and at the instruction sessions, sermons, and baptisms we performed, and had seen the way in which the newly converted Christians were progressing, told their lord about these things, in front of the bexerim. And it happened that one day when the bexerim was speaking to the king, he said great things to him about the true God and about the Christian religion, and he threw on the ground the goods from Europe he had received from the king and said: "Farma, take what you gave me. I came to kill you. The God /f.245/ of the Christians is great. I did not kill you, but I killed myself". As he finished speaking his life finished too, to the great astonishment of the king and all his followers, and to the great glory of God, for they understood how false were the doctrine and religion of this agent of the devil and how true those of the Christians. On this foundation we hope that the Lord will raise up a most glorious church in this kingdom, which extends into the interior more than 100 leagues and neighbours other very large kingdoms, as I have stated in another letter.

The signs this king displays of his great admiration for the Portuguese and of his great affection for them also promise much. When it happened that during the same period two Portuguese fought each other in the port of Mitombo and one killed the other, as soon as he learnt of it he was very upset about the incident and ordered his warriors to bring him the head of the murderer. But because it

seemed to the Portuguese that it was better that he moderated his zeal because of what could happen in other incidents, as well as using other means they attempted to placate him by offering him presents, of which he took little account. He finally allowed himself to submit to their pleas, saying that if the person responsible for that ill-deed had been a vassal of his, he would have exterminated him and all his line. At the same time he had it proclaimed that that was what he would do to anyone who touched one of his Portuguese; and in place of the head of the Portuguese murderer which he had claimed, he ordered a certain ceremony, which is enacted among them in similar cases, to be performed. Instead of the murderer they killed an animal and made a great lament over its blood, as if it were that of the dead Portuguese, and they said repeatedly that this should have been shed (?) and not his.<sup>(1)</sup>

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1. Guerreiro transposed a section of the final part of Barreira's letter to complete <sup>his</sup> chapter 6 and begin his chapter 7. The present text follows the original order.

## Chapter 8

### The fruits gained in certain other places on the coast and mainland of Guinea

This being the state of affairs in these kingdoms (of Sierra Leone) with respect to conversions and the good of souls, it became necessary for me to pay a visit here, to Cape Verde Island, as I have said, both because of the deaths of the padres who were here and in order to discuss the site for building the Casa (residence, convent) which His Majesty has ordered to be established here. Letters on the subject from my superiors met me on the way and ordered me to do just this. It was a great relief to me that my action was confirmed by the will of those whom I consider as standing in the place of Christ.

On the third day after leaving the port, we returned to it because we had split a mast with the force of the wind. The mast was very hastily replaced and we set out again. Although the winds were not very favourable and the tides carried us on to dangerous shoals, God willed that we passed over them safely. Eight days after we left, the Lord visited me with a sudden onset of illness, the worst I have ever experienced. It lasted only a few days but produced high fever and lack of appetite. I applied no cure as I had none, apart from my confidence in God for whom I was making the journey. This sustained me and served as medicine which enabled me to recover my health and get rid of a swelling of abnormal size which had brought about the illness.

It took us 19 or 20 days to reach the latitude of the island, yet God did not will that we should find it or any neighbouring island, the cause being, it seemed, that the current had carried us to the East, /f.258v/ leaving the islands behind us to the West. When we saw what had happened, and realized that the winds were against us if we again attempted to seek the islands and that the supplies aboard were running out, we headed towards the coast stretching from River Senegal towards Cacheu, and we came in sight of it within less than 24 hours. When afterwards on the island I recounted this, everyone told me that it was by a special dispensation of God's mercy that we did not make the island, for if we had we would without doubt have fallen into the hands of a pirate vessel which during that period spent many days within sight of the port in order to rob ships arriving there.

This suggested to me that, by means of what chanced, God was directing us to the ports of that coast in order to save souls. Later the Portuguese of those parts thought the same; and they said it to each other and to me many times, to the great comfort of their souls, when they saw what God was working through me by my hearing of confessions, my preaching and my sessions of instruction.

This coast is inhabited by people who are infected by the cursed sect of Mohammed. It has two harbours where Portuguese live and where other nations enter and trade, especially the English, Dutch and French. The port of Ale is the chief harbour, and the other is the port of Joala. After much searching, as the pilot did not know the coast, we made Joala. I landed on St Francis' day. The Portuguese living there were waiting for me on the shore, to congratulate me on my journey, and on my arrival there, with manifestations of great joy. The leading man took charge of me, lodging me in some houses set apart, near a kind of church they had there. As long as I stayed there he provided me with all I needed, and this so charitably and generously that it was quite an effort to persuade him to moderate his hospitality. When I asked if they had what was required if I were to hold a mass, I learned that the Episcopal Visitor kept all this in the port of Ale. I spent the days I was there preaching, hearing confessions and giving sacred instruction. The Christians came to these with great /f.259/ enthusiasm and fervour, and in a few days the fruit gathered here was evident, from which followed much glory to God.

When I preached or chanted the catechism, the Moslems standing outside (the church) heard me as if stupefied. Some bexerins and other Moslems later spoke most approvingly of our holy religion and of those points which I taught the Christians in my sermons. Within a few days my arrival became known in the port of Ale. Straightway (the Portuguese there) wrote to me, expressing their great satisfaction; and in particular the Visitor, a canon of the cathedral of this diocese, asked me very warmly to go there, both to oblige those Christians who were most anxious that I should do so, and to help him, as he was indisposed, by carrying out the ministrations permitted to us. Further he provided me with certain things for the journey, as he knew how much of what was needed I lacked.

I set off for Ale, to the distress of the Joala Christians. I cheered <sup>them</sup> up by promising to return there, before going on to Cacheu, in order to hear the confessions of those who had not yet made them and to complete certain business which I had begun. Some of them accompanied me, as an expression of good will and because the road was not very safe. The Visitor came out to receive us, as did the many Portuguese who live there and the Moslem alcaide or governor of the port, who embraced me as the others did, congratulated me on going there, and declared that he was no less pleased than were the Portuguese. At this point, because the Moslem there call priests 'the kings of the whites', the Visitor said to the alcaide, pointing to me: "This is the great king of the whites". And because the alcaide was very ladino (acculturated) and well-informed about our concerns, he showed that he understood what was meant. Before entering the settlement we saw as we passed a cross erected on the shore, before which I knelt and prayed, and all those accompanying me did the same, in the presence not only of the Moslems but also of many heretics of various /f.259v/ nations who live there. For the same reasons, the confusion of the enemies of both sorts and the greater glory of God, thereafter I daily performed the catechism at the foot of this cross, the place most frequented by natives and foreigners. The Portuguese who lived nearby brought chairs or benches, and some sat on the grass, and the Visitor usually attended in order to give his authority to the service, which I and all the others found most edifying. First, two children chanted "All faithful Christians..." , then, as I continued with the rest of the service,<sup>(1)</sup> all present, adults and children, repeated the responses in a loud voice. This rang out to such an extent that it was heard not only by those standing along a large beach which the sea forms here, but also by those aboard the ships, and by the Moslems throughout the town. The latter assembled in such numbers, not only of women, boys, and girls, but also of men, that they equalled or surpassed the number of Christians, and they were not distinguished from them by the silence with which they listened.

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1. Guerreiro omits the first part of this sentence.

At all these sessions I regularly seized the opportunity, while speaking of any matters pertinent to our holy faith, to do so in a way profitable not only to the Christians but also to the Moslems and heretics. I was eager to make these sessions, when they occurred on a Sunday or feastday more solemn occasions; but as the king of the country, and those who govern it (for him), and the native inhabitants of the town are all Moslems, and they have many bexerins among them, there were not lacking some human misgivings (among the Portuguese) and some opinions expressed against my intention. However we agreed, with the Visitor's approval, that we should perform the service with public solemnity at least once, to see how the Moslems would take it.

On Sunday afternoon, we processed along the main street of the settlement, which is very long and wide, the procession being headed by a hand-bell and then a crucifix of a very edifying appearance, with suitable accompanying candles. The Portuguese and other Christians marched in two rows, as in a procession, all of them repeating the litanies which two boys chanted. On the outside of these ranks, on each side, a great crowd of Moslems and bexerins /f.260/ followed us. Since the market-place is in the middle of this street, when the Moslem women selling there saw us go by in this fashion, they put their goods in baskets and with these on their heads they joined us. Eventually we came to a cross which stands outside the settlement and has walls around it, this being the Christian cemetery. We knelt down in front of the cross and the boys thrice intoned "Lord have mercy upon us", as we always do at the end of the catechism. Everyone repeated these words, and struck his breast, in a way which fostered great piety and devotion. This was how we went out and returned, in complete peace, as if it were a Catholic country.

The Portuguese celebrated this occurrence excitedly, and they had great hopes that, if the Society continued to work there, all of the kingdom would be converted to our holy faith. What the Visitor said to me on many occasions confirmed this view, for he maintained that nowhere else in Guinea could we reside more satisfactorily or gather more fruit of souls than here, giving as one reason among others the intelligence of the people. I found this to be the case in the talks I had with those in charge of the administration, since they clearly confessed that all that their bexerins taught them about the religion of Mohammed was false, and that our religion was

the true one, and they added that while outwardly they behaved like Moslems inwardly they were Christians. If they did not declare this and seek holy baptism, it was because they lived on the revenues given them by the king; but they greatly desired that he should be baptized so that they could be too. According to what the Portuguese told me, the king's baptism may not be far off, for he has wide knowledge and likes to hear the points of our holy faith discussed. When he speaks specifically of this with any Portuguese, he mocks at their bexerins, and he holds such an opinion regarding them that he has already once proposed to remove them totally from his kingdom. But out of humane considerations he did not carry this out, such considerations being powerful with these people.

/f.260v/ A young man, the son of the chief fidalgo of that settlement, the collector of taxes and revenues for the king, after hearing my exposition during the regular services of instruction, experienced such a great desire to become a Christian when I performed the more solemn service, that he immediately went in search of some Portuguese friends. Baring his breast to them, he asked them to take him to where I was to be found, and to act as his intermediaries, so that he could be baptized. They did this with great joy. When the youth came to me he threw himself at my feet, and with uplifted hands he asked me to make him a son of God and to accept him as my companion, because he wished to follow me wherever I went. His (intended) godfathers supported him in this and made the same plea, giving various reasons why I should not deny his request.

This sight was a great comfort to me, and I told the youth so, declaring that his intention was just and holy. However I expressed doubts as to how his father and the king would take his conversion. "As for my father", said the youth, "I am sure that he will rejoice greatly when he sees me a Christian for he wishes the same for himself. How the king will take it I do not know, but what can he do if he does not approve? Sell me or kill me? Once I am a Christian, it matters not if he sells or kills me."<sup>(2)</sup> One of the bystanders, a wealthy man

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2. Guerreiro omits the last two sentences.

of great reputation in that kingdom, said: "I do not believe that the king will kill you for becoming a Christian. But if he does enslave and sell you because you were baptized without his permission, I will pay for you whatever is sought, and will give you your freedom again." The Visitor was not present at this discussion, and since I thought it better to learn his opinion first, I made the reply, after comforting the youth, that he should report his intention to his father and to the Visitor, and that if they approved of his baptism, I would make preparations for it straightway and would do all that he asked with very special pleasure. The father, the Visitor, and some Portuguese met and discussed the matter. Since the king had sent word that he was on his way to the port, all of them thought that he should be left undisturbed while he travelled there and returned again, but afterwards the youth could be baptized with less risk to himself. However after this decision was taken, I stayed there only a few more days, because the launch in which I was to go to Cacheu was ready, and so I do not know what has happened.

Eventually I left for Joala, as I had promised, and after confessing those who attended for this reason and concluding other matters in God's service, I embarked for Cacheu, which we reached on the third day, about midnight. The Captain of the Portuguese had prepared a house for me, the best in the settlement, and when he learned of my arrival he led me to it himself, with great enthusiasm and joy. The following day I was visited by the settlers in the port. I also introduced myself to them, in a speech which I made to them in the church before saying mass. I indicated the round-about way in which God had brought me there and the purpose of our Order, and I offered them daily instruction in Christian belief, preaching on Sundays and feastdays, the hearing of confessions from all who came to me, and the other ministrations proper to the Society.

This port is much visited by ships coming from Seville and Portugal, or from this island, to trade in blacks, [or, with the blacks ] and for this reason it has much trade and many entanglements for souls. Further, the black Christians, because of the frequent contact they have with the heathen and their own limited Christian knowledge, easily resume rites alien to our holy faith, especially those of them who previously were jabacouces, as magicians/witches are called here, who practise divination and cure illnesses with remedies and spells learnt in the school of Satan. For this reason

there is a great need for the Society here, and when I was in Serra Leoa I received many letters on this subject. The Lord has willed that a large number of these matters have now been set right, to His great glory. Apart from children and blacks, many Portuguese came to the daily catechism session, since in it I always /f.261v/ discussed points beneficial to all. When this session came to an end, and after I had given prizes to those who answered well, we emerged from the church with two boys chanting the catechism and the others making their responses, and we marched as far as a cross which stands on the shore and there we knelt down. Thrice we said "Lord God have mercy", and then we returned the same way to this church.

On Sundays and feastdays, we did this with more solemnity. We marched to another church further away, playing shawms ~~on and off~~ <sup>inter-</sup>. We were accompanied by the leading persons in the town as well as by other people, and among the former was sometimes the king of the country, who is a Christian and resides in his own town. Such good fruits followed from this public exercise, and from the hearing of confessions and other ministrations of the Society that everyone said it seemed like a different town. Using this as an argument they attempted to constrain me from deserting them; but I defended myself by explaining my reasons for coming to this island and by referring to the letters from my superiors which I received at Cacheu. In these, as I have stated, my superiors ordered me to follow out this course of action.

I finally took my leave of the people of Cacheu, after giving them some hope that I would very soon be able to send them, in place of myself, one or more of our (priests). And this I did, using the same ship on which I came to this island, since I found here four priests and two brothers who had arrived a few days earlier (from Portugal). My own arrival, being unexpected, as nothing had been heard of my movements for a long time, was for our people (i.e. the Jesuits) a cause of both surprise and great joy; while for me the knowledge that they were here, apart from producing the same reaction (of surprise and joy), <sup>was a cause for</sup> deep confidence in the divine mercy and providence, inasmuch as this vineyard has not been abandoned by God and its fruit must now respond to His care in providing workers for it. Before the ship in which I arrived entered port, I was recognised by watchers on a headland. They ran quickly to bring the good news to our people, some of whom came out to /f.262/ see if it was true. They

got into a boat and came alongside the ship to meet me, and Your Reverence may imagine the comfort I gained from seeing them. They embraced and hugged me to such an extent that I had to moderate their enthusiasm and push them off, for their strength was too much for my year age. As the governor and many of the leading inhabitants were awaiting me on the shore I hastened to leave the ship. I was received by all with demonstrations of great affection, and especially by the governor who loves us and cares for us as if he were himself a brother of the Society.

I straightway set to work to inspect the sites available here so that I could select the one most suited for the Casa or the College which His Majesty has ordered to be founded in this island. Although I found great problems with them all, I finally chose one which seemed acceptable, not only to the governor and City Council, but to everyone else. (3)

I also dealt with the despatch, to various parts of Guinea, of the members of our Society I found in the island, so that there they could undergo, with less risk to life, their first attacks of sickness, which are the most dangerous ones, and afterwards could return here. As this left me alone here, without other padres, it was necessary to make up for their loss, although friends were fearful that I would fall ill in consequence. But the Lord has willed that I have kept my health and strength, so that I can visit my fellow men and exercise other ministries, among them that of teaching Latin to some local boys. It will be understood that all this is required for the greater glory of God and the preservation of the good name and reputation of the Society in these parts. (4)

Before resuming my account of the kingdom of Serra Leoa, which I broke off in order to describe my journey to this island, (5) I wish

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3. Guerreiro omits this paragraph.

4. Guerreiro omits the last clause, "and the preservation... in these parts."

5. Guerreiro substitutes for the first part of this sentence "But before concluding," .

briefly to mention certain occurrences which the Lord was pleased to bring about here. Never on the Coast or at Cacheu was I in a place where, in such a short space of time, the Divine Bounty produced so much fruit from the ministrations of the Society as it did here, where it made a general and great change in the lives and customs of all. There have been many general confessions, and others of such importance that the penitents were persuaded that God brought me to these parts solely out of love for them, for they declared that if He had not done this, they would have spent their lives to the very end in the grip of their sins, without being able to confess them. Among the penitents, I came upon some who for more than thirty years had concealed the most grave sins in their confessions, and one man who had persisted in this wicked state and yet regularly asked God that a padre of the Society should discover him before his death so that he could confess to the padre and freely reveal to him the sins he had concealed from other confessors.<sup>(6)</sup> Divine Bounty granted this to the man and immediately bore him to Itself. Another man had frequently offered himself to the devil, begging him to take him, since he could not achieve something he desired, so he promised the devil that if he gained this for him he would write in blood a declaration that he renounced the faith of Jesus Christ, and would confess that he belonged to the devil. Because these sins were strange and horrendous the man had not dared to confess them, but stirred up by God through what he heard in sermons, he sought me out and made a complete confession to me, with great signs of true contrition.<sup>(7)</sup>

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6. Guerreiro revises this sentence to read "... thirty years had remained in that state, and yet sought regularly ...", and similarly omits the further reference to concealment of sins from confessors.
  7. Guerreiro omits the anecdote represented by the three last sentences in English.

/f.262v/ The devil has many agents in these parts who with spells and potions, as taught by him, carry out his will. I was called to a youth who was considered to be possessed by the devil, and the signs were these. He would not speak the Holy Name of Jesus, or that of the Virgin His Mother, nor would he kiss their images, nor allow relics and other holy objects to be hung around his neck. I carried out exorcisms and used other means to see where the aversion he showed to the things of God and his Saints came from; and I discovered that the cause was a potion given him, by a woman with whom he was living in an evil way, because he wanted to leave her. According to my information, the effect of these potions is to make those who take them crazy, and they become convinced that if they confess our holy faith or any article of it, or behave reverentially to the cross or any other sacred object, they will die immediately. I said a mass for him and, as I was told later, the Lord was pleased to deliver him from this trouble.

From such beginnings (in devil-worship) it appears that extraordinary events can develop, as happened in Cacheu when I was there. Some walls of the town's main church fell down. When the foundations were later being opened up, to build new walls outside the old ones, the man who was digging came upon the body of a woman which he himself had buried there 14 months earlier, and it was still whole, with the shroud sound, as if it had just been buried. He stepped on it, to continue digging, when he felt it move and carry him upwards. The mason jumped off, terrified. He called out to other men, showed them the corpse, and told them what had happened to him. They thought it could not be true and compelled him to carry on, but as soon as he stepped on the corpse it again carried him upwards as before. They went to the Vicar to tell him about the occurrence; he saw the body as I have described it, and asked me to see it, which I did. When I made inquiries about this woman's life, I heard such bad things about it that I believe that God allowed the foundations to be opened up in /f.263/ that spot, and the body to be found in that condition, in order to frighten by this example those other black women of the town who have the same dealings with the devil and who live as she lived, more like heathens than Christians. Some thought that the woman died excommunicate, and for that reason the earth would not consume the body, but what seems more probable is that just as the devil lived in her soul and possessed it during her life, so after death God permitted

him to remain with her body and possess it, and preserve it from corruption, together with the shroud and ropes and anything else on it. The Vicar, after carrying out such rites as he wished, for I did not care to be mixed up in the matter, moved the body to another part of the church, with the intention of discussing with the Visitor when he came what to do about it. (8)

In all these parts a bad example encourages much sinning; but on the Guinea Coast, apart from the example given by bad Christians, there is also the example given by heretics and Moslems and the influence of the false beliefs which go with it. When we held a solemn session of instruction at Ale, a Dutch heretic, who was stationed there to forward goods sent him from Holland, indicated to a Portuguese friend of his that he wished to meet me, and he asked the friend to take him to where I was staying. The Portuguese told me about this with great excitement, as he believed that the heretic wished to be converted to our holy Catholic faith. I told the Portuguese to bring the heretic and waited several days, but seeing that he failed to come I inquired the reason. I was informed that his intention had been to come to argue with me, but another Dutchman, an old and respected man, when he heard this, rebuked him and made him abandon his intention, saying that he was a fool to want to challenge a man who had come from Heaven. By this exaggerated epithet he meant to stress the high opinion in which he held the Society and its sons. (9)

The Portuguese in these parts live in considerable subjection and suffer greatly from the tyranny of the kings and of those others who govern the land. They accept this merely in order to live as they fancy and to leave there rich, though they risk losing all in one day. I pass over the dues they pay on the goods they bring in or take out, and the harsh treatment which forces payment to certain parties of what is due to others, on no other basis than that the two belong to the same nation. Every time the king has need of money, or pretends he has, he commands a gentleman of his household to intimate this to the Portuguese, as I myself have witnessed. The gentleman arrives with a large entourage and enters the houses of the Portuguese as freely and with as much authority as if their residents were his slaves, without any of them restraining him or daring to deny him anything he seeks or wants; and however much is given him, he is never satisfied.

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8. Guerreiro omits this sentence.

9. Guerreiro omits this paragraph.

If any ship is wrecked on the coast, it is immediately seized, with all its goods, on behalf of the king. To treat the Portuguese based in the town in the same way it is only necessary to invent a chai, meaning some offence they have committed. But all these acts of tyranny are exceeded by a practice when a Portuguese dies. If someone falls sick and the local people learn that the illness is serious, then they surround his house so that nothing can be taken out, and the moment he dies they help themselves to all the goods in the house, whether they are his own or belong to persons staying with him who are not present. This happened in the case of a rich man I knew. He died and was immediately stripped of his possessions, and not only of the goods in his house, his own and others'. For a ship of his bringing in a large quantity of goods happened to reach harbour just at that time, and they straightway seized the ships and helped themselves to all it carried.

Finally, these customs of theirs and their mode of procedure are based on the religion they practise, and the knowledge and beliefs of the instructors who teach them, as can be gathered from an incident in that port when I was there. It involved a Moslem and a bexerim, the chief bexerim there and the most renowned. The Moslem brought to the port some hides,<sup>(10)</sup> the most common article of trade there, and then went in search of the bexerim. He told him that he had come, not so much to sell him the hides, as to discuss with him a problem he had, which was this. "Why ~~were~~<sup>are</sup> white-men free and black men their slaves and servants ? " Said the bexerim : "The reason is that God created the whites first and then the blacks, and he ordered the blacks, because they came later, to serve their elder brothers." I could recount much more of this kind, but I leave it out as I must be brief.<sup>(11)</sup>

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10. Guerreiro substitutes "The Moslem came to the port to sell some goods."

11. The remainder of chapter 8 is not part of Barreira's letter.

JAF (4)

## [cap. 7 (from 253v) ]

To return to the kingdoms of Serra Leoa. When I departed from these I left Father Manoel Alvares in my place, as I have already said. I enjoined him to visit them and stay in them, each in turn, for such length of time as was necessary; and to bring forward what God was working in them. This he did, as I have since learned, with great fervour and zeal and with the very special support of the divine goodness. After the baptism of Dom João, brother and heir to King D. Felipe, which I have mentioned, the padre passed over<sup>to</sup> the kingdom of Dom Pedro, where he had like success. A daughter of Dom João was married to Iata, son and heir of King D. Pedro, <sup>(1)</sup> who is not only the future ruler of the kingdom but has already been introduced to its government, on account of the great age of his father. Iata always was opposed to our holy faith, as I have stated in other letters, <sup>(2)</sup> and was so enthusiastic in honouring and venerating his idols that the other heathen considered him as their shield protecting them from the reasoning we employed to convince them of their errors. When the king, his father, was becoming disposed to receive holy baptism, it was Iata who was most forward in finding obstacles and in dissuading him. When Iata saw that he could not deflect his father's intention, in order to show the heathen of his kingdom and other kingdoms that he did not agree with the change in his father, when the other sons gathered together at the solemn baptism for a feast, he alone absented himself and chose not to be present. After this his father tried hard to extract him from the state of blindness in which he lived, by supplying arguments to assist him, by giving him favours and marks of affection, and by making threats, to the effect that he would not leave his kingdom to a son who was not a Christian.

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1. The beginning of this paragraph is summarised in Guerreiro's chapter 7, as follows. "But to return to the conversions about which I spoke earlier, the one which brought most glory to God and comfort to King D. Pedro and the Christians was that of Iata, his son /f.254/ and heir..."
  2. In Guerreiro - "as has already been said".

To the effect of these was added the effect of seeing that the Christians disliked him, and they gave him to understand that if he persisted in his heathen ways when King D. Pedro, his father, died, they would leave him and go over to the kingdom of Dom Felipe. He began to show signs of wanting to accept our holy religion and receive sacred baptism. He gave us his word on this, and he handed over to us a daughter of his to be baptized, and he intended that we should also baptize his son and heir. But he then delayed matters so that we almost gave up hope of gaining his conversion. Nevertheless, when he learned of the baptism of Dom João, his father-in-law, God so opened his spiritual eyes and touched his mind that when the padre spoke to him of what the Divine Bounty had worked in him, /f.254v/ he wholly surrendered, confessing the truth of our holy faith and admitting that his heathen idols and rites were an abomination. He put himself in the hands of the padre and most fervently sought holy baptism from him. He named a godfather straightway and did all the other things that might be expected of him. The padre sent the good news to his father, who was staying in another town, the chief one in his kingdom. The good old man was overjoyed and ordered great feasts to be prepared for the baptism. He replied to the padre with thanks for the victory he had won and with due praise to God for this very great benefit. He stated that he wished to be present and therefore arranged for a certain vessel to be sent to him, which he regularly used for crossing this arm of the sea.

In the meantime the padre continued the instruction of his catechumen in the points of our holy faith, and Iata gave proof of his willingness to become a Christian by his anxiety to learn and his insistence on receiving holy baptism, and he declared that a single day's delay appeared to him like a year. But in order to obtain further satisfactory proof of his desire, God ordained that in the middle of this fervent activity King D. Felipe should send to the padre to ask him to pay him a visit immediately, so that the padre might give him some advice on an important matter which had arisen. The padre went there, and though he returned very soon, the catechumen did not remain at ease during this period. He was continually sighing for his return, he had inquiries made at our

house and went there himself to find out if the padre had yet returned, and he displayed such signs of anxiety that it was necessary for the Christians of the town to comfort him. When the padre did finally return, he rushed out to receive him with great excitement, and he visited him frequently and did not leave his house; and he pleaded with the padre, personally or through others, to make him a son of God.

They had not yet sent the king, his father, the vessel to bring him to the baptism because they did not know when the padre would return. However, a little /f.255/ after his return, the padre heard an uproar in the town and when he asked what it was they told him that King D. Pedro had arrived at the port. The padre learned that the strength of the desire which the old man had to see his son a Christian had not allowed him to await the vessel he had sent for. When he had landed, he came to visit the padre and to bring him a present, as is his custom. He discussed what God had worked in Iata and enlarged on His bounty and mercy, and did not cease giving thanks for the benefit not only to his son but to his whole kingdom. They agreed that the baptism should be on St. Michael's day, and Iata was dressed for it in keeping with his rank, thanks to the liberality of his godfather, the capitão-mor (chief captain) of the Portuguese. People came to the feast from all parts of the kingdom, and the baptism was celebrated with great solemnity. Iata was given the name of the Holy Archangel. To sum up, the whole day was spent in feasting, which brought much glory to God, for the news was carried to other kingdoms by those who came with presents.

Fatema, the most important king of that sea coast, had several times heard about the things of God. Now he marvelled at the conversion of this prince as he had considered him a staunch defender of the idolatry he himself practised, and he gave clear signs of wishing to follow his example, so that there were hopes that he would do this shortly. Another gentleman, the most powerful in this kingdom, also reached the point of accepting the example, and only awaited the coming of the padre to his land in order to be baptized. Another of the leading men said with great astonishment when he heard the news: "Iata is a Christian ! " And then he put his hand to his mouth, meaning, as the gesture does with them, that all the heathen of those parts would have to follow Iata. This agrees with what the chief captain of the Portuguese several times told the padre, that since Iata was converted all the heathen /f.255v/ of these kingdoms could be considered as converted. It is a great encouragement to the padre

and all the Christians that just as before his conversion this prince played the role of Saul so now, after conversion, he plays that of Paul, endeavouring with great zeal to bring as many as he can to holy baptism. He began with those of his <sup>own</sup> household, and the first he brought was his son and heir, aged eight or nine. Before his father became a Christian the child fled from us as if he considered us his enemies; but afterwards his affection for the padre was so great, as was the love he gained for the things of God, that he never left the (padre's) house, and his fondest recreation was to learn about holy religion and be present at the sessions when the padre was teaching it. He is called Dom Bartolomeu and, according to what the padre writes, he is doing so well, taking account of his age, that his father, and also his grandfather, the king, see themselves again in him, and they enlarge to God on the change He has made in him.

Apart from the spiritual effects which holy baptism had on Dom Miguel, it brought him also one material benefit for which he does not cease to give thanks to the Lord. This was that though he was ill with a disease which we all considered incurable and which caused him to become very sad and depressed, because not only did it threaten his life but also it deprived him of human company on account of the foul smell proceeding from the disorder, after the divine washing (of baptism) suddenly he found himself cured. He stated this to the padre and expounded it wherever he went, to the great glory of God; and he deeply regretted the confidence he had previously had in his idols, for however devoted he had shown himself to them and however many sacrifices he had offered them, so much the worse off had he found himself.

The devil, the enemy of all good, tried to obscure this divine glory, by persuading a heathen of the same town to erect an idol one night in a place /f.256/ which the padre and the other Christians passed on the way to church. He set it up neatly and decorated it in their fashion, and made to it his cramenes, as they call the ceremonies of worshipping an idol and making requests to it. The captain of the Portuguese went by the next day and saw the image of Satan, and he was at first astonished by the impudence of the heathen who placed it there. Then, burning with zeal for the honour of God, he overthrew it with a stick he was carrying in his hands and, after breaking the idol into pieces, did not care to leave the spot until

he had first cleaned it up and left it without a trace or indication of the abomination which had previously stood there. But the devil, with God's permission, in order to make the heathen believe that the injury done to his idols could not go unpunished, brought it about that the captain immediately found himself ill. The Christians were distressed, the heathen triumphant. Dom Miguel, greatly alarmed about his godfather, hastened to his house, with the king, and they summoned the padre, who was still in bed as it was the middle of the night, telling him that the captain was dying. The padre comforted them and told them that this was due to the envy of the devil. He pointed out to them that the devil could do no ill beyond what God permitted him to do, so that what the devil invented as a means to bring credit to himself must redound to <sup>his</sup> discredit ~~him~~ and ~~glorify~~ the <sup>glory</sup> God. And so it was. For when the padre and the others went to the captain and found him in great pain, so that he begged to be confessed because he was dying, the Lord willed that, within a few hours after the padre had acted as spiritual doctor and commended him to God, there came to an end simultaneously both a great storm of rain and thunder which had been blowing up and the storm (of pain) which the sick man had been suffering. In both cases all was as it was before, to the great admiration of the Christians and the confusion of the heathen. To conclude, Dom Miguel returned to his house, which is far away, with the determination to reduce the idols he had there to dust and ashes, which /f.256v/ he did as soon as he arrived there, and to reform his affairs in keeping with the religion he had received. He took with him a Portuguese boy, whom he sought from the padre, in order to complete his instruction in Christian doctrines.

