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EDITORIAL

MARINERS, MISSIONARIES,
AND MEDICOS

THE MENDEL COLLECTION in the Lilly Library is rich in printed and manuscript materials for the study of maritime, mission, and medical history in the Iberian world. Since these happen to be three fields in which the undersigned is interested, this explains why these otherwise rather disparate articles have been brought together here. It is hoped that one or another of them will interest readers of *The Indiana University Bookman*, who are likewise drawn from varying walks of life.

C. R. BOXER
Special Consultant to the
Lilly Library

April 1969

En la rra pessa stosean delado de ombres
de consideracion clea. de la mis manas q dho
cauallero que Venia con calmiante q han
bien dhen que el piloto tiene de comer todos
los ombres a Vm. para que mande setenga
q. conellos que en llegando a España se dara
a Vm. suparte. Pues tambien temence aqui
sean delgalado y hatado. Bien Vm. mandara
que allase saga comis. ant.º por el Va
que por no auer ~~releado~~ ^{luciendo} Vm. no aydo antes
del galacion & Pado n de sep. 1591;

Al
Videbancos

Letter from Alonso de Bazán to Martín de Bertendona concerning three important prisoners from the captured English ship *Revenge*, 21 September 1591.

THE PAPERS OF
MARTIN DE BERTENDONA,
A BASQUE ADMIRAL OF SPAIN'S
GOLDEN AGE, 1586-1604

By C. R. BOXER

DESPITE THE REASSESSMENT of sixteenth-century Spanish history which has made such progress in recent years, and despite the wide circulation of the late Garrett Mattingly's deservedly popular *The Armada*, it is still often assumed that the Spanish navy counted for little or nothing after the disastrous *Jornada de Inglaterra* in the memorable year 1588.

The losses then sustained, both in men and in ships, were certainly very severe, but they were not fatal to Spain. Within a decade, Spanish naval power had recovered sufficiently to enable another almost equally powerful armada to be launched against England in 1596 and 1597. On both occasions the armada was dispersed by storms; but despite these and other maritime disasters, such as the destruction of a Spanish fleet in the Bay of Gibraltar by the Dutch in 1607, Spain still remained one of the leading naval powers of Europe down to 1639 at least. Spanish resilience must be given most of the credit for so many recoveries from repeated setbacks, but two other important factors which contributed to Spain's survival as a great maritime power may be mentioned here: first, the organization of the Dunkirk squadron, which dealt such devastating blows to Dutch shipping until the fall of that stronghold in 1646; and second, the singular toughness and the maritime skills of the inhabitants of the Basque provinces of Vizcaya and Guipúzcoa.

These two maritime provinces were to Spain what Devon and Cornwall were to England, or Brittany and Normandy to France, or Holland and Zeeland to the Northern Netherlands—nurseries of successive generations of hardy seamen. During the years 1568-1648, when Spain was almost continually engaged in fighting on land and sea in one region or another around the globe, Basques were to be found in the forefront of the battles from Flanders to the Philippines. One of the leading Dunkirk corsairs, who went by the name of Michael Van Doorn, was in reality not a Fleming but a Basque, Miguel de Horna. It was a Basque seaman, Lorenzo de Ugalde, who with two old but stoutly built galleons, *Encarnación* and *Rosário*, drove away twenty-four Dutch warships from the Philippines in three successive actions during the year 1646. Nor would it be difficult to name many other Basque seamen, such as Juan Martínez de Recalde, Don Miguel de Oquendo and his son, Don Antonio de Oquendo, and Don Carlos de Ibarra, who distinguished themselves in sea fights against the French, the Dutch, and the Barbary corsairs. Less known is the man who forms the subject of this essay; but it will be seen that he, too, had a most distinguished naval career.

Some ten years ago, the late Mr. Bernardo Mendel acquired from the firm Granta of Almería, Spain, the papers of the Basque Admiral Martín de Bertendona, together with some related documents pertaining to his family and associates.¹ The extreme dates of these papers range from 1581 to 1667; but the bulk of them, and all those which relate

¹ Lilly Library, Bertendona MSS. Prior to the sale, the firm had published a summary catalogue of these documents, *La Escuadra del Señorío de Vizcaya. Siglos XVI y XVII. Archivo del Almirante Bertendona. Boletín No 9, Suplemento* (Almería, n.d.).

directly to Bertendona, belong to the years 1586-1604. From these papers and from passing references to Bertendona in Cesáreo Fernández Duro's classic works on Spanish naval history, we can reconstruct his career in outline as follows:

He was born at Bilbao on an unascertained date, of a family with maritime traditions and experience. His grandfather was captain of the ship which brought Emperor Charles V from Flanders to Spain (via England) in 1522. His father, Martín Ximénez de Bertendona, provided three ships when Philip II sailed from Spain to wed Mary Tudor, in one of which the King embarked for the voyage from La Coruña to Southampton (1554). A petition submitted by his heirs to the Crown in 1626 claims that Martín de Bertendona, "Knight of the Order of Santiago, served His Majesty as a captain of infantry, commander of squadrons of ships, and captain-general of the same for over fifty-eight years in his royal fleets," beginning his military and naval service when still very young ("desde muy moço"). This would place his birth at about the year 1530, since he died in 1604, and it is unlikely that his military service began before he was fifteen or sixteen years old. However that may be, the first firm date that we have is the year 1569, when he served with four ships belonging to his family in the squadron which brought Anne of Austria, Philip II's fourth wife, from Italy to Spain.

In 1574, Martín de Bertendona was a captain in the abortive armada which was mobilized in the Cantabrian ports, or "the Four Towns of the Sea," as they were called (Santander, Castro, Laredo, and San Andrés de la Barquera), with the object of reconquering Zeeland from the Dutch "Sea Beggars." This armada was prevented from

sailing by an outbreak of plague in September of that year, in which over 3,000 men died out of a total of some 12,000 who had embarked. The commander-in-chief, the *Adelantado* of Florida, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, was among the dead, and the fleet of more than 200 sail dispersed immediately afterwards. Eight years later, Bertendona served in the first expedition of Don Alvaro de Bazán, Marquis of Santa Cruz, to the Azores, providing a "large ship and a pinnace" of his own, manned by 300 Biscayan sailors whom he had raised in Bilbao. During Don Alvaro de Bazán's final conquest of the Azores in 1583, Bertendona was entrusted with the command of the squadron that covered his rear and cruised off the coast of Portugal. When the great armada for "the enterprise of England" was being mobilized at Lisbon, Bertendona was placed in command of the "Levantine squadron" (*Naos Levantiscas*) in that fleet. This was a somewhat heterogeneous collection of Italian and Dalmatian (Ragusan) ships, Bertendona flying his flag in the *San Juan* of Ragusa (Dubrovnic). When Philip II appointed Recalde as admiral (or second-in-command of the armada), the captain-general (or commander-in-chief), the Duke of Medina Sidonia, wrote to the King from Lisbon on 26 March 1588, suggesting that the command of Recalde's Biscayan squadron be given to his fellow Bilbaon, Martín de Bertendona, "who will be followed and obeyed with greater readiness by the sailors and volunteers of this squadron, since he is a Biscayan and from the same region as they are."² In that event, suggested Medina Sidonia, the command of the Levantine squadron could be given to Don Francisco de Leyva, who had served as admiral of the West

² C. Fernández Duro, *La Armada Invencible* (2 vols., Madrid, 1884-85). I, 484-85, quoting Medina Sidonia's letter of 26 March 1588.

India fleet. The King did not, on this occasion, accept Medina Sidonia's advice; but it is worth noting that there are many allusions by the Crown, in its correspondence with Martín de Bertendona during the years 1586-1604, to the "pull" which he had with the Basques because of his origin and which he was repeatedly urged to use in order to help execute measures which the government at Madrid feared (often rightly) would prove unpopular with his fellow countrymen.³ Prior to assuming command of the Levantine squadron, Bertendona had raised a force of 1,500 soldiers in Vizcaya, which he took to Lisbon for embarkation in the armada.

As Prof. Michael Lewis has pointed out in his book *The Spanish Armada* (1960), Bertendona was the only one of the six squadron leaders of the armada to return to Spain in his own ship and to be alive at the end of October 1588, since the two other survivors, Don Miguel de Oquendo and Martínez de Recade, had both died within a few weeks of their return. Bertendona was in the thick of the fighting in the English Channel, as attested by a certificate of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, which he secured—somewhat belatedly—on 18 December 1599. In the battle between Calais Roads and Gravelines on 8 August 1588, "the crew of one of the *urcas* [*hulks*] saw Bertendona's great carrack drive past, her decks a shambles, her battery guns silent, and blood spilling out of her scuppers as she heeled to the wind, but musketeers still ready in tops and on her quarter-deck as she came back stubbornly to take her place in the line."⁴ In the homeward voyage "north-about" around Scotland

³ Some typical instances in BM 1016, 1020, 1026, 1040, 1043, 1057, etc.

⁴ Garrett Mattingly, *The Armada* (1959), p. 333.

and Ireland, Bertendona in his battered flagship was placed with Recalde in the rearguard, and it was one of the only two warships in the Levantine squadron which got safely back to Spain at the end of September or beginning of October.⁵

Unlike his luckless commander-in-chief, and unlike his two compatriots, Oquendo and Recalde, both of whom died of chagrin and despair within a few days or weeks of their return, Martín de Bertendona was not a whit disheartened by the harrowing experiences which he had undergone. As early as 7 November 1588, we find the King writing to Bertendona, thanking him for his spontaneous suggestions about the best way in which to mount another invasion of England and asking him to elaborate a detailed plan for the royal consideration. Unfortunately, there is not a copy of this plan among Bertendona's papers in the Lilly Library, but it very likely exists somewhere in the Spanish archives. Bertendona had brought his leaky flagship around from Ferrol to La Coruña for repairs and refitting. She was still there when the expedition of Drake and Norris attacked that naval base in May 1589. The attack was repulsed with some difficulty, largely because of Bertendona's stubborn defense of a strategic islet in the harbor; but he had the mortification of being compelled to burn his flagship in order to avoid certain capture by Drake in the *Revenge*. He vowed to be revenged for his humiliation, and two years later he was. Virtually every English schoolboy of my day and generation learned by heart Tennyson's famous *Ballad*

⁵ C. Fernández Duro, *La Armada Invencible*, II, 326-27, "Relación de lo que ha sucedido á la nave Ragazona Capitanía de los Levantiscas," in Ferrol and La Coruña.

of the *Revenge*, and I daresay a good many Americans likewise know that sonorous poem beginning:

"At Flores in the Azores Sir Richard Grenville lay,"

with its epic description of the immortal fight between "the one and the fifty-three," in September 1591, when

*"Ship after ship, the whole night long, their high-built gal-
leons came,*

*Ship after ship, the whole night long, with her battle-thunder
and flame;*

*Ship after ship, the whole night long, drew back with her
dead and her shame."*

But not Bertendona. It was he who first grappled the *Revenge* when it looked for a moment as if the English ship would make her way through the Spanish fleet; and he clung on, though suffering heavy casualties, until the *Revenge* was a dismasted and battered hulk. When she finally surrendered, despite the entreaties of her badly wounded commander to

*"Sink me the ship, Master Gunner—sink her, split her in
twain!*

Fall into the hands of God, not into the hands of Spain!"

it was because of Bertendona that she struck, although this credit was also claimed by Dom Luis Coutinho, commanding a Portuguese *urca* which had likewise been closely engaged.⁶

⁶ Alfred Lord Tennyson's "The Revenge. A ballad of the Fleet" has gone through countless editions including those in Tennyson's *Collected Works* since its first publication in 1880. It contains a good deal of poetic license, as Sir John Knox Laughton pointed out long ago in his article on Sir Richard Grenville in the *DNB*. Of the fifty-three ships, a large proportion were victuallers intended for the relief of the homeward-bound *flota* from the West Indies. Not more

Among the Admiral's papers in the Lilly Library is a personal letter of congratulation from the Spanish commander-in-chief, Don Alonso de Bazán, written aboard the flagship *San Pablo* on 10 September 1591. It is accompanied by another, dated eleven days later, in which Don Alonso states that he is sending Bertendona the only three "persons of importance" found among the prisoners: the captain of the *Revenge*, the pilot, "and another gentleman" (Sir Richard Grenville having died of his wounds aboard the *San Pablo* shortly after the action). With true Castilian courtesy and *pundonor*, Don Alonso de Bazán tells Bertendona in this note that he has treated these prisoners very well aboard his own flagship and that he expects Bertendona to do the same. That he did so is clear from the extract published in Appendix I on page 21. There is also an autograph letter from the influential secretary of state, Don Juan de Idiáquez, dated 21 December 1591, conveying his own and the King's congratulations. No less interesting are the sailing orders and fighting instructions issued by Don Alonso de Bazán to the captains of his armada, dated "aboard the flagship *San Pablo*, in the Gulf of the Mares, 200 leagues from Spain and bound for the island of Terceira, on the 22 August 1591," and they do not seem to have been published. As is well known, the *Revenge*, together with a number of other ships, foundered in a storm not long after her capture, and it is not clear what (if any) reward Bertendona finally received. But it would seem from a marginal note on Idiáquez's letter of congratulation that the Admiral either

than twenty sail were warships, and of these not more than fifteen were engaged with the *Revenge*. "That was sufficient. The truth in its simple grandeur needs no exaggeration."

claimed or was offered, among other things, "a gold chain with a whistle worth 100 ducats."