{s) [Chapter 6] (1)

After this baptism and the others which the padre performed in this kingdom, he returned to visit the kingdom of Serra Leoa. There he was received with very great joy by King D. Felipe<sup>(2)</sup> and by D. João, his brother; for his presence was greatly desired in order to add souls to Christ's flock, which, to the great glory of God, he achieved through several subsequent conversions. The first conversion was of another brother of the king, Sogo, by name, who has been mentioned in other letters and described as the most powerful notable in that kingdom. He is so brave and so wise that his father awarded him the succession to the throne, and although he did not accept it he was always greatly esteemed by everyone and not least by Dom Felipe. When matters of importance are discussed in public, Sogo speaks instead of his brother, and does so with such natural eloquence that he persuades his hearers on any point he cares to make. I have seen this happen on several occasions when I was present, and especially when Dom Felipe's marriage by the laws of grace was being discussed. On this matter he said so many persuasive things that, although a heathen himself, he moved the hearts of all and achieved with ease what he was seeking.

He went over to the Serra, in place of the king his brother, together with the captain of the Portuguese and myself, and when he had assembled the gentry and other dwellers in that province, he persuaded them to accept the fortress which His Majesty wished to have built on the point of the Serra and to offer the site which seemed most suitable, as well as all the assistance needed. Above all, in

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1. The next part of Barreira's letter is transposed in Guerreiro and forms part of chapter 6, beginning at f.246, coming after the following sentence. "After this the padre was called to the kingdom of el-Rei [sic], where he gathered the fruit later to be described."
  2. Guerreiro has : "As he went on a perpetual mission between one kingdom and the other, he returned to that of Dom Felipe, where he was received by him..."

the opinion of this captain, on Sogo depended the conversion of the whole kingdom, for he argued that if Sogo became a Christian everyone else would do the same. To bring about the conversion of these parts we have always greatly desired that God would inspire Sogo to receive the holy faith, and he gave us great hope of this. But as he regulated his affairs by the rules of prudence, he delayed several years, wishing /f.246v/ first to see if the priests of the Society would persevere in these parts and what success they would have in converting others.

When on this occasion the padre returned to this kingdom, God willed that, <sup>being</sup> in company with Dom Felipe, <sup>padre found that</sup> ~~he should find his brother~~, Sogo was now so mild and transformed that he easily accepted the arguments the padre put to him and the entreaties of the king and Dom João. Very great was the joy of all when Sogo gave his word, and very many the thanks they gave God for what He had done in breaking down the obstacles to his conversion. The news ran through the kingdom and a great number of people of all kinds gathered at the baptismal feast, which, according to what the padre has written, was the largest seen there to date. They gave him the name of Dom Bartolomeo, which suited him well, since he threw off the skins of heathendom and put on the dress of Christ and His holy law. After the baptism he set a rare example and zealously strove to ensure that all his people followed it, his first act being to offer to the padre two of his sons whom he greatly loved, so that they might become sons of God.

Many other baptisms, involving persons of all kinds, were performed as well as this one, but these I pass over in order to continue with those of the brothers of Dom Felipe. The padre stayed in this place some time, preaching to the Portuguese and confirming them in the faith, teaching the newly converted, and exercising the other ministries entrusted to the Society. During this period another of the king's brothers came to visit him, the one who had his town and lands in Serra Leoa and about whom I previously wrote <sup>(3)</sup> that he had been moved in no small degree to become a Christian and had given his word that he would do so. In many respects he had acted as if he were one, but as he lived in a place far distant from where we had our residences, there had been continuing obstacles to bringing it about.

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3. Guerreiro has : "about whom earlier it was said".

Now the opportunity offered itself, and since he saw so many of his brothers under the banner of Christ it seemed /f.247/ to him that he could no longer put off the fulfilment of the desire God had given him.

At this point it happened that a Portuguese, the godfather of Dom Felipe, arrived from another kingdom where he had been with one of his ships. Dom Felipe learned that he had gone to his house, which is in another port of the kingdom, and immediately decided to visit him with his brothers. The padre followed him in order to celebrate the baptism which he had in hand and attend the feasts which the Portuguese had prepared for the arrival of the king, his god-son. The Portuguese visitor arrived very opportunely, for although the baptism feasts for Dom Bartolomeo were large ones, the padre has reported that those for the baptism of Dom Sebastian were even larger, since they combined the feasts prepared by the local people with those prepared by the Portuguese in Portuguese fashion. The feasts continued for several days and were then renewed when Dom Miguel, son of King Pedro, at this point arrived at the same port. Dom Felipe made this prince very welcome and paid him great respect, although when they were heathens they were always making war on each other and were never at peace. But Christ's religion, the religion of peace and unity, so brought them together that they now treat each other as brothers.

Among those baptized while the padre remained in this place was a Mane who is one of the most consequential and well-known in these parts, both because he was their conqueror and because of his great ability and wisdom. God moved him to become a Christian, partly by means of what the padre told him about our holy faith and partly by means of the example of Dom Felipe and his brothers. During the period in which the padre was catechizing him, he spoke about God with such illumination that a priest<sup>(4)</sup> who happened to be there and who marvelled to hear this told the padre that he had seen many conversions and baptisms of heathen in the East Indies but had /f.247v/ never seen a case where a convert spoke about God as this one had. He recognised that God was the Lord and Creator of the world, universal Father of all men, and perennial fount of all good things. He said: "Since God is of such a character and so great, why should I not seek him out ? And since he is so good that he wishes to dwell in the wretched house of my heart, why should I not receive him and welcome him there ? " These and similar things he said were a great comfort to the Christians who heard them.

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4. Erased in the original : "vicar of a church in Guinea".

The devil attempted to obstruct this activity so greatly to the glory of God by bringing about a great disturbance in the locality. But when the padre went there, it was God's will that peace should be restored; and the baptism was celebrated with great feasting, to the extreme joy of all. Since it was St Andrew's day, they gave the Mane this name. He then offered the padre a son of his to be baptized and to become an heir to eternal benefits, and he promised that all the members of his household would do the same.

[Chapter 7, f.256v] <sup>(1)</sup>

When the padre had gathered this fruit into God's barn, he passed over to Dom Pedro's kingdom, in keeping with his instructions. When he reached the port he was told that the king was sick in bed, <sup>(2)</sup> so his first visit was to the king's house. The good old man was excited and overjoyed to see him, as he had greatly longed for his return. When the padre made his way through the open space around the houses, he saw some chinas or idols belonging to the king's heathen slave<sup>women</sup>. Lest they should hide them while he was within, he and some accompanying Portuguese <sup>turned aside</sup> ~~came out~~ and attacked them so fervently that in a short space of time there was no trace of them in the place where they had stood. The captain of the Portuguese arrived at this point, and they all celebrated the victory and joyfully went in to where Dom Pedro was lying, and they told him that these were the devils who were keeping him in bed. The old man was delighted and raised his hands to Heaven, ceaselessly praising God for the revenge on those enemies who had deceived him for so many years. He said that his hopes for health rested only in God, and that on this occasion he hoped that it was His will to concede it by means of the Holy Gospel which the padre had recited over his head. As testimony of the king's belief, a little after he visited the padre with a present and was so joyful that he could not contain his pleasure, for he stated time after time that God had in this way restored his health. And he asked the clerk to the Conquista, who was present, to record this.

Because of this benefit there arose in Dom Pedro's heart a /f.257/ great confidence that God would restore health to a dear friend of his named Besse, the future successor to the great kingdom of Fatema. In another letter I have written of this gentleman that he was a true

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1. The next part of Barreira's letter is transposed in Guerreiro and forms part of chapter 7, beginning on f.256v.
  2. Guerreiro substitutes the following: "The remainder of the conversions mentioned above were made by Father Manuel Alvares when he was either in the kingdom of Dom Felipe or in that of Dom Pedro, on perpetual mission as stated above. On one occasion when he came from Dom Felipe's to Dom Pedro's, it happened that Dom Pedro was in bed."

friend of the Portuguese and that when he came to visit King Dom Pedro and heard about the things of God and our holy religion, and had been present at the divine services, sermons, and instruction sessions, he declared what he felt about the true God and our holy faith; and that as he abominated the idols and rites of idolatry, he promised to receive holy baptism, after informing King Fatema, for it might anger the king if he did it without notifying him. But because he had delayed the fulfilment of his promise, God was stirring him up with lashes He gave him.

One such occasion was this. One day he was separated from his retinue and was travelling alone along a road, when he was confronted by a black man into whom it seemed that the devil had entered, for without <sup>Besse</sup> giving the man any excuse for hostility, the man rushed at him to kill him. The gentleman was in a dilemma; on the one hand fear of death encouraged him to flee, while on the other hand his sense of honour kept him there. This particular black had a reputation for intrepid attack, and he appeared fully-armed, whereas Besse had only a cutlass by his side. Besse finally decided not to flee, and although he was very hard pressed, he fought with such spirit that without receiving any injury himself he killed his attacker. But not even this instance of divine goodwill reminded him of his promise, and so a little later he succumbed to an illness so severe that he could neither move from the spot nor move a limb. When Dom Pedro heard about this, he ordered his men to go to Besse and bring him back to the chief town in his own kingdom, a town which resembles a garden, so that Besse could be near him and so that he could be cared for in the best way possible. There he remained several months without showing any improvement.

This was Besse's condition when God cured Dom Pedro of his illness by means of the Holy Gospel which the padre recited. The king suddenly realised /f.257v/ that the reason why his friend was not recovering was because he had not achieved his intention of being washed in the waters of holy baptism. He repeated this to the padre and both of them thought it best that the king himself should go to fetch him. He immediately set off by water, and he found Besse almost dead. He told him what had transpired with respect to his own illness, and urged him to put all his confidence in the true God and

to have none in the idols which were powerless. Few words were necessary to win him over. The king brought him back with him and the padre talked to him. Besse recognised his sin and laid the fault on himself for the illness from which he suffered, inasmuch as he had not been obedient to God's call. A wonderful deed it was that Divine Bounty now performed on him. For though, after reciting the catechism, he had to be carried to the church, he simultaneously received through holy baptism both health for his soul and health for his body. He was named Dom Manoel, as he was baptized on the day of the most holy Birth of Christ; and since many Portuguese from various parts had assembled for that festival, the baptism was celebrated with great solemnity. Before he became a Christian, Dom Manoel was in the care of a bexerim or Moorish priest. This man was present at the baptism, and when he saw what God had done for Dom Manoel he was so impressed and so convinced of the truth of what Christians profess and of the falsehood of the sect to which he belonged that he spoke to the padre, terming him repeatedly God's bexerim, and entrusted himself to him, to teach him and make him a Christian.<sup>(3)</sup>

After this, the padre returned to Dom Felipe's kingdom to celebrate the Feast of the Circumcision, because there we have our main church, which is dedicated to the Saviour. The padre heard confessions and gave the sacrament to those who came there to gain (the benefit of the indulgence for) the holy jubilee (of the patronal feast), and he did other things of much service to God and to His great glory, which I pass over as they were the same as those I mentioned earlier.

From this port he went to that of Dom João, where he was received as if he had come from Heaven. He discussed with Dom João<sup>(4)</sup> the site

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3. Chapter 7 of Guerreiro ends here.

4. The next part of Barreira's letter is transposed in Guerreiro and forms the final part of chapter 6, ff. 247v-248. From "After this ..." to "D. João" is omitted, and the following is substituted. "During the Christmas feast, after celebrating it here, hearing confessions, and giving the sacrament to those who came to gain the benefit of the holy jubilee, the padre went from this port to that of Dom João, and discussed immediately with him..."

on which a church was to be built, and after choosing one, which is said to be the best one we have in those parts and the most suitable for the residence of our newly-arrived priests, Dom João began the operation and set to work so many of his men that a few days later the padre was able to say mass in the church. This gave such general satisfaction and so surprised all that, as the padre writes, (5) if there had been clothes available for those who wanted to become Christians almost the whole province would have been baptized. However on the day of the Epiphany a number were baptized, among them two brothers and a son of Dom João; and the padre gave to these the names of the three kings who visited and worshipped the Child Jesus in the stable at Bethlehem on that day /f.258/.

While the padre was instructing the new catechumens, he said to Dom João, among other things, that what he was teaching them would not seem attractive to the heathen unless God opened their spiritual eyes; and that even if he spoke words of great truth it would have no effect on the heathen unless God spoke to their hearts. Dom João interrupted the padre, and turning to his own people with a smile, he said most graciously: "Anyone who wants God and the things of God can put them in his heart, now that the padre is here. All must become Christians, no-one must think that they can resist God. I myself formerly ~~mocked~~ at what the padres told me and swore that I would never be won over; but after God had enlightened me and spoken to my heart I immediately sought out the padre so that he could make me His son." (6)

This is what Divine Bounty brought about in those parts up to the middle of March <sup>of last year.</sup> 1609. <sup>Because</sup> ~~Since~~ I have not ~~since~~ had a letter from our priests, <sup>since</sup> I leave for another annual report the later happenings, while expressing great hope that through the mercy of God the arrival there of Father Sebastião Gomes will double the fruit obtained.

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5. Guerreiro omits "as the padre writes".

6. Chapter 6 of Guerreiro ends here. The remainder of Barreira's letter is not in Guerreiro.

The Lord has also been served by the other priests who came from Portugal ~~the preceding~~<sup>last</sup> year and went on to Guinea in order to undergo their first bouts of illness there with less risk to life, as I have said. All have come through successfully, thanks to the divine mercy, except the good Father João Delgado, the outcome for whom all who have experience in these parts could divine. The greater is the spirit with which the sick resist illness the more secure is the victory over it, and the padre failed in this respect. Apart from his great frailty, to which he yielded more than necessary, resting always and behaving like an invalid, he was fully convinced that he would die from his first illness, as if it had been revealed to him, and so he went about thinking continually of death and preparing himself for it. His sickness lasted until 25 July, when he passed from this life to eternal life, through the Lord's mercy, as we trust, and in view of his own life and the excellent example he gave during it.

I confess that I myself have always considered him a holy man, both when he was in Portugal and when he was in these parts; and all who in either place have known and dealt with him proclaim his sanctity. A leading man here who had much to do with him spoke to me about him several times after his death, and in order to make known what he felt he compared him to heaven's greatest saints; and many others have placed him in this same line of succession. He had the rare gift of being able to speak of the things of God and provide holy and spiritual instances in all his instruction, and among his many virtues this was the most notable one. While he was in Bichangor, this was one of the main spiritual exercises he employed to help the Christians of that port. He began by reading some spiritual work or the life of a saint and continued by telling them the points he drew from the reading. The Christians attended as if it were a formal sermon, and since there were not enough seats for all, the majority sat on the ground. A Portuguese, the chief magistrate in these parts, said of him, that he had never heard a man whose talks so touched the heart and were so persuasive in respect of doing good. Another man recounted to me that he had been an eye-witness when the King of Bichangor visited the padre, and he had noticed that when he spoke to the king about the things of God and our holy faith, large numbers of tears ran down his ~~face~~<sup>face</sup>. He had been surprised by this and had asked the padre the reason for it, and the reply was that he wept for the king, out of compassion for his soul, because he did not know the true God, and because he saw that if he died in that state he would lose the bliss for which he was created and would burn

in hell for evermore. Said the king: "That is not the reason. Instead it is because you, who are a holy man, ~~and~~ know that I must die soon." They had long sessions on this subject, at the conclusion of which the king gave the padre great hopes that he would receive our holy faith, and doubtless he would have done this if the padre had lived.

In this same town, in order to reduce the bad custom of swearing, the padre introduced a particular penance for those who swore, and this was so well received and observed that all marvelled at the change they saw in themselves, and they shunned and restrained those coming from outside whom they heard swear.

After his death, which was greatly felt and lamented by all, the Portuguese took charge of some possessions of his, which they kept and treated as if they were relics of some great saint. One of the leading men suffered from a certain illness, and since he saw that the local remedies were not adequate to cure him, he went to the place where the padre was buried and prayed over him with such great faith, beseeching God through His mercy to deliver him from the illness, that he rose up from the spot cured. Thereafter he did not cease ~~from~~ <sup>to</sup> recounting the mercy God had shown him and he attributed it to the intercession and merits of His servant, the padre.

The many other deeds God worked in this island and at Cacheo, Bichangor and Rio Grande, could form another letter, for there were many baptisms, general confessions of great import, restitutions of property, restorations of friendship between persons who had quarrelled, dismissal of concubines, and amendments of life, to the great glory of God and to the good of the Society's name, which I pass over because this letter is already too long. What I perceive is that the fruit of this vine of the Lord will grow larger the more workers are sent to it. I have confidence in His infinite mercy that just as He has made a beginning for this work and until now has extended it by particular favours from heaven, so He will carry it forward, in order that He may be known, worshipped and served by His creatures, for whom He spilt his precious blood, especially those in the many kingdoms and infinite heathendom of Guinea who until now have lacked the light of the Holy Gospel. For this cause I beseech Your Reverence to command special prayers from the padres and brothers of the Province, to bestow on us your blessing, and to commend us to the Lord in your holy sacrifices and prayers.

From this Island of Cape Verde, 1 January 1610.

Baltasar Barreira.









LETTER FROM FATHER BALTASAR BARREIRA TO THE PROVINCIAL OF THE  
JESUITS. 12.2.1609

(ATT, Cartório dos Jesuitas, maço 36, doc. 94, f. 4)

In His Majesty's charter concerning the convent (casa) which he orders to be founded in these parts I find certain disadvantages which in my opinion are weighty. One is that the charter states that it should be a professed convent, and another is that it should be located in this city of Santiago.

With regard to the first, it is certain that the inhabitants of the Island would take this badly, since they think that the house is being established principally to teach their sons, as Father Manoel d'Almeida and Father Pero Netto had already begun to do, one teaching Latin and the other Moral issues (casos de consciencia), in keeping with which the boys ask us every day when we are to begin giving lessons. For they complain that they have been lost since the deaths of the padres. To this end His Majesty also passes to us the 200 milreis which he previously awarded to the Seminary, for the education there, in virtue and letters, of youths of this land who would then be enabled to take holy orders and serve the churches of these parts. I must add that in this land none of our ministries is as important as this one, because on the good education of youth depends the reformation of all the bad practices of the land; and according to what experience has shown in regions where there are colleges, this ministry is what makes us most acceptable to all kinds of people, through the benefit which their sons and relatives receive from it. Further, it is often used by those who previously were not in touch with us, in order to consult with us and make use of our aid in

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matters concerning their souls. Since the founding of a professed convent with the alms that His Majesty assigns might very possibly be carried through, given the disadvantage we find in accepting donation of a College linked to the condition that we would be unable to own other revenues, I point out that the difficulty could be got round by declaring that, neither by purchase nor by legacy, would we possess landed property on this Island, apart from any farmstead or estate employed for our own recreation and convalescence and for grazing our cattle.

The second disadvantage, the location of the convent or College in the city, is so great that since I have the responsibility as Your Reverence knows, of supervising the well-being and expansion of this mission, God having employed me as an instrument to effect its acceptance and success, I would rather that it should cease and not go ahead, than that our colleagues should take up residence in the city, my opinion being based on the moral certainty that either they would die within a short time, as happened to the previous four, or they would have such poor health that it would be necessary to send them back to Portugal.

Now you have read my view of the matter, Your Reverence will most likely wish to know if there is a site outside the city on which this convent or college could be built, a site carrying less risk to the life and health of our colleagues but sufficiently convenient for us to exercise our ministries in the city.

My reply would be that while there is no place on the Island that can be called healthy, some are less unwholesome than the city, which has many problems. One of these places is Villa da Praya, which is distant from here was two leagues either by sea or

by land. Since it stands on an elevated piece of flat land swept by the winds, men can live there more healthily and with less risk to life than here, for which reason, and because of the merits of its port, moving the city there has already been discussed several times. The disadvantages of the site are that the town is almost completely uninhabited, on account of it having been several times burned and sacked by pirates. Although it now has a fort with some artillery, and sentinels on the watch every night, with one captain or another on duty, as long as it has no inhabitants to help to defend it, it will continue at risk. It might be hoped that if we made our base there, those people who previously lived there and now live on farms and estates around it would return to repopulate the town; and a large section of the city might move there, especially if the governor did the same and took the administration with him. But as this movement is uncertain, I doubt whether it provides an adequate reason for establishing our convent there. This can be looked into at your end.

The second site is more or less the same distance from the city as S. Antão o Velho is from San Roque, and is on an elevated and well-aired piece of flat land, in the shadow of a fortress which stands there. This site caught my eye because, halfway down the slope to the sea, it has a perennial spring of excellent water, which would serve us not only for drinking, but also for watering any kitchen garden we established, if we brought the water by cart. The site is called the Ribeirão Correa. I do not believe this site to be as wholesome as the one at Praia, but I believe it less unhealthy than the city.

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The third site is on the same flat land on the other side of the fortress, nearer to the fortress and the city, with an outlook not only over the sea but also over a very green valley in which there are many gardens and plantations of sugar-cane. Halfway down the slope from this site, on the side with gardens, are some broken pipes through which water was formerly led from a stream running through the valley called Marya Parda, and they say that these could be repaired at little cost. If this were done, sufficient water for our needs could be brought by cart. But I fear that this site is less wholesome than the other two.

Service to the city is our prime concern. Communication between its inhabitants and ourselves for the good of their souls will not be easy if we base ourselves in one of these sites (outside it). But it is less inappropriate for us to do this and the people suffer these inconveniences than it is for us to reside in the city, with the likelihood, as already stated, that we could not preserve life and health there.

This is the best information that presently I can give about a site in the city or outside. It seems to me that we should not decide immediately on a choice between them, but that Your Reverence should advise me about views at your end, while I at this end continue to study more closely which site would suit us best. I trust in the Lord to enlighten us in this matter, since it is for His glory and the good of souls, as Your Reference commends it to Him and commends us in Your Reverence's holy sacrifices and prayers.

From this city of Santiago, on the Island of Cabo Verde, 12 February, 1609.

Baltasar Barreira

The document is entitled: Sections of a letter from Father Barreira to the Provincial.



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LETTER FROM FATHER BALTASAR BARREIRA TO THE PROVINCIAL, FATHER

JERÓNIMO DIAS, February 1609

(ATT, Cartório dos Jesuitas, maço 36, doc. 94, ff.3-4)

With this letter comes another of mine to Your Reverence, in which I deal solely with certain problems I have found in the royal warrant relating to our upkeep, so that Your Reverence, if you think fit, can have the letter shown to the members of the Council and to other individuals; or can advise me on what form you wish me to write with respect to these matters. In the letter I state that there would be great disadvantages if we established a professed convent (casa) and not a College. I think that it is important to alter this stipulation for the reasons I point out in the letter. I would add that the Canons and other priests who are to listen to cases (for moral adjudication) through these cases will hear and learn much that will move them to set a better example than they (now) give; and (further), that together with the other young men of the land we will teach those at the Seminary. Hence in every way it would be appropriate to establish the College here. For even if we were all to agree that it should be set up in Portugal, it would be impossible to find young men from this land willing to go there for that purpose.

Should they insist, despite the reasons I point out, that we have a convent and not a College, it will be sufficient to have a building housing five or six, because if there are to be twelve workers, as the warrant says, more will be needed for the mainland than for this Island.

With regard to the second point, that this convent or College should be in the city, I hold the opposite opinion, with the degree of determination I express in the letter. For I fear before God lest our residence in this place serve only to waste and consume members of the Society. Should anyone care to argue the contrary, by citing the example of certain non-natives of this Island who have lived here for years and have kept their health, if not quite as well as in Portugal at least sufficiently well to farm their estates and deal with other business, I can reply to this by repeating what I have stated several times previously, that these men do not have their constitution undermined by the continual mortification in which they live, and by the other duties of the Religious life, nor are they called out to confessions and to give spiritual comfort to those dying, by night or by day, (even) at the height of the hot season, nor are they spending their time in study, writing and reading what they have to teach in the pulpits and confessionals. Instead these persons make use of their freedom and of all means available to preserve their lives and their health; and yet, despite all this, those who live on this Island - even its natives - have very poor health, and so many of them die that I am amazed at the number of those whose acquaintance I made when we arrived who are by now in the other life.

Although for the reasons I point out in the other letter it may seem at your end that we should make our residence in a particular one of the places I mention, I am still not without fear of the risks our life and health will run there, on account of the impossibility of avoiding all contact with the city.

However I indicate the conveniences and inconveniences that each has. I myself am inclined to think that we should base ourselves if possible in Vila da Praia; but if the people at home are not of the same opinion, then it should at least be at one of the other sites, since it should not be thought that we are conducting our affairs with excessive caution. To express all I feel, even if a number of padres were able to live in the city after recovering from their initial exposure to the illness of the land, my opinion is that they should not do so, because so many people would go to them to make their confessions and they would be called out so many times to the sick during hot weather and at night, that if God did not particularly preserve their lives, they would soon die or become seriously ill.

I state that they would be oppressed with these occupations because once we come here, all the clergy consider themselves free from the obligation of hearing confessions and helping the sick, and they throw this burden on to our shoulders. This makes me think that it would be better if we were a little removed from the city, so that the inhabitants would have less opportunity to call us out at the hottest times and at night, and to overburden us with confessions and other labours. We should avoid being in the city and should not be on call for their needs at all hours. But we should see to it that we have a small house in the city in which we can rest when we go down to preach or hear confessions, since it is sensible to return up the hill only in the evening when the heat has passed and on horseback. For the women's confessions we can set aside two days or more in the week, while the men can easily come and seek us out. There would be no small number of men,

because of the many sailors who assemble in this port and seek to make their confessions before leaving.

When my determination to send to Serra Leoa and Cacheu some of the new-comers who reach this Island became known, the Town Council wished to make use of the letter which Your Reverence wrote to it, in order to persuade me not to send them, so they all came to our house, and after presenting their arguments, they gave me the letter to read. I read it and told them that I was not sending the padres to the mainland in order to deprive this city and Island of theirs (of their services), but to accustom them there to the air of Guinea, and to see them through the initial fevers with less danger to life than here. After this they should, with God's favour, return to this Island, to serve those here with our ministries. But anything they insisted on beyond that was against their own interests, and I instanced the padres who died here. It was God's will that they were appeased with these and other reasons I gave them. In keeping with this, I am still preparing those who are to go, and I am waiting for one of the four ships which are getting ready to sail to the mainland.

Baltasar Barreira









Brasão 4, item 95

LETTER FROM FATHER BALTAZAR BARREIRA TO FATHER ANDRÉ ALVARES, 9.5.1609

(ATT, Cartória dos Jesuitas, maço 36, doc. 92)

After the last letters that I wrote to Your Reverence from this Island at the end of February, Father Sebastião Gomes and Father João Celio went to Serra Leoa, and Father João Delgado, Father Antônio Dias and Brother João Fernandes to Chauaqueo [Cacheu]. I trust in the Lord that they will arrive there safely and that He will preserve their lives for the increase of His holy faith and the salvation of souls, both in those parts and on this Island, where we, Brother Pero Fernandez and myself, remain at present in good health, through the goodness of the Lord, and in order to preserve it better we moved, when the padres left, to the Castle which stands on an elevated site.

I have seen the sites where we could establish our house, and at all of them I keep discovering many difficulties and disadvantages. In past letters I was inclined towards the Praia site, but after I had seen it and considered its peculiarities I was doubtful if this site could be used. The drawbacks are these. All the buildings, except that of the Council, and three or four houses of little importance, have fallen down and are abandoned by their inhabitants, and the body of the Church is without a roof or anything to cover it. There is no market-place, and no-one selling anything; nor does it appear that the town has any people in it other than those who are keeping watch, the vicar on Sundays and Saints' days, a magistrate who visits from time to time, and a clerk. The reason why the inhabitants have abandoned this town,

which was formerly well-populated, is that it was several times sacked and burned by groups of pirates; and now the sentinels are not there to defend it, for it has nothing to lose, but to prevent enemies from entering the Island by way of this port, which is the best one, and reaching this city, as they had done previously. To this disadvantage is added the fact that because it has rained very little for four or five years, the streams which enter the bay here bring so little water that none reaches the bay, since they draw it off on the way in order to water gardens through which it passes, and so it is necessary to go a long way to fetch water for drinking; and although they say it could be brought in pipes, the making of these would be costly and slow.

If this city were to be moved to (the site of) that town, then all this could be resolved and it would be a move of the very greatest importance, <sup>to Portugal</sup> for the city is healthy, and it has the largest and best bay of all the islands around. But as the people of the city are against this move, I feel that it will either never happen, or that before it does a considerable number of years will pass. If we were to build our house there before it does we would be at risk from pirates attacking us one morning, since they assemble on the Island of Mayo, which is three or four leagues distant ... they come by night to enter the bay and if they disembark safely ... nor doors impede them and when dawn breaks they make their attack ... they reach, because although there is an outpost on the cliff ... these cannot defend the town without men. But I again point out that if the administration and the governor were to move there, and if His Majesty ordered the town to be fortified, and water brought there, and if its inhabitants returned to populate it, this would be of great

benefit to the Island, and we would be able to build there more suitably than anywhere else.

There is no need to discuss the other sites I pointed out and then went to see, because their difficulties and disadvantages are many and very great. The one [?recommended] is on the same level as the Castle, on a cliff from which emerges half way down a copious spring of water, the descent to which is at present difficult but which could be made easier without much expense.

Accordingly I am keeping to the decision taken at home. I am of the opinion that the plans of the College or Houses should be drawn up now, so I shall point out from here the details that occur to me, and that the materials needed for the building be got ready immediately, since all the stone, all the worked stonework, and all the lime, tiles and wood, will have to come from Portugal. Then once the plans have been made, the doorways and windows required for the building can be prepared there, and the wooden doors, beams and panelling (?), and the spars for the legs of the roof trusses, can simply come from the Island of Madeira, as they do for all tiled houses here, for this wood from there is very durable and costs less than wood in Portugal. The ceiling will have to be above the roof-trusses, because during the windy season much dust gets through the tiles, and if the ceiling is fixed below the trusses, the dust falls on to it to such an extent as to loosen it.

The urgency with which I pursue this matter is because the fortress in which we are staying is built of stone and clay, and its walls are thick and so badly erected that they are falling down at many points. A great collapse threatens now and if the walls are not attended to before the rainy season we fear that it is bound to fall

down. And in the city, even if it were not as unhealthy as we know it to be, the houses cost so much that for those we occupied before the departure of the padres we have had to pay an annual rent of 70 milreis. It is accordingly important that at home Your Reverence insists that our annual grant be paid immediately, not only what His Majesty designates for our sustenance but also what has to be spent on works, while I from here will continue to pass on information about what has to be done.

Some people are surprised that we are deserting the city and choosing a site outside it for our residence. To these I reply that if it be accepted (as I accept and affirm) that it would not be right for us to build a house in the city, then it is better that we should have one a little out of the way, where with the favour of God we can preserve our lives and help them in what way we can, than that ~~they~~ should be without our ministries altogether; and this reply is enough to satisfy them.

[.....] in past letters I was inclined towards the view that we should establish a College here, but on further consideration it has occurred to me that I should point out the drawbacks there would be in this, so that the decision taken at home may be soundly based. If it is to be a College, two arguments which I have stressed have great force. One is that with none of our ministries can the customs of this land be more successfully reformed than by gaining influence over the lads in the grammar schools and the priests during their instruction in casuists. The other argument is that if we do not teach, the bishop can rightly complain that we are eating up the revenues of the Seminary and may

demand that the King take them away from us. It was laid down that it should be for the education of local youths in book-learning and morality. If it is not to be a College but a convent, there are two arguments in this direction. One is that the responsibility for education, which everywhere is a heavy one, will be exceptionally so in this land because of its characteristics. And it cannot be undertaken without involving much hard work, great freedom for those teaching, and the provision of regular substitutes, because of the common ailments. The other argument is that if we are relieved from responsibility for schools, we can, with less explanation and more freedom, leave here for any other parts where we may consider God will be better served by our ministries.

In this land commodities from Portugal are so expensive that everyone, be he layman or cleric, has some form of business or trade in order to be able to live here. Since this would not be legal for us, we will find it very difficult to support ourselves with what His Majesty orders us to be given, which is a conto [1000 milreis] from his own purse and 200 milreis from elsewhere. For although the royal charter only mentions twelve workers who are to be occupied in hearing confessions, in preaching, and in other ministries of the Society, both on this Island and in Guinea, there must also be Brothers of the Society, to look after the houses in which they live, and blacks for those services befitting them and unavoidable, not only here but also in Serra Leoa and other parts of Guinea, taking and bringing padres from one place to another in boats or canoes, cutting timber in the forest for repairing houses, since the woodwork has to be renewed almost every year because of the white ants which eat it, and travelling into the interior to

buy what is needed and carrying it back, since there are no saddle animals and the roads are very hilly.

It must be added that we have to adorn and provide all required for the Churches on this Island and in Guinea, and goods coming from Portugal run the risk of loss from thieves or at sea. The same thing happens with goods we send from here to those living among the heathen and working for their conversion, and some items of importance have already been lost. I pass over what we spend in clothing the new Christians, as we have to do, and the gifts we give to the Kings and Lords of the land in order to keep them friendly, such being the local custom.

I drew attention to these expenses, not to ask that more revenue be requested, because first I want to see if we can get by with what we have, even if it means we live with fewer comforts than the land requires; but in order that Your Reverence may request His Majesty to grant us the favour and charity of some assistance in paying what we at present owe, which is, on one account 545 milreis, and on another account 175 milreis, received in advance for the expenses of the padres who went to the regions of Guinea, in total 720 milreis. For as Your Reverence knows, we have ordered chalices and church-ornaments to be made in Portugal, and to date we are borrowing these items. Your Reverence might ask for 2000 cruzados in any kind of confiscated goods, already seized or to be seized in the future within this Captaincy of Cape Verde. Etc.

Note: Father André Álvares. S.J. was Procurator General in Lisbon. The document is entitled: Copy of a letter from Father Baltasar Barreira to Father André Álvares, 9 May 1609.













LETTER FROM FATHER BALTASAR BARREIRA TO FATHER ANDRÉ ÁLVARES - 11.5.1609

(ATT, Cartório dos Jesuitas, maço 36, doc.92)

I am writing another [letter] to Your Reverence on a matter of importance so that you can show it to whomever you chose and can send the substance of it to Father Collaco<sup>(1)</sup>, so that he can do the same in Castile with the approval of the Padre Provincial. In this letter I shall draw attention to certain specific matters.

I very much fear that they purposely did not mention in the royal charter the 200 milreis of the Seminary. If it is because His Majesty proposes to take them away from us, I cannot see with what we can maintain ourselves, not only when this mission has its full complement, but even now when there are eight of us and we have left for our expenses only 300 milreis out of the 700 that the charter says are to be spent on works, given that when there were four of us the 200 milreis of the Seminary was insufficient. I do know that when King Dom Sebastião sent Augustinian religious to establish the convent on the Island of S. Thomé, he gave a hundred milreis for each religious, at a time when commodities from Portugal were very cheap and much less than they are now. Hence, when our colleagues went to Angola, the Captain of that Island having been ordered by the King to give them what he thought necessary for their maintenance, and on account of the many ships that went there to obtain sugar and regulating the matter on this basis, agreed with his officers that each should be similarly given 100 milreis

(1) Father António Colaco, S.J. was procurator of the Provinces, of Portugal and Overseas, attached to the court of Madrid.

However the Padre who went as Superior, because he had no experience of expenses in these parts, would not accept more than 300 milreis for all four, which they greatly regretted afterwards, and it was necessary for them to be helped with alms requested from the King and others, and they had to trade in a way that was not proper. The ministers of His Majesty must be reminded that this redistribution was not sought by us, but rather we resisted it for almost twenty years, and now it has cost us the lives of many highly-qualified missionaries. Further, the land calls for different treatment from that in Portugal, in that if we are not provided with what is necessary we can reach a state where we either halt the work or come to our own assistance by undertaking some form of trade, as the others do; and this is neither His Majesty's intention nor fitting for us.

In this land our men have need of a farmstead for their recreation and convalescence. The one nearest to this city is that of São Martinho, on whose lands is located Ribeirão Correa, the site where we propose our house should be built, if we do not build it at Praia. This is a very large estate, running from the sea a long way inland. It has water in good quantity all the year round, and this is carried to various parts where it already irrigates a sugar-cane plantation. It has fields of milho and beans, and for pasture; and citrus trees and other European trees (and plants) yielding many grapes, melons, pumpkins and all kinds of garden vegetables. The lord of this estate is Constantio de Magalhães de Meneses, lord of Ponte da Barca;

he wishes to sell it and has entrusted the governor, Francisco Correa da Silva, to look for a buyer, since if it continues in the hands of blacks, for every year it yields 100 milreis, it yields nothing for two years. If only the lands and not the slaves serving it went to the Society, some estimate the cost at 2,500 cruzados, others at 3,000, and some others at as much as 4,000.

To discuss the the purchase first, I want to begin by stressing certain points. One is that if we were to build our house at Villa da Praia, whether a professed house or a College, we would find an estate nearer there. Another point is that even if we were to establish [it] at the locality of Ribeirão Correa, which I have said belongs to this estate of São Martinho, if it is a House that is to be established, it will be enough to buy the site and a portion of the estate in that part where the water [is] available, so that we can make a small farmstead there. But if we were to establish a college, it would be best to buy it all, which I am only against if it exposes me to the grumbling that could arise here, even though nothing would be said if a New-Christian bought it. For the same reason, although we have been often entrusted by a certain Dona Jourão with her estate, which yields 500 milreis, we have not cared to accept it from her. But all this can be looked into at your end. I also give a warning that if this purchase is to be made and the benefits entailed to the Chapel, we must try to see to it that the licence is made out to its landlord rather than to ourselves.

As for the plan of our building, if it is to be in the locality of Ribeirão Correa, the following comments may be useful. One comment is that this site is above the sea, which lies South-East. Another is that this land has two very marked extremes (of climate), because for part of the year there blow most furious winds which cause colds, aches, priorizes (?)

and many other illnesses; while for part of the year there are many thunderstorms and excessive hot spells. Hence it is necessary to build in such a way that during the season of winds there is shelter from them and in the hot season entrance for ventilation. To achieve this, I am of the opinion that the building should be square, with a patio, and verandahs around it, so that the length of wall overlooking the sea has five or six cubicles, or whatever number is thought best, of a good size, and in front of their doors stone <sup>(walls)</sup> dividing the interior corridor from the verandah of the patio. Each of the lengths of flanking walls should have the same number of cubicles, with their corridor. To divide up the wall opposite the one overlooking the sea and forming the fourth side of the square on the landward side, it will be best to have cubicles and a corridor like the rest, or if not cubicles, then the body of the Church should be built there, but I am most inclined to the former. The facade of the Church should face towards the City, which lies to the West or North-West. From the church, the main entrance, and other service-buildings or walls, should be built another patio with a kind of ground level verandah on the seaward side, which would serve for dealing with the people from outside without their encroaching on our patio and residences. Within, to this patio could correspond another on the eastern side, to accommodate the people in our service and for the kitchen and larder, since in this land it is not suitable for these rooms to be situated underneath the cubicles. In front of the wall on the landward side could be formed an enclosed area in which we could make a garden and which would be useful to us by stopping people from walking along by the cubicles, since at times the black women are none too well covered up. It is further worth pointing out that it will be necessary for a mason and a carpenter, who are master-craftsmen, to come from Portugal, together with some artisans and these should be from Alentejo, because these prove the best here.

A caravette belonging to Antonio Gomez which is to carry this and the other letters is already outside the port, ready to leave today, and so I will not be able to discuss this matter further. I only need to remember certain items we need from Portugal additional to those already listed.

Note: Father Barreira's correspondent is unnamed, but we suppose him to have been the Padre Procurator General, André Alvares.















ROYAL LETTER ABOUT SERRA LEOA, 15.7.1609

(BAL., Cod. 54, VIII, 48, f.280)

In a letter of His Majesty of 15 July 1609.

In the ordinary despatch of the second of last month I was sent a letter from Dom Felipe de Leão, who bears the title of King of Serra Leoa, and a copy of a letter from Baltasar Barreira, a religious of the Society (of Jesus), who is working in those parts, so that you of the Council of India can see what they write, and can advise me on their views and give me your own concerning what reply should be made and what action should be taken in relation to the matters they mention; and because it is fitting that no time should be lost over this, in case you have not already replied, I recommend you do so with all haste.

a) Cristovão Soares.















## Chapter 7<sup>(1)</sup>

What King D. Pedro of Serra Leoa did to persuade those around him to  
receive holy baptism

This king greatly desired to see two women become Christians. They had been his chief wives before he was baptized, and one of them was a relative of King D. Felipe and the other a relative of King Fatema. One of them, though she was eager to be baptized and continued to attend the services in the church, for she lived in this town of Caracore and governed it when King D. Pedro was absent, could not bring herself to declare her wishes, out of some personal considerations, until the king, who took a keen interest in her conversion, in the end won her over, partly by /f.248v/ disabusing her regarding certain beliefs and partly by giving her certain favours. The other woman lived in the chief town of this kingdom, where the king had formerly lived, and in this case too she governed it when the king was away. It happened that she fell sick, and her life was already given up as lost since her illness was of a pernicious kind. She was carried to Caracore, where various remedies were applied to no avail, because God wished to gain her for Himself in this way. On his own initiative Dom Pedro had her carried to church several times, and both of them begged the padre to commend her to God; and the result was that one day she promised to become a Christian if God restored her health. The Lord willed that she should regain it immediately, and so she undertook what she had promised, and confessed that there was no other god than the God of the Christians.

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1. Guerreiro presents this chapter as if it were part of the same letter from Father Barreira as that from which he drew the material in chapters 5, 6, and 8. But the annual report of 1 January 1610, which we have in Barreira's own hand, does not contain the material in chapter 7, apart from a section on ff.253-257. Hence we must suppose that this additional material formed part of a later letter of which neither the original nor any copy is extant, and that this letter must have been written before the annual report which bears the date 17 July 1611.

The two women were baptized together, to the great comfort of King D. Pedro and all the Christians; and to share the waters of holy baptism with them, the women brought along some of their female servants who sought to be baptized so that they could accompany them to church. Their regularity in attending sermons and talks on our holy faith, their devotion at the divine services, and the good example they set, are all outstanding and give the heathen much to wonder at. Once these women had been baptized, King D. Pedro set to work to have his other (former) wives baptized too; and after he had persuaded them to accept this, the joy with which he brought us the good news and asked us to catechize and baptize them was too great for me to be able to describe. It was the same when he brought us some sons of his who were still heathens. For it is the custom of these kings not to have living with them all their wives or the sons they have by them, so that after sons are born their mothers bring them up and support them, and keep them with them until they reach an age when they can farm /f.249/ and gain a livelihood, farming being practised by all elements in society. But after the sons reach the age of maturity, if they have the capacity to rule, their fathers hand over certain lands or villages to them and make them lords of them.

One of these wives gave us occasion to praise God and note the profundity of His secret works. When she came to Caracore and saw the fervour with which her fellow-wives sought holy baptism for themselves and their children, she herself, without persuasion from anyone and without deserting her own heathen ways, brought and handed over to us a boy of nine or ten years of age, her child by King D. Pedro, so that we could baptize him, and raise and instruct him in Christian ways. We accepted him, and after baptism took him into our house. He already has a good understanding of the Christian faith, and has shown affection for us to an extent that has surprised both his father and his other relatives, and ourselves; for he behaves towards them as if he had never met or known them.

An attitude similar to that of the woman was that of the father of another child, (an infant) eight or nine days old, the father being a heathen. He brought his son to us to be baptized, though he himself remained in his heathen ways. The mother of the child, who lived in another town on this island, some six months later killed it, and she fled in order not to be punished, as she deserved. Dom Pedro heard of this the very night it happened and told us of the occurrence. He immediately sent for the body of the innocent so that we could bury it

in the church. We put it in a shroud with its face uncovered and laid it out in the church, with a gilded cross and candles at its head, and a wreath at its feet. Later we buried it, which gave great consolation to all, for it was said, and there were good grounds for supposing this, that the mother had killed it because it was a Christian. And so we can hope that this holy innocent and martyr will be a very special intercessor before God on behalf of these /f.249v/ heathen and for the conversion of all of them to our holy faith.

It is the usual practice that those who are baptized bring out the idols they formerly worshipped in order to have their revenge on them, by trampling on them, dragging them about, and casting them on the fire. In Dom Pedro's residence there happened to be discovered the idol to which the king had paid more attention than any other when he was a heathen, because it was a very old one. We were straightway warned and he was too. He was greatly astonished at its re-appearance, and despite his most searching inquiries could not learn where it had been hidden until then. Eventually he handed it over to us, and we passed it to the Christian youth, his own sons and those of other kings and lords, who with great show carried it away to burn. Before our eyes they carried out the execution due on it, the same previously undertaken on many of its fellows, for their zeal against idols is so great that they seek them out in all directions and when they find them they spare none. As well as idols of wood, the heathen here have chinas of another kind, which are made of earth and shaped like pyramids, and are built not by them but by a certain species of white ant. This ant is not seen outside these pyramids and lives in cells within them. What it feeds on is not known. The Christian youth make war on these too, burning them and knocking down the thatched huts in which (the anthills) stand like oratories, to the great amazement of the heathen since they very much fear them. Hence, when the heathen buy a slave the first thing they do is to take him to one of these chinas, with an offering of wine and other things; and they entrust him to the idol, by requesting it to have him killed and eaten by snakes, crocodiles and leopards if he runs away. The poor slaves so believe this will happen that they dare not run off, however badly /f.250/ their masters treat them.

The heathen also have great faith in the skins and horns of certain animals and in other objects which the devil has taught them about, and which they call 'medicines'. A great magician who used to care for Dom Pedro when he was a heathen, having heard a rumour that after the king had become a Christian he was unwell, came to Caracore in order to undertake the usual service. But as soon as the king learnt of his arrival, he would not allow him to enter his house and instead ordered him to be told that he must immediately re-embark and leave. For now the king was a Christian he had no need of his medicines, those the padres gave him being adequate, as far as he was concerned, to keep him in better health and make him more vigorous than he had been when a heathen and had been cared for by the magician. The man was astounded at this reply and seeing that King D. Pedro had made his mind up, he shamefacedly returned home forthwith, and we were left to praise God for what he had worked in this king by means of holy baptism.

There is also in each kingdom a place dedicated to the devil and there the most solemn sacrifices are made. Before Dom Pedro was baptized his kingdom had such a place, an island about one league distant from land, in the middle of an arm of the sea which provides a means of communication between this kingdom and that of Dom Felipe. Camissono is its name, and those who pass by so fear it that, in order not to be sent to the bottom, when level with it they offer it rice, which is thrown in the sea, or oil, or something else from the cargo. Once a year this king used to come to this island, and on a rock which is next to it he made great sacrifices to it. And at the same time he offered Camassono [sic] live goats and hens, which were thrown on to his island, where they were safe /f.250v/ from theft since no-one dared to step on land there.

One day as Father Manoel Álvares and I were travelling that arm of the sea, we reached this island and stopped there in the shade of its great groves of trees. The youths who were with us, being Christians, mocked at what the heathen said about Camassono and went on this islet, where they found trees in which bees were living, and they came back laden with honey. This caused incredible terror among the heathen, but the Christians feasted us when they heard about it, especially the kings Dom Pedro and Dom Felipe, and we pointedly said to them that we had taken honey from the mouth of the devil just as Samson took his from the lion's mouth. When I asked Dom Pedro's son, the heir to the throne,

if he dared to do what the youths had done, (for instance) by looking for the goats and hens and bringing back what he found, he replied that if he were a Christian he would be able to do all these things, but that until he was he did not dare to do so, his argument being that the devil was not able to inflict on Christians what he inflicted on heathens. However, after Father Manoel ~~Avares~~ <sup>Avares</sup> fell ill, the son attributed the illness to this landing on Camassono, and he said to other heathens and to some Christians: "Mock at Camassono! Did the padres quarrel (?) with him? Now they will see if we have spoken the truth about him." But by restoring health to the padre, God showed the son that the ills we suffer and the benefits we gain come from His hand and not from the chinas and devils in which they believe.

On the return journey from Bena, travelling by water along another kingdom, I was shown another place dedicated to devils./f.251/ I saw in it many forms moving about from one side to the other. I persuaded myself that these were the local blacks, but since I was told that the place was waste land and we could not see any evidence for supposing that the blacks were assembling here to make a sacrifice, I was led to suppose that they were devils, and I can well believe that devils sometimes come to such spots on account of the veneration and adoration they receive.

However, to return to King D. Pedro, as his whole thought was to honour God and bring it about that others honoured Him by receiving His holy faith, so God accounted him worthy to be honoured by men. Never when he was a heathen had he been visited by persons of such importance as he was after he became a Christian, the people of this nation holding Christians in high esteem. One of the visitors was Filan, a lord of many lands and vassals. He came with a large entourage, and was received and treated with great honour and celebration. On a previous occasion in another place I had spoken to him about the points of our Christian religion and the falsehood of his idols; and although he had not then stated that he wished to become a Christian he had had planted in his heart the divine word (the seed of). The fruit of this had been that he was led to visit King D. Pedro so that he could seek his advice on the matter. His decision was that he must become a Christian in all aspects, but first he wished to visit his lands and vassals, and obtain the approval of Fatema, since Fatema is recognised by Filan as his superior, as he is by other lords and lesser kings. Another visitor was Fatema herself, who is called rei grande (great king). According to what I was told

by Dom Pedro, the chief reason for his coming, too, was to seek advice from Pedro on this matter, for God had given him a great desire /f.251v/ to become a Christian. I pass over the ceremonies when Patena entered Caracore, the festivities with which both King D. Pedro and the Portuguese entertained him, the surprise this novel (meeting) caused everyone, the crowds that assembled, and the presents Patena was offered.

What greatly comforted us and gave us occasion to praise the Lord was to see how attached to the points of our holy faith he showed himself, and with what enthusiasm he attended divine services and heard the word of God which we preached publicly and to him in particular. He was present when we baptized various persons, among them a youth who had arrived with him and was very attached to him, and he commended this youth after his baptism to a respected Portuguese, to the end that he might bring him up and instruct him. He told the same man that he would send him a son of his, so that, after we had baptized him, he too might live with him in his house. He repeated to Dom Pedro what he had said to me about moving from his town and residing near the sea so that we could more easily attend to his instruction in the things of God, and then took his leave of us with manifestations of great affection, and returned to his kingdom.

King D. Pedro's third visitor was Sangrafaré, pretender to the throne of the kingdom of the Logos. This kingdom belonged to Farma the Great, his father, but after the people had given Sangrafaré the bonnet (crown), that is, possession of the throne, he was thrown out by a brother of his who now reigns. Sangrafaré goes around collecting men in order to make war on his brother, for although the latter was also nominated for the succession to the throne he was not to take possession of it until after his brother, (Sangrafaré), who is older. Since the brother is hated by his subjects, because he is cruel and because he killed some of his (other) brothers in order to live in greater security and possess the realm without fear of their hostility, the subjects summoned this brother (Sangrafaré) in order to hand over the kingdom to him. But because he does not trust all of them he prefers to gain success by force of arms. He was amazed to /f.252/ see how we proceeded with respect to church matters, and he told me that the only thing that had brought him to Caracore was the news about us which had reached where he was staying, and that he had come to meet us and to see and hear what we taught. He visited the church and attended the services we held there as thoughtfully as if he were already a Christian. ~

Sangrafaré told King D. Pedro that no king of the Manes had attained such greatness as he had, for he was a Christian and had padres in his kingdom, and he strongly urged him to retain us and accept what we advised. He observed all that was done and marvelled at everything, but especially at the ceremonies of Holy Week and what he saw then, as I will hereafter describe. At first he said that when he took over his kingdom he would have a church built there which would be larger and better than all those we had, so that some of us could go and live there, and make him and all his brothers and vassals Christians. But later, in the light which God vouchsafed him, he decided to place himself in our hands; if we thought fit we should baptize him immediately, and if not, we should at least baptize a wife of his, whom he had brought with him and who greatly desired baptism. (But) it seemed best to us to postpone both baptisms, for as he was going to return to another kingdom, the one from which he had come, and there were no Christians there, he and his wife could easily forget what we had taught them. And so we sent them away while retaining high hopes for the future, and he reminded me of what he had sought from me many times, that we should commend him to God and ask Him, if the kingdom truly belonged to Sangrafaré, to restore him to it. We afterwards learnt that he had been accepted by the major part of the kingdom and that, when winter was past he was going to extend his rule to the remainder. According to what I am told, he is saying now that he is there that God will preserve him until he can see us again and until we can baptize him and all his people. May it please God to fulfil his desires, for his kingdom is the largest in these parts and borders many interior kingdoms, and once it is converted /f.251v/ we may hope that the others will be converted too.

Apart from these visits, by which God wished to demonstrate that even in temporal matters Dom Pedro lost nothing by becoming a Christian but rather was elevated at all points, He also ordained that more Portuguese vessels than ever before should come to his kingdom. Hence the other kings, Pedro's neighbours, sought his friendship in order to share thereby the goods from Europe brought by the ships. Each night that these ships lay in this port, boys and girls we had instructed chanted the catechism across the water, one group beginning when another ended; and after this they thrice said "Lord God, have mercy upon us!" beating their breasts and inspiring others to do the same with much devotion.

Those who come here from other ports, especially from Cacheu, could not sufficiently praise God for what they saw here, when at the daily catechism session children who could barely talk repeated the whole catechism without getting a word wrong. They reiterated what a great service the Society would do them if it went to that port and town (of Cacheu), on account of the deep ignorance there among both children and adults. Before he left for Cacheu, the captain of one of their ships frequently and very insistently begged me to promise to go there, so that he could apply for a reward when he brought the good news. I did not dare to make a promise, but I had confidence in God that not only would these wishes be fulfilled, wishes which, according to letters I had received from there, many other persons as well as this man had expressed, but also that we would be establishing there a residence or college. By means of this (institution), His Majesty could make great use of the Society, since Cacheu is the chief town of this Guinea, and /f.253/ many ships go there from Spain, from Portugal, and from Santiago Island.

During last Holy Week, the Lord gave us great comfort. As the crews of these ships were here and some of the men had been brought up in the church and knew how to intone in our style, we performed the offices for Holy Week with all possible suitability, so that there resulted much glory to God and much understanding among the new converts concerning the mysteries of our holy faith, this being the first time they had seen the mysteries of the Death and Passion of the Son of God. At the sermon on Maunday Thursday such striking signs of sorrow were evident that the heathen looked at each other as if stupefied, not knowing to what the sorrows should be attributed. Afterwards followed the procession of disciplinantes, those disciplining themselves (by flagellation), something never before seen in those parts. The procession emerged from church reciting the regular litanies, and it was accompanied by the king and all the (other) Christians carrying many candles, and it halted at various points where there were altars decorated in a manner suitable for the season. Those undergoing discipline were only a few, but the blood they shed was considerable, so that the heathen did not know what to think, since they could not believe that any man would voluntarily flog his body in such a way as to draw blood.

In connection with this I must not omit to tell what passed between King D. Pedro and a heathen nobleman belonging to his kingdom. When for

the first time the heathen saw the image of Our Lady, which was based on the one made by St Luke, he was fully persuaded that it was alive because wherever he went its eyes seemed to be watching him. He then inspected it closely, placing himself first on one side and then on the other, to see if it had a body. But not seeing any, he said to Dom Pedro : "That woman is alive yet she has no back." At the time Dom Pedro did not take it up with him, as he was not yet a Christian himself and did not know the difference between images /f.253v/ of the Saints and what they stand for. The same heathen, when he saw the blood shed by the flagellants, thought it was an invention of the Christians and that they had anointed their backs with a certain red oil which is found there, in order to make others believe that they had flogged their flesh out of love of God. He repeated his opinion when he went to Dom Pedro's house after the procession was over. The king was extremely angry with the man, taking his comments as ones involving a matter of honour. He said to him : "Go away, cursed wretch, go away from here ! Have you forgotten that when you told me that Our Lady had no back, God punished you for this by killing five members of your household, as well as by having you bitten by a snake and inflicting on you other troubles ? And now you say that the blood which the Christians spill before God so that He may forgive their sins is only palm-oil ! Go away, accursed man, and bewail your sins, before the wrath of God strikes against you and you receive further severe chastisement."

But to return to the flagellants. Since the proper clothes and the instruments of discipline were limited in number, throughout the night they were passed on from one group to another, and in this way the discipline was maintained right up to the Good Friday service, to the great edification of all. However, what was most surprising about that night was the action of Dom Christovão, son of King D. Pedro, whose conversion and excellent conduct I have previously mentioned. Although a man of rank, as stated, and a father of many children, and although he had been a Christian for such a short space of time, he did not consider that he was acting as a Christian unless he disciplined himself like the long-standing Christians; and he did it with such fervour and asperity that he gave us occasion to give praise to the instigator of such behaviour in persons to whom the knowledge of God and our holy faith is so novel. ... (2)

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2. The remainder of chapter 7 forms part of Barreira's letter of 1 January 1610.

## [chapter 8 ]

/f.263v/ But to return to the kingdom of Serra Leoa and the Coast of Guinea, and to the conversion of infidels which can be achieved there, I repeat that I can very well see how vast are the missions undertaken by our Province of Portugal, all of them calling for workers for the harvest in each and for the gathering of the fruits of conversion of souls throughout India, China, Japan, Brazil, Manomotapa, and (the land of) Prester John. But this is not enough to deliver those of us who live in these parts from the hunger and thirst we feel when we see the perdition of so many souls which might be saved if only reinforcements could reach us from Portugal. For the intelligence of these peoples, and the ease with which they grasp those arguments against their false beliefs we present to them, are such that, if they had padres to speak to them and instruct them, without doubt they would all be converted to our holy faith, God willing, some of them slowly, some more rapidly, as God chooses to illuminate and inspire them.

There are substantial reasons for directing attention to this particular enterprise, at least to as great an extent as to the others, if not to a greater extent. One reason is that this is a conquista which has been (known) for a very long time and consists of heathens who live nearer the kingdom (of Portugal than do those in other conquistas) for it can be reached in less than 20 days. Another reason is that the Portuguese have for many years gained great temporal advantage from it, hence they should repay this with some spiritual advantage for the souls of the heathen. However, either because those who come to these parts only labour to obtain full cargoes, or because bondage debases the people in that kingdom [sic] and seems to make them unfit for the precious jewels of holy baptism and the other sacraments, until now nothing has been attended to as little as this (conversion), as if the duty which applies in conquistas has no place only in regard to these particular heathen. And so, in view of the little esteem in which these souls are held, I am convinced that if the Society does not pay attention to their conversion and give some priority to this enterprise, (Guinea) will continue to remain in the same state of neglect, without ever emerging from the abyss of idolatry and ignorance in which until now these heathens have been living.

The third reason is that the zeal which has been lacking among us and which should have been directed to the salvation of souls has been more than sufficient among the Moors to infect the heathen with the cursed sect of Mohammed. For while formerly and not many years ago the

empires and kingdoms of the Fulos, Jalofof, Bexerins, Mandingas and other peoples of the coast of this Guinea were heathen and were happy to hear about our holy faith and in some cases to accept it, now all of them profess the false and abominable beliefs of that anti-Christ, and will not agree to have the truth of the Holy Gospel expounded to them. It may be feared that this conflagration, if not checked, will work its way through the kingdoms and nations extending as far as the Red Sea, for the Mandingas journey to visit the headquarters of their false prophet, even though this is so far away, making their way as pilgrims across all these lands, and as they go they preach the errors of that sect. I warned His Majesty about this some ten or twelve years ago, and discussed the remedy, what I proposed being that the Society should send workers to these parts. Inasmuch as it was delayed for various reasons that arose, it pleased God to effect this remedy in 1604. The result has been that the bexerins who used to come to these kingdoms /f.264v/ have learned that we are living in them and that the heathen are being converted to our holy faith, and they have not come to them again.

But because making a start is not enough, if these beginnings are to lead to further advance and to be the basis for a most glorious church, it is important that we should not lack the companheiros (fellow-workers/members of the Society) who are required, and that these kingdoms should not lack the favour of His Majest, - which, as I have stated, was promised to Serra Leoa when possession was taken of it and the conquista there. Nor should the newly-converted kings lack rewards, to encourage them; nor those other kings who become desirous of imitating them when they see what happens to those already Christian, to bring about their final acceptance. All this is necessary as long as the plantation is made up of young plants.

Further, when we see how God has been favouring this enterprise with a transformation, not only of the heathen who are leaving their idolatry, and of the long-standing Christians who are escaping from the wickedness in which they are living, but even of the weather. As those who have long experience of the land observe and assert, since we erected churches there and celebrated the most high mystery of the Mass, the wild and alarming storms which used to rage there have ceased, bringing about a great calm and producing great fertility.

Hence I wish to conclude by begging the most beloved priests and brothers of the holy Province (of Portugal), because they have such a care for the salvation of souls, that they should also favour and aid this enterprise, while we seek from He who proposed it that He should carry it forward, for the sake of His glory and the growth of our holy faith.

... (3)

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3. The first part of chapter 8 represents material in Barreira's letter of 1 January 1610.









LETTER FROM FATHER BALTASAR BARREIRA TO FATHER ANDRÉ ÁLVARES, 8.1.1610

(ATT, Cartório dos Jesuitas, maço 68, doc. 42)

Pax Christi,

By two caravels which left here on 25 September and 13 November (which we know reached Portugal) I wrote at length to the Padre Provincial and to Your Reverence. I have now learnt that another caravel from the Algarve is returning and I do not want it to go without some lines from me.

I am awaiting from Guinea one padre and one Brother who have already been exposed to (the sickness of) the land, and because there is no comfortable accommodation for them and for me in this fortress, nor can we from here help our fellow-men as we should, I am negotiating to buy houses in the city, so that we can accommodate those who are to reside here for as long as the new building is being constructed, which will be some twenty or thirty years, as I shall go on to explain. I had some houses alongside the site of Santa Marta, in one of the healthiest places in the city, secretly appraised and costed at 860 milreis. I also had a look at others at the highest point of the city. But the building of the casa will go on for twenty or thirty years, as not more than the 700 milreis which His Majesty has set aside is to be spent each year, and the materials have to come from Portugal and the craftsmen here help themselves generously and openly (?), and work slowly because of the heat, hence at least 45 or 50 ,000 cruzados will be spent on them, the 700 milreis per year amounting to to 17,500 cruzados, in ten years, 35,000 in twenty years, and so on. For proof of this, Your Reverence could, if you think fit, request that the allowance of 700 milreis should

start from the same date as the allowance of 300 milreis that he ordered us to be given for our sustenance, 4 December 1608, the date on which Father João Delgado and his companions arrived at this Island. Your Reverence could further make the point that we have spent a large part of this year's allowance in attending to the extreme needs of the people of this Island, because of the great famine that occurred and is still present; and in renting the houses in which we live in the city, in settling ourselves there and here, and in doing the various other things the Governor mentions in his letter, a copy of which comes with this one.