The capture of the *Revenge* in 1591 set the seal on Bertendona's fame as one of the great fighting seamen of Spain's Golden Age. His reputation was further enhanced by his participation in the naval and military campaigns which followed the Spanish capture of Blavet in Brittany in 1592. This gave the Spaniards an advanced naval base (though not a very good one) in the mouth of the English Channel, something which King Philip's finest admirals had been urging him to secure ever since the struggle with England had moved from a "cold" to a "hot" war. The position of the Spaniards at Blavet was, nevertheless, extremely precarious, since they were then at war not only with Elizabeth I of England but also with Henry IV of France. In the years 1592-94, Bertendona successfully ran several convoys of troops, supplies, and money from the northern ports of Spain to Blavet, "with such good management and good fortune that His Majesty was delighted thereat, and was very well served thereby, and he wrote him as much in his royal letters."

During the decade of the 1590's, Bertendona was also busy raising levies of seamen and soldiers in his native province of Vizcaya, as well as in building a number of galleons under contract for the Crown. In this, he was following in his father's and grandfather's footsteps, since both of them were shipbuilders as well as shipowners and ship charterers. He took a prominent part in the mobilization of King Philip II's last armada against England, which was painfully assembled at Ferrol in 1596 under the command of the *Adelantado-Mayor* of Castile, Don Martín de Padilla, Conde de Santa Gadea. The Earl of Essex's sack of Cádiz

in July of that year, though a great blow to Spanish pride and morale, to say nothing of the material losses in shipping and stores which were then incurred, had been more than offset from the strategic point of view by the Spanish occupation of Calais, which the Archduke Albert, governor-general of the Spanish Netherlands, had seized in the previous April. With Blavet and Calais in his possession, Philip's new armada posed in some ways an even greater threat to England than had its ill-starred forerunner of 1588. But it was not ready to sail until too late in the season and was dispersed by storms soon after it had left Ferrol at the beginning of November.

Nothing daunted, next year Philip tried again. The armada was painfully reassembled at Ferrol, and the ships and men lost in the previous abortive voyage were replaced. Philip's plan was that the Adelantado's armada, after picking up troops and galleys from Blavet, should proceed directly to Falmouth and seize that port as a bridgehead for a set-piece invasion of England in the following spring. Whatever chance of success this plan had was ruined by the fact that the Adelantado was again unable to leave Ferrol until too late in the season. He finally left in October with a fleet of some 136 sail, carrying nearly 9,000 soldiers and 4,000 sailors. Its objective had been kept a profound secret from the English, who had no inkling of its approach until some stray Spanish ships were sighted in the Channel. But before the main body reached Blavet, the armada was struck by a storm from the northeast and dispersed, without meeting the homeward-bound English fleet which was returning from an abortive expedition to the Azores and was hit by the same storm.⁷

⁷ Cf. Julian S. Corbett, *The Successors of Drake* (1916), pp. 212-27, "Philip's Last Armada." C. Fernández Duro, *Armada Española*,

Bertendona's participation in the abortive armada of 1596-97 did not discourage him any more than had his grim experiences in 1588. In February 1598, he took a force of 4,000 men in some forty ships to Calais, running the gauntlet of the English, Dutch, and French fleets and adverse weather in the Bay of Biscay and in the Channel. His feat caused great, if temporary, alarm in England; and the alarm would have been still greater if Bertendona had been allowed to carry out the offensive operation which he planned. Within a few weeks of his arrival at Calais, he wrote to the Archduke Albert proposing that he should "give a Saint-James" (*dar un Santiago*) to the English by raiding some of their south-coast ports and destroying such shipping as he found in the harbors. The Archduke replied on 5 April 1598, categorically forbidding any such enterprise, "owning to certain inconveniences." Although the Archduke did not elaborate, it seems more than likely that he did not wish to antagonize the English unduly, since he was then engaged in secret and confidential negotiations with Burghley over the possibility of peace.

However that may have been, Bertendona's idea was not a new one, and its feasibility was pointed out by Don Diego Brochero, another of the creators of the revived Spanish navy, a few years earlier. Brochero had argued that since the Spaniards and Italians were unable to prevent the Barbary corsairs from making frequent raids and descents on the kingdom of Naples, "despite all the infantry, cavalry, galleys and watchtowers" of which the defenders disposed, how much easier would it be to raid the unprotected, unfortified, and unsuspecting English coast. The only attack

III (1897), 180, states that out of a total of eighty-four sail which formed the nucleus of the armada at Ferrol, sixty-four were foreign ships; Bertendona papers, BM 1043-BM 1047.

which the Spaniards actually mounted along these lines was a foray led by Carlos de Azemola, who, with four galleys stationed on the Brittany base of Blavet, raided the Cornish coast in July 1595, burning the small towns of Mousehole, Penzance, and Newlyn.⁸ Though completely successful, this modest raid could not be compared with such larger English achievements as Drake's destruction of the shipping at Cádiz in 1587, or with the capture and sack of that port nine years later by the Earl of Essex at the head of an Anglo-Dutch expeditionary force.

The Spanish capture of Calais had, however, induced Henry IV of France to make serious overtures for peace with Spain. The treaty was secretly signed at Vervins in May 1598, to the exclusion of both English and Dutch. By the terms of this document, all places in Picardy and Brittany which the Spaniards still held were to be given up to the French. Blavet and Calais were both evacuated, and Bertendona returned to Spain with several hundred of his men overland through France as far as Nantes, having sent his ships around to Dunkirk by order of the Crown. Back in Biscay, Bertendona renewed his shipbuilding program and busied himself with raising sailors to man the squadron of Vizcaya, which he had commanded since the reorganization of the Spanish navy after the armada of 1588. His papers in the Lilly Library contain many interesting details about the building, formation, and upkeep of this squadron in the years 1599-1604. As mentioned above, the Crown and its ministers at Madrid relied heavily on Bertendona's prestige and influence with the Basques of Vizcaya and Guipúzcoa to

⁸ C. Fernández Duro, *Armada Española*, III, 92, for the Spanish raid on Cornwall in July 1595, which most English historians refrain from mentioning.

induce them to accept the heavy burdens which this rebuilding and reorganization of the navy entailed. He was also closely connected with the similar program that was being carried out in the Asturian and Galician ports.

The English raids on Cádiz and La Coruña in 1587-96 naturally made the Spaniards nervous that they might make similar attacks elsewhere. In 1589-90, the Crown repeatedly cautioned Bertendona to be on his guard against English attempts to burn the galleons that were being built or refitted at Portugalete, Pasajes, and elsewhere, either by direct attack or else by saboteurs disguised as foreign sailors. The growing shortage of Spanish sailors and the ever-increasing need for them are likewise reflected in numerous dispatches from the Crown to Bertendona in the years 1589-1604. In February 1590, the Crown approved of Bertendona's efforts to recruit sailors from the French Basque port of St. Jean de Luz. Shipwrights and caulkers were likewise in short supply, and the Crown urged Bertendona to send some of the latter from Vizcaya to the armada in Ferrol, "as there are none whatever in that place nor for many leagues around it, nor are there any to be had from Portugal." In another dispatch written at the end of April 1590, the Crown ordered Bertendona to secure all the pilots he could lay hands on and to send them around to Ferrol forthwith, "owing to the want of this kind of men in the armada." In July of the same year, he was told to train some sailors as gunners "in the school that there is for them," though the site of this naval gunnery school unfortunately is not mentioned.

Despite the manifold frustrations over men, money, and supplies, which are clearly documented in this correspondence, the work of rebuilding and reforming the Spanish navy went steadily forward. In 1598-99, twelve fine new

galleons were built in Vizcaya and Guipúzcoa alone, several of them at Portugalete by Bertendona and his associates under contract with the Crown. Unfortunately, the terms of the contract are not among these papers; but the progress of the work, and the arguments over its financing, can be followed in some detail. Bertendona must have been rather unpleasantly surprised when, at the end of 1599, he received orders to let the Portuguese authorities choose six of the best of them for transference to that Crown for use in the *carreira da India*. This order was repeated in January 1600, but the hand-over at Lisbon was not actually completed until the beginning of March.

In 1601, the government at Madrid decided to send Bertendona with reinforcements for Flanders; but the expedition was cancelled when the Archduke Albert wrote that the Dutch had heard of this project and were lying in wait with a large fleet to intercept him. Before this sailing was countermanded, Don Juan de Idiáquez, the Basque minister and secretary of state who was in high favor at the court of Madrid, wrote to the Basque secretary of the Archduke Albert, commending Bertendona to his good graces in warm terms. "The General Bertendona is one of those who have most honestly served His Majesty with courage and goodwill; and for this reason, and because he is bringing what he does, and moreover knows Basque (*tras ello saber Bascuense*), he deserves a warm welcome. Furthermore, he is a very good friend of mine; and for all these reasons, this letter of introduction is sincerely meant and is not just a formal compliment." This letter is an interesting example of the "Old Boy network" that functioned among the Basques in high government circles, just as it did in other

places where they congregated in considerable numbers, including Potosí and the Philippines.⁹

In 1603, Bertendona was again busily employed in superintending the building of another twelve galleons on contract for the Crown in northern Spain, nine of them under his immediate eye in Portugalete (Vizcaya). His papers of this period are full of exhortations, warnings, and occasionally even of reprimands from the Crown, which constantly urged that the work should be speeded up "without losing a day or an hour." He was authorized to buy masts and spars from a French merchant of St. Jean de Luz, pending the arrival of others already ordered from Germany; guns for this squadron were bought from Saint Malo and from Lisbon. Manning difficulties continued to be a major problem. A scheme submitted by Bertendona in 1598, with the object of encouraging the development of the maritime population, does not seem to have been implemented by the Crown. It is interesting to note that King Philip III, usually (and rightly) accused of being so slack and unbusinesslike in contrast to his father, could likewise deluge subordinates with exhortations and complaints when he felt it necessary to do so. To Bertendona's representations on the shortage of sailors in July 1597, Philip II had retorted ". . . And the greater the shortage of sailors which you say exists in that seigniory [Vizcaya], the more should you strain every effort

⁹ For the importance of Don Juan de Idiáquez, Estevan de Ibarra, and other Basque correspondents of Bertendona who held influential positions at the court of Madrid, see I. I. Thompson, "The Armada and Administrative Reform: The Spanish Council of War in the Reign of Philip II," *The English Historical Review*, LXXXII (1967), 698-725.

to find them and muster them, something which I confidently commend to your zeal, diligence and good care." In March 1604, when the Dutch were reported in strength off the Portuguese coast, King Philip III wrote to Bertendona that the need to raise seamen in Vizcaya was greater than ever: "... in which it is vital that you should employ your utmost efforts (*hagays vuestro hultimo esfuërço*), making use of your friends and relatives, and of the prestige which you have in your native region, for the present crisis is one in which you can most distinguish yourself, since it is so much for the good of my service."

Bertendona did indeed employ his *hultimo esfuërço*, but the result was fatal to him. Already a sick man, with his naturally strong constitution undermined by fifty-eight years of active service for his king and country, he brought the new galleons of Vizcaya around to Lisbon in the summer of 1604, but he could go no further. In a letter signed in a trembling hand, which he wrote to the King on 4 September 1604, he announced that the precarious state of his health had compelled him to disembark and that he had handed over the command of the squadron to his son-in-law, Gaspar Olarte de Orozco. A few days later he was dead, and the Crown of Castile had lost a good and faithful servant who had been largely responsible for the rebuilding of the Spanish navy after the year 1588.