It is also important to discuss at home some better way in which we can collect our allowance, because of the difficulties there have been with this. It might be that provision could be made whereby the contractor for this Island and Guinea would pay us at your end either the whole allowance (at once), or the two parts (separately), or half of it. Because at home permission is granted for licensed vessels to proceed direct to Guinea to load and for this reason not pay the duties on this Island, there is no (revenue here) out of which to pay the allowances. Since the Governors keep in their own hands appointments to offices in the administration, they have these paid not only at the right times, but even in advance if so desired. If the Bishop and Chapter are not paid, they make use of ecclesiastical sanctions. But since it is not fitting for us to proceed with censures, or use any other sort of force in order to get our money, we necessarily have to suffer, as I am suffering now, so that I have to go begging for our sustenance. We have not been paid the allowance for the final quarter of last year, it being more than a month overdue; and if the charity of the Governor were to fail us it would be much worse.

With this [letter] I am sending Your Reverence a list of the things that were stolen from us on Domingos Luis's ship, those which we immediately need most being marked with a + or written in large letters. If you have the money, may Your Reverence be so charitable as to provide us with them. If not, see if the amount can be raised to be paid on this Island, and send me a promissory letter, for if I do not receive cash, there will be friends who can lend it to me.

Supposing that it is right for us to find accommodation during the years that will have to be spent in building the new house, as we did on the islands of Terceira and Madeira, and in the city of Porto and elsewhere, not only will it be necessary to buy houses in the city and arrange them as suits us, but also necessary to buy some small farmstead that will serve for periods of convalescence and as a refuge in the rainy season, which is the most dangerous season here. I say this so that Your Reverence, if you think fit, can explain to the Ministers of His Majesty that before using the 700 milreis designated for the house to start building it, it will be necessary to spend them in accommodation for us, lest all of us die without achieving the end which is sought.

If Pedro Álvares Pereira does not send to Serra Leoa a Magistrate and his locum tenens of the kind who will help the Christian community, it will be wise not to prevent Bartolomeo André's return there, but rather to urge it as a favour. For although his temperament is such as I have pointed out, he has other good characteristics and has long experience of the land. It can be hoped that if he is given some advice at home he will proceed more successfully; and if he, or another in his place, does not assist in that Conquista, the whole burden of the conversion, and the expenses incurred in it, will fall on us.

A caravel which came from the Island of Madeira on 17 November brought news that on 1 November a ship had left there on which our people were sending us timber and other commodities. Up till now it has not appeared, nor do we know what has happened to it; it would be appreciated if Your Reverence would advise me, should anything be known at home. I similarly ask about a caravel which was in Faro ready to leave for here, and nothing is known about it; it was hoped that it would bring some things that we had requested to be sent from there. As a result this year we are without fruit from the Algarve, and without preserves from the Island for the sick.

I had written as far as this when the caravel belonging to João Rois arrived, which was yesterday, 7 January; and from the letters I received from the Padre Provincial and from Your Reverence I saw how confused matters were with you as regards the foundation (here) and how changed were the things that they had written to me about it. Hence the opinion I now give in writing to the Padre Provincial (as Your Reverence can see) is that we should not make any move to discuss this matter further; and that if there is an inquiry on the part of His Majesty, let us state clearly that we will not accept the foundation with any conditions. I very much regret the displeasure with which Your Reverence received what I wrote to the Padre Provincial, since I never intended to give displeasure, but rather all the pleasure it is possible for me to give, in keeping with the great love which I have always had for you, my feeling for which continues unabated (?). I was informed that Your Reverence was now in a situation in which you could rarely leave the College, I regretted your troubles and what the Province was losing by them; and because the five years since we came to this

land have passed without agreement being reached on the matter of this foundation, and because I saw that debts were increasing more and more, through our buying goods from Portugal at excessive prices, I warned the Padre Provincial about this. But with the good news that Your Reverence now sends me about the improvement in your condition, I am not only suitably delighted but am so satisfied and happy that our affairs will develop at your direction, that I do not wish to depend on anyone else, since the holy zeal that Your Reverence has for this mission is sufficient for us in all matters. Let Your Reverence consider what you want of me, and command me in order to see that I am as much yours as ever I was.

I received the plan (of the building) but did no more than open it and fold it away again, because being on my own many are the tasks which fall to me, and because the ship was about to leave. I did not want it to go without the letters for the Padre Provincial and for Your Reverence, but I leave over the reply on many points to a later ship which they say will leave at the end of this month or the beginning of February. If the plan is very sumptuous, as Father António Colaco says, it can be amended at your end, but I remind you that if our people are to preserve their lives and health in this land, it is necessary that they should have large, pleasant and well-aired dwellings.

The items Your Reverence sent me have now arrived safely, and so I thank you for them as much as if they were gifts (?), and also I thank you very much for the advice you give me on this matter, which is in keeping with the experience of Your Reverence over so many years.

When I arrived here I sent a general list of items that could be sent from Portugal to the staff of this mission, but later I thought that I had more particularly requested certain of these, however it seems that I was mistaken as much in this as in believing that we had money there. Seeing, then, that not only do we not have any money but also that we are much in debt to the Province, and that we are now supplied with the most essential items, I value greatly the charity that Your Reverence shows us in not immediately calling in what we owe, and I am content that you should send me nothing more without our having money with you with which it can be bought, or without there reaching you a note of undertaking from me so that I can pay here, as I have said. The list which I had made and marked with crosses will only serve to inform those at home which were the items that the thieves stole from us on Domingos Luis's caravel.

Because there are some things in this letter that I am not writing in the one to the Padre Provincial, it would be best for Your Reverence to show it to him if he is there, or to point out the things that are not in his, which is open, if he is absent. I would also be pleased if Your Reverence could send a copy to Father António Colaco.

I wish to know how things are with Pedro Álvares Pereira, and if Bartolomeu André went to see him. The nobleman of Serra Leoa, Don Manuel, was well justified in dismissing him. Your Reverence did well in not giving way about him.

I very much wish this were the annual letter I am writing. It will be of much edification and consolation, but my occupations give me no chance to finish it. The Lord's will may be to bring me soon the missionaries from Guinea and when that happens I shall apply myself more purposefully to the annual letter, and I shall endeavour to see that it travels on the ship which is being got ready. There is no time for more, other than to commend myself in the holy sacrifices and prayers of Your Reverence.

From this Island of Cabo Verde, 8 January 1610.

Baltasar Barreira.

[Endorsement] To Father André Álvares of the Society of Jesus,  
Procurator of the Province of Portugal.











LETTER FROM FATHER BALTASAR BARREIRA TO THE PROVINCIAL OF  
PORTUGAL, 6.5.1610

(ATT, Cartório dos Jesuitas, maço 36, doc.94, ff.  
11-12)

Father André Álvares also advised me about the reply from Madrid on behalf of His Majesty concerning the doubts about this foundation. This moved me to point out certain things which experience has already taught us, and it is fitting that they should be known at home, to achieve the ends that we are seeking.

These are that the people of this Island, when one considers their diversity and qualities, the freedom from conscience in which they have lived and are living, and the bad example and ignorance of the priests, do not present any hope that they will yield spiritual fruit, other than a very little and very slowly. And in order to advance them beyond this point and the Society not to be idle in this land, I see no alternative to our adding, along with preaching, Christian instruction, and other ministries, also the teaching of Latin to the young, and the teaching of casuistry to those who are already priests or are on their way to becoming such.

Since to achieve this what we found must be a College, it is necessary that the endowment to be given should be for at least eighteen or twenty workers, of whom at least six should be occupied with the conversion of the converts, which is to be the principal spiritual fruit of this foundation, and twelve should remain here, including the Rector and the teachers of casuistry and Latin and their stand-bys, and a preacher or two, and three temporary coadjutors. For this number one would need a revenue representing at least 80 milreis each. But because this cannot be

enough if it is all given in ready money, since things here cost excessive prices, it is necessary that part of it be given in properties annually yielding up to 400 milreis, in order to grow the local foodstuffs and raise cattle on them. These properties can be bought from persons residing in Portugal who own some here and wish to sell them, because what they spend on them while they are absent is almost the same as what they yield in revenue.

The place in which we now live is above the sea and is so well-aired and refreshing that so far none of us has suffered from the heat.

If the site were adequate for the building we are to build, then on the island it would be preferred to that of Santa Marta. For although that is larger, more unsheltered, more exposed to the North and consequently healthier, still it is remote from the City and at a distance which, although not great, few men and even less women will go, because of the heat they experience when returning from there to their houses, after hearing mass or preaching, or going to confessions or communion. And if what is founded is a College, even if the students of Latin can go there because they are young, the priests will not be able to attend, to hear the lessons on casuistry and it will be necessary (for the teachers) to come to the City to give these.

I pass over the fact that that site is in a place where enemies can do it much damage from the sea with their artillery; or even from land, if they come up by night on a beach which is nearby, as they have already done once, although it was to their own loss. I also pass over the large amount it will cost to pipe water there, on account of the many detours the pipe will have to make to avoid the rugged slopes and difficult stretches, difficulties this [site] of S. Bras does not have because it is much nearer the spring. The hollow in which we live at the moment,

as I have said, is not adequate for our foundation; and although a stretch of wall could be built with cubicles on each side and a corridor in between, it is not suitable for us because the sea beats here with such a fury and such a thundering that very commonly we cannot hear each other when quite close. On the landward side the hollow is followed by a wide road, and from there upwards, a sheer slope, partly of rock, partly of loose stones; and above it are higher [slopes], and at the very top a Hermitage of Santa Luisa. After this, there is a rocky area stretching some distance and then large meadows.

I have often considered the lay-out of this place and done my utmost to see if it were suitable and if we could build there. Although I always hesitated a great deal because of the difficulties it presented, recently I have favoured it and I think that we ought to prefer it to the Santa Marta site. For in wholesomeness of air, even if the two are not equal, Santa Marta cannot have much advantage over this site. Accepting this, and the fact that the benefits that follow from our building in the city would be greater, it seems that we should, in the interest of other conveniences, eliminate the Santa Marta site. As I have been advised by Your Reverence that you are inclining towards the same opinion, I shall explain in more detail the disposition of this site, and shall send a draft of the way in which our house could be established there. Nevertheless I would consider it wiser if someone from our Society, or from outside it, who knows about architecture, could come from Portugal after October when the rains have stopped, to look at these sites and send back home, via the earliest ships, the information they gather about them.

Baltasar Barreira.

Note. The document is entitled: Section of a letter from Father Baltasar Barreira written to the Padre Provincial, 6 May 1610.











Bragio 4, item 105

MISSIONS OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS IN CAPE VERDE AND ANGOLA, 13.11.1610

(ATT, Cartório dos Jesuitas, maço 36, doc. 91)

First, to deal with Cape Verde, the Society has always been and is [still] prepared to continue this mission, disregarding the great difficulties it has experienced, for the service which through it is performed for God and His Majesty, with the hope that it will go on growing, in order to develop as it should to the satisfaction of His Majesty [who] with holy zeal ordered it to be set up and wills it to continue. Since it is His Majesty's intention to locate on the Island of Santiago the principal residence of our workers, where they teach Latin and casuistry, and practise the ministries of preaching, hearing confessions, Christian instruction, and the others proper to our institution; and from which place they pass over to the mainland and coast of Guinea to convert the heathen, these being well disposed to this; it is important to adjust the means to the end, and estimate the number of workers that in one form or another these occupations can sustain and the number to be sent to one part or another.

At the most moderate estimate possible, it seems that with less than sixteen members of the Society this aim cannot be achieved, with six going to the coast, three of them in Serra Leoa, and three more in Chaqueo [Cacheu] or wherever it seems that they can be employed most usefully in conversion and the cultivation of converts; and with ten in the House on the Island. For it is unlikely that the process of conversion will be a limited undertaking, an account of (the amount of) spiritual fruit it promises, judging by the experience previously gained, since with the grace of God these native rulers are easily converted and the rest of the people follow their example, but it is necessary for the padres to stay with them for some time, if all is not promptly to revert to jungle again.

These [padres] cannot be alone, for all sorts of good reasons; and it seems that we cannot avoid sending a party of three to Serra Leca, and another three to other parts of the coast. In the House on the Island with less than ten of our members it will not be possible to deal regularly and continuously with the tasks they are given, and with the administration, superintendence, provisioning and supplying of those who are stationed on the Coast. Further, with a larger [?smaller] number it would not be possible to maintain the observance of religious discipline, which in that residence, as the mission's principal one, it will be necessary to maintain more strictly, so that from there the influence of Religion can be communicated to the missionaries on the Coast.

The upkeep of all the men ordered to be there cannot in those parts be counted on with certainty from any other [source] than what His Majesty is pleased to command to be provided from his royal treasury as alms.

The conto that His Majesty orders to be given for this purpose, although in itself a large sum, nevertheless cannot be sufficient for the number of people, on account of the excessive price of the necessities of life in those parts, because they are brought from Portugal with losses by shipwreck and from robbers.

Hence, based on very specific and reliable information which has been obtained from some of our people and from other authorities with much experience of the land, and which His Majesty can have verified, for each individual at least 100 milreis are needed, excluding Church expenses and other non-intrinsic and extraordinary expenses.

However, if His Majesty is not willing to offer more than the aforementioned conto to be given, the Society will maintain with this as many men as it can, and in relation to their numbers these will attend to ministries in which they will be sufficient. But they will not be able to fulfil, not even at an acceptable lower standard, the needs of (both)

the coast and the Island; and those of the Coast, being the more remote will always gain less attention, although they are not any less issues of conscience or less important, since they relate to the conversion of very many souls who are His Majesty's responsibility and also because this whole matter is of consequence for his temporal estate.

Whatever agreement is reached about the extent of these alms, and this will always be revocable and dependant on the goodwill of His Majesty, the Society requests that His Majesty should entrust to us the free administration of the grant. By our handling of it, it will be spent under continual scrutiny and with religious parsimony, as the revenues from the Colleges and the alms for the professed houses are spent, so that if it happens that there is an excess in relation to the number of men it will not result in (their) allotment being increased or their fare being improved, nor will any (of it) be diverted to relations or put to uses superfluous or alien to the precise obligation, but it will be used to increase the number of workers in the vineyard of the Lord, primarily in overseas parts, this being, through the goodness of God, the reputation gained by the Society in the practice of its rule and custom. Thus His Majesty can be quite certain even if he does not impose a fixed number on us, we will always consider ourselves obliged to have and provide there continually as great a number as the grant can maintain, and although the necessities of the service of God may force us to spend more, we trust in divine providence, which is the reason why almost everywhere we are singled out. Nor do we doubt that it will be His Majesty's will that no person other than the superior or procurator of the Society shall have control over this grant. For since His Majesty, on account of the trust he has in us, has previously seen to it that we were given very large sums of money, as happened a few years ago with the funds he sent to Malaca in the fleet led by Alvaro de Carvalho, how can we doubt that he will entrust to us this grant of alms and all its care and administration?

But rather we hope that he will be so kind as to order that it shall all be conveniently arranged so that we can collect it from the treasurers or contractors, without recourse to other officers or further paperwork (?), but merely by presenting documents now given to us.

As for our not acquiring the title to any landed property that we should have to keep up, this is an unnecessary fear, because it is only a House solely dependent on alms that is being discussed, and according to our regulations this cannot have landed property other than houses for our residence and a small farmstead for convalescents, without crops or rents, and so it is not necessary to give way on that point.

However, if some individual, out of devotion and piety, should choose to make us a donation or give us a legacy for this mission and its promotion, all reason and liberty, etc., demands that we should accept it on the terms of the common law, the ordinances of this Kingdom, and our own Constitutions, just like any other Religious body, nor would it be lawful for us to renounce this public favour. But if it is an item of property that is donated or left to us, then at the first convenient moment we must dispose of it, not only because of what the ordinance of the Kingdom lays down, but also because of the more precise and specific obligation to do so which our Constitutions commit us to in relation to Houses whose only possible support is from charitable alms.

For the construction of the Church, residences and farmstead, His Majesty will grant whatever is his will; but the amount of the grant given for maintenance could restrict the manning of the House and the benefit and fruit which are intended to proceed from it, both on the Island and on the Coast.

Further, it is assumed that His Majesty will be willing to order that those now being sent from here and those hereafter sent to this mission should be provided with what is necessary for their embarkation and journey,

as has been the custom until now; and it should also be his pleasure to provide some allowance to cover the travelling expenses of those sent from the Islands to the Coast and the materials for the celebration of the divine sacrament in the most needy places of the Coast.

However, the Society states that, although it is indicating the number of persons that the overall proposal for this mission would require, so that from now on there can be agreement on this point and on the maintenance which would be needed, nevertheless it cannot at the moment find occasion to allow it to send so many, but that it will make an effort to send assistance such that, with those who are already there, the number will reach ten, or the figure which the experience of the Society shows can be maintained on a conto. These members will begin their studies immediately and be employed in anything else that His Majesty orders, as far as they are capable, and then the number can be more easily increased when there is likewise an arrangement for the necessary grant of alms for their maintenance.

What is being proposed with regard to the Cape Verde mission, also applies to the Angola mission, except that in Angola the maintenance is much more expensive and difficult, because the distance from Portugal, from which items come, is much greater and because the land itself provides less. The allowance from His Majesty for each of our members is so small and so extremely insufficient that it has obliged them to make a living by some trading, which in those parts is not so surprising, given the needs which constrained them, yet among clergy much less justified (than among laity?)

Now, on the express command of Our Padre General, they have completely abandoned all kinds of commerce, presupposing that His Majesty would order them to be provided with the necessary maintenance. In their case the order is taking a long time, so that we fear that when it does come some of them will have already set sail for Brazil or for Portugal. Hence it is necessary to aid them promptly, taking into account the nine

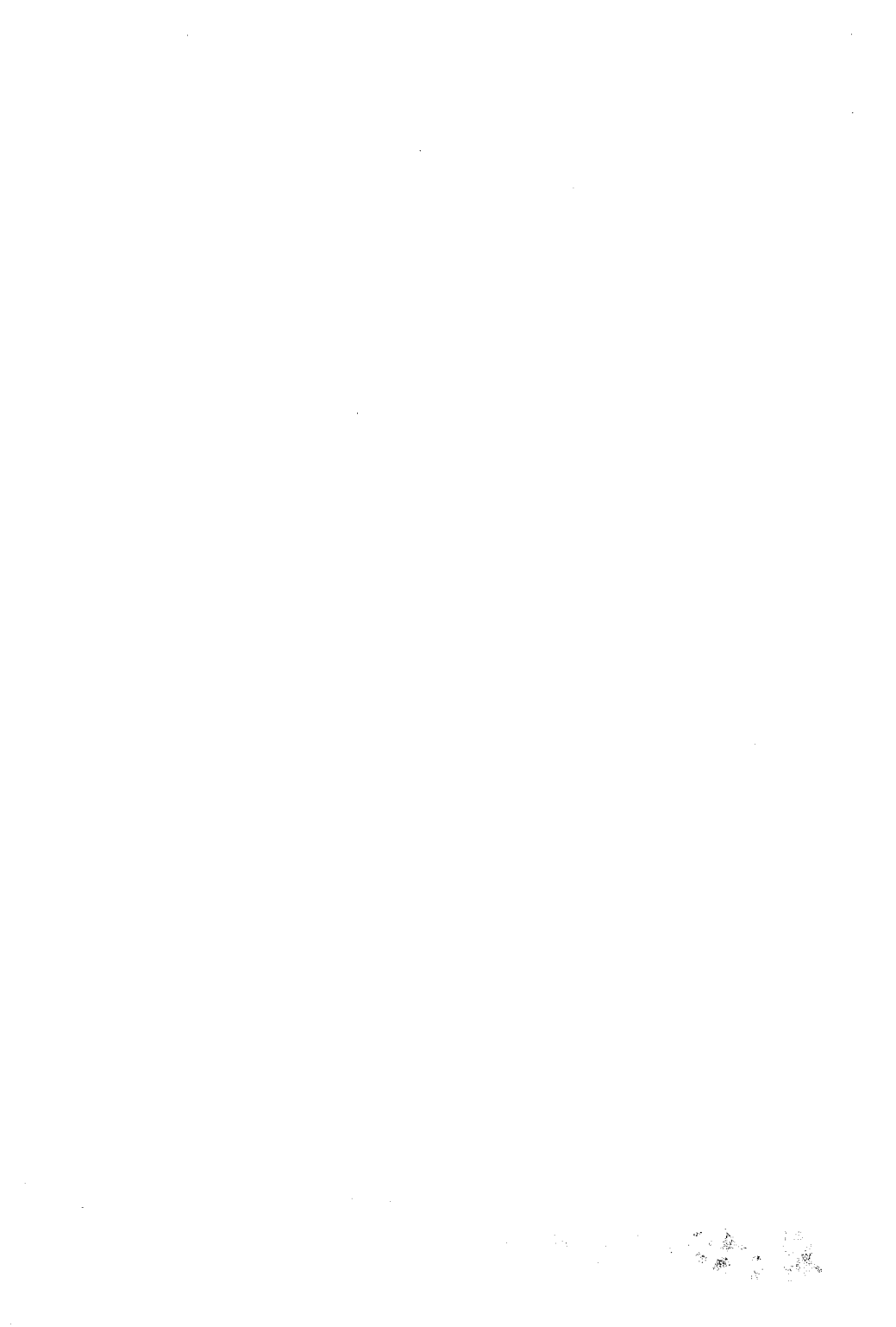
who are there now, and the others who are to be sent, for there cannot avoid being at least twelve there, to serve in the town of Luanda, and go on the Missions which at times are proposed for the service of God and His Majesty, and so His Majesty should provide for no less than this number. But if in Cape Verde at least 100 milreis are needed for each person, as shown above, it is easy to see how much more will be needed in Angola. Depending on the extent of the grant that is given will be the additional numbers that it can provide for by the continual exercise of strict regulations and religious moderation, as has been said of Cape Verde.

May His Majesty in all matters order what is best.

[In another hand]. To this proposal of the Padre Provincial His Majesty replied as follows in a letter of 15 December 1610, a copy of which is held by the Secretary of the Council of India, António Villes.

[At the beginning, in the right hand margin]. This was the form given to the Marquis which he said he would send to His Majesty in the mail of 13 November 1610..

Note: The document is undated, but was presumably written in early November 1610.













ANNUAL REPORT FROM THE CAPE VERDE MISSION FOR THE

YEAR 1610 AND UP TO JULY, 1611

/f.395/ In all parts of this Mission of Guinea in which our own people reside, the Lord has made great use of them during the period since the last annual report and up to the present time. But because the principal fruit of this vine is the conversion of this heathen people, I will deal first with what the Lord has performed in the Kingdoms of Serra Leoa through Father Manuel Alvarez, and what he has written to us about those parts (in letters conveyed) by means of the cola ships which go from there to other ports of Guinea nearer this Island.

When the padre wrote about the matters I mentioned in the last report, he was in the village of St. John Baptist, whose lord is D. João Setua, the future successor of King D. <sup>Filipe</sup> ~~Philippe~~ de Lyão. He remained there catechizing and baptizing some of those who made their request to him with great force; and if he was unable to do the same for all the people who desired and requested it, it was for lack of clothes different from those the heathen normally wear in which to dress them, there being good reasons why they should not be baptized without this (change of costume).

From this place he left for the Kingdom of Dom Pedro, divine providence having arranged affairs thus for the purpose which will be mentioned later. On the way he visited and consoled a Portuguese who had come there from another part of Guinea because of a loss he had suffered. What happened concerned a launch of his which he sent to trade slaves, and it came about that (though) the Feast of the Assumption was being celebrated with great solemnity in the port where it lay, the crew of the ship insisted on sailing off this day before hearing mass. They had the padre at hand, but besides not obeying him they uttered words unworthy of Christian men. The outcome was that, by the just judgement of God, shortly after leaving the launch ran aground in a place where it did not seem possible that a vessel could be lost. And the worst aspect

was that the loss extended not only to the ship and the goods it was carrying but also to those who had been responsible for the departure. Together with the other people travelling on the ship, they were drowned.

A little after the arrival of the padre at the port of S. Pedro, he was visited by a leading nobleman from another kingdom, who earlier had sought to receive from him the Holy Baptism. Although the padre had attached great importance to such holy desires and had encouraged him to persevere in them, he did not want to baptize him at that time, partly because he was on his way to Serra Leoa, and partly because he wanted to test him, since he was living among heathens; but he gave him hopes that he would fulfil his desires if he came to dwell among Christians. With this reply the good catechumen went away, but since the fire which burned in his bosom would not let him rest, as soon as he learned of the padre's return, he came in search of him, bringing his wife who had the same desires, with him in order that they might both receive the Holy Baptism, and with the intention of never returning to his native country but of living in the town where the padre resided.

The padre received them with great acclamation, and when they had been thoroughly catechized, much to their consolation, he baptized them. They attended divine offices and daily instruction and they received the Portuguese and other Christians in their house and treated them so lovingly that everyone called him father and her mother.

/f.395/ When the devil saw the situation of Christianity in this town, he raised a storm in it of such apparent consequence that the padre went there to calm it. Words of strife occurred between two Portuguese, one a Captain on land, the other a marine captain. Both lost their tempers, summoned their men, and prepared their arms. Having been told about this, the padre rushed there immediately and set himself between them, and for the time being they were pacified. But a

few days later they clashed again, and caused a fire so great that it came close to devastating the village and <sup>causing</sup> ~~to~~ the Portuguese of land and sea <sup>to lose</sup> ~~losing~~ their lives and possessions.

The padre hurried there again, surprised at the relapse; he separated them and left them seemingly peaceful. But the morning of the following day he heard that the land Captain, who was the principal party (involved), was seeking revenge. He went to him and told him he proposed to say mass, and he exhorted him to attend it, trusting that, through the means of that divine Sacrifice, the Lord would calm him. He answered that he was not ready to hear mass, and when one of his servants brought him his rosary, as he did on other days, he would not take it, such sway did the devil hold in his heart. The padre tried to appease him with reasoning, but seeing that he would yield to none of this, he threatened him that he would make a public case out of the trouble he was causing in that new (field of) Christianity and out of the risk he was creating that (the new religion) would be lost, with the result that <sup>padre</sup> ~~he~~ would have to remove the images decorating the altar and go to another kingdom. But none of this was enough to stop the captain arming himself, priming his guns, and preparing his men for action, which caused those of the marine party also to prepare themselves in order to resist him. What would the good padre do in this predicament? He went to the Captain, flung himself at his feet, and in front of all, with many tears, asked him, by the blood of Christ Crucified, not to carry out his intent. The onlookers wept, amazed at this spectacle; the instigator of the disturbance yielded and was so changed that never again was he heard to speak a word against those he formerly pursued, which was great edification for all and gave much glory to God and praise to the Society.

When this storm had been settled it was not long before another arose, also between Portuguese, and since One of the instigators had already many men from the country positioned in the forest with their arms, in order to assault, when given the signal by him, certain Portuguese, so that, fleeing from this danger, they would run with great haste into the water to take refuge on the ships, which were left there out of necessity because of the slime or mud which in those parts remains on the beach in large quantities when the tide ebbs. At this point, Dom André, lord of the village and a very good Christian, arrived and immediately ordered them all to withdraw. Turning to the Portuguese who was the cause of this revolt and to the other persons who were supporting him, he said: "I am the son of the padre, he is my father, I cannot allow anything to be done on my land which would cause him displeasure. Withdraw all of you." They did this straightway because they all had great respect for him, and when they did, that particular storm was over.

But the instigator of these disturbances did not go unpunished. A Mandinga slave fled from him and was hidden fifteen days in the forest, where it seems that the devil with whom they have dealings was teaching him what he was to do. He was brought (back) to the village, and handed over to his lord. (But) one day he left the house at ten o'clock with his bow in his hand, and began to fire poisoned arrows from it at those he saw in front of him. Since he had caught them off guard, everyone fled, some even at risk to their lives as they ran headlong from high and dangerous places.

When the minister of Satan saw that he could not achieve his purpose with his arrows, he set fire to the house of a Portuguese /f.396/ married man; and because the house was made of thatch and there was no one to halt the fire, since everyone had abandoned (the village) out of fear of the Mandinga, in a short space of time it was all ablaze with

everything inside it, and from this house the fire jumped to the houses of the Portuguese man I have spoken about. Without their being able to do anything about it, the fire burned the houses and consumed all the possessions that were in them, <sup>which,</sup> according to what he wrote to me, he valued at forty or fifty slaves, <sup>this being</sup> ~~which is~~ the way of reckoning the value of goods in those parts. To this was added (the loss of) some trained blacks, who were of great use to him and had been in his house a long time, and who ran away. From here the fire spread to the King's houses, which are very large, and it worked its way through others until it almost reached the Church, which by a miracle and the great mercy of God and the blessed S. Pedro was not burned. And in the same way our own houses escaped when a wind suddenly rose which turned the fire away from them, which did not fail to cause great amazement among all, among both Christians and heathens.

Understanding how I might feel about these events, the padre adds to them others of great consolation, recounting to me the conversion of two heathens well-known in those parts, and the great satisfaction which all have drawn from their/his life and example. When one of these heathens from another Kingdom came in search of the padre to receive the Holy Baptism from him, a leading King through whose lands he passed did all he could to divert him from the intention he had, but (instead) the man tried to persuade the King to do the same. Some time after becoming a Christian he told the padre this story. When he was a heathen, he obtained from a Mandinga, a minister of the cursed sect of Mahomet, a garment covered with certain nominas (amulets) in order to cheat the heathen. The Mandinga affirmed that when the garment was worn no weapon could at all injure the wearer, either in war or otherwise. The man held the garment in such esteem that he would not part with it at any price, but after becoming a Christian and realising the falsity of the nominas,

*amulet  
shirt*

he burned the garment in public. He requested that the whole village should be present to see how he valued those false preservatives, and to learn that only the true God in whom he believed could defend him and deliver him from all danger in peace and war.

The other man, who before becoming a Christian held so much sway over the devils that they came to his call and obeyed him in everything, gained news of our holy faith and accepted it, to the great astonishment of those who knew him before, both heathens and Christians. As this new disciple of Christ pursued his way as a fine example of good living and Christianity, it happened that a son was born to him. When his relatives and friends wished to perform with him the ceremonies they did with their own off-spring, he would not agree to this, saying that his son was to be a Christian as he was. And so he took him immediately to the padre, along with the mother, so that the padre could baptize them both together, as he did, with full praise for the author of these wonders.

At this date there arrived at the headland of Serra Leoa where the foreigners take on fresh water a ship manned by French pirates, together with a caravel they had captured, and which was taken with sugar and other merchandise from the Island of São Tomé, and <sup>also</sup> carried many passengers as well. The king, Dom Filipe, heard of the arrival of the pirates, and that they proposed to put the people ashore and burn the caravel; and because he is very charitable and compassionate he went immediately to prevent this, and it was God's will that besides handing over to him the people, men and women, and the slaves of some private individuals, /f.396v/ the French also handed over the caravel.

Dom Filipe then notified the padre, who was away, of what was happening, and in the meantime he took the passengers to his port, in the caravel, and gave them lodgings, and provided what was necessary.