Martín de Bertendona's heirs claimed in 1626 that, because he had "only concerned himself with serving and never with asking," he had never received any reward from the Crown. This was probably an exaggeration, since Bertendona was certainly a Knight of St. James, though I cannot say when this distinction was conferred upon him. However, it is clear from his papers that the Crown was

often in arrears with his pay and salary (as it was to thousands of others), and in 1591 he was still agitating for payment of his services in 1588. The nine galleons which he contracted to build in Vizcaya in 1602-03 evidently landed him and his family deeply in debt. He was continually pressing the Crown for installment payments that were due under the terms of his contract and which were allegedly in arrears; but in April 1604, the Crown politely but firmly rejected his requests, claiming that it had already paid more than its share. Probably the loss of four of these nine galleons by shipwreck off the coast of France, on New Year's Day 1607, contributed to the financial ruin of his family and associates as much as anything else. The new commander of the Vizcayan squadron in that year, Don Antonio de Oquendo, petitioned the Crown to change the squadron's name to that of *Guipúzcoa*, since he was a native of that province. His request was supported by two influential Guipúzcoans who were *Secretarios del despacho* at Madrid, Martín and Antonio de Aróstegui, but it was vehemently opposed by Olarte and other Vizcayan relatives and descendants of Bertendona. After much lobbying and backstairs intrigues between these two Basque factions, the Crown compromised by ruling that the ships from the northern coast of Spain should form the squadron of Cantabria, thus including both Vizcaya, Guipúzcoa, and the "Cuatro Villas de la Mar."¹⁰

As indicated above, these papers do not form the complete record of Admiral Bertendona's services. There is virtually nothing on his early years, and there are very few letters from him. But the collection is very rich in letters

¹⁰ C. Fernández Duro, *Armada Española*, III, 323.

which he received, particularly during the years 1589-1604, although there are some obvious gaps, the year 1601, for example, being represented by only two documents. Research in the archives of Spain, particularly at Madrid, Simancas, and Bilbao, would no doubt fill in many of the missing pieces; but the collection at present obviously forms the cornerstone of a book or a Ph.D. dissertation on Martín de Bertendona. Prof. Lewis, in his perceptive character sketches of the Spanish sea commanders in the "enterprise of England," observed of Bertendona: "His is a more shadowy figure than the others, and perhaps less colourful, though he had been considered important enough to guard the sea-approaches to Spain and Portugal when the main forces went to the Azores in 1583."¹¹ Thanks to his papers preserved in the Lilly Library, we can now see Martín de Bertendona as a less shadowy and a more substantial figure in his own right. We also learn from these papers that his elder son emigrated to America, where he became a prosperous miner before he died, although it is not stated whether this was in Mexico or Peru. The second son followed the naval tradition of his family and died while serving in the *Armada Real de la Mar Oceano* at Ferrol. At present, Martín de Bertendona does not even rate an entry in the voluminous *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana*, better known by the publisher's name, *Espasa Calpe*. If this essay induces someone better qualified than I am to give Martín de Bertendona his rightful place among the maritime heroes of Spain's Golden Age, it will have served its purpose.

¹¹ M. Lewis, *The Spanish Armada* (1960), pp. 44-45.

APPENDIX I

“The English men that were left in the ship, as the captain of the soldiers, the Master and others, were dispersed into divers of the Spanish ships that had taken them, where there had almost a new fight arisen between the Biscaines and the Portingales; while each of them would have the honour to have first boarded her, so that there grew a great noise and quarrel among them, one taking the chief ancient, and the other the flag, and the captain and everyone held his own. The ships that had boarded her were altogether out of order, and broken, and many of their men hurt, whereby they were compelled to come into the Island of Terceira, there to repair themselves: where being arrived, I and my chamber fellow, to hear some news went aboard one of the ships being a great Biscaine, and one of the twelve Apostles, whose Captain was called Bertandono, that had been General of the Biscaynes in the fleet that went for England. He seeing us called us up into the gallery, where with great courtesy he received us, being as then set at dinner with the English captain [William Langhorne] that sat by him, and had on a suit of black velvet, but he could not tell us anything, for that he could speak no other language, but English and Latin, which Bertandono also could a little speak. The English captain got licence of the governor that he might come on land with his weapon by his side, and was in our lodging with the Englishman that was kept prisoner in the island, being of that ship whereof the sailors got away, as I said before. The Governor of Terceira had him to dinner and showed him great courtesy. The Master likewise with licence of Bertandono came on land, and was in our lodging, and had at the least ten or twelve wounds, as well in his head, as

on his body, whereof after that being at sea, between Lisbon and the Islands he died. The Captain wrote a letter, wherein he declared all the manner of the fight, and left it with the English merchant that lay in our lodging, to send it to the Lord Admiral of England. This English captain coming unto Lisbon, was well received, and not any hurt done unto him, but with good convoy sent to Setubal, and from thence sailed into England, with all the rest of the Englishmen that were taken prisoners.”*

APPENDIX II

The nature of this article precludes a detailed consideration of the documents relating to Gaspar Olarte de Orozco and Don Diego de Barrundia, 1604-67, which complement those of Martín de Bertendona in this collection, but among them is one which I cannot resist mentioning. This is a document signed by Don Lope de Hoces y Cordoba, captain-general of the *Armada Real* homeward-bound from Brazil, and dated on the high seas (*en alta mar*), 8 September 1635. The sight of this bold signature serves to recall his heroic death in the battle of the Downs, 21 October 1639, which, rather than the defeat of the earlier armada in 1588, marked the end of Spain as a great naval power. When the Dutch returned to the Downs three days after the

* *John Huighen van Linschoten his Discours of voyages into ye Easte & West Indies* (London: John Wolfe, 1598), ch. 99. There are two copies of this work in the Lilly Library, as well as one of the original Dutch edition of 1596. Cf. also the objective account of the last fight of the *Revenge* by A. L. Rowse, *Sir Richard Grenville of the 'Revenge'* (London, 1937), pp. 303-20, which has been frequently reprinted.

battle, the culminating point of which had been the destruction of Don Lope de Hoces' flagship, the great galleon *Santa Tereza* by fireship attack, the victorious Admiral M. H. Tromp told an English eyewitness:

"... how that Don Lope de Hoces, the commander of that ship, and his company did show themselves brave soldiers, for her lower ordnance continued playing upon them when the fire was at their topmast's head. Also he said that they saved of the Spaniards that leapt overboard near 70 men, who did certify him, that Don Lope, albeit he was a man of above 70 years of age, and had his arm shot off in the beginning of the fight, yet he continued upon the upper deck, encouraging of his men to fight it out unto the last, until the fire seized upon him, whose death he did much lament."*

* A memorable seafight penned and preserved by Peter White, one of the IIII Masters of Attendance in England's Navy . . . or a Narrative of all the principal passages which were transacted in the Downs in the year 1639, between Antonio de Oquendo Admiral of the Spanish Armada and Martin Van Tromp, Admiral for the States of Holland (London, 1649), pp. 49-50. There is a copy of this very rare pamphlet in the Lilly Library, and I have modernized the spelling in my citation. Don Lope de Hoces lost an arm not in this battle, incidentally, but in an earlier one.

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simplemente curadas de a quellas islas. Duro mis amigo
Sancho abra Eltermino que algunos indios q' sin dias si
le declaran que era buena o diez dias. Y el ultimo
unipar de su tránsito hubo grandes angustias y dolores. inter
un solo punto de tiempo sino irabaliendose de ma
parte a otra y era en tanta manera que amos nos
causaba temer de caerlas cosas que acia terminando
se enfadaban mis amos y acababan de ma
a el y amos nos como acian hecho como espanto
enfermo en el pueblo de castillo. mas quiso mis
dos mas antes que espirase dar algun suspiro
asu a flexible espíritu y con gran contentamiento y
de un sesarse espiró con mas paz de su alma muy
grande la qual con fin en la misericordia de mi
señor que rezeis en su gloria amen.

Capítulo 73 del Entierro del buen Sancho y
lo que sobre su muerte se hizo. y decimos fijo de la
de su am. El her^{no} fijo de Retalameva.

Junto a la casa don de el buen Sancho y fijo hi' por su don
miern Sancho que le dieron la llamada buena min
que llamaron finero. El qual mose que palabro auia
rido con Sancho. El qual como tenia un diuin de su su
les ^{abombrado} esta mal deocha era suge en bueltas en a de neras le daban
de decir alguna palabra quel yndio ese cortio ese asien
por que auia que fin muy buenas tambien se en su as
tiempos ~~era~~ y el dia antes auia sido el dia de las pal
que tubieron y mose del Sancho le dio algun en su finero.

Sample page from Friar Juan Pobre's *Ystoria*, written in his own hand, concerning his stay in the Ladrones (Marianas) Islands, leaf 307.

FRIAR JUAN POBRE OF ZAMORA
AND HIS LOST AND FOUND
"YSTORIA" OF 1598-1603
(Lilly MS. BM 617)

By C. R. BOXER

A LATIN TAG WHICH perhaps comes too readily from the pens of bibliophiles, *Habent sua fata libelli* is fully justified in the instance of the strange misadventures of the codex described below. Apart from the curious vicissitudes suffered by the "Ystoria," the Franciscan author was an interesting character in his own right, as can be seen from a brief outline of his career. Born at an unascertained date in the Spanish town of Zamora (León), from which he took his original surname, he first appears as a soldier in one of Alva's celebrated *tercios* in Flanders, where he claimed to have been involved in an abortive scheme to effect the surprisal and capture of London, ca. 1574.¹ Finding a soldier's life unsuitable for one of his devoutly religious nature, he became a Franciscan lay brother in a Flemish monastery, but he found it impossible to lead a contemplative life in war-torn Flanders. He therefore returned to Spain, where we

¹ "—que bien me acuerdo abrá çerca de quarenta años, quando andavan de conçierto quinientos soldados para ir a tomar Londres, y la tomaran si ubiera efecto, porque avia algunos, aunque pocos, confiados en Dios nuestro Señor, y vivían debajo de su themor." (Fr. Juan Pobre to King Philip III, homeward-bound off the Bermudas, 16 August 1604, in Fr. Lorenzo Pérez, O.F.M., *Cartas y Relaciones del Japon*, II (Madrid, 1920), 199-203. "quarenta años" is probably a slip of the pen for "treynsta años," because Alva and his *Tercios* only reached The Netherlands in 1567.

find him at the Salamanca convent of the Franciscan province of San José in 1592, which year, incidentally, is the first firm date in his career. He then volunteered to join a contingent of friars being recruited for the Philippine mission and left with the group from Seville in January 1593, arriving (by way of Mexico) at Manila in the following year.

He first worked as a missionary in the Camarines, Southern Luzon, and was then sent on a tour of inspection of the recently founded Franciscan mission stations in Japan, 1595-96. It was apparently at this time that his name was changed from Fr. Juan de Zamora to Fr. Juan Pobre, as he tells us on fol. 52 of his "Ystoria" (. . . "dos frailes legos, al uno llamaban Frai Juan de Segovia, muy buen religioso, y al otro Frai Juan de Çamora, al qual quitaron el sobrenombre y pusieron Frai Juan Probe" [sic]). On his return to Manila, he was dispatched to Europe by his superiors, in order to report on the state of the Franciscan missions in East Asia to the government at Madrid and to the Holy See at Rome. On 12 July 1596, he sailed in the great galleon *San Felipe* for Acapulco; but this vessel was dismasted in a typhoon and stranded in the bay of Urado, a port in the Japanese island of Shikoku, which belonged to the daimyo of Tosa (17 October 1596). The castaways experienced great difficulties with the Japanese authorities, who subsequently confiscated the *San Felipe's* cargo by order of the *Taiko* (Regent), Hideyoshi. Subsequent developments went from bad to worse, and Fr. Pobre barely escaped being involved in the martyrdom of six Franciscans, three Japanese Jesuit lay brothers, and seventeen other Japanese Christians at Nagasaki on 5 February 1597. Arrested by order of the Jesuit rector at Nagasaki (or so he claimed), Fr. Pobre was

deported in the Portuguese carrack *Santo António* to Macao, where he stayed for some months before finding a ship which brought him to Manila in January 1598.

Here he began compiling his “Ystoria” of the Franciscan martyrs of the previous year, and in June 1599, he was again sent to Europe by his superiors in order to make the report which he had been unable to deliver, owing to the loss of the *San Felipe*, and to give his eyewitness account of the martyrdom. He reached Mexico at the end of that year, and continuing his voyage to Spain, he arrived at Madrid in June 1600, exactly a year after leaving Manila. He was received in audience by King Philip III and by the Council of the Indies, making a very good impression both on that monarch and his advisers. During his stay in Spain, he recruited as reinforcements for the Philippine mission some forty friars, with whom he sailed from San Lúcar de Barrameda at the end of June 1601. Travelling via Mexico, he and his party left Acapulco for Manila at the end of February 1602, sailing in the galleon *Santo Tomás*, in company with the new governor of the Philippines, Don Pedro d’Acuña. This vessel and her consort reached Manila at the beginning of May, but Fr. Pobre was no longer on board. Accompanied by another Franciscan lay brother, he had “jumped ship” at La Carpana (Rota), one of the Ladrões (Marianas) Islands, with the idea of evangelizing the natives and contacting some shipwrecked Spaniards. He remained there for seven months before being picked up by another passing galleon, the *Jesús María*, in October 1602, as related on page 45.

Despite (or because of ?) his tireless peregrinations, his superiors dispatched him for a third time to Spain in the following year, as procurator of the Philippine province.

He reached his destination in the autumn of 1604 and spent the next three years between Valladolid and Rome, striving for the revocation of a papal brief of 1585, which had been promulgated at the insistence of the Jesuits. It was on this occasion that he drew up an undated *Carta Apologética*, in which he sought to prove that Japan, China, and Siam did not lie within the Portuguese sphere of demarcation which had been agreed upon when Portugal and Castile in effect divided the as-yet-undiscovered world between them by the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494. Fr. Pobre argued that the north-south dividing line between the Crowns of Portugal and Castile ran through Malacca, "or very near it," when projected on the other side of the globe, thus leaving East Asia in the Castilian sphere. The brief of 1585 had declared that the Japan mission field belonged to the sphere of the Portuguese *padroado* (Crown patronage of the Church), and the Spanish friars from the Philippines were thereby excluded from it. Fr. Pobre's representations, reinforced by those of the Dominican and Augustinian representatives, were eventually successful. The papal brief *Sedis Apostolicae providentia* (11 June 1608) formally abrogated the Jesuits' monopoly, which had already been breached in practice.