The padre came immediately, God having delivered him from a great danger at sea. He thanked the king for the favour he had shown to those people and was received by them with tears, partly of joy, since it appeared to them that they would have help from him in making their way to Portugal, and partly of sorrow, as they told him of the sad events of their journey. After consoling them and administering to them the sacraments of confession and communion, the padre gave the order that they should split up among the various households of Portuguese where their needs would be provided for. Later he procured for them vessels in which they travelled to the kingdom. They gave many thanks to God and praises to the Society, and they exalted the Christianity and charity of King D. Filipe, being astounded by what God had worked in him, <sup>as</sup> since it was only a few years since he had emerged from the darkness of heathendom.

The king exercised the same charity towards a Portuguese who had had his very clothes burned by the fire I mentioned, leaving him almost naked. When this man asked him for something to cover his flesh, the good king immediately took off a robe he was wearing and gave it to him together with a promise to provide other clothes. This same charity the padre has experienced himself and in relation to the house which we have there, but what the padre most values is the obedience the king shows him, bowing his head and submitting to his advice. This he particularly showed in not carrying out, as he had determined, an exemplary punishment which he desired to give his brother, and one of his own sons, for serious offences which they had committed against him.

The church of this village is the chief one we have in these Kingdoms, and because the offices of Holy Week had not yet been performed in it, when the padre saw there was opportunity, he set about preparing for this. As a result of the notice he sent to various parts of that Kingdom, many people gathered there, as much for the blessing of the palms, a new ceremony for them, as for the office and mass of ~~sanctity~~ <sup>sanctity</sup>.

Thursday, at which many took communion. At night there was also a procession of flagellants, and these caused great amazement in the heathen and devotion in us Christians. The procession finished with litters they had specially made, carrying images which moved one's devotion. The padre preached after they had gathered at the church, partly through an interpreter, in order to inform the newly converted about this sacred mystery, and partly in Portuguese to the Portuguese. There was a great commotion among those who listened, and the king, to whom all this was new, did not tire of exalting our holy faith and giving thanks to God for having called him to it; and his brothers and the leading men who had received the Holy Baptism did the same. Just as the sentiment and devotion which the offices of the Holy Passion caused in all of them were great, so the joy which they received by means of the offices of Holy Saturday and the resurrection of the Saviour came to them as extraordinary tidings. On this day (of Easter Sunday), very early in the morning, they all joined the procession which was formed with all the (rhythmic) musical instruments, chanting and festivities that in those parts it was possible to provide.

These same festal occasions were also employed to solemnize a baptism, which was performed on the same day, the baptism of two persons who had been prepared for it. One was a daughter of King Farma, the greatest and most powerful king of those parts. He sent her to the padre for this purpose, so that he could make her a daughter of God, for this is what they call becoming a Christian. We have much trust in the Lord that the King too will soon become the same /f.397/. The <sup>girl</sup> must be about thirteen or fourteen, and for a long time had been desirous of belonging to the flock of Christ. Among those who came with this girl from the Kingdom of the Loguos, as Farma's kingdom is called, there came a nephew of this king, also with the intention of becoming a Christian,

Although he ~~had done~~<sup>did</sup> his utmost to be baptised with his cousin, the padre would not admit him, but detained him in order to test him and to catechise him slowly. However this <sup>(serving)</sup> served to show the padre that he came touched by God, and with a true desire to ~~be~~ His son, by virtue of the very extreme measures he undertook and the tears he shed, which were accompanied by such sobbing that the padre was satisfied, and fulfilled his desires, much to his consolation and to that of all present.

Mass having been said with the solemnity I mentioned, King D. Filipe was so moved by it and by everything else he had seen that when he arrived home, he called before him some of his servant girls who were still heathen, and speaking to them of God and our holy faith, performed the office of preacher with so much fervour and zeal that he moved them to leave the falsehood of their idols and receive the Holy Baptism. And he so continued these addresses that when the padre had catechised them <sup>girls</sup> and found them sufficiently well instructed, he administered to them this divine sacrament.

From this port of Salvador the padre passed on to that of S. João, having understood that D. João Setuão, lord of that land, and <sup>(his)</sup> his brothers greatly desired that he should go and visit them; and they showed this clearly in the enthusiasm and festivity with which they received him, and in the care and joy with which they attended the divine offices and preaching. Among those who came to the fount of Holy Baptism was a brother of this nobleman, who for this reason was already dressed in the Portuguese fashion, and a relative of his: because the latter did not have this token, D. João took off the garment he was wearing and gave it to him with notable joy and with zeal for his salvation.

Here the padre was visited by a noble lady of wealth, whom he received with all the marks of great benevolence. He talked to her of the things of God and of our holy faith, showed her the images, watched very attentively for the signs of ~~conversion~~<sup>consolation</sup>, and listened to her desire to exchange the worship of idols for that of the true God and to declare how compliant she was. Although she was not baptised immediately, she offered her niece whom she loved dearly, so that the padre could make her a daughter of God, which he did through Holy Baptism. When D. Felipa de Leão, sister of King D. Felipe, learnt that the padre was in this village she went to him to confess, taking him as a present two close relatives of hers, so that they could be made Christians; being unable to bear the idea that while <sup>she and</sup> they were so close in their carnal relationship they were not the same in the spiritual. The padre fulfilled her wishes, and baptised them before leaving there, after having prepared them well.

Having visited this kingdom, the padre returned to that of <sup>the</sup> King D. ~~Philip~~<sup>Philippe</sup>, who now desired him so much that he received him on his knees, with his hands raised, <sup>He gave</sup> giving praise to God that he now saw the padre in his kingdom, (preparing) to carry out the conversion of his vassals and to communicate the light of the Holy Gospel to neighbouring kingdoms.

A principal nobleman to whom God had given a great desire to become a Christian, having learnt that the padre had arrived, asked (a relative) to take him immediately to him. The relative explained the matter with great joy, and the padre received them with the same. <sup>/C. 3974/</sup> He praised the zeal of the sponsor, and with catechising fervour preached to him about God, about the ignorance of heathendom and about the truth of the Christian religion. But because this nobleman lived among heathens <sup>a</sup> ~~this~~ (period of) proof seemed advisable. The good

catecumen, who showed no displeasure at this(delay), did not wish to be parted from the padre, and instead always accompanied him on the various journeys which he made at this time, during a period of some three months.

Having seen his constancy the padre resolved to baptise him, and for that purpose some celebrations were being prepared; but God indicated that it should be delayed, in order to cheer Father Sebastião Gomes at the beginning (of his visit). For he arrived at this time in Serra Leoa, and knowing that Father Manoel Alvarez was with King D. Pedro, he went there immediately, and they met for the first time, to the great joy of each, causing excitement among the King and his people. And since everything was already prepared for the baptism, Father Gomes performed it on the day of the Lord's Ascension, much to the cheer of himself and of ~~all the others~~ <sup>everyone else</sup>, who also played a part in this baptism; and (they were equally cheered) by another <sup>baptismal ceremony</sup> which he performed in the evening for other catecumens who had also been prepared. The example set by this nobleman is rare, as is the humility with which he behaves. He does not miss a church service or a lesson in doctrine, and in church he conducts himself as if he were a child, rising to his feet to reply to what the padre asks, and in order to answer more correctly he has with him a Christian youth who is teaching him the prayers. When the other Christians gained a jubilee (indulgence) and made their confessions for it, he wanted to do the same. But when he spoke of this to another old Christian, he said with great purity: "I want to confess myself to the padre but I have no idea what to say, because since I have been a Christian I have not done anything sinful." He went to his own country, a journey of many days, to fetch a daughter he had, and her mother, so that they too could receive the holy baptism. A snake bit him, either because the devil was after him or because God so ordered it to test his constancy, and although these snakes are so poisonous that they kill very quickly if antidotes are not used in treatment, he would never consent to the doctors of the land

curing him by means of the heathen ceremonies with which they do it.

To those who were surprised at this, he said that he was a Christian and that God in whom he believed had the power to give him health, and that he wanted it from Him and not from the earth through heathens, ministers of the devil. To the amazement of those present, he fell on his knees and, raising his eyes and hands to heaven, spoke to God, offering Him that trouble and asking Him to take it from him, so that the blind might recognise Him as the true God and understand that He was the author of life and health. God heard and gave him health with such ease that it would not have matched his importuning if God had not also given him another and greater virtue. At every opportunity that offered, he spoke of our holy religion and decried the idols in which the heathens believed, with such fervour and giving so many reasons that everyone yielded to him.

There came to visit this man a nobleman, a relative of his, and lord of many lands and vassals. When he called the man by his heathen name, the man did not answer him; finally he did so by saying: "My name is Dom António, I am a Christian and by that name I must be called." The relative applauded this statement, and it can be believed that he was very envious because for a long time now he has wanted to become a Christian himself, as he told me several times, and is only waiting for King Fatema, whom he recognises as his superior, to become one (first).

/f.348/ The feast of Saint John the Baptist was approaching, and to celebrate it with the patronal jubilee, the padres went to the village of D. João Setuão in which is located the church (dedicated to) this glorious saint. But before the padre departed, the Christian boys, in order to please Father Sebastião Gomez, came to the open space in front of our house, dragging some idols which they laid before him. The padre

welcomed this present, praised their zeal, and ordered them to perform <sup>the present</sup> on ~~it~~ the offices which were merited. The padre was very pleased with the situation of (the church of) S.João and the house we have there, because it is very wholesome, (the buildings) being situated on a height surrounded on two sides by water, with a very pleasant outlook and good air. And since this was the first time that the padre had entered that kingdom he was warmly welcomed by D.João and by the king D.Filipe, his brother, and by many other noblemen, brothers and relatives of the two who came to the jubilee and feast of the Holy Baptist. They helped to decorate and improve the church and altar with some new objects which the padre brought. And the padres above all confirmed the confessions and communions of that day. At the mass, the King stood on the Gospel side with a large candle in his hand, and his brother D.João on the Epistle side with another candle, both of them accompanied by leading Christian noblemen, dressed in Portuguese fashion, who made a joyful and devout spectacle.

From here they went to Porto do Salvador, and Father Sebastião Gomez remained there to encourage the Christianity of that kingdom, and to please the king, D.Filipe, who asked him to do this most insistently. Because there immediately followed the feast of St.Peter, after commending the padre to D.Filipe, Father Manuel Alvares went on to the village where we have the church of the glorious Apostle, and celebrated his feast in it, much to the comfort of King D.Pedro and of all the Christian community there.

During the time that the padre was absent from this kingdom, <sup>the</sup> some heathens wishing to receive the Holy Baptism, came to it in search of him. One of these, not finding him, went to the church of the holy Apostle, spoke to the Apostle as represented by his image, revealing to him his desires, then commended himself to him and asked him to bring the padre back soon in order to make him a son of God.

Different from this man was another heathen who when he saw the image of the saint sneered at it, and pointing to it with the spear he had in his hand, said to those who accompanied him, as if in contempt: "Look at what these whites are deceiving us with!" - this what they call the Portuguese. But the Saint, or God on his behalf, took care to punish the man, because within a few days he died, drowned in the sea. To some extent I am not surprised that a man without faith, one who is governed only by exterior things, should scorn that image, which is painted on a patched cloth without a frame and is faded and very old, (and which we only use) for lack of others which we could put on the altars; for it is particularly befitting that among the heathen all church adornment should be perfect.

Amusing but worth recounting is what occurred when the wife of a very important heathen was about to give birth. The man declared that if his wife bore a son, he must be called Xere, the name of the most noble family/people of that land. But because many days passed without the woman giving birth and her life was at risk, her husband, fearing that the son would die as well as the mother, went in to where she lay and said with great fervour, in front of other heathens, "Name of the padre, name of the padre!". And he declared if his son were born alive, he would not give him a heathen name but a Christian one. (f.398v) It was amazing, but as soon as these words were spoken, the woman gave birth to a son. They immediately called him and now call him 'Padre'; and she (is called) 'mother of the Padre.' Then it seems they declared that they must bring the son (to the padre) so that they can become Christians with him, since the padre has written to me that he is expecting them. These people belonged to the Kingdom of Fatema, about whom we have previously written several times, (describing him) as one who has shown a desire to become a Christian. Now the padre

informs me that he has received some messages from him about this, but he has continued to prevaricate with him, in order to make him understand that it is important that he should only be baptised after giving proof of his constancy.

The faith which these new Christians have in the holy relics which they immediately ask for when they are baptised is remarkable. One of them told the padre that when a powerful heathen was looking for him to kill him, and he found it necessary to go to the village of this enemy, he was not afraid to do so, because he trusted in the relics which he carried with him, through which God would deliver him from the enemy. And so it was, because when he not only went to the village but stood in front of his enemy, God blinded <sup>the enemy</sup> ~~him~~ in such a way that when he saw him he did not recognise him.

I wrote in the last annual report about D.Manoel Besse, the future successor of King Fatema, and how the Lord, by means of Holy Baptism, had delivered him from a prolonged and dangerous illness. Afterwards the exemplary way in which he behaved while with King D.Pedro, his intimate friend, was remarkable. As long as he was here he was much entreated and urged to return home. And although he resisted for a long time, in the end he did return, and the whole Kingdom showed great contentment, because he was dearly loved by everyone. Then another illness befell him, which was caused, it is presumed, by poison which they gave him because he was a Christian. He had with him a most Christian wife who was always with him in his illness, until his earthly life ended and he went to enjoy the eternal life, as can be firmly believed in view of the Christianity, the faith and the piety with which he had conducted himself after becoming a Christian. It was not possible for <sup>either</sup> ~~any~~ of the padres to go to his burial, although this was very desirable, so that it should be performed with the solemnity which was fitting. His heathen relatives attempted to perform it with

with the pagan ceremonies which they practise; the Christian woman who was with the dead man resisted this, saying that he was a Christian and must be buried accordingly; and she had it carried out this way. But the relatives, feeling that it would dishonour the dead man if they failed to make a sacrifice appropriate to his status, brought a young girl, richly adorned, to sacrifice over his grave, their normal practice on the death of such persons. This girl was surrounded by many persons as the ceremonies of sacrifice were performed, and she awaited the thrust of the knife. But to the confusion of the devil and his ministers, and to the honour of our holy faith, God suddenly stole her from amongst them without their knowing how or by what route. All they knew was that she disappeared from the midst of them all, without them being able to find out afterwards where she had been taken to. They consulted the devils on this, asking them what had become of the girl; the devils replied that they had not seen her; they asked them other questions, about the dead man; with signs of great disappointment, the devils said to them that they must not speak to them about that man. All they could extract from the devils was that a white thing which spurned them had passed their way.

They were very ashamed at this reply, and so went away with heads hung down, full of confusion at the outcome of the event, an event which for some served as a stimulus to leave the falsehood of idols and to become converted to our holy faith. From among the remainder, a brother of the deceased came to see the <sup>/f.399/</sup>padre, and after opening his heart to him, discussed with him the building of a church in the place where his brother was buried. King D. Pedro, while sorrowing at the death of his friend, rejoiced at such clear signs as these, given by God, of his friend's salvation; and he said many things to the great glory of the Lord and in praise of our holy faith, and the other Christians did the same.

At this time two powerful ships of heretic pirates, carrying many weapons-of-war and men, arrived at the headland of Serra Leoa. According to what could be learned, they came there in order to make a base and fortress, since this is a port of call on the way to Mina, to Brazil, and to the East and West Indies; and they remained there, dominating the kingdoms of these parts. This greatly distressed the Portuguese who reside in those kingdoms and have trade with them, because these enemies had seized the mouth of the river by which outward-going vessels leave and vessels bringing provisions and trade-goods from other parts enter. They already treated the land as if it were their own, building forges and other constructions, like men who were there to stay. The news that daily reached the Portuguese concerning the threats they made and the animosity they displayed against them was such that no-one now considered himself safe, and everyone tried to carry his possessions into the forest.

The local people who lived by the sea did the same, fearing that the pirates would attack their villages and burn them, on account of their having seized some sloops from the pirates in that place, as I wrote in my last annual report. At this date it happened that Father Sebastião Gomes was ill, and Father Manoel Alvarez found himself in great difficulty, both for the reason that it was necessary to send Father Gomes elsewhere, and because it was important to carry the ornaments and other decorations of the house to a safe place. King D.Filipe arrived from another village where he was staying and they discussed the best way of dealing with these matters. They immediately put the padre aboard a ship which took him to another kingdom, and hid the ornaments in the forest; the village was fortified, and people gathered from all over the kingdom to defend it.

In the midst of this confusion it was God's will that there should appear two galleys bound for Mina, the sight of which so terrified the pirates that it quite acted as an alarm-signal, causing them to withdraw and raise sail with such haste that, in the case of one ship, to avoid the delay of drawing in the anchor they cut the cable and abandoned it. Extraordinary joy was felt by all at this outcome, and it was regarded as a specific providence and grace of God. Then came a message to the padre from the galleys, asking him to come to see the many sick people there were aboard. Accompanied by King D. Filipe, he did this immediately. The commander welcomed them with great acclamation and rejoicing and gave a warm reception to each of them, being in turn much edified by the good example of Christianity given by the King.

The padre stayed for some days to hear the confessions of many, among both the sick and the healthy, to help some to die in peace, and to deliver a number of sermons to the great comfort of all. Father Sebastião Gomes, through the goodness of God, recovered his health within a few days. But since he later suffered from some irregularity in his pulse and since the rains were coming on, it was feared that he would not be able to convalesce there easily. It (therefore) seemed wise that he should travel to Rio Grande in a sloop that was leaving for there; afterwards it was appreciated that God had ordered it thus for the spiritual good of the Portuguese and other Christians in that port, because they were without a priest to comfort them, ~~at least~~<sup>not</sup> least with the Holy Sacrifice of Mass. And great was the fruit which the padre gathered there as a result, especially during Lent, in terms of the confessions <sup>/F.399v/</sup> he heard, the preaching he performed, and the other ministrations offered by the Society. Amongst the latter was an

agreement which he negotiated between the Captain of that River and another man, the two having been in dispute over accounts and shares so that there was great risk that they might kill each other over the issue, as (in fact) one of them did try to do with a pistol which he was carrying for that purpose. And because many others had become involved in the matter and found it impossible to put an end to it, the satisfaction which they all gained from the padre's achievement was general, and they gave great thanks to God and praise to the Society for it.

In accordance with the order which I sent him, the padre passed

onwards to Cacheo, and from there came to this island, where through the goodness of God, he has regained excellent health and is helping us a great deal through his example and his holy zeal. The same health, by God's good will has been given to Father António Dias and to myself, which with His favour we will endeavour to use in His holy service, in keeping with our constitution, in order to seek His glory and the good of souls, as I shall explain presently.

The chief motive which I had in moving from Serra Leoa to this Island, a move not without great sorrow at separating myself from that new Christian community, was to restrain the fervour of our colleagues who are as new-comers to this mission, and to give them the benefit of my experience of the land, because I understood that these were the principal reasons why (others) had died so quickly. And it was God's will that it came about as I desired, for no-one has died in almost three years, and instead those who were ill when they came from Guinea have recovered, and through God's goodness, have as good health as they could possibly have in any part of the Kingdom. To this end it greatly helped when we took houses in the healthier part of the town, houses we later purchased, and we have settled our affairs in such a way that we no longer have reason to long for the colleges and convents of Europe. We are located beside the sea and have such continual fresh breezes that we do not notice when the sun passes over us twice in the year. What may be more surprising is that here we feel the hottest days much less than we did in the same time of year in Europe.

We also have a garden-plot, (working in) which serves as a relaxation. It is near the town, in a very refreshing situation, and it has much <sup>running</sup> water which irrigates a large banana grove, many orange trees, fig trees, coconut palms, date palms, sugar canes and other

similar plants, and every kind of vegetable. It has its own dwellings, and includes a high point so well aired by fresh winds that it does not seem like a place in the torrid zone but like one in the most temperate zones. I say this, not because I wish to argue that the country is healthy, for on the South side where the town is situated it is not, though on the North side it is, and even more so on the neighbouring islands; but in order to make it understood that once the first illness is over, which those who are carefully treated normally recover from, and some suffer from only mildly, this Island has aspects favourable to the conduct of human life.

The town is on good terms with us. The people cannot bear that we should be undecided about whether we are to remain here, and they say that they will not allow us to be without a roof over our heads. At the beginning, when I still had little knowledge of the people of this Island, it seemed to me that the Society could make greater gains elsewhere than here. But once we had moved to the place where we now are and had a church in which to preach and hear confessions, and were giving religious instruction, I saw clearly that it was through lack of this provision that the people had failed to profit from our ministry and to come to us in their spiritual needs. <sup>/£ 400/</sup> On a visit I made to an estate on which there were many slaves and servants, <sup>both</sup> adults, and children, I realised that if one fails to make great gains among people of this kind and among their masters who live on the same estates, it is because there is no-one who is zealous for their salvation, no-one who would fittingly share with them the bread that is religious instruction and the sacraments of confession and communion. According to what I have learned, which is the general opinion, this is even more necessary on the Ilha do Fogo, as its natives point out, for they urge us in letters and messages to go there to relieve their spiritual needs, which they consider should be given priority over those of

Japan and other kingdoms of the heathen.

They have been much encouraged to make this entreaty by the memory of the rare example set there by Father Manoel de Barros, and the spiritual fruit he gained in the period during which God preserved his life. They speak of him as if of one of the chief saints in Heaven, and God confirmed this opinion of theirs by some (of His) works which they call miracles. This was one of them. A woman possessed of the devil who had been suffering this trouble for some years was brought to him, and he postponed for three days the duty he had to do, and spent the time on this task, fasting and praying. When these days had passed they brought her to him and found him at prayer before the Most Holy Sacrament. Many people gathered to see the outcome. He performed the exorcisms and the devil resisted, claiming that many clergy on visitation and other priests had tried to eject him from that dwelling of his but could not, and so it must be now. The padre closed with him, asking God to increase the torments (inflicted on the devil) and ordering him in the name of Jesus Christ and the Holy Trinity to come out from there and never again return to that woman. Eventually the evil spirit yielded, saying that he desired to leave, never to return, and that as confirmation of this he would give the sign which the padre asked of him. This happened at a spot twenty or thirty paces from the altar on which two candles were burning: the padre ordered him to extinguish them from there. Scarcely had the words been uttered when the woman, making a hideous expression, blew: the candles went out forthwith, and the devil left her never to return - this having taken place more than four years ago.

The other miraculous deed which God performed on that island through the same padre was when a man who had searched for all possible remedies to check the scrofula from which one of his sons was suffering, without those he found being of any use but rather seeming to make it worse, as a last resort went to the padre. He consoled him and begged

him to have great faith and trust in God; and after prayer he anointed the child with the oil from the lamp which burned before the Most Holy Sacrament. He did this for three days at a stretch, and at the end the boy was as healthy as if he had never suffered the illness. Everyone greatly marvelled at this and exalted the power of God and the virtue he had given to his servant.

Before he left this island for that one, there happened to the same padre another instance in which God showed his marvels, employing His servant as His instrument. In a valley of many farms and gardens, some one and a half leagues from this city, the inhabitants were continually troubled by demons who would sometimes burn their houses and at other times stone the people and cause them other similar vexations. Other priests had tried to remedy this, using the means which the Church ordains for this end, but it was not God's will that they should succeed in their attempts. The inhabitants called in the padre and asked <sup>/f.400v/</sup> for his help against this diabolical persecution. He equipped himself for this, made use of prayer and the holy exorcisms, and went from house to house sprinkling holy water and invoking the name of Jesus the All Powerful. What followed was miraculous and gave everyone great reason to praise God, because from that moment the demons fled from those parts so completely that they were never again experienced there.

A further miracle. In that part of Guinea where the good Father João Delgado is buried, his body is held in great esteem by all because of the rare example of holiness which he set during his life. An inhabitant of that village, seeing that no remedy was of any use to him as a cure for the lack of appetite which was consuming him, turned to the divine remedy, by employing as his intercessor the servant of God. He went to his grave and prayed over it, asking the Lord, by the merits of the saint who lay buried there, to free him from that trouble. The effect of the prayer was that he rose

from the spot with the will to eat, and having gained this recovered quickly from the weakness which the loss of appetite had caused him.

To those miraculous works which God performed through the sons of our Blessed Patriarch Ignatius, I wish to add others which through (Ignatius) himself and through his merits it was God's will to perform on this island. There came to us from the Kingdom (Portugal) a cross of <sup>rough wood</sup> ~~planks~~ on which the saint slept at the time of his penitence. Shortly after receiving it, I sent it to a leading man who had his house in the country and who had sent to ask me for some relic, so that one of his sons who was close to death might die consoled by it, as is common practice on this island. He received the relic with great reverence, I myself having informed him of the reason there was for that; and he placed it in the hand of his son, who in turn received it with signs of great consolation. After I said some words to the son, he set his eyes on the cross with such attention and devotion that everyone marvelled, because he never again turned them elsewhere; and since he persevered a long time in this way with his eyes open, they thought he was still alive, until they began to doubt, and touching him they found that his soul had departed from his body in the contemplation of the holy cross, without any movement or external sign of any pain experienced in his transition.

His father and mother valued this instance of God's mercy, and confirmed their confidence (in his salvation) which had been based on the edifying example of his chastity, a rare virtue among the youths of this land. When his body was placed in a shroud, his mother wished the holy cross to accompany him as far as the grave; and for this reason she sewed it to the front of the shroud so it would not fall off, and ordered a woman of her house to unstitch it when the moment came for putting him in the grave and bring it back to her safely. The woman did remove it, but another woman from the same house, claiming that (the task?) belonged to her, took it from

it to the house. When she arrived there, her mistress asked for the cross; the woman looked in the place where she had put it and could not find it. The master and mistress were extremely upset. They immediately sent other people to search for it on the road or in the church. Off they went; but because they could not find it after doing their utmost, they turned back in order to tell their master and mistress this. They were anguished and sad at the distress with which they would be received when they were seen to return without the holy relic. (But) as they were going along a path through high grass in this mood, one of them glanced sideways and saw the holy cross lying on the top of the grass, ten or twelve paces away from the path. With great joy they went to fetch it, and carried it to their master and mistress, <sup>(F. 401)</sup> who received it with extraordinary excitement. Together with all those of their household they gave great thanks and praise to the Lord for that mercy he had showed them. And in view of the way God had revealed it, the mother of the deceased said that the holy cross had not been dropped, but had removed itself from the place in which that woman was carrying it [viz: under her waistband], because she was in a state of sin and lived scandalously; and she said that God had revealed it miraculously so that He should not loose that very precious jewel and so that it should be esteemed as it deserved. And so they sent it back to us with the information about what had happened. The story was later related in the city, and was the cause of everyone gaining a great devotion for this holy relic, and of some having recourse to it in their needs.

A woman in labour whose life was at risk because she could not give birth sought out people to plead with us to send her the cross. They took it to her and applied it, and it was God's will that she gave birth immediately and without any difficulty at all. A leading man of this city, who had a slave woman in the same condition, learned of what God had performed through the holy cross and asked for it: he received it with great devotion and faith,

and it pleased the Lord to carry out what he requested, because as soon as it was applied to the woman her pains ceased and she gave birth without difficulty. It was our intention that after this conclusion he should return the cross to us, but he was evasive for some days in order that, by means of the cross, God might rescue another of his servants who was also about to give birth. And so it came about for him, but not in the case of a third woman for whom he was also holding it back, because she gave birth while her master was absent with the cross, and apart from the grave danger she was in, the child was born dead. For this, as he grumbled afterwards, he put the blame on himself, and said that if he had applied the holy cross to her doubtless she would have given birth with the same success as the others.

They show this same devotion to the images of the Saint because of the marvels that God has performed through them which they read and hear about. As a certain canon was going home one night along the street where we live, something white emerged from the door of a house near to ours. He picked it up, found that it was a piece of paper, took it home, and looked at it by candle light. It was a picture of Our Blessed Father (Ignatius), but he did not recognise him because he had little knowledge of our affairs. Going to matins the next day he showed it to another canon, a friend of ours and a great devotee of the saint, who explained to him what it was. And he told him that he did not realise what a treasure he had found, one he should value highly, because the Lord had worked through other (pictures) of the same saint and had performed great miracles; and he exhorted him to be a devoted follower of the saint and to commend himself to him. From then on the canon prized the picture highly, carrying it in his breviary, and he looked at it often with great reverence and devotion and through it commended himself to the saint. It happened shortly afterwards that as he was eating chicken

hash with some other people, a bone stuck in his throat in such a way that no remedy was sufficient to remove it. He gasped and was choking, his eyes rolled, and finally he was so strangled that he spat blood. In his affliction he recalled the image of the saint asked for it with great haste, and applied it to his throat, calling on the saint. And it was God's will that he straightway ejected the bone and was freed from the danger he was in.

Because of these and other deeds which God performs through the merits of the saint, the devotion to him in these parts grows daily, and it is very common for those suffering dangerous illnesses or those in some difficulty to ask us for masses in his praise. I could refer to many instance of persons who have regained health after illnesses by this means, but I shall only speak of one of our own people who, when he was <sup>/E. 401 v/</sup> attacked by a severe fever which was much afflicting him, expressed a desire that a padre should say a mass to the saint for him. And it pleased the Lord that when the mass ended, so did the illness he was suffering from. He remained free from fever and was very grateful to the saint for that benefice.

A leading man of this island contracted an illness which is usually mortal, and those who do not die immediately continue to experience attacks and live with the fear that death will overtake them suddenly. This man made a general confession before one of our padres and was at ease, yet not completely, because he wished to fulfil during his lifetime some obligations which required time, but daily saw himself at death's door from the fits he suffered. This man was a great devotee of O.B. Father Ignatius, and every day performed a particular act of devotion to him. In his prayer he asked the saint to obtain for him from God one year of life and such relief that he would be able to fulfil his obligation during this period.

He does not know what the saint obtained for him from God, but he does know and admit that from then up to the present day, not only has he had a noticeable improvement in his health, but also his property has been increasing to such an extent, as a result of fortunate turns in his affairs [or : the good harvest he has had], that, without any diminution in what he intended for his sons, he can easily pay all his debts and do well by his soul. For this mercy he does not tire of giving thanks to the Lord, and he attributes it, and expresses gratitude for it, to the intercession of our glorious Patriarch. I could relate many of these instances, but as they are similar to the ones I have already given, and as I wish to keep this letter short, I pass on to other matters.

Although we are poor in church ornaments, the people are greatly edified by the cleanliness and adornment of the holy altar, and <sup>by</sup> ~~at~~ the orderliness and devotion with which the divine offices are celebrated on it, and this alone is enough to attract many to our Church. The Feast of the Circumcision was announced, which was received with great acclamation and approval since they had been without this spiritual remedy for many years. This act of worship produced fruit, because the number of people who confessed and took communion was large, which greatly alleviated the duties of Lent, which followed shortly after. At this service in our church, there was a sermon which comforted the people much, and the desired fruit (of souls) was gathered. At the rites during Holy Week we made a sepulchre which was highly praised by all, and it was said, without anyone contradicting, that in that land they had never seen anything like it. The base was a reconstructed bier, the adornment beaten gold in great quantity, and rich jewelstones, the whole set with such art and grace that its renown drew people from all parts to see it, some asking where the work had been done, others enquiring <sup>by</sup> which ship or at what date had such a rich piece come from Portugal.

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The sermons, religious instruction, confessions and spiritual practices are uprooting from this land, by the bounty of God, the many and great superstitions that exist here, a bounty which is the more to be valued the more they <sup>have</sup> believe these superstitions. All kinds of illness and disastrous happenings which befall a person they attribute to someone who hates that person: they consider these to be effected by witchcraft, and if the illness continues they declare that the sick man is being eaten up by his enemy. The masters of this diabolical art are called Jabacouces, and because these persons make a living this way, they persuade the sick man when he calls on them to cure him, that someone is eating him up. But they know where his soul has been hidden, and they ask him for money to go and fetch it for him. They then pretend that they found the soul under a boulder or somewhere else, and that they are bringing it to him in a mug of water which they give to him to drink. And, in fact, whether it is because of the faith they have in this, or because the devil is applying some remedy by means of that water, it often happens that the sick are cured, as I have learned from confessions and from other information. When someone dies and they propose to take him to the church, they do not take him out of the house <sup>(6.402)</sup> head-first, because they say that he would be looking at those still in the house, calling them to follow him. They then sweep the whole house so that his illness does not infect the others, and when they put him in the grave they all gather to throw earth on him and to say this prayer, "Lie there a hundred years without us!" They believe that the dead from each house come back at night and wash themselves with water from the pitchers, and if these are empty they break them. For this reason those who live in such houses fill the pitchers with water, and in the morning they pour the water out so as not to drink what the dead have washed in.

In order to discover whether the outcome of a journey will be good or bad for those making it, they light a candle before the image of Our Lady or another saint and they say that it is going well if it gives a good light and the opposite if it burns badly. They cannot endure anyone using his left hand to give them something, nor will they step out of their house other than on the right foot. And they will not fetch fire from the house of a woman who is about to give birth, but only after the child has been born and baptised. They are strict observers of these rules, but not of the laws of God, because they very commonly work on Sundays and holy days, and they live in concubinage. Hence it comes about that the estates are full of persons of mixed descent (gent e crioula), the offspring of the black men and women who live on them. This creates great labour for us in confessions, and no remedy for this very widespread evil is of any effect, no matter how many we try. And it does not seem that they will ever be effective, unless a stronger arm than ours, either secular or ecclesiastical, intervenes in this matter.

For these sins and for very many other serious ones committed in this land, God has punished it in recent years with such a great famine through lack of rain that although formerly there was great abundance of provisions and enough to export elsewhere it became necessary for food to be brought here from Portugal. Had this remedy failed, without doubt (the island) would have been completely depopulated. But because this food was only for those who had the means to buy it at very excessive prices, the remainder died in great numbers as if of a plague, from the grasses and vermin they ate. Whereas the Island had had eight or nine parishes outside the city and these so populated that on Sundays and holy days the people were too many for the churches, it became so depopulated that the vicars had no-one to say mass to, and very few for confessions in Lent.

Some were found dead by the roadside and some in their houses, and some expired because they had no-one to bring them a piece of bread. Many who previously kept slaves on whose labours they lived were left unsupported (?) when these died, and some because they were persons of rank (honrados) and could not bring themselves to reveal the extreme need they were suffering chose rather to let themselves die. And when some of them finally reached the point of declaring their condition to someone, it was to us (they did so), either in person, or in writings full of so much grief that they cut us to the heart, and hence we had to spend on them a good part of the alms which His Majesty sends for our sustenance. There was one person who because he was of very high rank and suffered extreme need we aided every month with money, and although it was little it accounted for more than thirty cruzados.

This most extraordinary famine was followed by many outrages and robberies. Men went around in gangs, and there was no country house which they did not storm; no stock of cattle they did not slaughter; no traveller they did not attack on the roads, stripping him of what he carried and killing anyone who resisted or whom they thought might recognise them. In the city too there were robberies, but the worst thefts involved female honour, for not having anything now with which to buy food they turned to seizing it from those who had it. To all this was added a plague of flies of a kind never seen (before). It was generally throughout the island, and it exterminated the cattle which escaped the bandits, (the flies) sucking their blood in such a way that when the cows were cut open <sup>16.4025/</sup> after they had died there was not one of the flies to be found inside. So that they might escape this plague, some cattle were shut up by day in covered houses, and allowed out (only) at night to graze. But so few escaped that this island which was formerly very well provided with meat now went many weeks without a single head of cattle being slaughtered, for

no-one wanted to sell the few he had remaining, and those that were sold brought a much higher price than before. The same plague attacked the horses and other working animals. But what is most horrifying is that a girl was found dead on a highway with a branch in her hand; with this she had fanned away the flies which were attacking her because she was poorly covered, until she tired and fell to the ground, when they killed her by sucking out all her blood. The third plague was small-pox which spread over the whole island and killed many people, because it was so contagious that it infected those who passed by anyone who had it, even at a distance.

Everyone confessed that these chastisements were most just, and that their sins deserved more harsh ones. To placate God's anger they held processions, begging Him with a great outcry to turn His eyes of mercy on this land. Their final procession was to be to our church, and for this they had asked for one of our relics. But they did not hold it, because on that day, before it was due to leave, God sent so much rain that the square through which it was to pass was flooded, making it impossible for them to go from one place to another without passing through water, and the flood was so great that it swept away a very strong breakwater (?) of stone and lime which divided the square from the sea and the beach. With this rain and other rains which followed, it was God's will that the earth once more gave hope of rich return, yet it was not as much as it should have been because of the few people there were to do the sowing. The great failure of crops which there had been not only put up the price of food but also caused the dues from which the clerical salaries (ordinarias) are paid to fall short. Hence there arose much discontent, and great wrangles between the clergy and the officers of the Treasury, because the former lacked the essentials for life and necessity obliged them to sell some of the furniture in their house in order to eat. There were excommunications over this, and many times they neglected the diocese and failed to carry out the holy offices in it; something

was done about this and it was God's will that it should be remedied.

There were also other contentions which were of great importance because they were between public and leading figures; in calming these, the respect they have for the Society was most useful. Many people were pardoned, both for debts and for serious offences. But because the crime of one female prisoner was atrocious, it stirred up feelings that, in order to deter others, she should be punished with public execution rather than pardoned, and so we spent a long time discussing a pardon without being willing to favour her. But she introduced so many who pleaded for her and showed herself so repentant of the crime she had committed, that she obliged us to change our minds, and to write about a pardon to Ilha do Fogo where the parties that were accusing her lived. As they were relatives of the husband that she had killed it was very difficult to achieve their forgiveness. But the divine virtue can do much and (it operated through) the zeal of an exemplary priest who serves there as vicar and of other leading people whom we used as mediators and through the force of the letters we wrote to the relatives, so that they ended by yielding and made her pardon in public. They sent it to me to give it to her, at which there was great astonishment in this land, in that persuasion had achieved the impossible.

A leading man was very troubled in spirit and when he could not sleep at night was pursued by images and temptations. He sensed that they were telling him to go and confess to one of our padres, who was named: he did this and it pleased the Lord that he was comforted within, and (also) freed without from the matter that was troubling him, by means of the same padre.

/f.403/ When two men went fishing one Sunday morning, one of them heard the bell ringing for mass, and because of what he had heard in sermons and religious instruction concerning the precepts of the

admonished his companion to do the same. "I shall not go," the other said, "until I have caught a fish." Hardly had the first man left when a great wave suddenly rose, crashed on the man, and carried him out to sea where he drowned without being ever seen again.

As a man was making his way along a road with the intention of going to hang himself, he happened to see one of our padres who had gone into the country for recreation. The sight gave him hope of a remedy if he told the padre about his condition and the evil purpose he was about. He went to him and flung himself at his feet with so many tears and sobs that it was difficult for him to declare the temptation by means of which the devil had persuaded him to take his own life, in order to put an end to the afflictions and troubles from which he was suffering. The padre comforted him, took away from him the rope he was carrying to hang himself by, heard his confession immediately and on the spot, delivered him from the confusion in which he found himself, and reconciled him with his wife, so that he went from there completely calm and with a full intention of improving his life and of making regular confessions to the same padre.

This is what is available to report on, for the period from the last annual report up to this month of June; and (also) that festivities are being prepared for the day of Our Blessed Father Ignatius. About these, and about what we shall learn concerning Serra Leoa, for we have still had no letters from Father Manoel Alvarez, we shall write, God willing, in the next annual report. It remains to request Your Reverence's holy blessing, and that you should commend us to the Lord in the Holy Sacrifices and prayers of the padres and Brothers of the Province.

From this Island of Cabo Verde, 17 July 1611

Balthazar Barreira

(address) To the P.Assistente de Portugal.







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BRASIO 4, 113

LETTER FROM KING D. FELIPE II TO  
FATHER BALTASAR BARREIRA, 19.11. 1611

Baltasar de Barreira, superior of the Religious of the Society in the Cabo Verde Islands. I the king send you many greetings. I was particularly happy to learn that you had baptized the king of Serra Leoa and the king of its other coast, and to hear about the many matters in which you are employed in those parts in the service of God and myself, for which I give you many thanks. I hope that by your virtue, prudence and example much else will be achieved, and that by means of you, all the heathen there may come to a true knowledge of our holy faith, which is what I desire above all.

I thank you for the memoranda you give me, with respect to what you tell me about the kings of Biguba and Guinala; the aid against the Bijagos they propose I should order to be given to them; the damages done by these heathen which are being inflicted on the villages of the Rio Grande and on the trade of my vassals; and the need there is that they should be punished. As regards what you further say, that Sebastião Fernandes Cassam is ready for this undertaking, I commend your discussing it with him if he wants to pursue it on his own account, as he has offered. Let him note the items he requests for this, so that I can order it/him to be seen and can then arrange whatever I consider appropriate for my service. What you discuss with him, his response, and his notes, you will inform me about as quickly as possible.

Concerning the trade in which you say the Portuguese who live in Portodalle and Ioala are involved, and the iron which is taken from there to disperse in Guinea, I have ordered that they should observe what is set out in the bull da Cea and the laws which I have made, so that foreigners will not participate in my trade. And in particular, since you have also written to me that there should be a Captain at Cacheo, I have ordered what you will there hear (?).

Written in Lisbon, 19 November 1611.

The King.

(From Baltazar Tellez, Chronica da Companhia de Iesu da Provincia de Portugal, Lisboa, 1647, vol. 2, pp. 642-643)













ACCOUNT OF THE LANDS OF SIERRA LEONA IN GUINEA  
(Anonymous, C.1611, translated from Spanish).  
(R.A.H., Pap. Jes., T.185, Doc.16)

After the discovery of the coast of the mainland of Guinea <sup>the</sup> and ~~Cape~~ Verde Islands, the settlement of these islands was ordered; but it was always prohibited to go to the coast of Guinea without permission from the King. The inhabitants of the islands were allowed to go to the mainland only to trade/ within the limits and demarcations that were indicated to them for this. Hence an agreement and contract was made, some 140 years ago, more or less, and the limits were up to the Rio de Casse; and beyond here they were not to pass further along the coast, as is clear from the actual agreement and contract, and from many judgements given on the point (?).

The coast of Guinea runs to the south beyond this Rio de Casse, and twelve leagues <sup>on</sup> from the river is Sierra Leona. From there to where the Malagueta Coast begins is fifty leagues, and from there to Cabo de las Palmas is 120 leagues, so that by this reckoning from Rio de Casse to Cabo de las Palmas is 162 (sic) leagues, although others say that all told it should be 140 leagues, and others that it is more or less, according to the opinion they hold. From this point onwards is the Mina Coast.

It was always prohibited for anyone to go to any part of this district to trade. The prohibition was <sup>justified on</sup> / grounds which, with the experience of time, were found to be false; and it came to be understood that both for the conversion of the souls of all those heathens—which is the principal aim of such discoveries and conquests—as well as for enriching vassals, extending the royal domain, and increasing the royal revenues, it would be better to settle the coast, <sup>has been</sup> as shown by the similar experience of Brazil and the islands, for once settled these yielded very great fruit. Through not being settled, no profit at all was made from the coast of Guinea, but rather great damage resulted, because the English, French, and other nations went to

trade on the coast as in free lands, finding no one to prevent them, and they extracted great riches, and with this the door was opened and they had opportunity to go on as far as India <sup>/ff.lv/</sup> where they now make their way.

For this reason, in the time of King Don Sebastian, and afterwards, there was often a plan to settle Sierra Le<sup>ona</sup>. But there was no-one capable of doing it effectively until Pedralvarez Pereira asked the <sup>(late)</sup> King - may he rest in glory! - to make him a grant of the whole coast, running from the river which marks the limits of the contract with the inhabitants of the Cape Verde Islands as far as Cabo de las Palmas. He would be responsible for establishing these settlements and certain castles, and for other necessary expenses to this end, provided / he were given these lands in perpetuity for himself and his successors and inheritors, with the title of Captain General and Governor of them, and with civil and criminal jurisdiction and other privileges that had been granted in other similar endowments and grants made by past kings of Portugal. His Majesty ordered several inquiries to be made in secret by the five governors who at that time governed Portugal, and <sup>he</sup> was given information by experienced persons, and all agreed that it was most fitting for the service of God and His Majesty, and for the good of His vassals, to do what was requested. But because the death of His Majesty followed, this was not finally resolved.

<sup>(present)</sup>  
But the <sup>present</sup> King Our Lord, whom God preserve, being informed of all this, ordered the grant to be made to Pedralvarez Pereira in the same substance and form as King Don Sebastian had granted the captaincy and governancy of the Kingdom of Angola to one Pablo Dias de Nouaes. Thereupon his grant was passed to Pedralvarez Pereira, and <sup>he</sup> was stated <sup>(in it)</sup> what he is obliged to do and the rewards he is to enjoy. One of the <sup>latter</sup> / is that of all the royal revenues raised there, he will take one third in his life-time, and his successors one quarter for ever. All the waters are his, and nobody may own sugar-mills or grinding mills, apart from himself or anyone who has his permission, and this permission may be given in exchange for whatever charge

he wishes and concedes. The grant was passed to him in the form approved by His Majesty, with the title of Captain General and Governor, and with civil and criminal jurisdiction, but granting appeal to His Majesty in the instances and amounts stated in the grant. He immediately sent the authentic copy of this to Guinea, and <sup>(Jett, v. d.)</sup> his authority to a religious of the Society of Jesus, called Father Barreira, who was at that time going about preaching there, who notified and informed the rulers and lords of /f.2/ this Sierra and the Portuguese who were there. All accepted it, and the rulers indicated land and sites for the main settlement and the castles that were to be built; and this religious, by the authority of Pedralvarez, appointed a lieutenant, a judge, a notary and officials, who on his behalf were to administer the civil and criminal jurisdiction which under the grant were his responsibility, and formal documents were made covering all this. <sup>Father Barreira</sup> the latter / sent copies to Pedralvarez on a ship which arrived when / was already a prisoner. Because of his imprisonment and the case lasting four years, the benefit (of the grant) and the growth of the settlement could not be pursued. But he remains in possession, and jurisdiction is being exercised on his behalf.

In this grant which His Majesty made to Pedralvares Pereira he followed the example of what the past kings of Portugal did in other similar grants involving land in Guinea, Brazil and the Islands. From these grants the kings gained great profit, because without cost to themselves the lands came to be settled and cultivated and large revenues were extracted, for it is certain that Brazil alone is worth more than 300,000 ducats in revenue, and every day it will come to be worth much more.

The lands of the captaincy and governancy of Pedralvares Pereira, according to all those who have experience of them, are the best and richest being in all Guinea, the climate / very healthy and mild, especially in the Sierra, which is very cool and so healthy and pleasant that one could not wish for better.

All along this coast can be found much malagueta (which is a type of pepper highly regarded in France), much ivory, of which a large quantity can be obtained through trade, many dye-woods, also <sup>wax.</sup> ambergris, musk, provisions, and excellent timber for building ships and for all other kinds of building and woodworking; and in the land there is a fruit called cola, which is taken from there to other parts of Guinea, and its transport can bring in a good revenue each year, very certain and sure. But above all there are three other commodities <sup>from</sup> / which great wealth can be obtained, and these are they.

Along the whole coast from the Sierra to Cape de las Palmas many slaves can be traded each year, and after /f.2v/ the trading becomes open and regular on the rivers it is certain that as many as are required will be / available. Annually it will be possible to obtain one or two thousand slaves costing little to buy, to take to the Spanish Indies, and once there they are free of all costs and worth more than 150 ducats a year. If it is well organised they will be worth more than this, for at the very least the value can never be less than 120, and many times could reach and exceed 200 ducats. Besides this, other slaves can be taken to Brazil where the profit is great, though not as great as in the Indies, but easier and quicker, and therefore of no less worth. And the dues paid to His Majesty for the export of these slaves to the Indies and Brazil will bring in many ducats in revenue.

The Sierra and the whole coast has many rivers and streams, and the land produces sugar-canes without their being sown. As many sugar mills as are wanted can be built <sup>in order to</sup> to benefit from the sugar-canes, and each mill should pay a high rent, and these mills will be the most profitable of all because the lands are new and more fertile. A single sugar mill can make a man very rich, is easy to build, and costs little for anyone who has the lands and the water-rights, as the captain and lord of these lands has, through the concessions to him. If he has the capital to build his own sugar

mills and <sup>to</sup> use—as he can do—the best lands and water, it is certain that he will make great and very sure riches, because of the great consumption of sugar nowadays, and because the sugar-mills on the islands of Madeira and S. Thomé, and in Brazil, are coming to an end.

In all the rivers there can be procured much gold, which comes from inland, for all the gold that is taken to Barbary is exported from here through the interior of the land. And there is a story, which is very plausible, to the effect that on the coast itself are many mines of gold and of crystal, there being clear signs and indications of this. Equally, there are indications that pearls could be fished in the channels between certain islands, which are said to be in the same situation (?) as La Margarita in the Spanish Indies. Finally, it is certain that anyone who knows and can exploit these lands will extract from them a great treasure and will possess a state earning the highest regard. For if this came about in the Cape Verde Islands, in Madeira, in the Terceras (Azores), and in Brazil, with even more reason the same can be expected of these lands—or an even more advantageous result, /f.3/ now that the methods of benefitting from such lands are better understood and have been operated, and also because these lands are considered to be better and richer and because access to them has been gained on the invitation and with the consent of the natives, (hence) without the cost of conquering them.

Since this is a very important matter involving many high hopes, as has been said, and since the Queen Our Lady wishes to find a base from which to develop wider activities and from which wealth may be extracted for their support and for other holy intentions, it is reckoned that none could be more suitable than these lands, because the cost will be small and it will not be necessary to do it all at once, but these lands will go on making a gainful return and supplying all (that is required). Should His/Her Majesty commit the superintendence of this administration to the religious of the Society,

it will be undertaken very beneficially, without giving rise to the negligence, thefts and trickery which agents commonly employ to defraud and diminish the fruits of such enterprises. To this end it will be necessary to negotiate with Pedralvares Pereira, so that he may decide to hand back his grant into the hands of the King, when the King has made him a grant of some other Portuguese concession which satisfies him. It is understood that this will not be very difficult to arrange, if negotiations can be opened with him, <sup>seeing</sup> that he is <sup>exhausted</sup> and <sup>wearied</sup> by the troubles resulting from his imprisonment, and that it is known that he wishes to take it easy and seek a quiet life.

Once this is done, the King should concede these lands to Her Majesty with two declarations: that Her Majesty may in her lifetime receive all the royal dues and tithes in the same way as Pedralvares Pereira was to have a third of them; and that Her Majesty alone may order salt to be carried to this coast, because the trade in salt will be very important there, if it is a monopoly reserved to Her Majesty, and that Her Majesty, or whoever has her permission, may export cola, which will also be (a trade) of importance. In doing this the King will in no way diminish the royal estate, but rather will be increasing it with the profits which will be gained from this new settlement in a shorter time and with greater gain if it belongs to Her Majesty the Queen rather than to a (private) individual. The method of cultivating, exploiting and settling these lands, so that His/Her Majesty will profit, is as follows.

As these lands are peaceful, and as the rulers and lords (£.3v) of that coast are desirous of having settlements of whites set up there, there is no need at present, now that the wars with England and Holland are over, for great expenditure on the defence of the coast. It will be enough to send a captain and governor with up to eighty or one hundred soldiers, including some engineers to construct buildings and some carpenters, and ten or twelve pieces

of cast-iron artillery, also harquebuses, muskets, powder and shot. These can travel on the ships that go to trade slaves, and when they arrive they can build a strongpoint of brushwood and timber and earth, in which to withdraw and defend themselves in any sudden disturbance, and a site in an excellent position has already been selected and marked. Thereafter they will be able to build fortifications in stone. In these ships they should take presents to give to the rulers and lords of the land, but these are of such little importance that the presents can be bought for less than 300 ducats.

Religious of the Society should go there with the necessary materials for divine services, and one of them should be vicar in things spiritual, having been appointed by the King, <sup>in his capacity</sup> as Master of the Order of Our Lord Jesus Christ—which has the spiritual jurisdiction of Guinea—just as His Majesty appoints a vicar on the Costa de la Mina. For the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Cape Verde does not extend to these new lands, nor does it seem suitable that he should be allowed to exercise jurisdiction over them until they are so settled that their own Bishop can be put there. The King should appoint religious of the Society, because they are already experienced in the land and are known to and have been well received by its people.

There should also be sent on these ships five or six thousand ducats worth of trade-goods and of wines from the islands of Madeira and the Canaries, so that with them slaves, ivory and other goods may be traded on the coast, and slaves sent to the Indies, the ships carrying for this purpose copies of the licenses from His Majesty, with orders to pay the dues in the Indies, as is the normal practise for ships carrying slaves there with similar documentation. Each ship carrying slaves should be of a capacity to take not more than eighty or a hundred peças, because this arrangement is the most profitable, while least costly and risky. The 6,000 ducats used in this trading will yield as much profit, as (f.4) experience has shown.

There should also be sent in these ships the boilers and the other copper and iron items necessary for establishing two sugar mills for Her Majesty. The experts and tradesmen to build them can be collected on the way, at the island of Madeira, and can also be ordered to be brought from Brazil. When they have arrived and have built the strongpoint and huts for shelter (for the people who will establish the settlement), the lands and the running waters most convenient and close at hand should be selected for (each of) the two sugar mills, and the particular land that each is to have marked out, with woodland for timber and firewood, (farm-)land for cultivating the canes and also the foodstuffs necessary for the population and those working at each mill, and other land for pasture for their cattle, so that each will be self-sufficient without depending on anywhere else. But all this will be easy, because there is quite sufficient land. It is reckoned that it will be done at an immediate expense of less than 10,000 ducats, and even if it is 20,000, this hardly matters, because within two or three years of being built the two mills will be able to return the same sum in revenue annually. It must be added that for the time being Her Majesty should not give permission to any (private individual) to build a sugar mill, and not even the captain who goes there should be allowed to do so; because it is certain that these persons would take for their own mills the best lands and waters, and that Her Majesty would be greatly cheated, and that her sugar mills would not operate for ages, while those belonging to private individuals would take all (the profit), as has been experienced in Brazil and San Thomé, where the monarchs had sugar-mills. Further, it should be the intention to build new mills in future years with part of the revenue from the (first) two mills, for as many mills could be built as are desired, hence the revenue could be great.

Once these two sugar mills have been built and established, and trading gets under way, so many settlers will go there that within a few years a new

Kingdom will be formed, and the growth of population, the discovery of mines, (a further) (all) be advanced and penetration inland will be able to / . And what is to be valued most, there will occur in that place a great conversion to God of an infinite number of souls, who, though black, have sharp wits, are tractable and have not been seen to turn their backs on the Catholic Faith after receiving it. When His Majesty has carried out his intention in respect of this spiritual end, the propagation of the Holy Gospel, God will add to him other temporal benefits and will increase them to his greater prosperity.

If this comes into effect, there will eventually be a set of regulations and instructions for His Majesty to see and order to be presented to his officers, who will direct their affairs on these principles. This affords great hope once these lands belong to His Majesty. For the natives of them will be more satisfied; the Portuguese will more willingly become vassals of His Majesty than of a private individual; and the officers will perform their duties with greater fear of punishment, and with greater hope of the honour and reward that they can expect from the grandeur of His Majesty. Yet if Pedralvares Pereira were to apply himself to this, within a few years he could have great success since he alone can build the sugar mills and receive a third of all royal revenues, tithes and trades, while the cost is not so great that he could not meet it, especially in view of what the lands will produce.















Bragia 4, item 117

LETTER FROM FATHER BALTASAR BARREIRA TO THE PROVINCIAL OF THE JESUITS,  
19.3.1612

(ATT, Cartório dos Jesuitas, maço 68, doc.385; maço 36, doc.93)

By way of Brazil I informed Your Reverence about certain matters you ought to know about, but because of the uncertainty of events at sea, I shall repeat in this what I said in those letters, and (state) what happened afterwards.

The governor who at first gave some signs of being friendly later began to show that he was not so, and that it upset him to have us here as witnesses of his disorderly conduct. He tried to find something he could work up to make us suspect to the Council of India and Conquests, so that they would not believe what we might write about his ill dealings, which I never did, although I had the opportunity to do so, in reply to letters which the Conde Almirante wrote to me about the differences there were between the governor and the Ouvidor (auditor<sup>or</sup> magistrate).

Although we realised his intention, we always treated him as a friend. But, because the opinions and advice we gave him were of no use for his acquisitive intents and schemes, besides dismissing the confessor he kept in his house, he also ceased to discuss his affairs with us, and discussed them with others who gave their approval to everything he wished.

A long time after he stopped consulting us and we had stopped offering help to set things right, since we had realised that from that [approach] no fruit whatsoever would follow, I received a note from him in which he indicated that he wished to discuss a matter of importance with me. I went to his house, and after a long preamble in which for my benefit he exaggerated the faults of the officers of the Town Council and of the Magistrate, he showed me a document that had been drawn up about them. I was amazed that he believed the witnesses that were mentioned in it, since they were men of very low standing and depraved habits. I declared to him that what

they were saying could not be so and I advised him not to proceed with the matter, and told him what he should do. One of the officers of the Council who served as a judge, by the name of Francisco da Cunha Cerqueira, had already heard about the charges that the Governor had drawn up against him, and through fear that he would be arrested because of them, in spite of the charges being false, had already withdrawn to our house, and I had left him there when I went to speak to the Governor. When I now saw that the advice I gave was not approved, <sup>I</sup> explained to the Governor that the Judge had heard about the document and that for this reason he had withdrawn to our house.

He was most disconcerted at this news, and after I had left considered the matter and tried to take him from our house. When he saw that he could not persuade him, he tried other means and when I was out sent him notification, through a notary, that he faced grave penalties if he did not leave there immediately. Because this was against the privileges of holy places and houses of Religious, and since I feared that he would go ahead and try to remove him by force, or would exceed propriety in contempt of our privileges by uttering immodest and very angry statements, I made a dignitary of the See Keeper of the Peace; and on a paper which he affixed to the Church in order that he should be recognised as such, he said that he accepted the post because we obliged him to do so on pain of excommunication. The Governor laid great blame on us for this, but in fact it was not we who had forced the keeper, for he had written the notice as he afterwards stated, without our knowledge and through fear of the Governor, whom he knew would take it very badly that he had accepted the position, as indeed he did. The Governor retaliated by saying many things against us which were very far from the truth. And because I had been told in secret that he was sending complaints against us to the Council of India and Conquests, I advised Your Reverence of what was happening, sending the

letter by way of Brazil, on the ship carrying his letter. But so that this matter and what happened afterwards can be better understood, I wish to explain the origin of this entanglement.

Last year's Council reported the bad conduct of the Governor. A message from Portugal warned him. To improve [his position] with the king and his Ministers, he tried to introduce into the Council certain officials who were friends of his to speak for him and report in opposite terms to what the earlier ones had done. Hence he set about attracting ill-intentioned men, and with them began to fabricate apparent lapses, in order to be able to arrest the authors of the report under this pretext and put in their place the ones he wanted. Thus he first arrested an Alderman, and had one of his own men elected in his place. Because Judge Francisco da Cunha had always acted with great integrity and satisfaction in the various posts he had held, and because he has many fine qualities, he was well loved by all, therefore the Governor, not finding any charge to lay against him in order to arrest him, endeavoured by continual harassment to force him into uttering hostile words. One piece of harassment was to take from him the Captaincy in which he had served for years with great credit. But because this did not have the effect he hoped, since Francisco da Cunha conducted himself in all matters with great prudence and Christianity, the Governor invented the offences listed in the document which he showed me.

After Francisco da Cunha withdrew to our house many people came to visit him, because he was much loved by all. This upset the Governor a great deal and he entertained venomous suspicions about us, imagining that during those visits he himself was the subject of hostile discussion. Since he saw that he could not remove him from our house in the way that he wished, he used other means to get him to come out. Finally the Governor sent a great friend of his whom he had made Alderman in place of the prisoner. When this man came to our house he expressed great astonishment that

Francisco da Cunha should have sought refuge, and he assured him in the presence of some leading citizens that the Governor had no intention of arresting him, nor would do so as long as he carried a Judge's wand, and that he swore it on the habit of Christ. When those with Francisco da Cunha heard this they persuaded him to return home on the security of this statement. He did so, but before twenty-four hours had elapsed the Governor had him called to his house, on the pretext of matters concerning the service of His Majesty which he wished to discuss with him and with the rest of the Council, who were already there. After slandering him greatly in front of all he took away his wand of office and ordered him to be carried as prisoner to the Castle in great ignominy. He ordered him to be shut up in a room there in irons, and in his place had another Judge elected, a man who was the Governor's friend. When he saw this, the Magistrate fearing that the Governor would do the same to him, because he had often complained about him, and had accused him, together with the members of the Council, in the letter that he wrote to His Majesty against him, in order to save himself and to be able to inform the Council of India and Conquests about what was happening, came to stay at our house. From there he asked the Governor for genuine assurances, and stated other requirements. But without deferring to him on any point, the Governor instead appointed another Magistrate in his place; and because many people came to visit him, since he was much loved and esteemed by all good men, the Governor took this so badly and considered himself so affronted by those who came to our house, that these did not dare to discuss even matters of conscience with us. During this whole period, I wrote to him on several occasions when opportunity arose, asking him not to carry through what he had begun, giving him convincing reasons, and offering my own services in reconciling all parties, without seeking profit from this (for ourselves), as can be seen from the notes that I

wrote him, and from those in which he replied to me, for I have kept them all.

I acted in this way until His Majesty, having read the information that came from here and being surprised at what the Governor had done, ordered him to release the prisoners and restore them to their posts, and if he had any grievances against them to send these to the Council of India and Conquests. He showed himself very reluctant to obey this letter, making out that His Majesty had been badly informed; but the Council, to whom the said lord wrote also on this matter, pressed him so much that he then had them released. I had gone to his house one or two days before this to show him a letter from the Conde Almirante in which he asked and strongly urged me to reconcile the Governor with the Magistrate; I showed it to him, I discussed with him this reconciliation, but neither with the letter nor with the arguments I presented to him could I sway him. The Council then came to our house to find the Magistrate and take him to his, and it appeared that in the way he was to throw himself at the feet of the Governor. Because I feared that the Governor would speak badly to him and that from this would follow other quarrels, I went with him and the Council, which edified the city greatly. So many people came along to accompany the Magistrate that there was not room for them in the streets. This annoyed the Governor a great deal, and he showed it when we entered his house, because he did not receive us with a happy face.