Seven months before achieving this triumph, Fr. Pobre recruited for the Far Eastern missions another fifty-six Franciscans, with whom he left Seville in December 1607, reaching Manila, by way of Mexico, on 12 April 1609. After spending little more than a year in the Philippines, the peripatetic friar was again sent to Europe, this time by way of Malacca, Goa, and the overland route via the Persian Gulf, Iraq, and Syria. He left Manila toward the end of 1611 and reached Madrid some time in the following year.

Active to the end, he was busily engaged in recruiting more missionary friars for the Philippines, when he died at an unascertained date (probably late 1615 or early 1616) in the Franciscan monastery of San Bernardino at Madrid. One of his earlier biographers relates that King Philip III was so impressed by the restless zeal of this much-travelled friar that he commissioned "a famous artist" to paint Fr. Pobre's portrait for the picture gallery in the royal palace. This may well have been so, but the portrait does not seem to have been identified hitherto, and most likely it has not survived. It is worth noting that although he was charged with such confidential and important responsibilities between 1595 and 1615, Fr. Pobre always remained a simple lay brother in his order, rejecting all his superiors' suggestions that he be ordained.²

In 1931, Fr. Lorenzo Pérez, O.F.M., published an article in which he described a hitherto unrecorded manuscript work by Fr. Pobre, entitled: "Ystoria de la pérdida y descubrimiento del galeon *San Phelipe*, con el glorioso martirio de los gloriosos martires del Japon."³ (MS. 4°, 321

² The foregoing is chiefly based on the details given by Fr. Lorenzo Pérez, O.F.M., *Cartas y Relaciones del Japon*, II, 187-211, which has copious quotations from earlier authorities, including Fr. Pobre's own writings. The Lilly Library has a seventeenth-century MS copy (undated, but written at Manila, ca. 1630) of Fr. Juan Pobre's "Carta Apologetica" (Mendel MS. 757).

³ Originally published in the periodical *Erudición Ibero-Ultramarina*, Tomo II, nos. 6 and 7 (Madrid, 1931), pp. 217-35. My description is taken from the twenty-three-page reprint entitled *Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora: su relación sobre la pérdida del galeón "San Felipe," y martirio de San Pedro Bautista y compañeros* (Madrid: imprenta de Ramona Velasco, Viuda de P. Pérez, 1931), and checked with the original MS in the Lilly Library.

leaves, 220 x 160 mm.) The first 281 leaves are by a copyist, made under the author's direction, with some corrections in his own hand and others in a third hand. Leaves 282-321 are in Fr. Pobre's holograph, with numerous emendations and deletions. Leaves 8, 25-32, 314, and 315 are missing. The work is divided into seventy-six chapters. At the bottom of the title leaf, one of the earlier owners of the codex has written: "I, Fr. Pasqual de Torellas, journeying from the Philippines to Rome with the original process of the martyrs of the Moluccas,⁴ found in Babylon⁵ this book, compiled by the venerable Brother Fr. Juan Pobre, from whom the Muslims had stolen it when he passed that way.⁶ I secured it and brought it with me, as it seemed to me that it would be useful in ascertaining the facts and information about our martyrs in Japan; and for this purpose I handed it over to the archive of the Congregation [of Rites] on the 17 January 1620."

Fr. Pérez commented that some cardinal or advocate for the cause of the Japan martyrs of 1597 must have taken the codex out of the archive and subsequently failed to return it. At any rate, another Franciscan found it some thirty-five years later in a grocer's shop in Rome, where it was lying unbound, presumably about to be used as wrapping paper. He retrieved it and brought it to Spain, as

⁴ Fr. Sebastián de San José and Fr. Antonio de Santa Ana, who were both martyred in Celebes in June 1610. Cf. Fr. Achilles Meersman, O.F.M., *The Franciscans in the Indonesian Archipelago, 1300-1775* (Louvain and Paris, 1967), pp. 88-89. Their beatification or canonization is still pending at Rome.

⁵ I.e., Baghdad.

⁶ I.e., when he returned to Europe overland from the Philippines by way of Portuguese India, the Persian Gulf, and Iraq in 1611-12.

evidenced by the following autograph inscription on the flyleaf:

History of Japan and the Philippine Islands, with the martyrdom of the pioneer martyrs of Japan, Saint Pedro Bautista and his companions. Compiled by the padre Fr. Juan Pobre, barefoot friar of the Seraphic Order and the Province of St. Joseph in Spain; who finished it in the year 1603, as can be seen in the final chapter, leaf 316, and who was an eyewitness of all that he relates. It was found in Rome by the Padre Fr. Pedro de Aranda y Quintanilla y Mendoza, Secretary-General of the Roman Curia, and Procurator of the University of Alcalá in the year 1655, in a grocer's shop, unbound; and collecting the sheets together he kept it in order to take it to Spain with another book forming a singular relic of the sad martyrs—Fr. Pedro de Quintanilla.

It was, therefore, Fr. Quintanilla who was responsible for the present limp vellum binding of this manuscript. As Fr. Pérez pointed out in 1931, Fr. Quintanilla must have left the "Ystoria" in the monastery of San Diego de Alcalá de Henares, to which University he belonged, as on the end flyleaf is the inscription: "Archive of San Diego. Year 1791." After the (temporary) suppression of the monasteries in 1835, it was brought to Madrid, where the noted bookseller and bibliophile Don Antonio Graiño, famous for his collection of rare books and manuscripts connected with the Philippines, subsequently acquired it. The "Ystoria" was in his library in 1931, when Fr. Pérez saw and studied it, reproducing some extracts from the original in his above-mentioned article in *Erudición Ibero-Ultramarino*. These extracts, in turn, were used by the present writer in discussing the celebrated *gaffe* made by Francisco de Olandia, the chief pilot of the *San Felipe*, when he told his Japanese interrogator that the missionary friars performed the function

of what is nowadays termed a fifth column.⁷ I could not then ascertain the whereabouts of the original MS of the "Ystoria," nor was I more successful in subsequent years. Finally, in July 1962, my friend Fr. George Mensaert, O.F.M., the historian of the Franciscan missions in China and editor of *Sinica Franciscana*, wrote me a letter from the Franciscan archives at Postrana (Guadalajara), the relevant portion of which reads as follows:

Here in Pastrana we have a type-written copy of a very long *relación* by Juan Pobre de Zamora. This copy was made by Father Lorenzo Pérez's order, and he himself described it in *Erudición Ibero-Ultramarino*, II (Madrid, 1931), pp. 217-35. The original was then the property of Antonio Graiño: nobody here knows where it is now. Another typewritten copy is in the hands of Fr. Fidel de Lejarza at Madrid, who long years ago spoke about it to me, and I think I mentioned it to you in 1956. The title is: "Ystoria de la pérdida y descubrimiento del Galeón *San Phelipe* con el glorioso martirio de los gloriosos martires del Japón. Año de 1597." MS in folio [actually in 4°], fols. 321, 220 x 160 mm. If you like to study it and eventually to publish it, Fr. Antolin Abad Pérez, the archivist here, is ready to lend it to you at my request. You could have it for as long as you like

I replied, thanking Fr. Georg Mensaert and Fr. Antolín Abad Pérez for their courtesy, but stating that I still hoped to trace the whereabouts of the original, which had apparently been lost during the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39, and, if possible, to acquire it, edit it, and publish it. In this I failed; but I was very pleasantly surprised in 1968 when Miss Monica Cassels of the staff of the Lilly Library showed

⁷ *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951), pp. 164-67, 420-24. The narrative of Andres de Çuaçola cited in the first part of n. 6 on p. 420 is now in my own collection.

me the coveted codex, which she had been cataloguing not long before. The Lilly Library had bought it from the late Bernardo Mendel of Lathrop C. Harper in September 1963. Presumably he had acquired it from Don Antonio Graiño, or whoever was then the owner, after the end of the Second World War. All students of the history of the Far Eastern missions must be glad that this valuable and interesting manuscript has at last come to rest in a library from which (humanly speaking) it will roam no more.

As those readers who have had occasion to consult the voluminous and well-documented works of Fr. Lorenzo Pérez are aware, the chief purpose of Fr. Pobre in writing the "Ystoria" was to give an eyewitness account of the events leading to the martyrdom of the Franciscan friars and their Japanese neophytes in February 1597, with the aim of securing their beatification and, in due course, their canonization.⁸ The codex is also interesting for the author's account of his stay in the Ladrones (Marianas) Islands in 1602, as it is one of the earliest fairly detailed descriptions of the inhabitants which we possess. As a rule, Fr. Pobre writes of himself in the third person, but he occasionally slips into the first. From internal evidence, it would seem that he began to write (or dictate) his narrative soon after his return from Japan (via Macao) to Manila in January 1598. He concluded it, as he tells us on the last page of his text (fol. 321 verso) on board the galleon *Espíritu Santo*, sailing into Acapulco harbor on Christmas Eve 1603, "con el favor de Nuestro Señor llegamos al deseado puerto de Acapulco, vigilia de la natividad de

⁸ The twenty-six martyrs of Nagasaki (5 February 1597) were canonized by two Bulls of Pope Urban VIII, dated 14 and 15 September 1627.

nuestro señor Jesucristo, donde este pobrecillo miserable tomó puerto, e iço fin a su istoria.”

It is not, perhaps, surprising that the “Ystoria” was never published, since it is replete with the most bitter denunciations of the Jesuits of the Japanese mission. Together with their Portuguese backers, they are accused, in effect, of being mainly responsible for the chain of events which culminated in the tragedy at Martyr’s Mount, Nagasaki, on 5 February 1597. Accounts of the wreck of the *San Felipe* in 1596 and the martyrdom of 1597 are found in almost every book on the history of Japan, and there is an enormous literature on the subject. There is no point in going over this highly controversial ground here, but a perusal of Fr. Pobre’s “Ystoria” affords additional proof of James Murdoch’s contention:

The simple truth of the matter is that, from 1594 down to 1614 at least, between Jesuits and Franciscans in Japan it was all but war to the knife, just as it was in Paraguay a few years later on. No amount of Church historiizing will suffice to conceal that truth from any one who takes the trouble to spend some little time over the letters sent by the rival Orders and Society to their respective headquarters.⁹

⁹ J. Murdoch and I. Yamagata, *A History of Japan during the century of early foreign intercourse, 1542-1651* (Kobe, 1903), p. 490. As early as 1599, the Jesuits published at Madrid a formal refutation of the stories spread by the Franciscans about the affairs of the *San Felipe* and the martyrdom of 1597, but it failed to stem the mounting tide of criticism: *Dos Informaciones hechas en Iapon: una de la hazienda que Taycosama, señor del dicho Reyno, mandó tomar de lo Nao S. Felipe, que arribó a el con tempestad, yendo de las Filipinas á Nueva España, y se perido en el puerto de Vrando: y otra de la muerte de seis Religiosos Descalços de S. Francisco, y tres de la Compañia de Jesus, y otros diez y siete Iapones, que el dicho Rey*

Actually, in their published accounts, many of the contemporary Jesuit and Franciscan chroniclers made no attempt to pull their punches, still less to conceal the truth as they saw it. But Fr. Pobre's allegations perhaps went too far, even for his own superiors at Rome, as they certainly must have done for ecclesiastical censors who were primarily concerned with the preservation of Church unity.

An understanding of why the "Ystoria" did not see the light of day in print before Fr. Pérez published his extracts from it in 1931 does not lessen our sense of its importance as a source for the events which it describes. It is easy to discount Fr. Pobre's obvious anti-Jesuit bias, which he makes no attempt to hide, and when this is done, we are left with an eyewitness account of events by a man who was an active participant in them. The somewhat cryptic allusion in the title to the "descubrimiento del galeón *San Felipe*" was actually intended as an exposure of the intrigues against the friars and the shipwrecked Spaniards perpetrated by the Jesuits, who were motivated by their desire to keep the Japanese mission field to themselves, just as the Portuguese traders from Macao at Nagasaki were eager to prevent the Spaniards at Manila from competing with them in the highly profitable Japanese trade. Fr. Pobre claims that, but for the shipwreck of the *San Felipe* and the subsequent martyrdom of 1597, these machinations would never have

mandó crucifar en la ciudad de Nangasaqui. There is a copy of this exceedingly rare work in the Lilly Library; I have been able to trace the whereabouts of only three others. For other relevant contemporary material on this controversial subject, see Fr. R. Streit, O.M.I., *Bibliotheca Missionum*, IV, *Asiatische Missionsliteratur, 1245-1599* (Aachen, 1928), pp. 484-511.

come to light, or at least would not have received such publicity.¹⁰

Apart from defending—not altogether convincingly—the chief pilot of the *San Felipe* from the accusation that he had uttered the unfortunate phrase about the friars being the forerunners of the *conquistadores*, which gave the Japanese a pretext for confiscating the cargo of the *San Felipe* and crucifying the missionaries, Fr. Pobre loses no opportunity to contrast Franciscan methods of evangelization with those employed by the Jesuits—to the advantage, it need hardly be said, of the former. Time and again, he criticizes the Jesuits for concentrating their efforts on the “great ones of the earth,” with the conviction that if they secure their conversion, then the common people would immediately follow suit. The Franciscans, on the contrary, preferred to concentrate on the poor and lowly, “because usually the rich are more sunk and involved in vices, which forms the greatest difficulty in the way of conversion.”¹¹ Similarly, Fr. Pobre continually refers to himself and his Franciscan colleagues as poor, simple, and uneducated men

¹⁰ “Ystoria,” *passim*, and particularly fols. 2-3 of the “prologo,” and ch. 24, fols. 106-10, “Do lo que començo a descubrir el galeon *San Phelipe* perdido y hecho pedaços y despues de aberle tomado lo hacienda Taicosama.” This last section was published by Fr. Lorenzo Pérez in 1931, *Erudición Ibero-Ultramarino*, II, 217-35, whence the English version in my *Christian Century in Japan* (1951), pp. 420-24. The discussion still continues, as can be seen from Fr. Josef Schütte, S.J., “Der ausspruch des lotsen der *San Felipe*. Fabel oder wirklichkeit?” *Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft*, II (Münster, 1952), pp. 99-116.

¹¹ Ystoria,” fol. 254. The whole of chs. 64-65, fols. 253-59, are worth reading in this connection, and more quotes from them are given below.

in comparison with the Jesuit missionaries, whom he calls worldly-wise and puffed up with their real or alleged intellectual superiority. He acknowledges, somewhat grudgingly, the services of Francis Xavier (not yet canonized, of course) and the pioneers of the Jesuit mission in Japan; but he alleges that most of their successors were men of very different calibre, more interested in things temporal than in things spiritual.¹²

While some of Fr. Pobre's allegations are clearly unfair or unsubstantiated, others are better founded. For instance, there is no reason to doubt his description of the power and prestige which the Jesuits still enjoyed at Nagasaki in 1597, despite their nominal expulsion from Japan by Hideyoshi ten years earlier and despite the crucifixion of three Japanese Jesuit lay brothers along with the Franciscan martyrs in February. By his own account, Fr. Pobre narrowly escaped being included in that martyrdom, and he was placed under arrest at Nagasaki by order of the Jesuits and subsequently deported by them to Macao against his will. He describes how four days after the martyrdom he was told to go on board the Portuguese carrack *Santo António*, which was anchored in the harbor preparatory to making her return voyage to Macao. When he declined to leave the house of the merchant Antonio Garcés, with whom he was staying, the Jesuits sent a *Yakunin*, or Japanese official, to take him on board, if necessary by force. On receiving this order, the *Yakunin*, "who, although he is a gentile, does nothing except what the Fathers want, since it is notorious to everyone that the town of Nagasaki belongs to them," came to carry out his instructions. Fr. Pobre at first refused to go and asked

¹² "Ystoria," fols. 1, 258, for example.

by whose authority the official was acting, to which the latter replied that he was acting on the orders of Padre António Lopes, the rector of the local Jesuits, and that he could not fail to obey his order. Once aboard the *Santo António*, Fr. Pobre tried to escape ashore and go into hiding in the countryside, but this attempt was likewise foiled by the Jesuits. The disgruntled friar was finally set ashore at Macao in April 1597.¹³

Fr. Pobre stayed at Macao for nearly nine months before he was able to get a ship bound for Manila; and during that time he became as critical of the Jesuit methods of evangelization in China as he had been of their alleged mixture of things spiritual and temporal in Japan. Unlike his commentary on Japan, where he had been able to observe the Jesuits at work in Kyoto and Nagasaki, his criticism of their methods on the Chinese mainland was based on hearsay, since he himself never left the confines of the "City of the Name of God of Macao in China," as the Portuguese grandiloquently styled their settlement in the estuary of the Pearl River. Fr. Pobre, incidentally, goes out of his way to avoid terming the settlement a city, which he does only once by inadvertence, otherwise invariably calling it a *pueblo*, and thus, by inference, a petty place in comparison with Manila. He also averred that the Jesuits ruled the roost at Macao just as they did at Nagasaki. During his stay there, he saw an Italian Jesuit and his companion, who (he was told) were the only ones working in mainland China and who were then paying a visit to Macao. "They were dressed in the Chinese way, with long beards and hair."¹⁴

¹³ "Ystoria," fols. 237-38.

¹⁴ "Ystoria," fols. 254-55. The context implies that he was referring primarily to the celebrated Fr. Matteo Ricci, S.J.; but the latter

Fr. Pobre's chief informant on the state of affairs in China was an elderly married Portuguese settler, whom he calls Francisco Carbonero¹⁵ and who was one of the oldest inhabitants. It is to be feared that this old man was not always a very reliable source, despite his long experience. He assured Fr. Pobre (confidentially, of course) that the Jesuits had never converted more than five Chinese to Christianity in the last fifty years, despite the vast claims of missionary success which they made in Europe. On the other hand, he was obviously telling the truth when he explained why the Portuguese did not want enterprising Spanish friars and bellicose *conquistadores* from the Philippines.

We have settled down in this place and married here; we have children and property; and it seems to me that if the Castilians come, since they are a restless race, they will try to enter the mainland. And if their Religious come to try to convert this kingdom, the Chinese will kill them and kick us out. And this is why we stand on our guard and don't allow any Spaniards to come here.

Nor was he convinced by Fr. Pobre's reply that if the missionaries were killed in this way, they would be martyrs, that the blood of martyrs is the seed of the Church, and that martyrdom was the best way of assuring the expansion of the faith and the conversion of the heathen. "This is true," admitted the old Portuguese, "but we don't want to be martyrs,

seems to have been at Nanchang during all the time that Fr. Pobre was at Macao in 1597. On the other hand, Fr. Ricci's companion, Fr. Lazaro Cattaneo, S.J., *did* visit Macao briefly in 1597. Cf. Fr. Pasquale M. D'Elia, S.J., *Fonti Ricciane. Documenti originali concernenti Matteo Ricci e la storia delle prime relazioni tra l'Europa e la Cina, 1579-1615* (3 vols., Rome, 1942-49), I, 381-86; II, 3-10; III, 27.

¹⁵ This is not a Portuguese surname. Can he mean *Carneiro*?

nor even that there should be any in our time, for we would then lose all that we have." Fr. Pobre pointed out that the Portuguese traders at Nagasaki lost nothing in the recent martyrdom, since the Japanese did not interfere with either them, their wives, their children, or their goods; and he considered that the Chinese reaction would be the same. In any event, he concluded, the conversion of souls should take priority over all earthly considerations whatsoever, and missionary enterprises should never be abandoned, whatever obstacles the world, the flesh, and the devil might place in the way. The old Portuguese retorted that this was certainly the true ideal, but that it was unfortunately an impractical one, "since the more roots we put down on this earth, the less chance we have of ascending to the sky."

Fr. Pobre and his informant were agreed that the idea of an armed invasion of China to protect missionaries sent to expound the faith was wrong in theory and practice. No names were mentioned in this part of the discussion; but presumably they both had in mind the bellicose schemes for the conquest and conversion of China adumbrated a few years before by Fr. Alonso Sánchez, S.J., who was a well-known figure at both Manila and Macao.¹⁶ The old Portuguese observed that, although the Chinese were not a martial race, "yet at the order of a mandarin, they can mobilize not merely one million but many millions of soldiers,—and those which we can get from Castile are both

¹⁶ For Fr. Sánchez's scheme for the conquest of China and related projects, see my *Christian Century in Japan*, pp. 257-59, 484 and the sources there quoted, to which should be added Fr. León Lopetegui, S.J., *El Padre José de Acosta, S.J., y las misiones* (Madrid, 1942), pp. 461-85, and Léon Bourdon, "Un project d'invasion de la Chine par Canton à la fin du XVI^e siècle," in *Actas do III Colóquio Internacional de Estudos Luso-Brasileiros*, II (Lisbon, 1960), pp. 97-121.

few and ill-trained." There might be some chance of success if the Portuguese and the Spaniards on the one hand, and the Jesuits and the friars on the other, were all firmly united in the service of both God and King Philip. "But I assure Your Reverence," said the old Portuguese, "that I would be seeing the greatest miracle that ever was in the world if I heard that the Fathers [of the Company] were united with Your Reverences, and the Portuguese with the Castilians." They concluded their last conversation by agreeing that the best method of converting the Chinese would be to send out carefully selected and truly apostolic missionaries, preaching by word and deed, "building hospitals and curing the sick," after the precedent set by the recent Franciscan martyrs in Japan.¹⁷

The bulk of the codex, chapters 18-58 (fols. 72-237), comprises a description of the chain of events set in motion by the wreck of the galleon *San Felipe* at Urado (Tosa) on 17 October 1596, culminating in the martyrdom of 5 February 1597, with the signs and portents accompanying it. Much of this information is already available in other contemporary accounts, particularly those edited and published by Fr. Lorenzo Pérez, O.F.M., in his voluminous *Cartas y Relaciones del Japon* (3 vols., Madrid, 1916-23). As indicated above, Fr. Pérez also published some extracts from the recently rediscovered "Ystoria" in his article on this MS and its author in *Erudición Ibero-Ultramarino*, II (1931), 217-35. These extracts include a fascinating eyewitness account by a Portuguese merchant, Francisco Rodrigues Pinto, of the behavior of the martyrs on their way

¹⁷ "Ystoria," fols. 253-59, for Fr. Juan Pobre's discussions with the old Portuguese on the best methods for the evangelization of China and Japan.

to execution (fols. 216-17 of the MS) as well as a letter of Fr. Gerónimo de Jesús (fols. 260-62). Fr. Pobre's approach to the martyrdom of his companions is uncritically hagiographical; but the modern reader has a wealth of both Franciscan and Jesuit primary sources in print from which to check his statements.

Not the least interesting section of the "Ystoria" is that which relates to his stay in the Ladrones (Marianas) Islands from April to October 1602 (fols. 267-313 of the MS). In chapter 70 (fols. 282-95) he gives a valuable account of the natives and their customs. They were expert fishers, swimmers, and divers, being taught to swim at the age of four or five. Men and women both went completely naked, but they brought up their children very well, and the islanders were very charitable in their relationship with each other. They had no formal laws, and they did not worship idols; but they kept the bones of their ancestors in their huts and regarded them as sacred relics. Their agricultural implements, such as they were, were made from palm trees. Their weapons were originally made only of palm or stone, but since their contacts with the Spaniards of the passing Manila galleons, which frequently called at the islands for fresh provisions and water on the voyage from Acapulco, they had also begun using iron weapons.

It is worth noting that Fr. Pobre introduced the cultivation of maize into the island where he spent most of his time (La Çarpana). "Sometimes the lonely Pobre would climb up the hill to the cultivated plots of land, where he would sow some grains of maize among the Çamotes of his master; and they took so well that within fifty-eight days, or two months at the most, the ears of maize were harvested, which the Indians ate with great gusto. But there is such a

great quantity of rats in these islands, that they devoured more than half of everything that was planted." Rats, he added, were the only animals of any kind in all the islands, and there were very few birds. It would seem from this passage that the Spanish missionaries, or some of them, were in the habit of distributing grains of maize in the countries where this cereal was unknown. At any rate, the fact that Fr. Pobre had provided himself with such seeds when he "jumped ship" in mid-Pacific in 1602 should not be overlooked by writers who discuss the controversial problem of how the cultivation of maize was spread and the confusing chronology of this crop.¹⁸

Before he left La Çarpana on 4 October 1602, Fr. Pobre had met one of the survivors from the wreck of the Acapulco-bound galleon *Santa Margarida*, which had left Cavite in July 1600 with more than 300 persons on board. After a disastrous voyage in which 260 passengers perished, the galleon became stranded off La Çarpana, where most of the enfeebled survivors who struggled ashore were killed by the islanders. Only 21 survived to be picked up by the galleon *Santo Tomás*, from which Fr. Pobre absconded in 1602. He also gives a narrative of the misadventures of the sister ship *San Gerónimo*, which left Cavite on 27 July 1600 for Acapulco, but which was forced back to the Philippines by contrary weather and storms at the end of March 1601, with only 22 survivors out of 250 persons who had embarked.¹⁹

¹⁸ "Ystoria," fol. 312. For a recent discussion of the origin and diffusion of maize, see the erudite article by Orlando Ribeiro, "Milho," in Joel Serrão (ed.), *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, III (Lisbon, 1968), pp. 58-64.

¹⁹ Cf. W. Lytle Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (New York, 1939), pp. 255-56.

Fr. Pobre did his best to persuade the islanders not to harm, in the future, Spanish castaways like those from the *Santa Margarida* and the *San Gerónimo*, but he did not feel very optimistic about the result of his efforts. He thought the islanders would not, in fact, mistreat the Spaniards unless the latter first gave them plenty of provocation; but he was very much afraid that the Spaniards would be only too likely to do just that.²⁰ He also expressed the hope that "when the Religious come to convert these Indians they will be well received, at any rate on Guam and on La Çarpana." The Ladrones were then apparently quite thickly populated. The group comprised some 20 islands, of which Guam (or Boam, as he terms it) was the largest. He estimated that this island contained some 400 *pueblos*, with a total population of more than 60,000 people, whereas La Çarpana (Rota) had some 50 *pueblos* with a total of between 10,000 and 12,000 inhabitants.