The Magistrate did what I had advised him. Whenever the Governor touched on certain matters, I always cut short what might follow these points, until we took our leave of him and conveyed the Magistrate to his house, amid great applause from all and with the honour he deserved. Before taking the Magistrate home I had sent a message to the Governor to ask for written permission. Because the reply was delayed I feared that it would not be given; I hastened the Magistrate's leaving and we arrived

there while it was being written. I also sent a message to the Governor the next day to ask permission to take the other prisoners he had released to his house, to throw themselves at his feet; but because he did not reply to what I proposed I did not take them, and they have not gone since to his house. They and others (citizens) still put no trust in the Governor, but instead believe that he is again writing fabricated accusations against them using false witnesses. As for us, today, as I am writing this, I have learned from a secret source that he is seeking witnesses against us in particular.

A nobleman who is staying here, the Lord of the Island of Mayo, has stated that when the Governor asked him if he would testify against certain persons, he was amazed, since he knew that what the Governor wanted to prove with his testimony was untrue. The Governor then asked him at least to give a written statement that he agreed with what the Governor had written; and because he would not even do this, the Governor asked for a written statement in which he was to say that we were the cause of all the disputes and rebellion involving the Council and himself. This is that this gentleman says, and he will swear to it any time it is necessary. From this Your Reverence can gather how right we are to think that we should not establish a house on this Island, with the risk of having here every three years a (new) Governor who could falsely accuse us as this one has done, apart from the other intolerable disadvantages which I point out in another letter. I am writing these things so that Your Reverence may be forewarned if this man directs any falsehoods against us. The best remedy, both for us and for others, would be to ask His Majesty to send some upright and trustworthy lawyer here to sort everything out, and suspending the Governor or sending him to the Island of Fogo or elsewhere his affairs are questioned and examined. I want to put a stop to this, for during a number of years God has greatly chastised the Island in this respect, but never so

much as in sending this man here. On his account, so that God may deliver us from him, I ask Your Reverence to commend us and have us commended to the Lord in your prayers and holy sacrifices and those of all the Province.

From this Island of Cape Verde, 19 March 1612.

Baltasar Barreira.





**45**





FATHER SEBASTIÃO GOMES, LETTER FROM SANTIAGO, OCTOBER 1613

Pax Christi.

Although there was no shortage of material last year to write - as is customary - an annual letter of edification, nevertheless I did not do so, because I was waiting for the Serra Leoa report from Father Manoel Álvares. It was also because it seemed to me that it was worthy of that holy old man, Father Baltasar Barreira, that we should <sup>(write a letter)</sup> particularly about his death, as I did, especially since it <sup>note</sup> contain many points of great comfort, which Your Reverence will <sup>note</sup>, and since these are quite enough to provide a subject of great edification and not less of imitation to all those who hear it read.

Although we were waiting for the 1612 report from Father Manoel Álvares, it was nevertheless God's will that the report of which I speak travelled in a ship which, after leaving Cacheo for this island, was driven off course to the Indies, the outcome for ships leaving any port of Guinea if they cannot make the island. Hence in this letter I shall not mention anything about this period, but will note certain things that, to the great glory of God Our Lord, happened afterwards, according to a letter I have received from this padre, dated 11 April, 1613.

I shall begin this letter with these matters, and they will be the more appreciated because of the great hardships experienced by the padre at the time he was writing. The hardships arise from the amount of ill-health he experiences, the result of the sheer hard work in which he is continually involved and the many discomforts

he endures, both through lack of necessities, since his usual food is no more than rice cooked in water, together with, at best, a little palm oil, food that would sicken anyone in the (home) Province, as it does those of us who are new arrivals in these parts. It is also through lack of a (proper) house in which to live, for he has only a single-storied thatched hut, whose walls of sticks are at best sealed with a little earth, pressed to resemble clay. These discomforts he suffers with so much patience that they cannot fail to cause him many disorders, but no less (to draw) admiration from anyone who plainly observes them. Such also were the fine and very comfortable cubby-holes in which that saintly old man, Father Baltasar Barreira, lived; such were the finely seasoned delicacies he ate; and such it was that greatly helped him to attain the crown of glory which we can piously presume he now enjoys.

I rejoice to have touched on this point, so that those still in the Province can learn about his mortification of the flesh and the means by which he suffered these and other greater (pains) which are not noted here. Yet truly what the blessed St. Augustine said in his soliloquies is most sure, "Qui participant passionibus participant et consolationibus", "Those who share this passion also share this crown".<sup>(a)</sup> These [words] apply to anyone who with a good spirit suffers adversities for the love of God.

But to return to our subject, I recollect that in the year 1608 Father Baltasar Barreira wrote that Farma, the king of the Logos, a neighbour of Serra Leoa, showed a great desire to have a padre in his kingdom, and because of certain events, he hoped that the Lord would raise up a most glorious church in that kingdom.<sup>(b)</sup>

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(a) Cap. 21.

(b) Father Guerreiro, book of 1607-1608, p. 245.

The hope the padre entertained it was Our Lord God's will to fulfil, by beginning to open Farma's understanding, so that he could more fully comprehend how important to himself it was that he should become a Christian, and thus save his soul, all of which happened in the way I shall explain below.

#### OF THE JOURNEY OF FATHER MANOEL ALVARES TO THE KINGDOM OF THE LOGOS.

King Farma showed a great desire to see his lands partaking of that light of the Gospel which he was told the neighbouring kingdoms nearest to his were enjoying, and since he was told that it was not enough for him to express this to the padre in words, he turned to deeds. He sent the padre a dearly loved daughter to be baptized, as testimony that the desire he showed was true and from the heart. She was brought by a Portuguese whom the king sent to the padre to declare his desire. On Easter Sunday the Portuguese discussed the matter with the padre, who gave him this reply, adapting it to the language of the heathen here. "How can one farmer tend so many fields? Who will reside in this house? Who will reside in the house of S. Pedro and in the other houses? Let us await what is written from Portugal about this field of Christianity, and then we shall see what can be done."

The Portuguese carried back the answer he had been given. Farma was not convinced by the argument. In reply he continued to press the padre and he importuned him with so many entreaties and such affectionate expressions of what he desired, together with some very genuine demonstrations and indications of his good intentions, that the padre did not know how to decide the matter, nor could he now

find words with which he could satisfy Farma. Hence the padre felt himself obliged to reply that the nature of the Church and the intention of the padres should be explained to Farma, and only when Farma responded (to this information) would the padre make up his mind.

The Portuguese [went to] see Farma with this reply and declared to him that if it was a matter of wanting the padre in his lands only so that Portuguese ships would go there, then he was deceived, for the padre did not have commercial contacts in the Serra (?) nor was his business anything other than bringing the goods of heaven, as Father Baltasar Barreira had done before him. The intention and zeal of the padres was only for the salvation of souls and the conversion of infidels, and they did not bring coral, jewels, fine cloths, or the other wares appropriate to merchants, for the padres only came to reveal to them the falseness of their idols and corofins and show them the way to heaven. "They do not even come", said the Portuguese, "to ask you for gold, silver, or slaves, or for land, as the bexarins of Mohammed do" - one of these <sup>bexarins</sup> had asked this, as Father Baltasar Barreira mentions in the letter referred to above. "They come solely to show you the true God and to dispel the darkness with which the devil has plunged your understanding into obscure night so that you give no faith to your creator. They come to remove from your heart your real enemy, whom, because you do not recognize it, you have been nurturing, sheltering and sustaining for so many years. And when you want the padre in your lands for this reason, give a 'yes' from your heart and you will immediately attain what for so long you have desired".

King Farma was most attentive to everything the Portuguese told him. He marvelled (at what he was told) and responded saying that the padre should be written to with all haste, for since he could not see it with his own eyes, at least he wanted the padre's eyes to enjoy the sight of his lands, in order to appreciate how wide they are (?). This only required the padre to take there the goods of heaven his guest had discussed with him. He had confidence in the true God, whom he received in his lands (?), that with His favour he would benefit from these spiritual goods.

The padre did not think it fitting to contradict such desires any longer, and he sent a message that he would go. The church was established in the port of Mitombo, where he was to disembark, since it is a place where many heathen gather, and since it has more trade than anywhere else in the province of the Serra. Here, in the place I have named, the best and most elaborate church of all those that have been built in the Serra was erected. The chapel lies between two tall and very beautiful trees, and is flanked on one side by a copious stream, on the other by a creek, an arm of the river, which make it very cool and pleasant.

When the church was built, they sent a boat to the port of S. Pedro, where the padre was staying, so that he could go (to Mitombo) to perform the dedication ceremony. The padre left on St. Matthew's day. When he arrived they were all waiting for him most enthusiastically. They came down to the boat to receive him, some welcoming him with tears of joy they were unable to hold back, others with many embraces manifesting utmost charity and preventing him from moving away from them. The padre saw in all those welcoming him demonstrations of affection that cannot be expressed in words. Then they took him to the church

of the Apostle St. John the Evangelist, for this was to whom it was dedicated. The padres praised the church, its excellent construction and completion, and those who had occupied themselves in such a pious labour. Night was now falling, and in order to regale the padre the Portuguese arranged a session of Christian affirmation (ua doutrina) presided over by a Portuguese who had been a friend of Father Baltasar Barreira, and this man very skilfully led the responses and helped /f. lv/ all who assembled, and there were many of them, Portuguese, (native) Christians and heathen, to chant the prayers. Our Lord God communicated so many spiritual pleasures to the padre in the course of the evening that he confesses that during his whole period of travel he has never spent one like it, one so joyful, one of such good portent. These are the gifts with which Our Lord God is wont to alleviate the hardships of those who become accustomed to hardships through love of Him.

The padre chose the second Sunday in Lent on which to say the first mass in this church, for on that day we think of the glorious episode of Mount Tabor in which the holy evangelist, the patron of this church, played a large part. The tears of devotion that all joined the padre in shedding greatly helped to solemnize this festival. For the decoration of the church the padre brought an image of Our Lady of the People, a very moving one, and another image of the Saviour with an orb in His hand. As soon as news of the arrival of the padre and of his activities in the Port of Mitombo spread inland, the villages began to empty and the heathen came down to the port, in order to see the marvels they had heard about; and it would seem that they went around inviting each other to come along, just as the shepherds invited each other to go to the stable. When they arrived

at the church and saw the portraits of the Virgin and the Saviour, they were amazed and words failed them to express what they felt.

Farma had not yet heard about the padre's arrival, partly because he lives a long way inland and also because his ambassadors wanted to be present at whatever the padre did in order to take news of all that happened to their king. Meanwhile it was Our Lord God's will to open the eyes of many so that they realised the blindness in which they were going about, and they sought holy baptism with great determination. From among these persons the padre chose the twelve who were the best instructed, (this number) in honour of the twelve holy apostles, since the patron of the church, St. John the Evangelist, was one of these. The others he left at that time still thirsting, so that in this way their holy desires would be more strictly confirmed and they would gain a better understanding of what they were to receive. This was the first cast of the nets of the Holy Evangelist. But thus it continued at such a rate that, although this church is the largest of all the churches, it is already necessary to extend it, because the great number of faithful goes on growing.

Present at these festivals was Massofogoma, the nearest king subordinate to Farma, with all his people. He took careful note of all he saw, but when he glimpsed the image of the Virgin and of the Saviour with the orb in His hand, he asked a Portuguese who was with him, speaking in the native tongue, "Cassane afô?" ("is that man an attendant of that lady?"), "kebenta afô?" ("is that round thing a shield?"). When the Portuguese explained to him that the man was the son of the lady, and that the orb was a model of the world, he was amazed at how little he knew compared with the Christians and

how much anyone who was not a Christian walked in darkness. "Because this is so, and in order to illuminate you", said the Portuguese, "God brings you the padre. All desire him, but the favour of kings is essential".

When the feast of the dedication was over, the ambassador took his leave to go to King Farma with news of the arrival of the padre in his lands and of what had been done in the solemnity of the temple. Farma received him with great joy, but the ambassador did not know how to express himself in words more apt than these, "obei milo!" "the king laughed!", words more expressive of shock and amazement than of declaration of anything. Farma immediately sent another ambassador to the padre, and gave many extraordinary indications of the pleasure he had at the padre's arrival in his kingdom and of the contentment he felt at his coming; and he ordered that all the land be entrusted to the padre and he be declared its king. To this the padre replied that, to thank him for this good will, he could only explain, to him and to all his people, what was of greatest importance to them, their salvation. On this subject he made certain points to the ambassador, which he took careful note of, in order to relate all of them to his king.

#### HOW THE DIVINE OFFICES WERE CELEBRATED IN HOLY WEEK

Since the season during which these things were happening was Lent, the padre had much to do. Because there were guests from the Windward Coast with the traders who go regularly there, and the officers of the ships were not in a position to go to other churches, while the settlers were apprehensive about doing this because of

pirates, the padre resolved to perform the offices of Holy Week in this port of Mitombo, not only because there were many people there but also because all of them desired him to celebrate the offices in tranquility and with due devotion. For the blessing of the palms a well-decorated altar was set up in the transept, and after the palms had been blessed and distributed a procession was formed. When the verse "gloria laus" ["all glory, laud and honour"] was reached, they responded with so many tears and such devotion that the scene cannot be described. At this point Our Lord God was pleased to delight the padre with the holy thought that here he was seeing a novel event, little to be expected in a kingdom so wild and backward.

On Tenebrae Wednesday, the office was celebrated so perfectly that, not least as regards devotion, there was little room, of how services are conducted in Portugal, on the part of these wastelands where everything provokes to devotion, for envy ↓

On Thursday the offices were celebrated with much devotion and there were many communicants. When the offices were completed the altar was tearfully dismantled and a curtain was drawn back which covered a pious crucifix standing under a purple canopy and set amid a Calvary scene. All about were the words of the Prophets appropriate to the holy day and this juncture. Torches and candles in large numbers were not lacking. An altar, on which was (an image of the) Child Jesus with a cross on his back, was next revealed. The devotion of everyone was great and many tears were shed. The Church was in mourning, and this stirred the hardest hearts to piety.

It would be about an hour after mid-day, and all were assembled in the church, when Father Manoel Álvares preached to them about

the Gospel for the day. The extent of tears and weeping at this point was amazing. When the heathen saw this novel spectacle they were taken aback, and they looked hard at each other as they listened. After the padre had finished, by which time it was evening, he withdrew to the sacristy for a short space of time. However, the sobs, tears, and breast-beatings of all those present were not halted.

Following the office of Tenebrae, a procession was formed in which four leading men carried the sacred image of Christ in a litter which had been decorated with great care. They were accompanied by many penitents of different kinds, some shedding much blood by applying scourges, others tied to a cross or a pillar, others again carrying a cross on their backs. The lamentations and signs of devotion were such that the chief members of the king's family who were present were full of admiration at seeing for the first time what they had never seen before. Among the others present was a very close relative of a Christian woman of the land whom the Virgin Our Lady drew from the jaws of a crocodile, as described in another letter. Amazed at what he saw, this man said: "What the padre teaches is true doctrine, not the lies taught by the priests of Mohammed." I omit other details of the happenings of these days so as not to bore, however the devotion that all manifested can clearly be inferred.

But so that it should not seem to the heathen and the simple-minded that Christianity is entirely penitence and tears, the dawn of the Resurrection of Christ was solemnized. The morning being a pleasant one and general contentment and happiness being

found among all, a procession was held. This was accompanied by several volleys from guns, by music, and by all the other things necessary for such an event; and the heathen continued to be amazed at the variety in holy ceremonies of the Church.

OF THE GENERAL GRIEF THERE WAS IN SERRA LEQA AT THE DEATH OF FATHER  
BALTAZAR BARREIRA

When the festival was over, Father Manoel Álvares returned to the house of S. Pedro, where he stayed to hear the confessions of the settlers and also those of the individuals from the Windward Coast, and then he went to the church of the Archangel S. Miguel, where after concluding the duties of Lent, he carried on writing /f. 2/ the letter he sent me. But when night was just beginning to draw the pen from his hand, a youth entered, and after him came King D. Miguel Tora, with a packet of letters which Fatima had sent to him to hand over to the padre. All those who accompanied the king, and many others, awaited with great excitement for news about the saintly old man, Father Baltasar Barreira, and about other members of the Society. Having untied the packet the padre opened a letter from me giving the sad news of the old man's death, which caused so much grief and sorrow to him and to all the province that it can hardly be expressed in words. Now in the wretched hut nothing but sobs could be heard, and all was tears; to such an extraordinary extent that, because the padre could see that the king could not come to terms with the news (?), he hid the feelings he himself felt in order to console the king and the others.

On the following day, so great was the sorrow and grief the padre felt in his heart, that it was impossible for him not to shed a great quantity of tears, in the company of those who had

known Father Baltasar Barreira; and it was such that it could well soften the hardest hearts. Father Manoel Álvares remembered the love that the saintly old man had for him, love such as he had never glimpsed in anyone else, and he realized that now he would be unable to see him or to enjoy his conversation again in this life. He called to mind his mortification of the flesh, his saintliness, his spirit burning with divine love, and his zeal for the salvation of souls, which were such that although it was necessary to leave the Serra and come to this island of Santiago, he feared to do so, repeating many times the saying of glorious St. Martin - 'si ad hac populo tuo sum necessarius, non recuso laborem.' ['if your people still need me I will not refuse the toil']. The padre could not forget that the land had good reason for lamenting the loss of its first shepherd, its good shepherd, for the heathen had lost the torch that was illuminating their darkness. He could find no consolation; and so he sought relief by giving way to tears, joining the others, to whom he could be no help in alleviating their sorrow. To conclude, I think it best to pass over the grief that the whole land felt at such a loss, for it is easier to imagine it than to write about it.

#### SEVERAL EVENTS THAT HAPPENED IN SERRA LEOA

In the letter referred to above, Father Baltasar Barreira mentioned an island called Camassono, a place dedicated of old to the devil, where he says he once went with Father Manoel Álvares and collected a large quantity of honey. And when the padre fell ill afterwards, the heathen attributed the illness to the visit to

Camassono, the corofim having wished to take vengeance on the padre for having the temerity to go and collect honey there. For this is a place where, out of fear of the devil, no heathen dare land, and instead those passing by, without touching the island, offer the devil rice, palm-oil, and other things which they throw into the sea. Our Lord God, apart from wishing at that time to demonstrate immediately that the illness had not come to the padre on account of the visit to Camassono, by restoring his health, nevertheless confirmed the truth (about the island) yet again, by means of a strange, later occurrence.

It was this. When D. Felipe de Leão, king of Serra Leoa, took ill he immediately sent a message to the padre at our House of S. Pedro. The padre attended him with all haste, and after performing his duty, he asked those who were taking him back in a boat to approach this island of Camassono. They all rejoiced at the opportunity to gather some of the many shellfish with which the sea fills the trees of this island. The sun was setting and they were a short distance away from the island, when thereafter the sea was covered with canoes containing devils, all wailing in great pain, while a single devil - it was seen that he had the form of an old man - called out from the island to those who were leaving it, and intoned this line in the local language: 'padres apon su en oken chonque', which means, 'the padres are putting an end to us, here and now we are fleeing'. The evil spirits carried out their farcical charade on the sea, and then disappeared. The nearest islands - those that witnessed the episode - were amazed at what was happening and could not decide what it was. They suspected that the canoes

were war-canoes when they saw the sea covered with them but were uncertain as to what the event could be. Our Lord God did not allow the enemy to conceal his secret (presence) for long. He entered a heathen woman to torment her, and the poor woman, in distress, was asked by one of the false priests, 'What people were those on Camassono?' The devil replied: 'We are they, and we have decided to leave you, because the padres scourge us, and we live so oppressed that there is no longer room for us in this land.'

Deceived and confused by these tricks of the devil, the heathen sought sacrifices and gifts to please them [sic] and re-establish peace with him.

Two or three days later, a chief from the island where the heathen woman lived, came to the village of S. Pedro, where King D. Miguel has his residence. It was King Miguel who had affirmed, when he was a heathen, that Camassono wanted revenge on the padre. The chief related the episode to the King with much grief, lamentation, and piety, saying, 'Father, you do not know how the corofins have come to consider us as their enemies, and all on account of the padres.' The king replied: 'That the corofins should say that the padre is putting an end to them is significant, for then it is true what he tells us, that they are weak and that their power is limited and dependent on the permission of the Creator. If the padre can make them flee, it is a sign that he is stronger than they are; and if they are afraid, then let us follow the stronger and bolder party.' Disconsolate, the chief took his leave, since he saw that God was the victor.

When D. Miguel later recounted the incident involving the chief, the padre explained to him the little that the devil can do. The king marvelled at these things, and the padre gave thanks to God for showing so clearly to these heathen and to the new Christians the truth of what he had preached. By means of such a happening Our Lord God allowed these heathen to lose the fear they have of the devil, which is so great that many of them, when they make their sons and daughters Christians, do not dare to be converted and baptized themselves, and the reason they give is this: 'padre mitafé, corofi asapemi raso goroco ifi', 'Padre, I fear the devils who will whip me when I die.'

When a heathen woman was going to her work, the devil gave her such a blow on her temple that she could not get up from her bed for some days. The heathen gossiped about the event, and the woman affirmed that the devil had only done it because the corofins hated the Church and because many people did not go to them with offerings as previously they used to do. In order to confirm what she said, she asked the Christians for 'medicine' against the devil, and they told her to speak the most holy name of Jesus and make the sign of the cross. The heathen woman was pacified by the remedy and lost her fear of the devil so markedly that many other heathen profited from this holy medicine, and so today many can be heard speaking the most holy name of Jesus without taking any notice of the threats of the common enemy.

The devil overpowered a heathen lady, the sister of D. Cristovão, nephew of King Fatima. She made contortions and grimaces so unpleasant that onlookers marvelled, and such was her fury that no-one could hold her. A reliquary was hung around

her neck, and such was its virtue when Our Lord God worked through this medium, that the evil spirit immediately left her. The heathen marvelled and were no less captivated by our holy religion.

D. Felipe de Leão, king of the Serra, was well-nigh paralysed by a dangerous disorder that was affecting him badly. On the feast-day of the glorious Archangel Michael, as best he could, he came to mass, but was extremely frail. Our Lord God willed it that he left the church with such strength that he did not know how to thank God for the mercy He had shown him, and he said: 'I saw God, and the padre, and straightway I had health'. It was such (a miracle) that many marvelled at the mercy God had shown him.

I consider no less marvellous than the above mentioned events what happened to Father Manoel Álvares in his dealings with a heretic. On a ship of foreigners reaching Serra Leoa were travelling some heretics, with one of whom the padre had an argument about the mystery of the Most Holy Trinity. It was Our Lord God's will that he was able to explain processus filii to him so skilfully, with the aid of a passage from the Prophet Isaiah, chapter 66, 'nunquid ego, qui alios parere facio ipse non pariam, etc.' <sup>[v. 9 'shall I who make others give birth not give birth myself']</sup> that the heretic considered himself defeated; and others were so moved that they now sought from the padre the remedy for their past errors. But he thought it best to defer this for the time being, consoling them nevertheless by telling them to persevere in their good intentions, and in His own time God would not fail to provide them with the necessary remedy.

So that there should be no-one among the heathen who set a bad example in the keeping of the precepts of our holy religion, Our Lord God punished a Christian woman who sowed her plot, on a Sunday instead of attending the holy services, thus paying more attention to the seed whose fruit is harvested than to the Creator of all things. She sowed; the seed sprouted and grew for a time; but while the plots neighbouring hers yielded their normal crop, this poor woman's dried up completely, so that she harvested nothing. She was shocked into recognising that Our Lord God was punishing her for the error she had committed; and other persons were thrown into confusion and warned to trust more in God, to commit no similar offences, and to place their hopes less in human actions than in the universal creator of all seed-times and harvests.

How the Lord Bishop of Cape Verde, Dom Frei Sebastião D'Assencão felt about the Society when he saw the letter from Father Manoel Alvares (1)  
 . . . . .

A letter from the Lord Bishop of Cape Verde to Father Sebastião Gomes  
 . . . . .

The celebrations that were held on the day of our blessed Father Saint Ignatius  
 . . . . .

The devotion that all have for our Father Saint Ignatius and the Society  
 . . . . .

How the ministrations of the Society will be carried out  
 . . . . .

- (1) This section and the remaining sections of the letter limit themselves to events on the Cape Verde Islands, and especially to missionary activity and religious life. We therefore give only the headings of the sections, and three passages from the final two sections.

Among the other activities of the Society in which Father António Dias was occupied all this year was the teaching of Latin to certain pupils, numbering twenty in all. Although the number was small, the padre was always very occupied with them, for besides instructing them in spiritual matters, which was our principal intention, he also taught them to speak Portuguese, the language spoken by the local people being very far removed from that spoken by us (in Portugal), so that it is very tedious work making them accept ours. Apart from this, as they were all in his charge, he was forced to teach some of them spelling, some of them syntax, and some of them preterites, gender, idioms and nominatives. This caused him many times to be quite worn out, but he consoled himself by noting that Our Lord God was served by this work of his, since the pupils were proceeding in an edifying way and with zeal for their own salvation, and were continuing very faithfully with the sacraments of penitence and communion. When the opportunity arose, they gave a demonstration of what their master had taught them. Thus on certain occasions it happened that certain mischievous youths, seeing what the pupils were doing, placed themselves in front of them in order to perform indecent practices. The pupils immediately turned their backs, and the youths were amazed that they would not listen (to them) or take part in such practices. When they observed their good behaviour and the clean living they practised, other persons called them 'little angels' and 'young apostles'. May Our Lord God permit them to persevere to the end in those good resolutions and holy customs in which they have made a start, so

that their souls may attain glory, the end to which they aspire.

Of several other events that occurred

... But from these punishments some fruit did not fail to be harvested, and this redounded in much glory to Our Lord God. There happened to erupt, on the island of S. Felipe, otherwise called Fire Island (Ilha de Fogo), a mountain from which emerged great and very high flames of fire, with a stream of fire running for a great distance, and this was seen by many people on this island. Among them were many individuals who, fearing that it was a punishment of God and that it might reach them too, when they heard us saying during religious instruction and in other special sermons that the sure means of escape and of overcoming fear was through being set right with God, confessed with genuine signs of contrition, preparing themselves to give good account to God of all their lives should it become necessary.

.....

Twelve Dutch ships came to this island, anchoring in the port of the town of Praia, two leagues from the city. The alarm was sounded, and all the soldiers in the island went to Praia. Since there was a sufficient garrison in the city, and in order not to miss such a good opportunity of collecting some spiritual fruit from such a large assembly, Father Baltasar Barreira, who was still alive then, ordered me to go too, in order to encourage those who were preparing themselves for the struggle against the enemy. I complied with what holy obedience ordered, and when I reached the town, those who knew me received me with joy and enthusiasm, and the others who had still not heard of the Society because they were

brought up in the interior of the island, waited to see what I did in order to find out how they should behave towards me. As soon as I arrived I began to give them some religious instruction, and in this instruction, as well as in private talks, I explained to them how necessary it was to rouse themselves for battle, if battle were required, both because it would be of service to the King and for the benefit of the Fatherland, and also because such people were the enemy of the holy Catholic faith. And so that they might have nothing to fear, it was good to cleanse the conscience, and to be right with God. Our Lord God permitted some of these words to penetrate through to them, and the remainder therefore confessed, preparing themselves, as some said, to die for the holy faith, for the fatherland, and in the service of the King. Many left instructions with me regarding what had to be done with their property if they died in battle. The confessions were so many that I had no rest night or day, and as I was on my own, one day I gave communion to 25 individuals, which is more than 50 in Portugal (?). Thus I heard the confessions of most of the soldiers. Those from inland, as they are rougher people, thought at first that I would reprehend them and treat them harshly, but seeing that I treated them gently and with chanessa(?), and showed them love when talking to them, they marvelled and spoke in surprise to one another. They also asked those who had the best understanding, that if there were a battle, would I be with them? When I said, Yes, they took such heart that without fear they went away, offering to die. But Our Lord God brought it about that the matter did not go so far, for after the ships had been in port many days they sailed off, and the soldiers all withdrew to their houses.

.....

From Cape Verde, and Santiago Island, October 1613.

Your Reverence's unworthy son in Christ, Sebastião Gomes.









Anonymous - Father Manuel Álvares

Journey of Father M. with Francisco Pinto Pereira from St. John the Evangelist's Church to St. Saviour's and the success of this pilgrimage, etc. (1616).

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### 29 FEBRUARY

This gentleman came to this province with the title of Governor and as the highest ranking captain on his cousin Pedro Álvares Pereira's fleet. On his entering the watering-place of Serra Leoa, the Lord fulfilled through His secret judgements the verse of the Magnificat, 'He has scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts', changing his previous plans into nothing, perhaps because His Divine Providence had not been invoked for them. It was necessary that he should be wounded in his head so that he should now learn, at his own cost, to take fresh counsel, (with the Lord) in order to deal rightly with a matter of such divine glory as that of the conversion of the heathen. The Lord heard him, and since the cause was and is a dear one to Him, He made Father João Pereira, nephew of Pedro Álvares, understand that he, who for two years had been the ambassador of the Grand Sophy, King of Persia, to the court of Philip, Catholic King of Spain, in the matter of the truce with the Great Turk, should go to the Kingdom of Serra Leoa as ambassador of the Divine Majesty.

At the same time as this holy resolution was taken, and indeed before it was taken, it appeared to be convenient that I should continue to reside in this place of pilgrimage. I accepted this for the Glory of God, and so that these little ones should not lack someone to distribute among them the Bread of Faith, or that, following this lack, a greater one might occur, namely, the loss of salvation for so many souls, with the danger of their returning to idolatry, if they felt hurt by being abandoned so completely and by the loss of our love. I therefore availed myself to the full of the principle of Epiqueia [individual decision on a doubtful moral point, when definite rulings are unobtainable], in the belief that this would seem right to my superiors.

The priest took his leave of me, <sup>(a)</sup> when we both were ill, and although I was in bed, I heard his confession with much care. He left at once for the Casses, where he was received by the captains there with all the signs of good-will, each one being useful to him in any way they could, and not one lacking the desire to do (even) greater services to a religious of such holiness and nobility.

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(a) 8 February 1616.

Although I remained ill for the space of two months, as soon as I had recovered enough strength to hold the oar, I clung to it. That is, I continued and finished hearing confessions in this house of the Evangelist. Then I took leave of the Christians, and with Francisco Pinto Pereira and his son Gaspar Guedes de Moraes went to the church of St. Saviour in Serra Leoa, (b) I to continue our ministry and my companions to temporize with the king, as recommended by Father João.

On 27 April, at dawn, we reached the Port of St. Saviour, to the great joy of all the Christians, either natives or travellers. Our consoling each other aggravated Satan, and two days later, he brought two English ships (to the port). On 30 April, before the sun rose, there were with us, in the town itself, fifteen Englishmen, one of whom came in order to have a meeting with the king, as he did. The king, accompanied by some of his people, at once made his way to the port, where we had our Church. And as the captain, João Palha, with Francisco Pinto went to receive him, he said to them, "Oh, gentlemen, what circumstances for our revenge, and for the relief of my brother, the King of Portugal! The less enemies there are - says D. Filipe - the better". This zeal met an immediate response from the two gentlemen, who in the most discreet fashion encouraged our D. Filipe, persuading him to agree to what was most in keeping with the glory of God.

When he reached his house, everyone went to visit him. (But) I could not do it, as I was ill. Since the king on arrival was also in poor health, I tried to meet him immediately on this first night, in order to undeceive him and to fortify his belief in the good friendship of Father João and (his) uncle Francisco Pinto Pereira. Our Filipe was very shocked and suspicious because the priest had not taken leave of him; and aided by the enemies of the Expansion of Faith in these parts, was persuaded that the priest had gone to fetch a fleet to conquer his land. But the Lord permitted this storm, the greatest in these parts, to turn into a calm, the king being reassured concerning the truth by my discussing the whole matter with him, after the captain, João Palha, had done this first.