When Fr. Pobre disembarked without permission at La Çarpana from the Manila-bound *Santo Tomás* in 1602, he was accompanied by another Franciscan lay brother, Fr. Pedro de Talavera. After some time, the latter moved to Guam, leaving Fr. Pobre at La Çarpana, where he stayed in the hut of one of the headmen, whom he calls his "amo" or master. On 10 July 1602, four galleons left Cavite for the voyage across the Pacific to Acapulco: *Jesús María*, *Espíritu Santo*, *Señora del Rosario*, and *San Antonio*. The last two made a relatively uneventful crossing and reached Acapulco safely. The *Espíritu Santo* was partially dismasted in a typhoon and forced into the Japanese port of Urado, very much in the same condition as the *San Felipe* had been six years previously. While some running repairs were being

²⁰ "... los españoles, que aunque nadie les aga mal, ellos lo an de açer a todos . . ." ("Ystoria," fol. 312).

effected, the Japanese attempted to close the harbor mouth and seize the galleon; but the ship fought her way out, largely thanks to the courage of a Negro slave who, under heavy fire, cut the cable which the Japanese had stretched across the entrance to the roadstead. The crew of the *Espíritu Santo* then improvised a jury-mast which enabled the vessel to return to Manila.²¹

Meanwhile, the *Jesús María* had likewise been blown off course, and, after vainly struggling with contrary winds, found herself off the Ladrones on the early morning of 4 October 1602. Fr. Pobre, together with his Indian host, family, and friends, went to the galleon in an outrigger canoe and tried to persuade the captain to pick up his companion, Fr. Pedro de Talavera from Guam, and another friar, Andrés de Nochebuena, apparently a castaway from the *Santa Margarida*. At this juncture, a favorable breeze suddenly sprang up, and the officers and crew insisted that the ship should take advantage of it by weighing anchor and setting course for the Philippines. This was done after Fr. Pobre had taken a hurried but cordial farewell of his Indian friends, commending his two castaway colleagues to the mercy of God. By a singular coincidence, the *Jesús María* reached the entrance to Manila Bay on the same day and on the same tide which the *Espíritu Santo* came limping in under jury-rig after her narrow escape from the Japanese at Urado.²²

²¹ W. Lytle Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (New York, 1939), pp. 122-23, gives a graphic account of the *Espíritu Santo's* exploit; but he mistakenly locates the scene of the action with the Japanese at Hirado in Kyushu, instead of at Urado in Tosa province, Shikoku Island.

²² "Ystoria," fols. 312-13. Cf. Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* (Mexico, 1609; ed. W. E. Retana, Madrid, 1909), pp. 131-33.

The last misadventure, which Fr. Pobre relates, but only briefly, in his "Ystoria" is the great fire at Manila which occurred on 30 April 1603. The conflagration started between three and four in the afternoon, behind the Hospital of the Misericordia. By the time it was over, a large part of the city had been destroyed and some twenty-six persons had perished in the flames. Among those whose houses were burned to the ground was Don Matias de Landecho, the "General" of the ill-fated *San Felipe* in 1596, who figures prominently in Fr. Pobre's "Ystoria."

As will be seen from the foregoing sketch, the Lilly Library is fortunate in possessing this precious manuscript of Fr. Juan Pobre, which has survived a shipwreck in the Pacific, fire at Manila, theft at Baghdad and at Rome, and the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39. I, for one, admit that I could not turn these worn and tattered (but still legible) leaves without emotion.

Coimbra *Alentejo*
**ERARIO
MINERAL,**

UTILISSIMO, NAÕ SO' PARA OS PROFESSORES
de Cirurgia, que residem na America Portugueza, a cujo beneficio par-
ticularmente se refereo, mas universalmente para todos, os que pro-
fessão a mesma faculdade; e ainda para quaciquier outras pessoas
amantes da conservação da saude, que nelle acharão especificos,
e generosos remedios para a cura das mais difficulcosas, e gra-
ves queixas, &c.

DEDICADO

A' SANTISSIMA VIRGEM MARIA
NOSSA SENHORA,

VENERADA NO MISTERIO DE SUA IMMACULADA

CONCEIÇÃO.

ESCRITO POR

LUIS GOMES FERREIRA,

*Cirurgião approvado, natural da Villa de S. Pedro de
Rates, e assistente nas Minas do ouro por decurso de
vinte annos.*

Agora novamente impresso, e augmentado com hum
copioso numero de exquisitas, e admiraveis receitas.

T O M. I.



L I S B O A :

Na Officina de M ANOEL DA SILVA.

Anno de MDCCLV.

Com todas as licenças necessarias.

A custa de Luiz de Moraes e Castro, mercador de livros, mora-
dor no largo do lagar do febo, aonde se achará, e outros muitos livros
curiosos.

Title page from Luís Gomes Ferreira's *Erario Mineral* . . . Lisbon,
Manoel de Silva for Luis de Moraes e Castro, 1755.

A RARE LUSO-BRAZILIAN MEDICAL
TREATISE AND ITS AUTHOR:
LUIS GOMES FERREIRA AND HIS
“ERARIO MINERAL” OF 1735 AND 1755

By C. R. BOXER

THE LILLY LIBRARY recently acquired a copy of an extremely rare two-volume book, which is described as follows in the card-catalogue entry prepared by Mr. Josiah Bennett:

Ferreira, Luís Gomes, *Erario mineral, utilissimo, não so' para os professores de cirurgia, que residem na America Portuguesa, a cujo beneficio particularmente se escreveo, mas universalmente para todos, os que professão a mesma faculdade*. . . *Agora novamente impresso, e augmentado com hum copioso numero de exquisitas, e admiraveis receitas*. . . Lisbon, Manoel da Silva for Luis de Moraes e Castro, 1755, 2v. 4to in eights (20.5 cm).

Early owner's name on title; 19th-century owner's name and dates (1834 and 1832) on preliminary leaf of vol. I and verso of title of vol. II. Bound in 18th-century calf, half gilt spine, sprinkled edges; repaired, new endpapers.

This is a copy of the second—and apparently unrecorded—edition of a work first published in one folio volume in 1735, under the same title of *Erario Mineral* (“Mineral Treasury”) but with a less long-winded explanatory subtitle. The first edition is likewise a very rare book, but it is listed in several standard bibliographies, beginning with Diogo Barbosa Machado in Vol. III (1752) of his classic *Bibliotheca Lusitana* (4 vols., Lisbon, 1741-59). Recently, it has been listed by Rubens Borba de Moraes in his *Bibliographia Brasiliana* (2 vols., Rio de Janeiro and Amsterdam, 1958),

Vol. I, p. 262, where this 1735 edition is described as being "very rare." It is indeed. I have been able to trace only seven copies, four of them in Brazil; and I have been unable to find one for sale since I started looking for it some ten years ago, despite constant prodding of numerous antiquarian booksellers in various countries. The existence of this second edition (1755) is not recorded in any of the standard Portuguese and Brazilian bibliographies from Barbosa Machado to Borba de Moraes. It is not to be found in the British Museum Library, nor in other institutional and private libraries which are famed for their holdings of rare Portuguese books. The Wellcome Historical Medical Library at London, so rich in rare works on medical history, does not possess a copy of either edition. The existence of the 1755 edition was first made widely known by its inclusion in the catalogue of the Lisbon bookseller from whom it was purchased by the Lilly Library.

A short sketch of the author's career will be in order before making a brief comparison between the editions of 1735 and 1755 and before tentatively assessing their interest for the history of tropical medicine. Until recently, the only biographical information about Luís Gomes Ferreira was that derived from passing allusions in the text of his *Erario Mineral* and from his description of himself on the title pages of both editions as *Cirurgião aprovado, natural da Villa de São Pedro de Rates, e assistente nas Minas de ouro por discurso de vinte annos* ("qualified surgeon, native of the town of São Pedro de Rates, and dwelling in the Mines of gold for the period of twenty years"). In 1967, the belated publication of the third volume of a series of papers presented at the historical congress held at Rio de Janeiro in 1963, to commemorate the transference of the capital of

colonial Brazil from Salvador (Bahia) to Rio de Janeiro in 1763, included an interesting article by Senhor Ivolino de Vasconcelos on Luís Gomes Ferreira and the 1735 edition of the *Erario Mineral*.¹

Senhor Ivolino de Vasconcelos had recently met in Rio de Janeiro some ladies of a family descended from Luís Gomes Ferreira. They showed him an oil portrait of their ancestor, representing him as a handsome and intelligent-looking young man. Unfortunately, the portrait was not signed, and there is no indication whether it was done in Portugal or in Brazil, but it was obviously painted in his lifetime. The ladies also possessed a copy of the 1735 edition of the *Erario Mineral*. They were able to give Senhor Ivolino de Vasconcelos some information about Luís Gomes Ferreira's parentage and descendants; but they could not add anything to the incidental information given in the *Erario Mineral* concerning his career in Portugal and in Brazil. Neither these ladies nor Senhor Ivolino de Vasconcelos knew of the existence of the 1755 edition. Combining the genealogical information provided by his twentieth-century descendants with the incidental autobiographical references in the *Erario Mineral*, we can reconstruct the outline of Luís Gomes Ferreira's career as follows.

He was born at an unascertained date in the parish of São Pedro de Rates in the Barcelos district (*comarca*) of the province of Entre Minho e Douro in northern Portugal.

¹ Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, *Anais do Congresso Comemorativo do Bicentenário da transferência da sede do govêrno do Brasil da cidade do Salvador para o Rio de Janeiro, 1763-1963*, Vol. III (Rio de Janeiro, 1967), pp. 375-412, Ivolino de Vasconcelos, "Notícia Histórica sobre Luís Gomes Ferreira e sua obra, o *Erario Mineral*."

His father, Caetano Gomes Ferreira, was evidently a man of property, living in a *solar* or manor-house, but his mother's name has not been traced. Luís had at least three brothers, probably younger than himself, who likewise lived for some years in Brazil, but we do not know the dates of their respective births. The first firm date that we have in the *Erario Mineral* discloses that he was working as a surgeon at the Royal Hospital at Lisbon in 1705-6, and it is virtually certain that he qualified there. He sailed for Brazil for the first time in 1707, returning to Portugal after a short stay at Bahia. This round-trip voyage indicates that he probably sailed as a ship's surgeon in one of the annual Brazil fleets. He left for Bahia again in 1708, confessedly attracted, like so many of his compatriots, by the gold rush in Minas Gerais, which was then at its height.² He lost no time in leaving for the gold fields by way of the São Francisco river valley, but he evidently paid another brief visit to Bahia in 1709. He then returned to Minas Gerais, where he remained from 1710 to 1731, apart from serving as a surgeon in the volunteer relief column raised by the Governor of Minas, António de Albuquerque Coelho de Carvalho, to relieve Rio de Janeiro when this city was attacked and occupied by the French under Duguay-Trouin in September-October 1711.

During his twenty years' residence in Minas Gerais, Luís Gomes Ferreira lived at various times in Sabará, 1712-14; at Ribeirão do Carmo (the actual Mariana), 1716-19; at Ribeirão Abaixo, 1716; and in the *arraial* or mining

² C. R. Boxer, *The Golden Age of Brazil, 1695-1750: Growing Pains of a Colonial Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962; reprinted, 1967), pp. 30-83, for the gold rush in Brazil and its repercussions. Senhor Ivolino de Vasconcelos was evidently unaware that I had quoted largely from the *Erario Mineral* of 1735 in this book.

camp of Padre Faria at Ouro Preto, 1724-25. He also had a country estate (*fazenda*) at Itacolomi near Ouro Preto, between 1721 and 1730 at least, and he evidently travelled around the mining region a good deal. He was still at Sabará in Minas Gerais early in 1731, but before the end of that year he was at Bahia, waiting to embark in the homeward-bound Brazil fleet. This particular fleet reached Lisbon on 27 February 1732,³ and he tells us that he was living at Oporto in March 1733, so it appears that he did not stay very long at Lisbon. The ecclesiastical and civil licenses for the first edition of his book are dated at Lisbon between November 1733 and July 1735, inclusive. At some stage in his career, he married a lady named Dona Maria Ursulina Monteiro da Gama, by whom he had at least one son, Alexandre, who eventually settled in Brazil. Since Luís Gomes Ferreira makes no mention of wife and child in the *Erario Mineral*, it seems likely that his marriage took place in Portugal after his return, but we cannot be sure of this. It is clear that he was still working as a doctor and surgeon in the north of Portugal, with a practice at Oporto, in March 1733, but details of his subsequent career and the date of his death are still unknown.⁴

³ *Gazeta de Lisboa*, dateline of 13 March 1732. The Bahia fleet comprised twenty-five merchant ships, convoyed by the warship *Madre de Deos*, with one ship from Pernambuco and one from Sacramento (Rio de la Plata) in company, or twenty-eight sail in all. Cf. M. Lopes de Almeida (ed.), *Notícias Históricas de Portugal e Brasil, 1715-1750* (Coimbra, 1961), p. 163.

⁴ Augusto da Silva Carvalho, *Médicos e Curandeiros. Trabalho publicado n "A Medicina Contemporanea," revisto e augmentado* (Lisboa, 1917), p. 74, following the Portuguese nineteenth-century bibliographer Inocêncio, erroneously states that Luís Gomes Ferreira left Portugal c. 1725 and returned in 1745. This shows that neither

The bulk of the *Erario Mineral* was written while the author was living in Minas Gerais, as is abundantly clear from the context and wording; but the text received some last-minute additions and interpolations after his return to Portugal in 1732. Among several passages which could be cited to prove this assertion, the following will suffice. At the end of his Treatise VIII, ch. 3, entitled, "Of the disease which is commonly called *cangalha*, and which I call a convulsion of the nerves," and which was very common among slaves, he writes:

But the cure for them, which will ensure no return of this disease, is that slaves so afflicted should leave the climate of the Mines for any of the [coastal] cities or towns; and no cure other than this change of air is necessary. I affirm this, not only because some friends have told me that they have verified this with their own slaves, but also because I found it with one of my own, and he never again had any trace of this disease. It is certain that the climate of the Mines both foment the disease and hinders the progress of its cure, so that none of those who stay there continually are ever completely cured, as I can vouch. My above-mentioned slave left the Mines for the city of Bahia, and having stayed there for eight months without suffering any illness, he came back to the said Mines, where he has now been for the last two years without any return of it.

This passage was obviously written while the author was still in Minas Gerais.

of them can have read the book very carefully, although Silva Carvalho states that one of the two copies [of the 1735 edition] in the library at Mafra had inserted a manuscript advertisement in the holograph of Luís Gomes Ferreira, announcing various patent medicines for sale at his house in Oporto, "no bairro dos ferreiros, ou defronte do pateo das Freiras de São Bento."

Apart from the allusions at the end of the *Erario Mineral* to the author's return to Portugal and his practice at Oporto in 1733, there is the following passage in Tratado II, chapter 2, which deals with "Obstructions of the liver, their symptoms and their cure": "In this same way, I prescribed these two remedies to cure an obstruction of the very reverend Father Manuel João de Carvalho in this city of Oporto, who had contracted this disease of the liver in the Mines, . . . and he went on improving greatly and was finally completely cured, as is well known in this part of the city." This passage was obviously added after the author's return in 1732, as were several others.

The bulk of the *Erario Mineral* was not only written in Brazil, but the work itself was primarily intended for the use of people living in Minas Gerais, as Luís Gomes Ferreira emphasizes in his "Prologue to the reader," which is identical in both editions.

If I am criticized for writing about Medicine when I am a surgical practitioner, I reply that surgery is an inseparable part of medicine. Moreover, in crises of health, the surgeons can supply the lack of medical doctors, and especially in so many and such remote places which are now inhabited in these Mines, where there are often neither doctors nor even qualified surgeons, for which reason the people suffer greatly. To remedy these sufferings, and to give light to the novices in this region, this *Erario Mineral* makes its public appearance.

Luís Gomes Ferreira ingenuously confesses that he had emigrated to Minas Gerais primarily in order to get rich quickly and that the idea of writing his work only occurred to him some years later. He writes in one place:

By the method described above I have cured numberless patients who suffered from severe stitches (*pontadas*) accompanied by spitting of blood, whom I do not name here, since

I have forgotten their names. For if I had realized that I would be living for so many years in these Mines, and if I had taken care to write down from the very beginning some notes and observations at least of the principal cases that passed through my hands, I would have compiled a voluminous work, wherein would also have been found good descriptions of the herbs, roots, minerals, and animals which there are in Brazil and its backlands (*sertões*), all of which would not have failed to please my readers, and would have been very useful for the public weal. But as I had no such expectation, thinking that I would make my fortune in a few years, I did not bother to do so. And now I cannot recall them all for publication; and I only relate what I can remember and as I can find time to write it down.

Despite this disclaimer, he does, in point of fact, give a large number of medical and surgical case histories, together with names, dates, and places, the great majority of which relate to Brazil in general and to Minas Gerais in particular. The second edition of 1755, while still primarily intended for use in Brazil, was also aimed at a wider public, as exemplified in the explanatory subtitle, which is lacking in the edition of 1735: . . . "most useful, not only for practicing surgeons who live in Portuguese America, for whose benefit it was especially written, but for all those in general who follow the same calling; and likewise for any other persons who are desirous of keeping fit, who will find therein specific and lavish remedies for the cure of the most obstinate and serious complaints, &c." Both editions were dedicated to Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception, as stated in their respective title pages; but the 1755 edition adds: "Now reprinted and enlarged with a great number of exquisite and wonderful prescriptions." Moreover, the text of the dedication in the (unnumbered) preliminary leaves of the 1755 edition, which is signed by the bookseller, Luís de Moraes e

Castro, makes the same claim. "On the first occasion when it was printed [1735] it was dedicated to you. Now that it comes in an enlarged edition from the press, let it achieve the same felicity." The author's *Proemio* to the 1755 edition is even more emphatic in affirming the inclusion of additional matter: "In these two volumes of this *Erario*, in which it seemed more convenient in this second edition to divide it into two, because as it is so copiously increased, if it was reprinted in a single volume, it would be swollen to an awkward size, . . ."

Unfortunately, I have not been able to locate a copy of the 1735 edition either in the United States or in the United Kingdom, and I last examined one in Brazil ten years ago. I therefore cannot state positively the nature and extent of the additional matter in the 1755 edition. I doubt, however, if this was quite as extensive as the author and the publisher claimed in 1755. A comparison of the numerous references taken from my own notes in 1959 and the many extracts given in Senhor Ivolino de Vasconcelos' article from the 1735 edition, which are scattered throughout the length and breadth of that book, shows that these passages are all present in the 1755 edition in the same wording. I suspect, therefore, that the additional matter was mainly, if not entirely, confined to *Tratado III*, a miscellany of cures, remedies, and prescriptions for almost every imaginable disease, most of which read like old wives' and quack-doctors' nostrums. Luís Gomes Ferreira proudly claims some of these nostrums as being of his own invention, and he was a firm believer in the efficacy of "sympathetic powders" (*pós da Sympathia*). Of three "infallible cures for tooth-ache" which he describes, the following is perhaps the oddest:

Take an equal quantity of verdigris and the best sort of East-Indian cloves (which is the one most like cinnamon in colour) ; mix them well and grind to a powder, which should be put in a pewter plate on the 29th of August, from 11 a.m. to 12 noon, in a place which catches the sun, if there is any. It should then be kept in a pewter cup, so as to enable it to remain in better condition for one, two, or more years. Apply by moistening a finger in oral saliva and putting it on the powder, and then rub the aching teeth with the finger that has the powder stuck to it. Even if the powder touches the other teeth it will not matter, and within the space of a Hail Mary the tooth will cease to ache.

He then goes on to describe how fresh wounds can be “infallibly” healed by the application of this powder, the composition of which was originally a professional secret. “If there is someone—which I cannot believe—who criticizes the diffusion of this and other secrets, he is wrong. For the convenience of the many should prevail over that of the few. Another infallible cure for toothache is to boil a garlic and place it on the ear on the side of the face where the pain is, and the pain will then vanish forthwith.”

Also indicative of his belief in such quack remedies is his advocacy of the use of human excreta in various cases, such as in separating a pair of illicit lovers, without having recourse to legal action. “Take some of the excreta of the male lover and smear it on the soles of the shoes of his mistress, or on the heels thereof; and smear some of the excreta of the mistress on the soles or on the heels of the shoes of the lover. They will forthwith take an unconquerable aversion to each other.” His belief in magic is evidenced *inter alia* by his prescriptions for the cure of sexual impotence caused by witchcraft, some of which are taken, as he acknowledges, from the Portuguese medical classics of

Dr. João Curvo Semedo.⁵ His frequent advocacy of such patently absurd, archaic, and disgusting remedies detracts somewhat from his violent denunciations of the ignorant barber-surgeons, who, he says, abounded in Minas Gerais, and of which one example will suffice. "To cure him, they sent for an ignorant barber, who in Portugal would hardly know how to shave anyone; because unhappily for our sins there are many such in all corners of Minas Gerais, calling themselves surgeons."

I cannot find a categorical statement in the text that Luís Gomes Ferreira was a qualified medical doctor; but if he was, he must have taken his medical degree at Coimbra University, which was the only institution in the Portuguese empire that was entitled to award them. The state of medical education at Coimbra left a great deal to be desired at this period, as we know from the evidence of Gomes Ferreira's more famous contemporary, Dr. António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches.⁶ Here, even more than in most other European

⁵ João Curvo Semedo (1635-1719), the most famous Portuguese doctor of his age, author of numerous medical works containing a lot of nonsense mixed with some sound sense.

⁶ Ribeiro Sanches (1699-1782) received his medical education successively at Salamanca, Pisa, Montpellier, and Leyden after studying law at Coimbra. Court and army physician in Russia from 1731 to 1747, he subsequently settled in Paris, where he contributed the article on venereal disease to the *Encyclopédie* of Diderot, his *Disertation on the origin of the venereal disease* being published at London in 1751. A copy of his rare *Tratado da conservação do saude dos Povos* (Paris, 1756) is in the Lilly Library. For details of his life and work, see Maximiano Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches: A sua vida e a sua obra* (Oporto, 1911) and David Willemse, *António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches, élève de Boerhaave, et son importance pour la Russie* (Leyden, 1966).

universities, humoral pathology was still the basis of a medical education, and the influence of Graeco-Roman works, particularly those of Galen, was still paramount. Anatomical dissections of human corpses for medical and surgical research had been expressly forbidden in the closing years of King John V's reign (1706-50), though this ban does not seem to have been very rigorously enforced. At any rate, Luís Gomes Ferreira certainly carried out some autopsies in Brazil, and he makes no secret of the fact in the *Erario Mineral*.

One has the impression that medical and surgical knowledge were more backward and hidebound in the Iberian Peninsula than elsewhere in Western Europe, as was deplored by several eminent Portuguese doctors who lived and worked abroad, including Dr. Jacob de Castro Sarmiento and Dr. António Ribeiro Sanches. Even in the more advanced countries, such as the Northern Netherlands, Britain, France, and Italy, medical systems which sometimes were more influenced by philosophical speculations than by scientific certainties were much in vogue. The germ theory of disease and the cellular structure of the body were alike unknown before the great improvement of the microscope in the nineteenth century rendered possible the development of rigorously scientific biology. Effective pharmaceutical drugs such as quinine (chinchona bark) were still extremely rare. One should not be too hard on Luís Gomes Ferreira for advocating the use of so many useless or noxious compounds in the backlands of Minas Gerais. But it is more surprising that he continued to advocate them after his return to Portugal and that he does not seem to have been influenced by foreign works in his own field. He alludes favorably to some foreign surgeons who worked in Brazil during

his time there, including a Hungarian in Minas Gerais and a Frenchman in Pernambuco; but it does not appear that he had any foreign medical and surgical works in his own library.

However that may have been, it would, I think, be wrong to dismiss Luís Gomes Ferreira as being no better than one of the quack doctors (*curandeiros*) and barber-surgeons whom he so vigorously denounces, despite the fact that many of his own remedies were no better than theirs. He repeatedly emphasizes that he always kept an open mind and was ready to learn from experience, not being an adherent of any one of the then-prevalent medical systems. He defends his avowedly empirical methods in his *Proemio* to the reader: "And thus, as it has always seemed to me to be right to obey reason, it has always also seemed to me to be rash to contradict experience; for reason and experience are the two columns which support medicine and surgery. And forasmuch as the works which Nature makes by secret ways are marvellous and stupendous, without reason or our intellect being able to fathom them, it follows that even greater faith should be placed on experience than on reason." This is a maxim which he repeatedly invokes in the *Erario Mineral*, "for when experience speaks, the authorities hold their tongues." We have seen that he regarded medicine and surgery as inseparably connected, instead of being sharply separated, as they often were at this period; and in this he was at one with Dr. Ribeiro Sanches, though not for the same reason.⁷

⁷ . . . "a cauza da perda da verdadeyra Medicina em França foi ha 100 annos o favor e a confiança que derão os Exercitos, e depois o ignorante povo (e muito gente do alto he povo) e esta sorte de homens

Unlike most of his Portuguese colleagues, who had a veritable mania for frequent bleeding and violent purging, Luís Gomes Ferreira was very sparing in his use of these sovereign remedies, as they were then regarded. Cautioning against excessive bleeding, he wrote: "Blood is the light of the candle of life; the more oil there is in the candle, the longer will its light endure. . . I make a great point of telling everyone how important it is to bleed only a little in order to live long" (pp. 52-55 of the 1735 edition). He strongly advocated that patients should be allowed to change their shirts and their bed linen frequently—a practice which many doctors considered to be extravagantly fussy, or even downright dangerous. Surgery was still a very primitive art in most respects, and the unruly population of eighteenth-century Minas Gerais gave Luís Gomes Ferreira many opportunities to improve his skill by frequent operations. Some of the surgical case histories which he relates border on the incredible. He claims the most astonishing cures of severe gunshot, knife, and sword wounds, many of them with the aid of a compound which he had invented. This contained, among other things, liqueur-brandey, "Queen of Hungary's water," incense, myrrh, gum-mastic, rosemary, myrtle berries, and powdered comfrey root. Its application varied in accordance with the nature and the location of the wounds, as exemplified in the following instance.