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(b) 25 April.

On 31 April, the last day of the month, the English captain carried out his business with the king. This enemy was a Lutherite, well read in both Testaments, a faithful minister of England's schism, a very observant disciple of Luther, that infernal Goliath and deadly enemy of the Catholic Church. With the captain it pleased the Lord to test my weakness in the field, in the year 1615, on 6 June, that He might see His soldier fight there. " He took part in His own battle, He raised up a champion and leader for his own kind, He strengthened and encouraged Him ;and moreover He who once conquered death for us always conquers it in us" (St Cyprian, lib.2, cap.6, Ad martyres).

The point at challenge was a false testimony and<sup>(c)</sup> behind it was a devilish plot to discredit the substance of our Faith, which, although /f.lv/ it had more than enough listeners, had had (until then) few opponents. And because I was the only one (to speak) I could have been put in chains but (instead) was imprisoned with guards. In these toils I chanted the words of the Apostle to the Galatians, 'Let me glory only in the cross of Our Lord Jesus Christ'. One night, such a rare joy overcame me, while dwelling on the imprisonment of S. Peter the Apostle and on the purity of St. Susanna, that I was struck with wonder. At dawn, after I had commended myself to God our Lord, the king came through the door, asking my forgiveness for having listened to the unreasonable words of the devilish rabbi. To this I answered, that in his land I was carrying out labours for the love of God, and that if the cause of those sufferings that I had undergone till then was mine, He had many reasons for sending them to me. Belonging to God gave me consolation, so great that I could not explain it to him. I said that I had nothing against him, and it was for God to take account of my being punished innocently. What I asked from him above all was that his trade should be with this Lord, who was able to bring the best merchandise to the harbour of our souls, so that they might be enriched with Grace; and for this it was necessary for him to make his confession. He could not now allege lack of Portuguese (witnesses), as his lands were crowded with them.

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(c) Clara struck the rabbi in the face and the king had ordered when kill ...

[in Latin, rest illegible]

This captain, as I say, was the rabbi of last year. Moreover he traded with our Filipe, whom even today he has in his power, and I believe will always have, as long as His Majesty will not give assistance; because these people are extremely poor, and the land an abyss of want, a torment (for lack) of delights. And I do not know if there is on earth a land as barren as this one, where vices outnumber meals, and where almost all men lack the normal means of preserving life, since it is a land with so little trade.

He sent a boat, and it would have been better if it had not been given in return by the companion of this my pilgrimage,

and the following day, which was St. Philip's day, the English sloop came with a gift for the king. This was a metal crown, double-gilded, with which he was crowned, to three salutes from musketry, in the town's central open space.

All this time I was in hiding, like the apostles. The schismatic lion besieged my lodging, and seeing that he could not prevail in what he wished, he wounded me with the sword of the tongue, saying heretical and discourteous words. When I related this to D. Filipe, it was (just) what the English man had wanted. But I found satisfaction only in giving account to the King of Glory, for whose love I subjected myself to this pilgrimage of gall and vinegar.

In the midst of the storm, there occurred a calm so rare that it amazed not only our people but the Lutherites themselves. It was more than a year ago that a worthy gentleman of this province, a man very close to the king, intimated to me his great desire to enter Christ's sheepfold; and indeed he was deserving of the singular favour in many ways. He indicated his desires very clearly and pressed me strongly on the point in December of last year, 1615, by taking an idol which he had fervently worshipped, from its niche, and treading it under his feet, in the presence of Father João and myself. Coming to us after visiting the king of the hinterland of his town, Caraochique of Kachinpi, this man entered the town of S. Saviour. In front of Herod, he asked me for (the knowledge of) God; (and said) that he had come to find God, so that I should make him His son. (He said) that he had not come with the king, so that people would not think that he came to fight with the English; since it was only with God and myself that he wanted to have dealings. Who can prevail against the Spirit of Heaven? Our catechumen came so well armed that I surrendered readily. And as I had always wanted to take revenge gracefully on the (English) enemy, who at present was full of confidence in

the king, when the latter came to visit me on St. Philip's day, I said to him: 'Since you do not honour your saint today because our town is in such an embarrassing situation, you shall do so tomorrow, when you will be godfather to your kinsman, D. João Pereira'. The king was very pleased, and being a courteous man, he asked Francisco Pinto Pereira and three other Portuguese, his guests, why they were hiding themselves and what they feared. No-one (he said) fears the tree that has fallen already, only the tree still standing is to be feared. The Portuguese were trees firmly planted and rooted in his lands; his other guests were only here merely to discuss, and instead (of us fearing them) they should fear us. We all rejoiced in the king's words and showed him our affection.

The following day the baptism took place, to the greater glory of our Lord God, and of our good King and his sister, Dona Filipa de Leão, mother of the Portuguese. The general joy of all the Christians was noteworthy, and the good favour of the Lord was greatly extolled because it had been bestowed on this Church of His at a moment of such tribulation caused by the Devil, and (also) because the new knight was a leading man of this province, of good character, and our very special friend.

Much might be said about the rabbi's confusion. He was already suspicious as were his men. He snarled at me, and once as he passed by he said 'Portuguese traitors, o padre is plotting for your conversion'. And he was so upset by this event /f.2/ that to this day we cannot think of a ship that so quickly left this province, <sup>for</sup> since the English sailed off at the end of May.

While I was meditating in my lodging, a young English man asked for permission to speak to me; and on my enquiring about him from the messenger, who was devoted to me, he told me not to neglect the opportunity. I deferred to my friend, and in came the poor young man, (poor spiritually) although in outward appearance somewhat wealthy. He knew about the rabbi, and what had happened to him when in contact with me the previous year. He said to me, "Senhor Padre, Your Reverence is not well with us". I could not help taking this enigmatic statement as a warning, but after two days I paid no more attention to it, interpreting it as a Lutheran pleasantry - though it also expressed his personal feelings, for he was jealous of me, because of what was happening and because of the power I had over the king and his people - which was intended to make me withdraw from the port so that he might achieve his purpose in the matter of trade.

As a course of penance had become necessary among the Christian community at St. Peter's and as matters in this place were somewhat involved, I took my leave of the king and all his people, after hearing the confessions of the Christians. I made my way to the House of the Prince of the Apostles, where I set up a beautiful cross on the eve and celebrated mass on Ascension Day. I gave the Most Holy Sacrament to the convinced Christians and to some Portuguese and other persons, natives of Santiago Island. At this place I established a truce, to the great relief of everybody. The matter in dispute was difficult, and one of the parties was a very noble person, a true son of this kingdom, although born in Igreja, Santiago Island. He had offended (or: had been offended) unreasonably; but where there is good sense, as I found in this devotee, the victory over the Enemy is easy, and submission to the yoke of the Saviour very natural.

When I finished administering the Sacraments, which took about two months, I took up residence here. At this date trouble occurred to a native of Santiago. The Serra is commonly an asylum for ill-doers, who choose (to come here) for this reason, and I rack my brains daily to show these people instances of the trials which befall others. Divine Justice brings these misguided ones here in order to wound them in their person and their purse. If it were only to their material cost, I would not feel it so much, but what I regret is that it is probably at their spiritual expense. In order that things should not continue like this, I would like to see in this province someone who would practise outwardly the fourth of the spiritual works of mercy. A captain in this province dismissed from his ship a worthy young man called Matias Vaes, an excellent wax-chandler, who practised his trade for me most kindly, making me three dozen very attractive white candles and other objects in wax. On Maundy Thursday he behaved in a most edifying way, wounding his flesh most cruelly (as a penitent) after the procession. (But) on Friday night he had a squabble with a youth and kicked him. I was very surprised when I heard about the change in the wax-chandler, (especially) in view of the season (Holy Week). I called him and gave him a warning. But it is not easy to know the real character of a person; the wretched young man had been perverted by the devil entering into him. The same Friday, with wicked impudence, he tried to assault a Christian girl, a morena, and during Lent these people are very strict observers of the sixth commandment. She asked him to leave her house and he pestered her, but to his cost, because Clara, this being the name of the brave girl, drove him off with a very thick stick, and knocked him down, to the great confusion of the Devil and the Glory of God, and to the shame of the wretch.<sup>(d)</sup> On hearing the blows, the neighbours

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(d) Mattias Vaes, wax chandler, drowned.

came running. I also heard the scoundrel as he approached, and I asked what was going on. He began to swear and to curse himself, saying: "Padre, I am a reprobate, I shall come to a bad end! Padre, I shall be worse than Gabriel Rodrigues, whom they took from the Church and buried in the dung-hill!"

"He prophesied evil for himself". He ended in the service of a young man from Beira, equally corrupted. The man sent him to a ship of the English enemy, and as it is the normal thing for these infernal guests to bring misfortunes to this province, they did not fail to bring them to Matias Vaes. And so, in the strait between Tasso and Caracois, which was also for him the strait between life (and death), he ended his life by being miserably drowned. Others say he was executed, because of the arrival at this village of an injured Portuguese youth whom he had wounded. But in fact there was no certain information on the matter, only the story spread by some idolaters who happened to be on the shore at the time when the unfortunate incident in the sea began /f.2v/ and finished as I have stated.

For the glory of God our Lord, I shall further mention what it pleased Him should befall the injured man, who entered this village almost expiring from a large wound near the inside muscle of the left leg. Francisco Pinto Pereira came to my lodging in the middle of the night to call me to go and hear the poor wretch in confession, a duty which he had not performed during Lent, since the best-behaved in Europe fail in their obligations badly in this hell. In the company of the gentleman, I immediately visited the sick man, and I told him, "These are the fruits of darkness, my brother. It saddens me to see you in such a state, but now you must learn at your own cost, since you resist the counsels of the Gospel". The wretch cried out, "Ah, Padre, these are (the results of) my sins. Why did I go <sup>to</sup> the enemy ship? All I got from it was the suffering which Your Reverence sees". I then, for the love of God, asked a youth who had experience of surgery to see to him, which he did most charitably. Next day I heard his confession, and gave him the Most Holy Sacrament, which he received with much devotion and with tears of grief for his sins. The wound was treated wrongly with the result that it smelled foul; and it was so painful that the young man's groans, screams and cries made the whole village feel sorry for him. To be of service to him, I was present during his treatment, in order to console him in his pains with the remembrance of those of the Saviour in His Passion. One Sunday afternoon, during the treatment, when I saw that he was trying to suppress his screams by putting clothes into his mouth, I said to him: "Son, have courage, because I see in your wound a very valuable jewel, and straightway I a sinner, kissed his foul-smelling wound and the pain disappeared so totally that the incident became news. The sick youth revealed what had happened, but when some Portuguese gentlemen referred to it, I smiled, and said that Judas had done

this miserable youth and his small brother, providing them during this period with food and meals of excellent quality. <sup>(e)</sup>

To this event succeeded another no less to the glory of God. The moon of this month of May was very overcast and wet. In the winter season here, normally (as the moon wanes) the days become bright and as it waxes they become wet and dull. The heathen were unhappy at this weather because they had not burnt the lands or fields where they were going to sow. For as the soil is fertile, in order to avoid the task of weeding, each year they cut large trees and clear thick bush as part of their farm work; and by setting (these) on fire, not only are the areas made fit for sowing crops without [ ? the trouble ] of weeding, but even better, the ashes fertilize the soil.

The idolaters employ their priests to make the weather suitable and dry, and with extreme folly a Christian also approached with his offering and request. Francisco Pinto Pereira was amazed when he saw him. It happened that, as the priest was playing an instrument which they call 'the hinderer of rain', a thunder clap overhead could immediately be heard for up to about half a league and more away, and the thunder storm then ran through all the points of the compass. On hearing the thunder, the idolater yelled, "muyema" "you lie", and he added rude words in the native tongue. I could hear this in my lodging, it being in the middle of the night when these things took place. Scandalized by the savage, I made prayer to God; and although the sun was necessary, I asked for rain, to bring confusion on the idolater. And there was so much rain that it put the place in turmoil, and the savage priest in shame hid himself and disappeared.

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(e) Pedro, saved from the water, baptised St Peter's day 1616 with Luisa de Paula Fernandes. Miracle in the canoe it is argued.... [rest illegible].

(f) Died by drowning....1616. Bento da Silva, Bento Gonçalves, Antonio de Gouvea.

Later I made a special prayer to God our Lord, and asked for the weather needed at the present. The Lord provided the best weather one could wish for, giving at the time of the waxing of the moon a dry and windy May, contrary to the natural order of the weather in these parts. Seeing the sudden change, the idolaters came to me with their presents. I refused them, but the Christians put great pressure on me to avoid offending the heathen. All burnt (their fields), greatly relieved. Seeing the fields now fit for sowing, they had my name in their mouths, and they said, "Only the padre can fanglar - which means to obtain weather and other things from God - and not our false priests; and if the padre had not asked God we would have perished of starvation". Only the bad Christian was punished, because he did not deserve such suitable weather, he who thought that it was in the hands of the idolaters to change what only the Author and Creator of all could change. (g)

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(g) D. Miguel, seeing what happened, says. " ....vimaca, padre, vimaca cru nea a fo beningue asore beningue ales".















LETTER FROM FATHER SEBASTIAO GOMES (Extract)(AMT, Cart. Jes., m<sup>o</sup>68, n<sup>o</sup>387)

Santiago, 13 March, 1616

Pax Christi

..... And besides the other (sum) which the governor has ordered us to give in Guinea, which this year will go by way of the Indies - and I do not know how much it will be - there will also go to Your Reverence 154,440 reis, or 180,000, which Father Alonso Sandoval has in his keeping, and is to send to Father Alonso de Escobar in Seville, so that he can send it from there to Your Reverence.

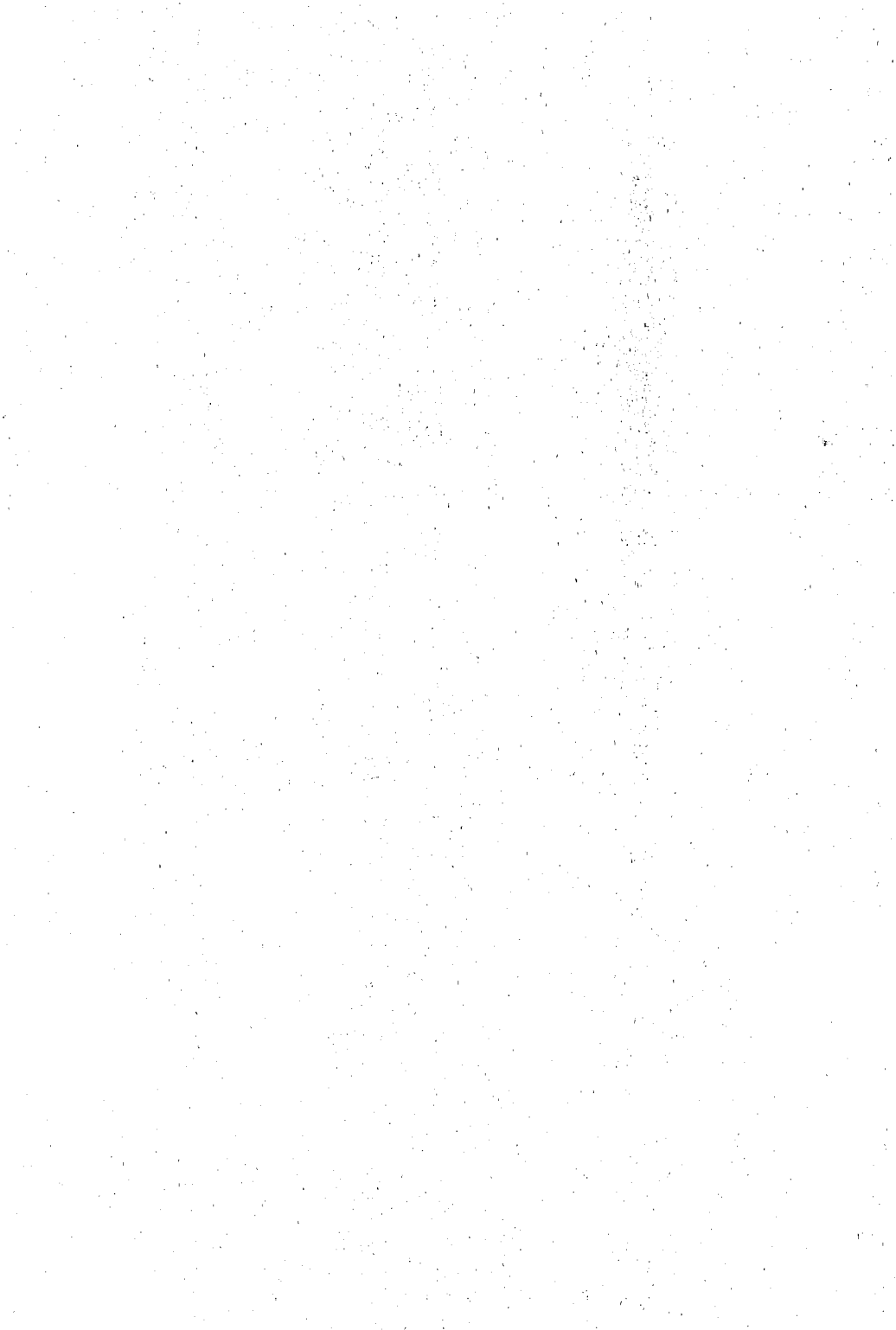
..... Your Reverence writes to me that you have received, or are about to, the 441,600 reis which Father Alonso de Sandoval sent to Father Alonso de Escobar.

..... I am grateful that Your Reverence tells me that you are satisfied with the cola and that the coconuts were useful to send to individuals as tokens of gratitude, and so I shall provide Your Reverence with both these things by the ships of the carreira.

..... The bearer of this [letter] is a youth who is a native of my land, by the name of Vicente Aves Bicudo, one of those who went to Serra Leoa in the company of Brother João Pereira, the relative of Pedro Álvares, who came here (after being) robbed. He can give Your Reverence clear information about what has happened there and give news of Father Manuel Álvares.....

Cape Verde, Santiago Island,  
13 March, 1616,

Sebastião Gomes.















<sup>Padre -</sup>  
LETTER FROM FATHER SEBASTIAO GOMES TO THE PROVOST GENERAL OF  
THE SOCIETY OF JESUS, Santiago, 27 June 1617

(ARSJ, Lus. 74, ff. 141-143v.)

Pax Christi

For some days I have been most anxious about having to comply with the holy obedience due to Your Paternal Reverence in respect of information on this mission, because he who wishes to give a correct judgement must rightly fear giving information on points relating to the benefit and salvation of souls, particularly when there are aspects which are contradictory. And so may the Divine Majesty permit that, in this report, I shall make a correct judgement on whatever may be most suited to His divine will, and to His greater honour, glory and praise.

In this confidence, I first state that, in order to be more accurate it seems to me that I must send to Your Reverence a copy of the letter which Father Baltasar Barreira - whom God keeps - wrote to the Padre Provincial on 9 March 1612, for communication to Our Very Reverend Padre Geral Claudio Aquaviva - whom God keeps in glory - in which he refers to the many difficulties that lie in the way of founding a college, either on this island or in the ports of Guinea. His holiness, zeal, experience and sincerity in giving information were well-known, and since it was the last report he made, for he prepared the letter for despatch one Saturday, and then on the Sunday fell ill with the sickness with which it was Our Lord God's will to take him to Himself, it would seem that by such a sequence of events Our Lord God wished to make it understood that this information should be welcomed and preserved, as we have preserved it up till now. The copy of this letter, faithfully taken from the book in which it is kept, I send with the present letter to Your Reverence, together with a copy of another report which the padre sent on 24 July 1604 to Father João Álvares,

who was then Assistente, in reply to a letter from Father Alvares asking him for this information. Although my own opinions should not be adjoined to those of such a holy and perfect man, nevertheless, in order to comply fully with holy obedience, I shall mention those points which are most apparent to me.

/f.141v/ The state of this mission with regard to spiritual matters seems to us to be this: that over a prolonged period of time it will come to produce fruit for God Our Lord. At the present time, if it does not produce much fruit it is through having poor and weak workers, myself being the weakest of all; although it does not fail to produce a limited amount, which is particularly evident in the fact that there are not so many public evils with open scandal as there were before. In support of this, I shall relate an incident which happened to me, as follows. On a certain occasion which arose and offered an opportunity for being able to do some service for God Our Lord, I determined to pay a visit to one of these islands, but the members of the Chapter, the see being vacant, stopped me, giving several reasons for this. A reason stated to me by the president was that we should not suppose that we were gathering little spiritual fruit in the land, because simply by being resident there we were gathering much, and were at least preventing the many public evils there were before, either through the people being ashamed to have us see the evils or through their fear of our reprehending them, or through our explaining to them who could cure the evils. It may be true that those who wish to continue in their sins withdraw from us and from confessing to us, but those who seek us out are well known among the rest, and there is (even) the person who is astonished at his own improvement, however these are the minority. Furthermore, the strength of our outcry removes certain evils and draws attention to many public scandals, which probably would not be drawn attention to if there were no-one in the land to raise an outcry. Thus, after Lent of this

year, as a result of (our) religious instruction some evils were checked, in respect of reputable married men who had black women as concubines.

The state of the mission with regard to temporal matters will be clearly seen in the letter from Father Baltasar Barreira, written on 9 March 1612, which comes with this one. I only add that if there was one doctor then, there is none now, for he has died; and if there were some medicines then, though poor ones, there are far fewer now, and sickness among the people and mortality among their animals keep increasing, and there are new ailments (?).

Your Paternal Reverence asks if the city wholeheartedly wants a college. I reply that there are four kinds of people here, namely, Creoles - who are the natives of the land -, New Christians, clerics who are either local or from Portugal, and a number of Old Christians from Portugal, but very (f.142/ few of these. Among the first three kinds of people, discounting the insignificant poor and those others befriended by us, the rest are very little concerned whether there is a college or not, and the majority would be glad to see us out of here. Even among the Old Christians, not everyone expresses enthusiasm for us. At the time they sought us, there were many people here from Portugal, and those who were Creoles and not from Portugal rarely entered the Council. As a result they wanted us in the land, and a captain named Diogo Xemenes Vargas, who is still alive today and a city procurator in Portugal, went (to Portugal) to seek us and brought the first of us here in his ship, to the general satisfaction. (But) almost all these men are dead, and the land has reached such a state that all those in the Council today are Creoles, and they think so little of us that, when we asked their permission to fence ourselves off on the seaward side, because black women very often station themselves with little modesty in front of our residence, they refused it,

even although the rocks we wished to fence off were of no use to them. We were forced to send to Portugal for permission, and may God permit it to come.

Your Paternal Reverence further commands me to state whether there is a site in the city at which we could be sure that our people would enjoy good health, to which I reply that neither in the city nor on the whole island is there one although there are certainly some places healthier than others. Of the former I suggest there is one near the city, called Aldea dos Sapes. It is a place where the sea-air is no longer harmful, as it is near the coast when there are winds blowing from the sea; nor is the place made unsuitable by the winds called the winds of Maria Parda, which blow much of the time and cause many illnesses. Further it enjoys a view of the sea and of all the stream called the Maria Parda, which is very cool all year, and provides our people with somewhere to go for recreation without being observed. There is another place called the quarter of São Sebastião, but it has more disadvantages, because it lies beneath the fortress, and we fear that they would order the building to be razed to the ground if ever enemies entered it; and besides this, it is close to the Cathedral, (whose construction) is being started up again, and has a steep ascent, which would make it difficult for women to be able to attend our church. Similarly there are also disadvantages to this place where we now are living, which is the third (I mention), but for us to be established in the first or second place it would be necessary to have provision from the King in order to buy the family lands and houses there are in both places. /f.142v/ All other sites have greater disadvantages, which to be brief I will not discuss. Thus the first, the Aldea dos Sapes, seems to me most suited; and the plan of the college, which has already reached us, fits the site well.

With regard to our support, we will never be able to remedy matters with any degree of success, because the income of the feitoria from which

we have our allowances is extremely poor, and the practice is being introduced which became the custom in Angola and was the cause of the uncertainty about that mission's future. That is, the governors wish to pay the allowances in kind (?) and take all the money for themselves - in our case they have so far uttered threats about this, and have wanted to make us take certain goods at more than one hundred per cent. And the revenue of the King is small, since ships for blacks go to Guinea with orders to clear customs there (?), and as (these custom dues) are the chief and almost only income of this island, we remain here without income. And so I find no solution unless the King gives us the tithes of this island, which normally yield 600 mil-reis, and those of Fogo Island, which yield 80 mil-reis, and the rest in (?on) the first licenced vessel cleared in this island or from the rivers of Guinea, from whichever we may wish to take it, so that no ship can be cleared until we are paid, with priority over the bishops, chapter, clergy and governors, and this from 1 December onwards. If it cannot be arranged in this way, we will never ever be able to be paid, and we shall have troubles and unpleasantness, which is a great impediment to anyone whose work must be the conversion of souls. And since we lack the arrangement I have suggested, they are owing us (our allowances) for more than two years, and they would owe us much more if this governor were not a friend of the Society. This is the solution which I came upon after several discussions, and it is one which the King can easily accept.

Concerning the nature of the heathen on the mainland, I refer to the report I enclose with this letter. This was made in the year 1604 by Father Baltasar Barreira, who had more experience of Guinea, and had travelled about more, than I have, who have only been in Cacheo, Rio Grande and Serra Leoa. I merely state that in no way would it be suitable

to found an establishment there, and that it will be sufficient to go there on a mission once a year, around about November, and whoever goes should return after Easter, before the rains, which begin in August. For apart from Guinea being as unhealthy as this island, so that the men who travel there, being laymen and living as they please, are weakened and quickly die in a few years, there is not the necessary equipment for founding (the college) in any of the districts of Guinea and it would be necessary to take everything from other parts. The blacks of the land are /f.143/ wicked in their demands, and buildings are easily set on fire, as has happened many times. The Portuguese are not settled in particular places, and where they are found they are all itinerant traders, who easily move village in the event of war or for other reasons I omit for the sake of brevity.

As for Serra Leoa, it will continually decline in importance unless the King takes it away from the person to whom he granted it, because although the heathen are easy to convert, nevertheless they often are converted more because of what they hope to get than because of any understanding they have of the points of our holy faith, as I myself have experienced. Furthermore, Pedro Álvares Pereira, who is the lord of Serra Leoa, is a keen supporter of the Augustinian friars and he has already sent them there, although it went badly for them and today not one of them is to be found there. Our activities never impressed him, since he is very much dominated by a brother of his who is a friar, and he in turn is dominated by impassioned men, seeking to weaken their (his) willpower (?). And since holy obedience requires me to state whether the friars are harvesting any fruit there, I reply thus - as much as could be gathered by the superior of the friars going there, and having supervision, when they went there over, the captain in matters of peace and war. But when he saw himself and his followers defeated, he returned to Portugal without

awaiting any further order, and they have had no further experience. I also know that he had a mandate from the king to put Father Manuel Álvares aboard a ship but when he found himself unsupported, he kept silent about the mandate and made good use of the padre. I also know that other servants of Pedro Álvares Pereira had written to him, from Serra Lioa, alleging various things about Father Manuel Álvares that were false. They were bringing the country to the point where the blacks were about to rise up, and what Christianity there is would have been lost, because they did not want to adjust to the times, and because they humiliated the blacks by telling them that the land belonged to Pedro Álvares Pereira, a claim the blacks took badly. But the man who caused these difficulties paid dearly with a truly calamitous death.

Your Paternal Reverence also orders me to state my own opinion. Certainly [.....?] to see myself so foolish. For if I say that it should not be founded, I am going against the conversion of the heathen and the fruit that is drawn and is hoped to be drawn from this land, and this my spirit will not permit me to say, and my pity and conscience say the opposite; but if I say that it should be founded, I discover the disadvantages which Father Baltasar Barreira points out, and furthermore it seems to me that there will always be difficulties in supplying this college or house with workers. And if there have to be changes (in personnel), /f.143v/ as there are everywhere, the difficulties will be even greater, because sound direction requires that the labours and mortifications of our (religious) must be limited when they arrive as newcomers until they fall ill, so that the illness will not be so serious as to risk life, as happens when newcomers do too much. The illness seizes them after a year or more and leaves them weak, with the result that two or three years pass before we can work with any assurance. So, if there is a change, almost all the

time will be taken up with probationary periods (for acclimatization); and if there do not have to be changes, it will be necessary to have rare virtue to be able to suffer perpetual exile. Nevertheless if our allowances could be arranged in the way I speak of above, I believe, as did Father Baltasar Barreira at the end of his report, that we should stay on as a mission, with Your Reverence sending (us) a preacher to help with sermons, and a brother to assist in domestic administration. The latter should be well educated since he will be forced to deal with governors, bishops, and other outside people, and he should also be in good health.

I humbly request Your Reverence's holy blessing.

Cabo Verde, Island of Santiago, 27 June 1617.

From your Paternal Reverence's most unworthy son in Christ,

Sebastião Gomes.

To Our Very Reverend Father Mutio Vitelleschi, Preposito Geral of the Society of Jesus.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The material translated in this volume, although much of it has appeared in printed volumes, derives ultimately from archives and libraries in Lisbon and Rome; and on behalf of the late Avelino Teixeira da Mota, who assembled the documents, I wish to repeat his acknowledgement (made in our 1977 edition of Donelha, pp.8,58,60) of the public-spiritedness and courtesy of these institutions in permitting the material to pass thus into the public domain. I wish also to repeat the thanks he gave to the respective archivists, librarians and research assistants who in the 1960s and 1970s helped him to form a collection of historical documentation on Guinea; and also to the institute of which he was Director (now the Centro de Estudos de História e Cartografia Antiga) and to the other bodies that supported his research. Although the production of the present volume was funded entirely by myself, I wish to acknowledge the financial support given to me in respect of earlier translations of Guinea material, and also the support given to Admiral Teixeira da Mota in respect of the 1977 publication, by the Gulbenkian Foundation.

The items in this volume were typed over a period of fifteen years by a series of secretaries in the Department of History, all of whom I now thank. Mrs Pam Thompson kindly undertook the spring-binding of the volumes. The photocopying I did myself - I much regret that it had to be done sometimes from poor second copies and sometimes on a misbehaving machine. My wife, Margaret Hair, did sundry tidying up of the material and - bless her - ten continuous hours of collating on 29.1.1989. Finally, I thank the Department of History for providing facilities and encouragement.

## ERRORS

In the List of Documents -

- item <6> for 13.4.1605 read 13.5.1605
- item <8> for 15.5.1605 read 14.5.1605
- item <23> add 'and a letter of 20.4.1607 of Sebastião Fernandes Cação'
- item <24> for 20.4.1607 read c.1607
- item <32> for 16.2.1609 read 12.2.1609

The Summary Chronology derives from fuller chronologies in Sources <13> and <17>. These require minor correction, as follows.

- 1607 two events in April without an exact date (baptism of King Pedro's wives, Pedro visited by Filau) should be in May, after 'Álvares arrives' and 'both to Caracore Island', since the account of the events refers to 'us', i.e. Barreira and Álvares
- 1608 add 6.5.1608 Barreira discusses with Álvares an invitation to seek the bishopric of Santiago (A., f.120v, wrongly dated to 6.5.1609, since Rome confirmed an appointment to the see in November 1608, B., p.310)
- 1609 delete the entry in Source <13> and follow the entry in Source <17>