In the year 1712, I was summoned to cure Francisco Gil de Andrade, a settler in these Mines in the camp of the bar of

chamados nos nossos tempos *chirurgions*, qualidade de homens que nao conheceo a Antiguidade, porque todo o Medico era chirurgiao" (Ribeiro Sanches to Dr. Rodrigo Soares da Silva e Bivar, Paris, 29 October 1764. An unpublished autograph letter in the writer's collection).

Villa Real do Sabará. He had been slashed with a broadsword, which cut him from the nape of the neck, or the hollow of the hinder part of the head, to the cheek below the ear, severing his jugular veins, arteries, muscles, and the nerves of the neck. The wound bled copiously, so that he was extremely weak. I bathed it lightly with cold brandy (and not with warm), just sufficiently to clean that part, but not too thoroughly, so as to avoid provoking a further flow of the blood which was gradually lessening. After washing or bathing the wound, I stitched it up, and gave him the remedy, soaking bandages in it and binding them over the wound with a dry bandage on the outside as a compress, so that the bandage should close the wound better and quite staunch the flow of blood.

On the second day, he suffered a great inflammation of the neck, head and face, for which I did not then apply the remedy again, but I used instead anodynes of egg well beaten with plantain-juice, and I applied bandages soaked in rose-water on top. These were changed frequently, so that they did not dry, with which the inflammation gradually died down, and he was placed on a generous diet. When the inflammation had almost vanished, I reverted to using my remedy; and although the wound reopened a little with the inflammation, as soon as I applied the remedy thereto, it became reunited. It then began to heal in such wise, that within a few days he was completely cured.

On another occasion, he cured within eight days the bailiff of Sabará, who had received an apparently mortal wound from a sword thrust. When Gomes Ferreira reached him, the victim had lost so much blood that "from the spot where he was wounded to his house, which was not far, he had left a stream of blood along the street, which looked as if an ox had just been slaughtered there."

In the field of medicine, despite his belief in the prophylactic virtues of human excreta and urine, sometimes on

the most bizarre occasions, he has also many remarkably acute observations. One modern Brazilian medical authority, Dr. Eustáquio Duarte, goes so far as to claim that his observations on the sores caused by the larvae of blowflies would suffice to place his name among the great pioneers of parasitology, if only his *Erario Mineral*, like the sixteenth-century *Colóquios* of Garcia d'Orta, had found a translator and editor of the calibre of Carolus Clusius (Charles de l'Ecluse) to disseminate a Latin version among the learned men of his day and generation.⁸ If a layman may interpolate his opinion in such matters, this seems to me to be something of an exaggeration. Garcia d'Orta's work, though naturally not without its errors, is vitiated by far less of the quack remedies and sympathetic magic which abound in parts of the *Erario Mineral*.

In any event, it is clear from the detailed case histories which he gives that Luís Gomes Ferreira was deeply concerned about his patients, including the Negro slaves, who were, as he noted disapprovingly, badly treated, poorly fed and housed, and worse clothed. He stressed the vital importance of a doctor having a tactful mien and a good bedside manner in order to gain and keep the patient's confidence.

If the patient is a Black or a Poor White, you must get him to repeat the information which you want two or three times. For since these types are a rough and volatile sort of people,

⁸ Gilberto Osório de Andrade & Eustáquio Durate, *Morão, Rosa & Pimenta. Notícia dos três primeiros livros em vernáculo sobre a medicina no Brasil* (Recife, 1956), pp. 416-18. For Garcia d'Orta and his *Colóquios* (Goa, 1563), see C. R. Boxer, *Two Pioneers of Tropical Medicine: Garcia d'Orta and Nicolás Monardes* (Wellcome Historical Medical Library, Lecture Series No. 1, London, 1963). The Lilly Library possesses a very fine copy of the rare first edition of the *Colóquios*.

they will first of all say one thing, and then, when you ask them again, they will say something else, as has happened to me with all of them. And because I like to make a correct diagnosis, to avoid danger and expense, and not to make the diseases worse than they are, whenever I ask these people about their symptoms, I do so very patiently. Moreover, before I feel the patient's pulse, I chat with him for a while, and I always take it two or three times. For I know very well that as soon as I enter the room and greet him, he gets up if he can, arranging his clothes and making his bow, and while he is flustered like this, his pulse is likely to be altered from what it was before, or what it becomes subsequently. Anyone who doesn't believe this, can try it for himself, and he will see if I am right in what I say. And I will go further, and state that not only is this the case with this kind of people, but with those of all other classes as well.

In this, Luís Gomes Ferreira resembles the great Herman Boerhaave, as well as Ribeiro Sanches and Curvo Semedo, all of whom had the knack of inspiring complete confidence in their respective patients.⁹

Among the common illnesses which afflicted both black and white in Minas Gerais, as elsewhere in Brazil for that matter, were bacillary dysentery, intestinal and hookworms, the *mal do bicho*, and venereal diseases. Gomes Ferreira gives us many graphic case histories of these and other ills, together with his avowedly empirical (and often astonishing) methods of treating them. The dreaded *mal do bicho*, or "disease of the worms," as described by Gomes Ferreira, was evidently *trichuriasis*, whipworm infestation with a high incidence of rectal prolapse. As the whipworm was often found in the autopsy of patients dying of yellow fever, the term *mal do bicho* was likewise used to designate this disease

⁹ Cf. Maximiano Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches* (1911), pp. 33, 91, 94.

as well.¹⁰ Prevention being better than cure, he recommended bodily cleanliness and the daily bath as the best precautionary measure, another being a dose of brandy (*aguardente*) or of rum (*cachaça*) first thing in the morning. This habit has survived on both sides of the South Atlantic, whence the name *mata-bicho* in Brazil and Angola. The mortality from intestinal worms was also very heavy, especially among infants and young children. Some of his observations on the incidence of this scourge are applicable to the poorer parts of Brazil today. Venereal diseases inevitably were widespread, and some of Luís Gomes Ferreira's cures were painfully drastic, though not more so than those of several of his colleagues in Europe.

The gratitude of his patients varied considerably. He records appreciatively the wealthy landowner who gave him 500 drams of gold after undergoing a successful course of treatment for venereal disease. But he likewise gives the name and address of a man who gave him a very stingy fee after he had promised him a very generous one, if our surgeon cured (as he says he did) his client's brother of an exceedingly dangerous wound.

Luís Gomes Ferreira obviously acted on his own maxim that a surgeon (or doctor) should do his utmost to inspire the confidence of his patients. This fact may well have done more to bring about many of the cures which he effected than

¹⁰ Francisco Guerra, "Aleixo de Abreu, 1568-1630, Author of the earliest book on Tropical Medicine, describing Amoebiasis, Malaria, Typhoid Fever, Scurvy, Yellow Fever, Dracontiasis, Trichuriasis, and Tungiasis in 1623," reprinted from the *Journal of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene*, March 1968, Vol. 71, pp. 55-69. I am greatly indebted to Dr. Guerra for his illuminating comments on the various forms of the *mal do bicho*.

the noxious potions and the patent medicines which he so freely administered. He had unlimited confidence in the efficacy of his own nostrums and a good deal also in his own surgical skill, sometimes offering to forfeit his fee if a cure was not effected within a certain time limit. On the other hand, he fully realized that the boundaries of knowledge were always advancing. He quotes approvingly the dictum of an erudite Jesuit padre, who said that he would gladly exchange all the knowledge which he possessed for that which he did not know.¹¹ Criticizing the baleful effects of the deadweight of tradition on the progress of medicine and surgery, he observed: "If anyone urges that we should be bound entirely by what our forefathers did, this is the same thing as tying the living to the dead."

Apart from its value as a source for the history of tropical medicine, and more particularly as showing the state of surgery and medicine in eighteenth-century Brazil, the *Erario Mineral* forms a fascinating source for the social history of Minas Gerais. Unlike most of his contemporaries, whether in Brazil or in the Caribbean and American possessions of other European powers, Luís Gomes Ferreira shows himself to be genuinely concerned for the hard lot of the Negro slaves. He several times accuses their owners of deliberate neglect and callous cruelty. He also makes an interesting distinction between the *Minas*, or slaves of Sudanese origin from Dahomey and the Guinea coast, and the Bantu slaves from Angola and Benguela. The former

¹¹ I am not sure whether he was referring to the Portuguese Fr. Francisco Soares, S.J. (1605-59), the "sumo philosopho," or to the Spanish Fr. Francisco Suárez, S.J. (1548-1617), the "doctor eximius," both of whom taught at Coimbra. On the whole, the latter seems more probable.

were usually stronger and more vigorous than the latter, and they were likewise more courageous and more resistant to disease. A *Mina* who was seriously ill would often make no complaint until it was too late to do anything effective for him; whereas a Bantu was apt to become demoralized when afflicted with any illness and to give up the ghost without a struggle.¹²

We have only a few glimpses of Ferreira's personal, as distinct from his professional, character in the pages of the *Erario Mineral*. He does, however, go out of his way to emphasize that he was an "Old Christian," with no stain of Jewish blood in his ancestry. In this he reflected the prejudices of his age, which witnessed the last outbursts of inquisitorial fanaticism against the "New Christians" (real or alleged crypto-Jews) in Portugal and Brazil during the reign of King John V.¹³ Medicine and surgery were two of the professions in which the persecuted *conversos* had sought a livelihood for centuries, with the result that many doctors and surgeons were suspected of being crypto-Jews, whatever their real origins were and however genuine their Christianity might be.¹⁴

¹² For the relative importance of Sudanese and Bantu slaves in the various regions of Brazil at different times and places during the eighteenth century, see Afonso de E. Taunay, *Subsídios para a história do Tráfico Africano no Brasil Colonial* (Rio de Janeiro, 1941), and Pierre Verger, *Flux et reflux de la traite des nègres entre le golfe de Bénin et Bahia de Todos os Santos du 17^e au 19^e siècle* (Paris and The Hague, 1968).

¹³ Arnold Witznitzer, *Jews in Colonial Brazil* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), pp. 146-47, for the persecution of Brazilian "New Christians" or *Marranos* in the eighteenth century.

¹⁴ Cf. the complaints of Ribeiro Sanches on this score, in Maximiano Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches* (1911), pp. 9-10, 20-21, 36-37, 51-54, 67-69.

It was stated at the beginning of this article that the *Erario Mineral* was an extremely rare book in either of its two editions, but more especially in that of 1755. I am not altogether clear why this should be so, but two reasons may be tentatively suggested. In the first place, the book was primarily intended for circulation in the district of Minas Gerais, and the greatest number of copies were, in all probability, dispatched to Brazil for sale there. Colonial Brazil was not a country with a wide reading public, nor a place where libraries flourished; books were apt to be discarded, thrown away, or simply left to rot when the original owner died or lost interest in them. It is worth noting that other books which were published in Europe primarily for the Brazilian market are likewise very rare nowadays, such as Jorge Benci's *Economia Christãa dos Senhores no governo dos escravos* (Rome, 1705) and Manuel Ribeiro Rocha's *Ethiope resgatado, empenhado, sustentado, corregido, instruido, e libertado* (Lisbon, 1758).¹⁵ Moreover, the second edition of the *Erario Mineral* was published in the year of the great Lisbon earthquake (1 November 1755), when so many bookshops, as also private and public libraries, were destroyed and when some publishers lost their entire stocks.

Finally, it should be noted that this copy of the 1755 two-volume edition is not provided with the ecclesiastical and civil licenses which were obligatory for all books printed in Portugal before they were allowed to be published and circulated. This is a most unusual feature, although it is

¹⁵ For these two works see Rubens Borba de Moraes, *Bibliographia Brasiliana*, I, 84; *ibid.*, II, 211. Dr. Borba de Moraes is, however, mistaken in his assertion that "many copies" of the *Ethiope Resgatado* are in existence today. On the contrary, intensive research has disclosed the location of less than a half-dozen copies, one of them in the Lilly Library.

true that just at this period the hitherto remarkably efficient Portuguese literary censorship was showing signs of lassitude. A few works were being published clandestinely, such as the *Arte de Furtar*, ostensibly attributed to Padre António Vieira, S.J., with an Amsterdam imprint of 1652, whereas it was in reality written by someone else and printed at Lisbon in 1744, and the highly controversial *Verdadeiro Methodo de Estudar* by Luís António Verney, with its successive editions of 1746-51.¹⁶ Possibly, the publisher of the 1755 edition took advantage of the administrative chaos caused by the earthquake to issue the book without getting the legal and ecclesiastical licenses; but this is a point which, like some others, can be clarified only by the discovery of another one or two copies of this edition.

¹⁶ For the *Arte de Furtar* and its provenance, see Afonso Pena Junior, *A Arte Furtar e o seu autor* (2 vols., Rio de Janeiro, 1946); for the clandestine editions of the *Verdadeiro Methodo de Estudar*, see Antonio Alberto de Andrade, *Vernei e a cultura do seu tempo* (Coimbra, 1966), pp. 453-57.

I may add here that although no bibliographer has described the second edition of the *Erario Mineral*, it is briefly mentioned on pp. 237 and 240 of M. Ferreira de Mira, *História da Medicina Portuguesa* (Lisboa, 1948).

